Doctor in Education

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Supplementary Schools:

Sites of Social Capital?

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For my mother

Marian Patterson

DECLARATION

I, Valerie Patterson confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This research explores the potential of supplementary education to generate social capital for children and young people, focusing on three supplementary schools in an urban locality in England.

The study builds on research that examines the impact of supplementary education on pupils' attainment and goes on to explore the wider benefits of supplementary education for parents and pupils. It focuses on the generation of social capital through bonding, bridging and linking opportunities provided through the supplementary schools.

It is set in the context of an age of performativity, discussed in Chapter 2.5, where the dominant values in today's schooling, especially under the influence of hyperaccountability, emphasise individualism (Watkins et al, 2007).

The thesis is written through a social constructionist perspective, which contends that our understanding of the world is constructed and reconstructed on a daily basis through social interactions with other people (Burr 1995, p.3). Social identities and inequalities are thus not fixed but fluid and subject to the social world in which they exist. Spaces, for example, educational spaces, become "fundamental in any exercise of power" (Foucault 2001, p.361).

This is a qualitative study, a multiple case study including participant observation and semi-structured interviews with current and past pupils, staff and parents. I argue that supplementary schools provide learning spaces where the combination of friendship, resources and informality create an optimum social environment for learning. Opportunities are created in these bonded spaces for bridging to people and organisations in wider society and to a lesser extent linking to further progression opportunities.

The study argues that terms such as bonding, bridging and linking cannot be seen as discrete. It identifies progression capital as a form of capital that supports pupils and parents to extend their cultural capital. The study contends that supplementary schools may constitute an important form of social capital. Through their enactment of different forms of knowledge they are institutions,

echoing Foucault, through which power passes (Foucault 2001, p.356). By instituting their own sites of power, parents are able to exercise agency and develop schools which have the ability to disrupt systematic disadvantage and in this way can be seen as transformative.

Impact Statement

Supplementary schools are under researched and I hope this thesis will add to the body of academic research on supplementary education. It adds to our knowledge of the nature and characteristics of supplementary education and gives an insight into the impact of the supplementary schools on families which has been challenging to evidence to date. My research includes interviews with past students, and these are particularly rich as they were able to evidence the impact the schools had on their current status.

The concept of social capital has been increasingly questioned through a perceived link with neoliberalism with its focus on the responsibility of the individual rather than the state leading to a reduction of welfare entitlements. The concept of social capital with its capacity to access resources through associational networks is seen as a replacement for what in effect is the state's responsibility (Zetter et al 2006, p.11; Archer and Francis 2007, p.19). My research brings the concept back to its roots, by exposing the power of connections and how they can be harnessed by communities. My research provides an example of how social capital works. It develops the concept of 'progression capital' – briefly, the accumulation of attributes derived from bonding, bridging and linking opportunities that support the future development of a pupil - the necessity of which might increase in importance as the mainstream curriculum narrows. It lends weight to the argument that attention should be paid to enabling the development of wider skills and that this is often achieved when a mainstream school is in partnership with other organisations. The research suggests, therefore, that mainstream schools should be outward-facing, working in partnership with parents and their communities.

My research has already had an impact on my professional role. Recognising the positive impact that extra-curricular activities had on young people I sought funding to offer residential experiences to more supplementary schools. For the last three years City Partnership, where I work, has coordinated a joint residential with 7 supplementary schools involving 125 young people. I organised a pilot poet-in-residence to work with the schools. This culminated in a book of poems being published, '*This is Me…*' One of the poems was selected by the Betjeman

Poetry Prize as a top 50 winner and the writer has been offered a free place on a residential poetry camp in 2019. Coding workshops and Science events have also been organised for supplementary school groups although has been limited in its reach due to lack of funding. I would hope funders may be interested in my conclusions about the impact of extra-curricular activities and will create funding opportunities for supplementary schools to further develop these aspects of their work.

I intend to submit an article to an academic journal. I will produce a summary report which can be disseminated to supplementary schools through the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education. I would like to use this as a basis for a conference in conjunction with NRCSE. I will also produce a young-person-friendly booklet summarising the results of my research. I intend to deliver workshops to the supplementary schools in the case studies and in the wider partnership.

I hope wider dissemination will increase the capacity of public organisations to include supplementary schools in their remit and thereby challenge the current narrow lenses through which they are viewed.

Abbreviations

BAME Black, Asian or Minority ethnic

BERA British Education Research Association

BSA British Sociological Association

BME Black and minority ethnic

CILT Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research

COIC Commission on Integration and Cohesion

DCLG Department for Communities and Local Government

DCSF Department for Schools, Children and Families

DFE Department for Education

DFES Department for Education and Skills

EPPE The Effective Provision of Pre-School Education

ESOL English for Speakers of Other Languages

ECM Every Child Matters

EPM Every Parent Matters

FSM Free School Meals

IFS Institution-focused Study

NABSS National Association of Black Supplementary Schools

NRC National Resource Centre

NRCSE National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education

OFSTED Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills

REF Race Equality Foundation

RCN Royal College of Nursing

RSA Royal Society of Arts

SES Socio-economic status

UCL University College, London

UKIP United Kingdom Independence Party

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Reflective Statement

What has been most interesting for me in the 10 years I have been working on this thesis is the changing political landscape and the symbiotic relationship this has had with my work. I began my professional doctorate in the heyday of new Labour with its policies on extended schools, professional learning communities and increasing accountability through Ofsted and performance targets. I complete my thesis in a period dominated by austerity, heightened neo-liberalism and hyper-accountability with a consequent impact on educational practices.

The main areas of my professional work cover supplementary schools, parenting programmes and adult learning all of which fell within the Extended Schools programme promoted by New Labour. This became the focus for my first assignment on an aspect of professionalism. I considered how major government policies like Every Child Matters (ECM) (HMSO, 2003), could affect professionalism within schools. I argued ECM put children and young people rather than teachers at the centre of the educational enterprise and that if as teachers we are to see schooling from their perspectives then we would need an expanded professionalism. I examined how all workers connected to a mainstream school would need to become 'inter-professionals'. By this I meant that they would need more permeable professional boundaries (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1998) that enabled them to work within their communities.

Through reading the literature for the professionalism module I increased my understanding of performativity, where the demands of accounting for performance dominate and affect the service that is being measured, often with intended and unintended consequences. This has influenced both my thinking and my work. I have often taken up Stephen Ball's (2007) suggestion, at an IOE seminar, that we should challenge the demands of performativity in our daily working lives by interrogating and contesting at every opportunity the endless demands for accountability that are now normalised.

For my first piece of research I chose to investigate what pupils themselves had to say about the benefits of supplementary schools. Evidence of pupil voice was

increasingly required when submitting funding bids, particularly through the commissioning process within the public sector. Fundraising was a critical part of my role so I thought focusing on pupils' views of their supplementary schools would be a good place to start. I have, in fact, used the evidence I found on numerous occasions and learnt that the authenticity of pupils' voices can have a powerful effect on funders. My research found that pupils valued supplementary schools, to learn more about their culture, to communicate with extended family through learning their family language and for friendship. I concluded that the schools met so many aspects of the Government agenda on improving attainment and community cohesion that it should look to supporting supplementary education in a more sustained way.

For my specialist subject I chose to do Contemporary Education policy, as I felt this would help me keep up to date with recent education developments. However, I linked this with my primary interest of parent engagement by reviewing Every Parent Matters (EPM), a document produced by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (2007a) that drew together New Labour policies on parents. I agreed with Bernie and Lall (2008) that schools have to become more parent-centric, particularly for those parents who tend to be less engaged. I concluded that the policy, EPM, was caught between an understanding of the impact of social and economic factors on "disadvantaged" parents and a wariness of challenging middle-class privilege (Whitty 2002, p.123). It provided a series of measures, such as family support workers in schools, which were more like sticking plasters rather than investigating the root causes of inequalities in educational outcomes.

Many parents I work with have little prior experience of the current English education system and so with a colleague I developed a course, the *Power of Parents*, based on the knowledge I had acquired through my studies, which trained parents to deliver workshops to other parents on how they can access information and opportunities from the mainstream education system for their children. This course recognised the parent as a child's primary educator, something that was emphasised in Every Parent Matters (DCSF 2007a, p.9). I continue to deliver workshops and individual support to parents, for example on

admissions to secondary school, understanding school reports and learning about different types of school, particularly since academisation.

For my Institution Focused Study I focused on the engagement of supplementary school parents with their children's mainstream schools. I found that parents wanted more information and more opportunities for dialogue with mainstream school teachers. Despite having high aspirations, parents educated outside the UK do not have the reified (Wenger, 1998) knowledge of the education system that British-born parents have through experiencing the education system themselves. I concluded that there was a need for schools, parents and communities to collaborate to enable systemic change. At this time parent issues were high on the political agenda. The Ofsted inspection framework reflected this priority by including an assessment of a mainstream school's effectiveness engagement with parents and carers (OFSTED, 2010, p.10).

For my thesis I intended to explore White working-class parents' engagement with primary schools and I spent considerable time reading the literature on parent involvement. I became interested in the research emanating from the The Effective Provision of Pre-School Education (EPPE) Project (DfES, 2004), a longitudinal study tracking 3,000 children over a period of 16 years to analyse what interventions contribute to attainment at 7, 11 and 16. The authors, Iram Siraj and Aziza Mayo, went on to develop a number of case studies that looked at children from low social-economic status (SES) who had succeeded above what had been predicted, children from low SES who had succeeded as predicted, children from high SES who had achieved as predicted and children from high SES who achieved below prediction. They analysed interventions that made a difference. Many of those interventions were familiar to me through two of the major programmes within City Partnership where I work. I mapped out their key findings against these programmes which helped me develop the focus for my research as many of the interventions relied on opportunities to develop social capital.

I decided to return to the subject of supplementary schools which I had researched in Modules 2 and 4 where I planned and undertook a study of pupils' views about their supplementary schools. I had also interviewed parents for my

IFS on their attitudes to supplementary schools. I found that many supplementary schools acted informally as a bridge to parental communication with mainstream schools. I therefore, decided to use social capital theory to explore the work of supplementary schools.

I have spent the last ten years interweaving theory and practice. It has been an iterative process as listening to parents has made me think more deeply about theoretical concepts and learning about theoretical concepts has helped me to deconstruct dominant discourses. This has led me to approach every text with added criticality. This has been of great benefit not only to my professional but also to my personal life. In my professional life I have been able to look at papers with a critical eye and have been able to see how policy development is linked to practice, for example my reading of the Munro Review (2011) setting out policy on early intervention helped me to understand why the Early Help department was created in my Local Authority. But I have also recognised how research can enable change. Through my reading of the results from the EPPE project I can see how the outcome of this research has led to the implementation of early interventions, such as the concept of "school readiness" where programmes are put in place to help parents help their children with practices that support transition to school and the implementation of the Two Year Old offer where disadvantaged parents can access 15 hours of nursery education. Understanding how policy discourses are constructed through a "context of influence" (Bowe et al, 1992) and are subject to contestation and disruption when put into practice has helped me to critically evaluate policy development in my workplace as well as in wider society. In particular, I have learnt how to recognise policy contradictions (ibid, p.21). In my thesis I refer to the policy contradictions of the current Government's attitude to single group funding.

The course has had a positive impact on my work through my increased understanding of current policy drivers. This has given me greater confidence, which has led to greater understanding and better judgement about when to intervene to raise issues. I have been able to apply a theoretical and research-orientated eye to all areas of my work. For example, my understanding of outcomes methodology has helped me contribute to discussions at meetings where I have been able to problematise the processes of performativity. I won a

commissioning bid from our local Council for supplementary schools and was able to ensure that the performance monitoring records what is "memorable" as well as what is "calculable" (Ball, p.2007).

I have benefited from additional courses, lectures and seminars at IOE during my period of study. I undertook a supplementary course, Critical Race Theory, led by David Gillborn. I also attended a series of seminars on New Labour education policy. Throughout my career I have witnessed at first-hand some of the effects of inequality that people face. My main interest is on how education can reduce class inequalities and thus have attended seminars on social class and education.

In 2011 I was fortunate enough to attend a study trip to Waseda University through IOE. It was useful to learn about educational systems throughout the world and to learn from students from South Korea and Japan. I presented my work on pupils' views of supplementary schools. In Japan it was common to see pupils in their school uniforms day and night on Saturdays and Sundays. Their supplementary education has been built into the mainstream!

I believe the overall experience of the Ed.D has broadened my knowledge and enhanced my employability as meeting others from all walks of education helped keep me up to date with current education initiatives. As an older employee a lack of awareness of current education policy can be disadvantageous. Studying has helped me to stay in touch and like the young people in supplementary schools kept me ahead of the game!

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction and rationale

This thesis is an explorative study of the potential of supplementary education to generate social capital for pupils, focusing on three supplementary schools in an urban locality in England. Led by parents and the wider community, these supplementary schools offer extra-curricular support and activities outside mainstream school provision. Two of the three schools I focus on serve relatively new migrants (Vertovec 2007, p.9) from Somalia and Sudan, who have settled in the UK over the last thirty years. The third school started as a 'black supplementary school' in its original sense (Andrews, 2013a) supporting children of African-Caribbean origin. It continues to do so, but now, in an environment of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007), attracts pupils from a range of ethnicities who live locally. All three schools serve minoritized (Gillborn, 2008, p.2) communities. I use the term minoritized to reflect "the constructed nature" (ibid) of their minority status. The term highlights the marginalised social positioning of the communities the schools serve.

Supplementary education is generally under-researched and there has been little or no research into whether supplementary schools provide social capital opportunities and the impact these opportunities may have upon the pupils who attend. This chapter sets the context for the study by introducing a brief exposition of supplementary education and an overview of the concept of social capital.

1.2 Definitions and terminology

At the beginning of this thesis I intend to clarify definitions of key concepts used in the thesis. I define a supplementary school and then clarify the definition of social capital I intend to use. The nature of supplementary education and the concept of social capital and its associated dimensions of bonding, bridging and linking capital are more fully explored in Chapters 2.3 and 2.2.

1.2.1 Supplementary schools

The naming of supplementary schools is contested. Other terms used for supplementary schools are madrassa or complementary school. The name madrassa is simply the Arabic for "school". In the UK a madrassa is generally understood as a mosque-based school that teaches Arabic for a religious

purpose, that is, to enable the reading of the Quran, the holy book of the Muslim faith.

Nwulu (2015, p.7) defines supplementary schools as "volunteer-led spaces, offering educational, cultural and language provision for mainly black and minority ethnic (BME) children and young people." Creese et al (2008, p.24) argue that 'complementary school' is the preferred term for policymakers and professional bodies, as the term 'supplementary' has deficit connotations. David (2005, p.72) considers it might be time to drop the term supplementary and propose a new name to sever the association with a problematic education system and give the movement an alternative, more empowered status: "for are we supplementing something that is already wrong, or are we creating something that is new?"

Robertson (2005, p.6) likewise rejects both terminologies as they "locate the mainstream school at its centre". She suggests these two terms "serve the dominating mainstream education system, rather than the minority schools and they play a part in the reproduction of inequality." She uses the descriptor 'community language school'. She believes that the fact there is no collectively-used term is highly significant as the various names,

> serve to emphasise the differences between these schools, rather than identify similarities. This results in further fragmentation of linguistic minority groups and marginalisation of their schools' purposes and values (ibid).

In contrast to Robertson, I believe the distinct naming of an individual school by community members serves as an empowering expression of identity, reflecting the grassroots nature of the schools and the identities of the communities they have grown from. While it is important to consider the politics underpinning this contested term, in this study, I refer to the schools in question as 'supplementary schools', recognising that this is the term of choice by those who organise the schools in the location. The Encarta dictionary defines supplementary as "completing - making up for something that is lacking." I would suggest that this definition comes close to the purpose of **these** particular schools whether it is providing community language teaching, 'lacking' in mainstream schooling or whether it is giving extra help in National Curriculum subjects to redress either a

concern parents have for their children's underachievement or a perceived weakness of provision in mainstream schools. However, when referring to other writers I use their terminology of choice. However, it should be noted that notwithstanding the discussion above about definitions, the terms complementary and supplementary are used interchangeably and so when making reference to either I am referring to the same phenomenon.

My definition of a supplementary school is: community-led provision that offers learning (in its broadest sense) outside the mainstream school day, that is, after mainstream school hours, weekdays and/or at the weekend. A fuller understanding of supplementary education is provided in Chapter 2. As the primary subject matter of this thesis concerns supplementary schools, for brevity, I shall refer to them as schools and will use 'mainstream schools' when referring to mainstream schooling. When using quotations from pupils or parents I will put the referent in brackets to avoid lack of clarity. The following section introduces the concept of social capital which is my main analytic tool. I locate it within the context of other forms of capital.

1.2.2 Social Capital

Here I introduce briefly the concept of social capital and the work of Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam and Woolcock. Further discussion of the concept is presented in Chapter 2.2. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) recognised "capital" as a form of exchange denoting a value. Acknowledging the dominance of economic capital, which he defined as that which can be "directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights" (1986, p.84) he sought to recognise the value of the social world suggesting it should be accounted for through other forms of capital such as cultural and social capital. Bourdieu developed the concept of cultural capital "to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children from the different social classes" (ibid) suggesting it can be passed down through generations, which leads to differential access to education and educational outcomes. He argues cultural capital exists in three forms, institutional (e.g. academic qualifications), embodied (dispositions such as confidence, language and social competence) and objectified (cultural goods such as books, pictures) (ibid).

He introduced the concept of social capital; "social obligations ('connections')" (ibid) to demonstrate how social relationships, developed largely through networks, could increase an individual's economic capital and/or cultural capital, focusing on how elite groups reproduced privilege through social networks (Schuller et al 2000, p.8) and education. Bourdieu argued that elite families used a variety of strategies to improve their social position including the maintenance of inheritance laws, building social networks and mobilising educational resources to advance their and their children's position (Thomson, 2014, p74).

James Coleman, in contrast, applied the concept to non-elite groups and linked social capital with educational disadvantage defining it as,

> the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. (Coleman, 1990, p.300)

When referring to social capital in relation to supplementary education, I adopt Coleman's definition in order to examine the role of this 'set of resources' for the cognitive and social development of pupils. But I also take from Bourdieu's work a focus on how social relationships can be of benefit to the individual in the short or long term. To analyse this 'set of resources' I also apply the work of Robert Putnam (2000), in order to consider the different dimensions of social capital introduced by the concept of 'bonding' and 'bridging' capital: the resources shared within an homogeneous group of individuals (bonding) and networks that include heterogeneous groups (bridging).

Michael Woolcock (2001, p.10) further developed the concept of social capital in his formulation of the power of 'linkages.' He defines linking social capital as, "the capacity to leverage resources, ideas, and information from formal institutions beyond the community." He specifically links the concept to schools suggesting schools which are integrated into the community and encourage parental involvement "actively expand the horizons of students" (ibid, p.6) and are more likely to improve attainment.

Catts and Ozga (2005, p.2) provide a useful summary definition describing social capital as being:

developed in our relationships, through doing things for one another and in the trust that we develop in one another. It helps in bonding fragmented social life; in the bridging of communities to places and contacts beyond their immediate environment and in the linking of people to formal structures and agencies that they may need for help with opportunities for education or employment.

I intend to use this definition as it most closely describes the work that I am generally aware of in supplementary schools and provides a useful framework from which to explore the three forms of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking.

1.3 Context of supplementary education

There are an estimated 3,000-5,000 supplementary, complementary and madrassa schools in the UK (NRCSE, 2015), which provide a range of learning opportunities for children and young people under 19 in addition to their mainstream education. They are primarily parent or community-led and operate at the margins of the education system in the UK (Reay and Mirza, 1997). As discussed above there is not an exact agreement as to what constitutes a supplementary school as each school is unique. They are usually run by a committee of community members, usually volunteers, one of whom is the recognised leader. They may employ a headteacher to coordinate the school and teachers to teach core subjects and/or community languages. Teachers and certainly assistants may also be volunteers.   The grassroots nature of supplementary schools impedes a clear picture of both current and previous schools (Andrews 2013a, p.42). However, of those schools we are aware of, we know there is a wide spectrum, from those that only offer one subject, whether that's a community language or a core mainstream subject such as English or Maths, to schools that offer a wide range of subjects and other activities such as sport, dance and arts. Some schools have developed other services such as health promotion and advocacy. These schools can develop a more stable infrastructure than schools based purely on tuition, as they are able to attract funding to deliver services to disadvantaged communities that public sector organisations find it difficult to reach.

As largely parent-led organisations, schools often respond in their curriculum offer to what parents view as a priority. Similarly, Reay and Mirza (1997, p.484)

found in their study of Black African Caribbean supplementary schools that they grew "out of black grassroots demands rather than as impositions from above." Priorities will also be shaped by parents' own education experiences but they will also take into account comments from mainstream school teachers at parent evenings, for example, about areas of concern in specific subjects. A knock-on effect of their position outside of the mainstream education system also means that the schools are dynamic entities; difficulties in obtaining funding, recruiting staff in core curriculum subjects and the lack of designated venues all affect the organisation of the schools (Walters, 2011, p.165) and can cause periods of instability and even closure.

The third sector organisation I work for has had a long history of supporting small voluntary organisations and in 1995 worked with a group of supplementary schools to set up a consortium to apply for National Lottery funding to establish a partnership for which I am using the pseudonym, City Partnership. The successful bid enabled my organisation to take on a coordinating role to support the partnership I was the coordinator of the partnership for 7 years and now line-manage the current coordinator. City Partnership's role involves organising bi-monthly meetings, coordinating joint funding applications, planning a schedule of training and supporting with quality assurance. Having worked closely with the schools for seven years, I was aware there was a gap in research that reflected the range of work the local schools covered. Increasing pressure from commissioners and funders for evidence on outcomes led me to develop a research opportunity to highlight the work of schools and investigate the possibilities and limitations of their role.

Most of the schools in the partnership were founded approximately 15 years ago when a 'new migration' of peoples from North and East Africa arrived in the locality. These people were mainly from Morocco, Sudan, Eritrea and Somalia and have been described as 'the new immigrants' (Kyambi, 2005, Vertovec, 2007) distinguishing them from previous large scale immigrations of people from South Asia and the Caribbean in the 1950s and 60s (Vertovec, 2010, p.70). It was people from the Caribbean who were responsible for setting up the 1960s 'Black supplementary schools' (Andrews, 2013a).

New migrant parents wanted their children to read and write their first language and this was the impetus for the setting up of the majority of City Partnership schools. Parental expectations of English mainstream schooling were high and it was only over a period of time that parents realised that some of their children were not achieving as well as they expected. Consequently, mainstream school subjects were added to the schools' offering, although this was always subject to the availability of external funding. The schools in the partnership also offer other activities such as sports, arts and general leisure time during the session or on an alternative occasion. There are currently 16 supplementary schools in the partnership.

1.4 My professional involvement/background.

I spent 14 years teaching in three mainstream secondary schools where I undertook roles such as Head of Year and Assistant Headteacher (Community) that brought me into regular contact with parents and the wider community. I became very interested in the role of parents, in particular, Fullan's concept of mainstream schools having permeable barriers with their community (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1998) which emphasises a school's responsibility to reach out into the community. This suggested the importance of establishing a more equal power relationship between communities and schools. I then moved into a post where I developed education projects as part of a ten year community regeneration project in a small geographical area of a large city. The emphasis of the project was to use a grassroots approach to identify barriers to learning and develop solutions in partnership with the local community. I worked with local schools and parents to develop strategies for parental involvement. This gave me an insight into the range of issues that minoritised parents face when engaging with mainstream education. Using this experience I completed a Masters to further explore these barriers. I concluded that parent involvement should be based on the principle of recognising parents as co-educators and efforts should be made by mainstream schools to work in a more collaborative, asset-based approach (Patterson, 2006). I then took up a post where I supported supplementary schools directly.

In the early part of my doctoral career I undertook a study of pupils' views of supplementary schools. My research confirmed Strand's (2007) findings that

pupils were generally positive about their school experience. The comfortable learning environment and sanctuary from peer pressure was appreciated by older boys in particular. I concluded that these schools offered a safe, trusted, learning environment. On reflection, I recognise that these benefits provide examples of bonding social capital, that is, opportunities for "ties between like people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours" (Woolcock, 2001, p.13). After focusing on pupil perceptions, I was curious to explore the role of parents: for my Institution Focused study I interviewed parents about their views of mainstream and supplementary education. I found that parents valued the opportunity provided by the supplementary schools to extend the dialogue on their child's progress, filling the gap where mainstream schools had struggled to provide clear, transparent information on how their children were achieving. My study and experience of supplementary education in this particular area of a large city has provided the strong theoretical and practical basis from which to conduct a case study (Thomas, 2011, p.76).

1.5 Rationale

My study of parenting led me to the work of Siraj and Mayo (2014) who, based on their research on the Effective Provision of Pre-School Education, developed case studies focusing on the children of parents with low socio-economic status (SES) who had succeeded academically beyond baseline expectations. Siraj and Mayo (2014) analysed the interventions that had made a difference and I recognised that many of them were common to aspects of the schools in the City partnership, for example, a sense of belonging in a community, peer support, motivational support from those with a higher education background and peer tutoring opportunities. Siraj and Mayo concluded that offering "additional social and cultural capital … could benefit the child's educational attainment" (Ibid, p.246). I decided to put this theory to the test by exploring in depth how supplementary schools might be purveyors of social capital, particularly at a time when nationally, they were being drawn into negative narratives, framed in terms of segregation and isolation, suggested by some of the discourses of the Prevent[1] agenda (Cameron, 2015).

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[1] Prevent was a strategy set up by the Labour Government in 2006 to deter radicalisation. The Coalition government amended its remit in 2011 to focus purely on counter-terrorism and pass work to support

Supplementary schools have long been judged with circumspect or suspicion by many people outside of supplementary school networks (Mirza and Reay, 2000, p.535) but now they have been specifically included by the Government (Cameron, 2015) in Prevent narratives. However, supplementary schools have also been lauded for contributing to the improvements in Black and Minority Ethnic attainment in recent years (Nwulu, 2015). With these clear differences in opinion on the role of supplementary schools, further research is required to widen the discursive framework around supplementary education. Through exploring the potential for supplementary schools to facilitate social mobility through access to social capital, this thesis seeks to add nuance to existing academic and popular narratives.

1.6 Research focus

This study will investigate the potential for supplementary schools to create 'bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital for pupils and communities. I apply these concepts to the case studies by exploring whether supplementary schools provide opportunities for families to belong to a supportive community where they can benefit from positive relationships with people they trust as an example of bonding capital and examining whether wider opportunities are available with other agencies as an example of bridging capital. I will examine any examples where pupils and/or parents access opportunities that might help them progress in education, training or employment as examples of linking capital. I will examine what impact any examples of bonding, bridging or linking capital found have had on their lives. My research questions are:

1. To what extent are supplementary schools sources of bonding, bridging and linking capital for the pupils and their parents?
2. How is social capital acquired and developed in and through supplementary schools by pupils and their families?
3. What impact does the generation of different forms of social capital have on supplementary school pupils and their parents?

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integration to the Department for Communities and Local Government. The Counter-terrorism and Security Act 2015 placed a duty on schools in England and Wales to prevent young people being drawn into terrorism. It requires schools to identify children at risk of being drawn into terrorism, challenge extremist ideas and make referrals. It placed a duty on Local Authorities to monitor out-of-school settings, such as supplementary schools.

1.7 Supplementary schools in the case study

I have given each school a pseudonym to protect their anonymity describing them as Warida, Marisha and Jadud. Each school was set up originally by people from three respective communities, Sudanese, African-Caribbean and Somali. Like the other partnership schools, over time they expanded to include pupils from other ethnicities usually through pupil and/or parent word of mouth, although all three schools still retain a strong sense of their original ethnic identity. Annual monitoring confirms 99.4% of supplementary school pupils in City Partnership are of Black, Asian or Minority (BAME) ethnic background. Jadud and Warida both have a strong Muslim identity. Strand's (2007, p.17) research has shown that pupils attending supplementary schools often experience extremely high levels of material and social disadvantage. City Partnership's 2015-2016 annual monitoring found 81% of supplementary schools pupils to be living in a super output area[2] with 41% on Free School meals (FSM), a recognised proxy indicator of disadvantage.

For all schools, new members can join at any time in the academic year depending on a waiting list. There is some fluidity in terms of membership as other priorities impinge on the child or family. This may include moving to a different area, common in recent years as many families have been severely affected by changes in welfare, particularly housing benefit caps.

However, other interests may compete, for example, the opening of a new leisure centre or other specialist club that may attract pupils on a Saturday. Parents may 'shop around'; trying several different schools to ensure their child is able to find the school best-suited to them. There are also the performative demands of mainstream schooling (Ball, 2006) which has resulted, from my observation, in more 'top-up' provision after mainstream school and on Saturdays to ensure academic success for the mainstream school, which headteachers hope will result in higher places in league tables and less scrutiny from the inspectorate, OFSTED.

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[2] A super output area is a term used by the Office of National Statistics to define small geographical areas of disadvantage.

In all three schools there is a continuity of teachers as the coordinator and some key staff or volunteers have been involved in the schools for many years and are well known within their respective communities. The following sub-sections introduce each school.

1.7.1 Warida

Warida was set up in 1995 for refugees mainly from Sudan but also from Eritrea, Egypt and Iraq. The school has a coordinator, Faizah, five paid tutors teaching Arabic, Maths and English and numerous volunteers. It meets Saturdays, term-time, from 10am – 3pm. It serves mainly Sudanese families with children of primary and secondary age. It has approximately 80 pupils on its register from the age of 5 to 18 although the majority are between 8 and 12 and have been attending for any time between one week and eleven years.

In the last ten years the school has been housed in four different venues. It has recently moved into a new secondary academy which has contracted its lettings to a private company. This has been an advantage for the school as there was a clear expectation from the inception of this new academy that its building would be fully open to the local community. Also the company is responsible for ensuring the building is ready for mainstream school on Monday morning. This puts the school on a commercial footing and as such it can expect certain standards without feeling in trepidation of the mainstream school. As one of the tutors said of a previous mainstream school venue:

> We were users, just users and they were always angry
> with us for leaving a pencil out, for using a sharpener
> (Huda, Warida)

However, the school suffers from the limitations of using a hired space in terms of restricting the resources available and the opportunities to display children's work (Walters 2011, p.165). The relationship between the mainstream school and the school remains purely instrumental as the latter is a lettings customer.

All pupils study Arabic for two hours and English and Maths for one hour each. The Arabic teachers use a scheme of work that will prepare pupils for GCSE Arabic. Pupils also have one hour of cultural studies where children are taught

Islamic values. The school has access to volunteers provided by a local university who offer Science and individual tuition to GCSE and A level candidates and help with personal statements for entrance to university. The school has a good outcome with 100% of young people who were entered the previous academic year (2015) obtaining A or A* at GCSE Arabic. The pen portrait of a typical day in Appendix 1 reflects the informality of the school which in turn encourages relationships between staff and pupils and their parents that are experienced as less hierarchical than those experienced in mainstream schools.

1.7.2 Marisha

Marisha originated in the late 1980s from a group of parents mainly of Caribbean origin who set up the school due to concerns that Black African-Caribbean children were underachieving in mainstream schools. Its coordinator, Faith, has been involved since the beginning. The school now serves the immediate local community, but retains an African-Caribbean identity. It mainly teaches primary–aged children but retains a small cohort of older pupils. It is based in the basement of a modern building owned by the neighbouring church. Above the school is a church communal area that the school has access to at weekends or school holidays for parties or special projects. The basement has two rooms. One is used as a storage area/office and the other is a classroom with computers around the outside and tables in the middle. It has an electronic whiteboard. The school has a great deal of physical resources in terms of dictionaries, reference books, and Art materials. A small kitchen runs off the classroom. It has a small allotment, ten minutes' walk away, where children are encouraged to grow produce.

The school meets Monday to Friday from 4.30pm to 6.30pm and 10am to 3pm on Saturdays. Children are able to attend any session and most attend on average three sessions per week. Each session consists of homework support, additional help in core subjects and free time to play games, do Arts activities or read from their mainstream school book bag. They also have access to computers. Involvement in other activities depends on the skills and capacity of the current volunteers. Thus the children played football every Saturday for several years as they had a volunteer coach but when she moved on, this stopped. Compared with other schools in the partnership, it has the most concentrated number of children with an identified Special Educational Need.

Similarly to Warida, the pen portrait in Appendix 1 reflects parents' appreciation of a more informal relationship between pupils, parents and staff.

1.7.3 Jadud

Jadud started in 2000 as a football project to keep mainly boys from the Somali community off the streets as there had been increasing problems with petty crime and parents felt their children "especially the boys were led by kids who know the system more than them" (Axmed, coordinator). Three years later core curriculum subjects were added when parents realised,

> Somali children, they were not going nowhere, they were not getting GCSEs … they were not going to college, they were not going to A levels (Axmed, coordinator).

The school focuses on the secondary age range and operates two evenings per week plus small group A level support on a Sunday. Many of its pupils now progress onto higher education. Jadud pupils also act as peer mentors for primary school pupils who attend a sister primary-based school and three ex-pupils now teach there. The school has developed good links with a range of local organisations, including the local youth service, the police and other voluntary organisations. Regular sessions are held on issues perceived by the workers or parents to be relevant like knife crime or drug awareness. The coordinator, Axmed, acts as an advocate supporting parents on mainly housing, immigration and school exclusion issues. The pen portrait at Appendix 1 gives examples of discussion between adults and pupils illustrating the opportunities for intergenerational closure (Coleman, 1988, p.106) which my data reveals. Intergenerational closure describes the links between parents that ensure consistency of behaviour, mutual support and monitoring of all children within the community. Coleman concludes that,

> the existence of intergenerational closure provides a quantity of social capital available to each parent in raising his children-not only in matters related to school but in other matters as well (ibid:107).

Although the schools share many similarities, they all have their unique aspects. The staff, parents and pupils are all key actors who all possess differing perspectives on the benefits of their schools. A multiple case study provides the opportunity to explore these perspectives and is summarised below.

1.8 Methodology and data collection

My research is conducted through a social constructionist lens, which contends that an understanding of the world is constructed and reconstructed on a daily basis through social interactions with other people. Knowledge is contingent on these experiences and therefore fluid and subject to change (Burr, 1995). A qualitative methodology is adopted using a multiple case study in order to drill down to understand the perspectives and attitudes of supplementary school beneficiaries. The methods used include participant observations, group interviews and semi-structured interviews with pupils, past pupils, staff and parents. I have given all organisations and interviewees appropriate pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. The results and discussion of the findings are combined in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. I analyse the data based on the three research questions (see 1.6), which examine the role of supplementary schools as purveyors of social capital. I have identified this potential social capital opportunity in supplementary education as a gap in the research, which the following section explores.

1.9 Gap in the research

Having worked closely with supplementary schools over nine years, it was clear that there was an untold story, a quiet revolution taking place. Against the backdrop of loud policy-making encouraging citizens to volunteer as part of the 'Big Society'[3] (Cabinet Office, 2010), the story of those parents who quietly give up huge amounts of their time to ensure their own children, together with those from the wider community, access extra education opportunities remains unheard. With this lack of policy understanding and the limited literature available on supplementary education in general (Strand 2007, p.2), there remains a wide gap in the understanding of their benefit to pupils and their communities. The concept of social capital does not seem to have been examined in relation to supplementary schools and offers a new lens to examine their role and wider benefits, adding depth to the current literature. In the following chapter I explore

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[3] The Big Society was an initiative developed by David Cameron to encourage volunteers to take on responsibility for community projects/services. It was criticised as a cheap way of providing public services.

the existing literature on the context of supplementary education, identifying potential gaps.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the potential role of supplementary schools as drivers of social capital, using the existing body of literature on supplementary education and the theories of social capital of Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (2000), Woolcock (2001) and Coleman (1988). To my knowledge there has been no detailed exploration of supplementary education as a driver of social capital and the benefits it may have. Thus, this chapter seeks to add nuance to existing understandings of the role of the supplementary school. I will also argue against the understanding of supplementary schools' role as conservative and accommodating to mainstream education because of the common focus on attainment (Andrews 2013a, p.48). In doing so this chapter also seeks to contextualise supplementary education by considering the historical, political and policy contexts in which the supplementary school has developed. I examine the nature of supplementary schools, including themes from current research (impact on attainment, a safe space and site of resistance, the performative mainstream, parent agency) and themes emanating from my own research (extra-curricular activities, reification, inequity and social mobility). I finish with a summary of how this thesis contributes to the literature on supplementary education and social capital.

2.2 Social Capital

In this section I describe more fully the work of the key theorists of social capital describing their contribution and key critiques levelled at them.

Bourdieu developed the concepts of habitus, field and capital as a method for analysing the social world (Maton, 2012, p. 48), to understand "how and why people come to be thinking and acting as they do" (ibid, p. 58) and to demonstrate how our behaviour can replicate certain patterns developed according to our history, our class and (I would add, our ethnicity), often as a result of a hidden set of rules. Bourdieu attempted to expose the basis for these rules through these concepts of habitus, field and capital.

Bourdieu expands the meaning of the term capital from its association with economic exchange in order to make transparent other assets that have value

and which may be 'cashed in' metaphorically. He argues capital presents itself in three different forms, economic (e.g. money and property), cultural capital and social capital, the latter two having the potential to be converted into economic capital, for example through qualifications that enable higher paid work (cultural) or access to paid work through a family connection (social). He clearly recognises all forms of capital as sources of power (Bourdieu, 1986: 84). He describes cultural capital as existing in three different guises, the *embodied* state ("in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body"), the *objectified* state (cultural goods such as pictures, books, machines) and the *institutionalized* state (education qualifications), all of which can be transmitted through the family to future generations (ibid, p.85) thereby reproducing privilege. Thus, "ability or talent is itself the product of an investment of time and cultural capital" (ibid, p.85) and should not be seen as naturally inherent in an individual. The embodied capital is converted into "an integral part of the person," contributing to what Bourdieu describes as a habitus, a "permanent disposition" (Bourdieu, cited in Maton, 2012, p. 55) developed from one's history, family background and education which, affected by the "field," the social space we are based in (for example, a school), influences one's "practice", that is one's actions and behaviour.

As Maton (2012, p. 53) describes,

> each social field of practice can be understood as a competitive game or "field of struggles" in which actors strategically improvise in their quest to maximise their positions.

Actors (individuals, groups or institutions) understand the "unwritten rules of the game" from their own perspective, that is according to their own habitus and through time and experience (ibid 51-53). Actors may experience what Maton (2012, p. 58) describes as "Field-habitus match or clash." They may feel at home in social contexts where their habitus matches the field they are in because they understand or have a feel for what Bourdieu describes as "doxa" or the unwritten "rules of the game"(ibid). Alternatively, an actor may feel out of place because her/his disposition does not fit the social space or field and this is a potential explanation for education inequality between the classes. A middle-class child

with the cultural capital of a middle-class family is more likely to feel at home in the environment of a school dominated by the cultural capital of the largely middle-class professionals who staff it. This might suggest working-class pupils may struggle to fit in and are, therefore, at an immediate disadvantage. Black pupils may be differently disadvantaged as race adds a further dimension as "White power holders may refuse to accept as legitimate the capitals held by Black families" (Vincent et al 2012a, p.342). Bourdieu conceives social spaces as competitive where actors compete to improve their position often utilising their different forms of capital. Black families may well be at a further disadvantage if their capitals are not recognised.

Bourdieu's third form of capital is social capital which he defines as the benefits accruing to an individual through membership of a group (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 88). Groups can be wide-ranging including families, social classes, schools or ethnic groups. He suggests that the "existence of a network of connections is not a natural given" but is "the product of an endless effort at institution" which produces social relationships such as those of a neighbour, colleague or family member that results in exchanges that are usable. Exchanges are controlled by "producing occasions (rallies, cruises, hunts, parties, receptions, etc.), places (smart neighbourhoods, select schools, clubs, etc.), or practices (smart sports, parlor games, cultural ceremonies, etc.)" which bring together the individuals in the group. His focus on the pursuits of the rich have led to criticism that he is reproducing the power relation that he is in fact exposing, as Schuller et al point out he presents "the cultural judgement of the dominant as *the* cultural capital" (2000, p.4). Bourdieu assumes that the cultural capital of the dominant is the only form worth having. His "one-sided emphasis on the merits of social capital" is seen as a weakness (Field 2008, p. 22). I would argue that it is important to understand how dominant capital operates. Deconstructing its component parts may enable a greater understanding from which change can be affected. Also, Bourdieu's analysis of the workings of social capital was an attempt to expose the perpetuation of inequality and the misuse of power. He suggests all three capitals operate as "a set of constraints" or controls (ibid, p. 83) which determine a person's outcomes.

Schuller et al (2000, p.4/5) critique Bourdieu's concept of social capital as undeveloped and difficult to operationalise and suggest the concept is better used metaphorically rather than subject to academic analysis. Given this I am also using the work of both Coleman and Putnam who also used the idea of social capital, but did so differently to Bourdieu.

Coleman applied the concept to families and with specific reference to the development of children he defined social capital as

> the norms, the social networks, and the relationships between adults and children that are of value for the child's growing up. Social capital exists within the family, but also outside the family, in the community. (Coleman, 1990, p.334)

These definitions of social capital by Coleman are particularly pertinent when thinking of supplementary schools. Supplementary schools are community organisations that aim to help develop the cognitive resources of the child or young person through their provision of activities and extra classes. There is some evidence to show that they have advantaged children in terms of results (Evans, 2008, NRC report, 2012) thereby extending pupils' cultural capital in the form of qualifications. Coleman recognises that social capital lies outside the family in the community and found evidence of its value in reducing the probability of dropping out of high school (Coleman, 1988, p.119). He found that Catholic schools with their high degree of communal social capital had far lower drop-out rates compared to both public and private schools. He attributed this to inter-generational closure whereby parents through shared values and friendships provide support and information and effectively monitor each other's children. According to Field (2003, p.23), Coleman concluded that "communities were therefore a source of social capital that could offset some of the impact of social and economic disadvantage within the family." This would suggest supplementary schools could have a role in interrupting systematic disadvantage. My study will examine qualitatively how the resources of supplementary schools afford an advantage for children in the development of their social capital. It focuses on the value for children of the social networks and the relationships between adults and children found in supplementary schools.

Coleman has been criticised for not elaborating specifically on differences in young people's social class, ethnicity and gender (Bassani, 2007, p.19) and for not recognising that "youth-based groups have social capital that is contingent on the social capital that all group members enter the group with" (ibid). This criticism implies that young people are partially dependent on their peers for social capital advantages and does not allow for the influence of staff and the resources of the organisations with which they are associated. Coleman's focus on the social capital provided by the family leads him to make judgements, without any empirical evidence, about both single-parent families and two-parent working families as providing less social capital to their children, due to less time spent on their children because of either fewer adults in the household or working commitments.

It is widely recognised that Robert Putnam, in particular, has popularised the concept of social capital (Field, 2003, p32). Putnam first turned his attention to regional government in Italy concluding that its performance was linked to the quantities of social capital to be found in the regions. He described "horizontal networks" of interpersonal communication that brought together "agents of equivalent status and power" and "vertical" relationships linking unequal agents in terms of hierarchy but recognised that almost all networks have combinations of both (Putnam et al, 1993, p. 173). In *Bowling Alone* Putnam describes the decline of social capital in the US which he puts down to evidence of a declining membership in civic associations which he believes has led to a lack of connections and as a consequence, loss of generalised trust. He gives the example of bowling lanes with television screens above that ensure players "even while bowling together, they are watching alone" and calls for the television industry to "reinforce rather than supplant place-based, face-to-face, enduring social networks" (ibid, p. 411). His solutions to reengage US citizens lie in community service programmes, civic education and engagement, participation in extra-curricular activities, smaller schools, family-friendly workplaces, Arts programmes and democratic reform.

Putnam developed the concepts from his Italian study, the horizontal networks becoming bonding and bridging. He links to Granovetter's (1973) concept of weak or strong ties whereby,

> ""weak" ties that link me to distant acquaintances who move in different circles from mine are actually more valuable than the "strong" ties that link me to relatives and intimate friends" (Putnam, 2000, p.23)

Bonding represents "strong" ties and bridging "weak ties." Putnam describes bonding as a form of social capital that is 'exclusive' in that it is inward-looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups (Putnam, 2000, p.22). This is a criticism that has been levelled at single ethnic organisations (Cherti, p.2008) and is the basis for their inclusion in Prevent narratives (Cameron, 2015, Casey, 2016, p.15). Kwon et al (2013, p.985) suggest homogeneous organisations become isolated and can impede information-flow from wider community groups. However, Putnam also recognises the positive effects of bonding social capital as providing "crucial social and psychological support for less fortunate members of the community" (Putnam, 2000, p.22). Two of the case-study supplementary schools are broadly based on ethnic and religious commonalities and their capacity for bridging or remaining as bonded communities is something I will explore through my research.

Putnam describes networks that offer 'bridging' social capital as 'inclusive' as they are "outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages" and support "linkage to external assets" helping people to progress in relation to the labour market (Putnam, 2000, p.23). Putnam's explanation of the benefits of bridging social capital would suggest supplementary schools could make an important contribution to social cohesion particularly as he recognises there may be a wider benefit to communities as well as impact on individuals (2000, p.20). Zetter et al (2006) suggest that a social capital perspective shows how, "migrant groups are usually able to accommodate multiple social affiliations at different times and at different levels of governance" and thus "can 'cohere' simultaneously to different social worlds and communities; but that this cohesion can also coexist with separateness." This argument challenges the criticism that single ethnic groups in their entirety encourage insularity.

Portes and Vickstrom (2011, p.462) have criticised Putnam for linking increased diversity in the US to a withdrawal from collective life suggesting his studies evidencing the negative effects are due to other variables such as poverty. They

dismiss Putnam's version of social capital as "communitarianism and generalized trust" adding any "supposed benefits are illusory" (ibid, p.469). They put forward that it is not "mutual acquaintance" that supports cohesion but "a set of norms that are understood and accepted by all" which they describe as "organic solidarity." A communitarian perspective with its emphasis on the rights and responsibilities of the individual to the community and the social importance of the family unit (Etzioni, 1995, p. 255-8) has been challenged as encouraging a parent deficit syndrome whereby social breakdown is attributed to family breakdown (Morrow, 1999, p.753). Morrow suggests such conclusions are too simplistic and that account should be taken of "the diversity of family structures and kinship obligations" that exist in UK minority ethnic groups.

Yosso (2005, p.76) suggests that Bourdieu's theory has been used to "assert that some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor" and that working-class cultural knowledge, although very valuable to a student, may not have value in the school setting. She suggests Bourdieu's cultural capital theory places "value on a very narrow range of assets and characteristics" (ibid, p.77) based on White, middle-class values. Yosso distinguishes six forms of capital that make up "community cultural wealth," which she proposes as an alternative to Bourdieu's cultural capital. Aspirational capital is the ability to "maintain consistently high aspirations" for the future of children "even in the face of real and perceived barriers" (ibid, p. 77). Linguistic capital includes "the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language." Familial capital recognises the contribution of the extended family and connections with the community. Social capital recognises the support obtained from "networks of people and community resources." Navigational capital "refers to skills of manoeuvring through social institutions …not created with Communities of Color in mind." Resistant capital includes the actions of parents to encourage children to be oppositional, "consciously instructing their children to engage in behaviours and maintain attitudes that challenge the status quo" in order to challenge inequality. Yosso's six forms of capital are all relevant in varying degrees and I refer to them in Chapters 4 and 5. I could have used them as an alternative analytical tool. However, Yosso's focus is on the cultural wealth within the community itself whereas I wanted to examine links with external

resources and thus chose Putnam's distinction between, bonding and bridging and Woolcock's concept of linking. Both Putnam and Coleman have been criticised for ignoring the effects of gender highlighting "the invisibility of women's work in creating or sustaining networks" (Morrow, 1999, p. 751). Lowndes (2000, p.535) likewise critiques Putnam for his focus on male pursuits such as bowling suggesting relationships created through "friendship, caring and neighbourliness" and child-care networks, all closely associated with the daily lives of women, are equally useful forms of social capital.

Woolcock developed the concept of linking which he recognised as a vertical relationship (in contrast to the horizontal relationships created through bonding and bridging capital) "with sympathetic individuals in positions of power" (ibid, p.11). Woolcock (2001, p.16) specifically links the concept to powerlessness, suggesting a social capital perspective,

> recognizes that exclusion from economic and political institutions is created and maintained by powerful vested interests, but that marginalized groups themselves possess unique social resources that can be used as a basis for overcoming that exclusion, and as a mechanism for helping forge access to these institutions.

Access to bonding, bridging and linking social capital could therefore have an important equalising impact on the less powerful considering Woolcock concludes that "the well-connected are more likely to be hired, housed, healthy, and happy" (ibid, p.5). This argument has also been critiqued for contributing to a 'deficit theory syndrome' obscuring issues of power and domination through failing to address "links between lack of ties to institutional agents, macro forces, and institutional discriminatory patterns" (Dika and Singh, 2002, p. 44). Woolcock defends a social capital perspective by stating that recognition of "social relations as "capital" reflects the reality that our social relationships are what we turn to in times of need" (Woolcock, 2001, p. 14). The tension between the conservative/emancipatory nature of social capital will be explored through my research.

Cross et al refine Woolcock's definition of linking capital (see Chapter 1.2.2), "as cultural practices, knowledge, and relational abilities that enabled them [disadvantaged groups] to negotiate with those in positions of power that affect

their circumstances" (Cross et al, 2012, p.17). They argue that linking opportunities support the development of cultural capital and as such are key to the future progression of children and young people.

Several writers have highlighted what has been described as the "dark side' of social capital" (Putnam, 2000, p.350) where "social ties can be a liability as well as an asset" (Woolcock, 2001, p. 4). Putnam (ibid, p.21) himself referenced anti-social uses of social capital such as membership of gangs or hate groups. Catts and Ozga (2005) recognise that family bonds may be supportive but could also act as a source of pressure to conform. Bassani (2007, p.21) suggests that young people from ethnic groups that are isolated from wider society may be limited by restrictive ties and Field details how social capital can sustain anti-social behaviour (Field, 2008, p.79) as social relationships can "serve to exclude and deny as well as include and enable" (ibid, p.3). My research will also seek to identify any negative aspects of social capital.

A key criticism of social capital theory is that it is tied into a neo-liberal agenda of shrinking state responsibility and that its mechanisms such as networks are simply a replacement of state funding and welfare (Zetter et al, 2006, p.10). It is argued that social capital reinforces social inequality (Field, 2008, p.79; Kwon and Adler, 2014, p.418), as "high-status people benefit from network effects more than their lower-status counterparts" (ibid). Catts and Ozga (2005) go further to suggest social capital theory is used to distract attention from inequality and poverty and may be used to "conceal the effects of 'real' capital and power, and may reinforce a culture of 'blame' on those who fail to observe middle-class norms." They suggest problems lie in the measurement of social capital where indicators such as voting or volunteering reflect middle-class preoccupations thus not recognising evidence of working-class social capital which may be more informal. Indeed, Morrow (1999, p.753/760) warns of the ethnocentrism of discourses on the family and social capital and the danger of slipping into "'deficit theory syndrome,' yet another 'thing' or 'resource' that unsuccessful individuals, families, communities and neighbourhoods lack." Morrow is concerned that social capital theory ignores wider structural constraints which are beyond the control of actors, such as poverty and housing. Loizos (2000, p.126) argues that social

capital should not be seen as a "quick fix" for the effects of poverty which could be more fully rectified by living wage jobs and better housing. Woolcock defends social capital theory against this accusation saying it recognises the "assets" of the community (Woolcock, 2001, p20) and can be "a powerful tool for explaining how and why certain power structures themselves are established and perpetuated" (ibid, p. 15).

The theories of Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam and Woolcock are all pertinent to the work of supplementary schools, which developed as a result of an unequal access to educational resources. Given the issues identified above, my research aims to contribute to knowledge about the role of supplementary schools with a focus on their potential to generate different forms of social capital. During the data analysis I remain alert to the varied usages and emphases of social capital by these authors. I now look further at the context of supplementary schools beginning with their history.

2.3 History of supplementary education

Several writers have charted the history of supplementary schools (Li, 2006, Issa and Williams, 2009, Lytra and Martin, 2010, Maylor et al, 2010, Nwulu, 2015,) and so I only intend to give a brief overview here. I use Gillborn's summary of policy phases to discuss policies pertaining to 'race' and education since the 1950s when there was an expansion of supplementary education (Gillborn 2008, p.73) although, like Gillborn, I recognise that these phases are only approximate and can have many overlaps and contradictions.

Nwulu (2015, p. 13) has traced the history of supplementary schools back over 150 years but the period after the Second World War has been generally recognised as a significant period of growth when refugees from Eastern Europe and migrants from Asian and Caribbean countries set up extra provision to pass on language, heritage and history to the younger generation. The arrival of Caribbeans in the 1950s and 60s led to the establishment of what Andrews (2013a, p.3) describes as 'Black supplementary schools' when migrant families became disenchanted with mainstream schooling. Modood and May (2001, p.306) delineate the community's key concerns with mainstream provision at the time,

> There was the denial of black identity and history, but more important to many African–Caribbean parents was a growing recognition that their children were failing to acquire even the basic qualifications necessary for employment, let alone the social mobility aspired by their parents.

It was at this time, when assimilationist policies dominated, that the first modern wave of supplementary schools was set up by Black communities as a response to discriminatory practices by mainstream schools. Coard (1971) raised the issue of underachievement of black children describing the impact of mainstream schooling on West-Indian children:

> Through the choice of teaching materials, the society emphasizes who and what it thinks is important-and by implication, by omission, who and what it thinks is unimportant, infinitesimal, irrelevant (Coard, 1971, p.31).

As a result, he states, "the Black child is prepared, both by his general life experiences and by the classroom, for a life of self-contempt" (ibid, p.32). Coard called for parents to open up Black nursery and supplementary schools to "give our children additional help in the subjects they need." He added:

> 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 (Coard, 1971, p.39).

He clearly suggests supplementary schools have a dual role in providing extra support in mainstream subjects and teaching the history and culture of the immigrant community; both of which compensate for a perceived failure of mainstream education. These two aims, either separately or together, continue to provide the motivation for the majority of supplementary school provision today.

Hall suggests that "the term "black" was coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalization in Britain" and came to provide "the organizing category of a new politics of resistance, among groups and communities with in fact, very different histories, traditions and ethnic identities" (Hall, 1989, p.441). For black parents "positioned at the margins" (ibid), supplementary schools provided a way of challenging and resisting the dominant regime of education by positioning themselves and their children as active

subjects rather than the passive objects of systemic education practices (ibid, p.442). In my study Marisha originated from this tradition.

After new waves of immigration occurred, triggered by civil unrest, war or economic decline around the world, new communities arriving in the UK established supplementary schools. This period has been described as 'the new migration' encompassing 'new immigrants' from a wide range of countries throughout the world (Vertovec, 2007). In the City partnership, parents who are economic migrants and refugees mainly originated from Morocco, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan. Warida and Jadud were set up during this period.

During a period of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism in the late 1970s to mid-1980s mother tongue support, a central feature of many supplementary schools, was supported by some local authorities both within mainstream and supplementary schools as part of an inclusive strategy emanating from the Swann Report, Education For All (HMSO, 1985), a report arising from an inquiry into the education of children from minority ethnic groups. Support for mother-tongue teaching in mainstream was very patchy, however, and Creese et al (2006, p.24) believe supplementary education "emerged because of a lack of support for bilingual education in the mainstream" suggesting the schools represent,

> attempts to organise themselves voluntarily to privilege
> other histories, languages and cultures not easily
> available to them in mainstream education" (ibid, p.25).

Under New Labour and post 9/11 and 7/7, community cohesion became a dominant policy discourse with an emphasis on "integration" rather than what was seen as "separation" (Commission on Integration and Cohesion (COIC) 2007, p.86). Guidance was issued to mainstream schools on the duty to promote community cohesion which was defined as 'working towards a society in which there is a **common vision** and **sense of belonging** by all communities' (DCSF 2007b, p.3 original emphasis). Lord Adonis, a champion of supplementary schools under New Labour, recognised their strength and diversity and linked their work directly to community cohesion:

> Britain is proud of its diversity, just as our minority ethnic
> communities are proud to be British. Supplementary

schools strengthen and combine these multiple identities
(cited in Ross et al 2008, p.5).

Superficially Adonis is recognising here how supplementary schools are a contribution rather than a threat to community cohesion. At a local level, local authorities were expected to prepare a 'local community cohesion plan' as part of their community strategy, which should include 'the promotion of cross cultural contact between different communities at all levels, foster understanding and respect, and break down barriers' (Home Office, 2001, p.11 quoted in Worley, 2005, p.487). However, Worley suggests the use of the word 'community' in this context is an example of how language is deracialised as "'communities' are talked about, without being named" (ibid, p.485). Worley is criticising here the assimilationist tone of the rhetoric on community cohesion (ibid, p.491). In practice supplementary schools were encouraged to work with mainstream schools but mainstream schools remained on the whole steadfastly inviolate "with supplementary schools remaining invisible and undervalued by the mainstream" (Walters, 2012, p.147).

The language of social capital is prevalent throughout the government's report, for example, "trust in institutions," and it specifically references bonding capital, which "can give people the confidence they need in order to bridge" and bridging capital is defined as "about people from different groups getting on" which was seen as a key to their measure of cohesion (COIC 2007, p.162). The report acknowledges that the Commission "may have its roots in the initial response to 7/7" (ibid, p.15) and refers to the disturbances of 2001 in the North of England. Gillborn asserts that although the new approach was not "*created*" by the terror attacks they, in fact, "provided a new language and the spectre of an iconic threatening racialized Other that served to *justify* further disciplinary policies (Gillborn 2008, p.87).

One of these disciplinary policies was the issue of single group funding, defined as "that awarded on the basis of a particular identity, such as ethnic, religious or cultural" (COIC 2007, p.160). It was argued that groups which reflect a single ethnicity should not receive State funding as they were understood to encourage such groups to lead, what Ted Cantle (2001), the author of the report on the disturbances of 2001, described as "parallel lives" (ibid:9), thereby discouraging

integration. Cantle has challenged the concept of multiculturalism by suggesting it encourages the separation and segregation of communities. For Cantle, bonding social capital is restrictive suggesting "segregated environments that are so 'bonded' to be almost impermeable by outsiders" should be "dispensed with" (Cantle 2013, p.15). He promotes an alternative model, interculturalism, which he says "aims to facilitate dialogue, exchange and reciprocal understanding between people of different backgrounds" (Cantle 2013, p.9). He suggests the key features of interculturalism are a "sense of openness, dialogue and interaction." I suggest such vague principles are as much to do with multiculturalism as to do with interculturalism.

Andrews (2018, p. 257) challenges the perception that separateness is a problem suggesting if that was the case then "the focus of the concern would be entirely with the middle class and their parallel lives." He suggests the concern is ideological, based on a desire for assimilation "trying to ensure that minorities can become sufficiently like White people to be a part of society" (ibid, p. 258). Moreover, he suggests segregation can be a "rational response" where a minority community comes together for support, particularly in the light of discriminatory practices (ibid, p.259). Fraser (1990, p. 67), likewise, recognises the positive force of "subaltern counterpublics" which "emerge in response to exclusions within dominant publics." Supplementary schools could be described as subordinate groups creating their own "counterdiscourses which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs" (ibid).

Our Shared Future (COIC 2007, p.161) advised against single group funding despite recognising single ethnicity groups' potential for "bonding activities", acknowledging, "Those who have bonding social capital are more likely to bridge" and that "Cohesion is higher amongst those who bridge for almost every ethnic group." This was a very good example of policy contradictions (Bowe et al, 1992) where on the one hand the importance of enabling bonding and bridging social capital is acknowledged yet the mechanism to enable this to happen – funding - is denied through a fear of promoting separation. Also the report defines single

group funding as that awarded on "the basis of a particular identity, such as ethnic, religious or cultural" (Ibid, p.160) and yet acknowledges much earlier in the report that people were increasingly recognising themselves as having multiple identities rather than a single fixed identity. The term 'single identity group' is a misnomer as it essentialises a group that will have multiple identities and affiliations.

Others have described what they consider to be both the positive and negative potential of 'single identity groups'. Gilchrist and Kyprianou (2011, p.7) recognise that they may "provide vital emotional and practical support," but suggest they may inadvertently reinforce what they describe as "grievance narratives" (ibid) or deter engagement with mainstream services. I believe there is a problem when generalisations are made about 'single-identity groups' as it puts a cloud of suspicion over them all. Groups may have grievances that are justifiable, for example, based on evidence of institutional racism. In my professional experience 'single identity groups' have increased engagement with mainstream services through bridging their beneficiaries to public sector organisations. I have also found that the move against single group funding has affected the funding criteria of local authority and other grant-givers resulting in an extremely challenging funding environment in addition to the already present austerity measures. Gillborn describes this phase of New Labour's emphasis on community cohesion as a period of "aggressive majoritarianism" where the rights of the White community dominate (Gillborn 2008, p.81). Trevor Phillips' speech 'After 7/7: sleepwalking to segregation' became a rallying cry for anti-Islamic voices that focused on Muslim women's wearing of the veil which led to an increase in racist incidents in public.

The period of New Labour with its focus on community cohesion was followed by an increased public and policy focus on immigration caused by competing philosophies of the Conservative and UKIP political parties in first, a pre-2010 General election fervour and subsequently in a pre-2016 EU referendum battle against a background of increased pressure from terrorist attacks in Europe, extremist practices and war in the Middle East, which have led to the displacement of large numbers of refugees. This has resulted in a concern about 'Britishness' and a corresponding vilification of Muslim identities in the media including an increased focus on what is deemed as 'unregulated' education practices (HMSO,

2015, p.26). Supplementary schools had previously not fallen under any regulatory authority such as Ofsted and a government strategy seeks to regulate them but without any financial commitment or any clear strategy (ibid). Consultation was undertaken on potential regulation in 2016. It took over two years for the report to emerge. The report found only 4.5% of respondents to the consultation had concerns about out-of-school settings and the government stepped back from imposing a mandatory code of practice (DFE, 2018). Meanwhile, funding from the Prevent strategy has been used to develop Madrassa networks, provide training and pro bono website development. They have been attended by madrassas and supplementary schools on a 'voluntary' basis although I would question the voluntary nature of their attendance.

In a climate where parental choice is encouraged through admissions systems and the establishment of free schools and where voluntarism was lauded through Big Society (The Conservative Party, 2010) initiatives, one would think that self-help supplementary schools that "represent a powerful network of grassroots organisations, purpose-driven and responsive to the needs of their community" (Nwulu 2015, p.7) would be feted. However, they have been largely ignored, except for a brief interest by Lord Adonis under New Labour, until recently, when they have become of interest as potential threats to "British values" (Cameron, 2015). They have been specifically mentioned in the most recent version of the Prevent Strategy (HM Government, 2015, p.8) which was set up to tackle radicalisation. The clear association in the Prevent strategy, between Muslim identity and a terrorist threat has been critiqued by Thomas and Sanderson (2011, p.1030) for problematizing,

> Britain's young Muslims as a whole through an anti-terrorism prism that ironically engaged with these young people as Muslims only rather than through other forms of identity and experience that many of them share with non-Muslim young people

This approach has been cited as helping to create, a 'politics of unease' around Muslims in British society, (Archer, 2009, p.332 quoted in O'Toole 2016, p.174), a rise in Islamophobic crime (Open Society Foundations, 2016, p.17) with a "stigmatising impact" on those with an Islamic faith (Zetter et al, 2006, p.3). Gholami, (2017, p.569) suggests that Muslim educational spaces are

problematized in politics and the media "as sites of extremism, or at best as sites of education-gone-bad." Alongside this narrative is a media portrayal of White British ethnicity and in particular White working class boys, as victims (Gillborn, 2015, p.7). Gillborn describes this recent phase as a "monsterisation of race equality" when "almost any reference to race and race equality" is viewed as racist "in that it treats people as members of a racial group and threatens the interests of White people." It is within these hostile political contexts that supplementary schools struggle to survive and where post Brexit, pupils and their parents are subject to "sharper lines of division in what it means to be British" (Gholami, 2017, p.573).

The final phase charting 'race' policy development is what Vertovec (2007) has called "superdiversity" to describe an increasingly diverse migrant population. He has suggested that we are now in a phase of super-diversity where increased "modes of diversity" result from the co-presence of a wider range of people from places around the world who may or may not maintain homeland links. He suggests additional variables, such as, immigration history and status, need to be taken into account in terms of policy making or the planning of services to ensure diverse needs are met. He diverges from Cantle by recognising that bonding activities may not be restrictive. He suggests maintaining homeland links, that is, acting in a "transnational" way does not necessarily mean that a person is less integrated. He maintains that migrants, instead of assimilating fully or preserving one cultural identity, do in fact develop hybrid cultural identities by maintaining "identities, activities and connections linking them with communities outside Britain" (Vertovec, 2007, p.19).

Vertovec's theory is certainly valid in the context of supplementary schools, which by maintaining and developing homeland links, as well as linking with local community infrastructures, may facilitate the development of hybrid identities among their pupils. This counters Cantle's assertion that "the forces of globalisation may cause people to 'hunker down' into their own identities and to build bonding social capital around their own identity group, rather than engage with difference" (Cantle, 2013, p.14). Vertovec's point is further validated by my own experience of working with schools through the City Partnership; even where a school has a history or membership structured around a single ethnicity, this

does not imply segregation, as the schools are always open to those with different ethnicities. Many are also connected with networks, through which they meet with other schools and young people from other organisations. Such opportunities for increased contact between groups in supplementary education would suggest the added value schools provide in terms of building relationships across difference (Allport, 1954, p.21).

The following section examines more fully the nature and characteristics of supplementary education.

2.4 Nature of supplementary schools

Attempts have been made to categorise supplementary schools (Li, 2006, Ross et al, 2008, p.6; Lytra and Martin, 2010) despite recognising the many overlaps the schools have. Different schools will have different emphases which over time will change. I use Nwulu's (2015, p.15) distinction of three key motivations behind the setting up of supplementary schools:

1. "Bridging the cultural and generational gap: conserving and celebrating language and culture."
2. "Bridging the attainment gap: compensating for inadequate provision in mainstream settings."
3. "safe spaces and sites of resistance."

The following sections explore each of these areas

2.4.1 Language and culture

The Black supplementary schools set up post-Coard focused on Black history and culture in order to improve self-esteem and consolidate pupils' Black identity but as Andrews points out their focus was not on the teaching of language or religion (Andrews, 2013a, p.40). However, for the supplementary schools set up by parents from the 'new migration' of peoples in the 1990s, the teaching of the community language and the maintenance of cultural practices was paramount and often provided the original impetus to set up the school. Creese et al (2006) argue that complementary schools reinforce social, linguistic and cultural experiences that are not available in mainstream schools and thus allow fluid and hybrid identities to be formed and performed. They found in their research on two

Gujarati complementary schools in Britain that the schools provided "safe spaces for the performances of different identity positions," which helped pupils to,

> identify with several overlapping cultures including classroom, school, family, heritage and popular youth cultures (ibid, p.41).

Li (2006, p.80) also suggests that many of the latest studies regard complementary schools as "unique contexts – safe space … where transformation, negotiation and management of linguistic, social and learner identities take place." Local Authorities have lost funding through the Education Minority Achievement Grant[4] which supported second language pupils and their cultural contexts in mainstream schools.

Others argue that supplementary schools have a conservative nature due to their reinforcement of fixed notions of identity thereby creating "tensions with the everyday hybrid experiences of young people in a superdiverse context such as London" (Cavusoglu, 2013, p.2). Cavusoglu's argument is premised on the insistence of a school in her research on the pupils talking in Turkish at all times during the school day which she sees as an "imposition of institutional power" (ibid, p.10) and as a barrier to encouraging hybrid or fluid identities. As was pointed out in Chapter 1, every school is unique and it may be that the Turkish school that Cavusoglu based her research on was more fixed in its language ideology than others and may be an outlier. However, it may also be possible that the staff were acting, as she herself acknowledges, to an "ordinary and pedagogically well-informed… rule" (ibid), that is, to learn a language you need to immerse yourself in it.

In general bilingualism has been shown to have a positive impact on cognitive skills and bilinguals' increased metalinguistic skills support the learning of other languages (Datta, 2007, p.23, Cummins, 2001; CILT, 2006). Research has shown that multilingual capacity has an impact on overall attainment and future

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[4] Government funding ring-fenced for Local Authorities to target resources for BME pupils. Devolved to mainstream schools in 2013.

employability (CILT, 2005; Burgess, 2015, p.20). The following section explores how supplementary schools contribute to overall attainment.

2.4.2 Attainment

There is little literature on the impact supplementary schools have on academic attainment because there has been little interest by government that might have encouraged funded and focused research. A robust research project would be costly and complex as it would involve obtaining performance data using pupils' unique pupil numbers from mainstream schools. Maylor et al, (2010, p.146) acknowledge the paucity of data on the impact of supplementary schools on attainment and conclude there is:

> a need for better understanding at a policy level of the added value, and not just in relation to academic attainment, that supplementary schools offer to children's learning. (ibid, p.13)

They suggest the added value lies in the development of positive attitudes towards education, positive identity reinforcement, an increase in self-esteem/self-awareness, an increased confidence in asking questions/speaking out aloud/socialising with others in and outside school and a better understanding of cultural background (ibid, p.168).

Dika and Singh (2002, p. 41) found evidence of a positive link between social capital indicators and educational attainment but concluded "theoretical and empirical support could be stronger." Evidencing outcomes has become a requirement of recent public funding and in recognition of this several charities have sponsored research. On behalf of the John Lyons Charity, a long-standing funder of supplementary schools, Evans (NRC 2012) found the majority of children attending supplementary schools achieved better results than their peers from the same minority ethnic group and children on FSM attending the supplementary schools achieved higher levels of attainment at KS1 Reading and Writing and KS2 English and Maths, compared to the average for children on FSM across the beneficial area.

Evans and Gillan-Smith (2015) completed an extensive piece of research for the Paul Hamlyn Foundation on supplementary schools in England finding that overall the pupils performed better than the comparison group of peers in the same local

authority areas. They also recognised that aside from academic attainment there may be other benefits to learning outcomes and personal development:

> there may be many wider benefits to their confidence, well-being, development of character and skills that we have not considered through this research and which are likely to be as important to the pupils themselves (ibid, p.7).

It was this statement that provided an impetus for the focus of my research. I was aware of a range of wider benefits through my contacts with supplementary schools, but had not explored them in detail.

The third key purpose for setting up a supplementary school is to provide a safe space where a community can build resilience outside the mainstream and the following section explores this purpose.

2.4.3 Safe space and site of resistance

Research has shown that racism and discrimination have not disappeared from the education system and both impact on achievement, particularly of black boys (Vincent et al 2012a, p. 340). In their recent research on the Black middle classes, Vincent et al (2012a, p.142) identified current challenges for Black parents,

> Low expectations on the part of teachers, racism and institutional racism, and stereotypes of black parents as being uninterested in and lacking in knowledge about education, along with teen resistance and the peer group effect

They refer to the plentiful supplies of class-related economic, social, and cultural capital Black middle-class parents draw on which helps them to mediate racism but does not always fully protect them from its effects (ibid, p.147-150). Supplementary schools may provide access to 'protective' social and cultural capital through the opportunities for communities to come together, share intelligence of the education system and by the provision of culturally appropriate language and curriculum tuition.

Andrews (2013a, p.15) describes how racism can be implicit in mainstream schools, arguing that "those who work in and for mainstream institutions adopt positions that are framed by Whiteness." He suggests that institutions, despite having Black or minority ethnic staff, may be dominated by practices that reflect

White hegemony. Gholami (2017, p. 572) found in his research "a dearth of affirming and empowering teaching in the mainstream sector in relation to ethnic minority children." Black communities through supplementary schools are able to deliver a more culturally specific curriculum. Gilchrist and Kyprianou (2011, p.7) emphasise community provision, as a safe space, free from racism:

> Racism, whether openly hostile or lurking in institutional cultures and practices, limits the opportunities and life choices individuals make. Therefore active participation in ethnic community activities and staying in a neighbourhood area where you feel safe makes sense because they ensure access to familiar cultural goods and supportive social networks

Supplementary schools offer good examples of community activities that provide this safe space in a local area. Staff, food, events and other activities will be culturally familiar. Archer et al (2009) in their study of Chinese supplementary schools, recognising learning as a "complex, socially embedded-process," concluded the schools "provided spaces within which pupils could act/try out more 'playful' learner identities than they felt possible or thinkable within mainstream education" (ibid, p.483). Mirza and Reay's research recognised supplementary schools' potential for 'normalising' Black identity,

> 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, p.525).

They recognise the schools provide an alternative to the mainstream school where covert or even overt racism can exist,

> in black supplementary schools can be found a blackness neither vulnerable nor under threat: rather a blackness comfortable with itself …spaces of blackness that held transformative potential for black children (Mirza and Reay, 2000, p.532)

I believe the relationship between the space of comfort, produced through bonding, and the transformative potential of the schools, which I theorise is created through bridging and linking capital, has not been fully explored in the literature.

The following section moves onto a source of pressure that impacts on supplementary education, that of the performative culture of mainstream education.

2.5 Neoliberalism and performativity

The rise of neo-liberal policy with its emphasis on a competitive market has led to the application of market forces to public sector provision. This has led to privatisation, deregulation and increased accountability; all of which has created what Ball (2006) has termed a performative culture where the use of targets acts as a method of 'steering at a distance' the practices of an institution. League tables, parental choice and the disciplinary nature of OFSTED inspections have all led to a focus in many mainstream schools on individual attainment which has led to a move away from collaborative learning (Watkins, 2009, p.22).

A cultural shift towards individualism as well as an 'audit culture' in the UK has led to increased testing and an imbalanced focus on qualifications (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.19) in mainstream schools. This performative culture, competitively focused on individual performance, which has correspondingly structured funding opportunities for supplementary schools, has been identified as a key cause in the shift of emphasis for supplementary education over time (John, 2014 and Maylor et al, 2010). Andrews (2013a, p.49) suggests the impact has been so dramatic that it changed the very nature of Black supplementary schools, with academic attainment superseding any focus on cultural education. He critiques the movement for no longer "indicting the mainstream school system" (Andrews 2018, p.268) and emphasises its conservatism in blaming the community itself for children's underachievement and parents' individual investment in their own children's education.

Ornette Clennon at a conference on supplementary education[5] challenged the sector as to whether it should be buying into a neo-liberal agenda that promotes the supremacy of the market, which itself has deeply embedded structural inequalities. However, it has been argued elsewhere that supplementary schools are in fact a subversive force of collective agency, as Mirza describes,

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[5] Communities in Education Conference 3 July 2015 London Metropolitan University

> For black women strategies for everyday survival consist
> of trying to create spheres of influence that are separate
> from, but engaged with existing structures of
> oppression…Their desire for inclusion is strategic,
> subversive and ultimately far more transformative … In
> certain circumstances, doing *well can become a radical*
> *strategy. An act of transformation."* (1997, p.276,
> 270,274, original emphasis, cited in Vincent 2000, p.101)

Mirza suggests that the actions of parents in collaborating and supporting one another, thereby, enabling their children to do well within current neo-liberal structures is a radical strategy. It is these "spheres of influence" (ibid) I hope to examine in detail in my research. Instead of a conservative agenda with conservative practices that John (2014) implies, the actions parents take to secure an alternative future for their children are recognised as "radical black agency" by Reay and Mirza (1997, p.479). This question as to the radical/conservative nature of supplementary education is one I will examine in my research. It is to parental and community agency that I now turn.

2.6 Parent agency
As parents have an integral role in the organisation and maintenance of supplementary schools the literature on parent agency and involvement in education is pertinent to my research.

2.6.1 Concerted or active cultivation
Lareau (2011, p.4) suggests middle-class families cultivate the dispositions of their children in a process she describes as "concerted cultivation" whereby parents enhance their children's development through a wide range of activities including Music, Sports, Arts and extra tuition. Lareau also notes particular styles of interaction with children including encouragement to engage confidently with education and health professionals. According to Lareau, children who have experienced concerted cultivation are more likely to adjust to the demands of mainstream school because they match "a dominant set of cultural repertoires about how children should be raised" that exist among professionals (Lareau, 2003, p.4). They avoid a field-habitus clash (Maton 2012, p. 58).

Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.248) highlight the success of some parents with low SES. They develop the concept of "active cultivation" to describe the practices of parents who, lacking equivalent social and cultural capital of the middle classes,

"used their own experiences, resources and strengths to cultivate their child, but often in a less obvious way than the high-SES parents." Bourdieu asserts that the work of making connections is not profitable "unless one invests in it a specific competence (knowledge of genealogical relationships and of real connections and skill at using them, etc.) and an acquired disposition to acquire and maintain this competence" (Bourdieu 1986, p. 93). It is this focused action that Lareau highlights as "concerted cultivation" as opposed to the more haphazard actions of low SES families.

Supplementary school staff and parents have a complex demography (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.10). Coordinators are more likely to have worked in professional roles pre-migration. However, as refugees in the UK they have often assumed working-class jobs. They live in disadvantaged areas; they experience all the inequalities a poor working-class person might. Many of the parents I interviewed have a mixture of working-class and middle-class origins and capitals that result in a unique positionality. However, their education behaviours, including prioritising supplementary education, have much in common with the practices of concerted cultivation or active cultivation that Lareau and Siraj and Mayo denote: through supplementary education, parents choose to provide additional learning to their children beyond mainstream provision and seek to stimulate holistic child development by improving academic and social skills. How far parents are concerted or active in their parenting will be explored in my research.

What Siraj and Mayo do highlight is the benefit of community resources,

> These friends and support networks were available in many low-SES families with children who 'succeeded against the odds' and high-SES families in general. Family support networks offered additional social and cultural capital that could benefit the child's educational attainment (ibid, p.246).

Supplementary schools are concerted attempts by parents to offer these support networks to their own community and often to the wider community. The difference with Lareau's concerted cultivation is that through a supplementary school, parents will seek to cultivate not only their own children but **also** those of the extended community.

A note of caution must be added however; Bennett et al (2012), in their research, remind us that it is economic and structural barriers that prevent working-class families accessing many extra-curricular activities suggesting mainstream schools "can serve as both levellers of class differences in structured activity participation as well as contributors to such differences" (Bennett et al, 2012, p.148). As local authority funding for extra-curricular activities through the Extended Schools' programme[6] has been reduced (Chanfreau et al, 2016), the role of supplementary schools could be increasingly significant for Black and minority ethnic families.

2.6.2 Parent involvement

Vincent (2000, p.Xii) suggests there is a "degree of passivity which describes the relationship of most citizens to the public sphere" and that there are few examples of collective parental participation at any level of the UK education system (2000, p.5). She suggests "locally based educationally oriented organizations" should be recognised as developing more inclusive educational spaces (2000, p.1) with supplementary schools as part of the "collective lay mobilization on educational issues" although recognising "these do not necessarily see campaigning or influencing policy as a major part of their role." Vincent describes here the purposes of many supplementary schools (including the three case study schools). It is generally recognised that supplementary schools do not prioritise campaigning (Vassie, 2016, p.14) although there are some 'Black' supplementary schools that continue to have a campaigning role, particularly within the umbrella organisation of the National Association of Black Supplementary Schools (NABSS).

Vincent and Warren (2000, p.125) recognise "from a parental perspective, [mainstream] schools can seem impermeable and inaccessible." They suggest that the difficulties refugee families face, reflect the difficulties of many disadvantaged parents, particularly those from Black and minority ethnic groups. Vincent points out that mainstream teachers may spend little time in the community the school is based in and thus would be unaware of community provision. Vincent suggests that for teachers, isolated from local cultures,

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[6] The Extended Schools' Programme was instituted by New Labour to open up mainstream schools to provide support for working families by providing activities outside core school hours.

religions or languages, it is harder to foster links with parents (Vincent, 1996, p.77) and that this leaves "minority parents, who may have been educated in different, and often more formal school systems, disenchanted" (ibid). She found in her study of parent-teacher relationships that "some parents had internalised their exclusion to such an extent that they exhibited considerable uncertainty about approaching teachers" (Vincent, 1996, p.109). Staff in supplementary schools, on the other hand, are usually part of the communities they serve.

Black supplementary schools were set up primarily in response to racism within mainstream education in the 1960s. Over 50 years later Vincent et al in their research on the education strategies of the Black middle classes found respondents' experiences that pointed "to the continued salience of institutional racism as a central part of their interactions with education" (Vincent et al, 2012b, p.11). For Black middle class parents the education system is perceived as "a high-risk site, and therefore one that is paramount for parents to try to manage and monitor" (Vincent et al, 2012b, p.13). It is not surprising then that some Black and minority ethnic parents of all classes turn to supplementary schools where they have the opportunity to talk to teachers many of whom share their own ethnic background.

2.7 Declining attendance
Andrews refers to the declining attendance in Black supplementary schools (Andrews, 2013b, p.38) giving reasons such as the replication of mainstream teaching leading to pupil boredom, the rise in attainment in mainstream schools, the rise of private tuition and changes in public discourse from institutional racism to those implying parent deficit. However, Andrews' research was based on Black Caribbean schools. In the partnership of supplementary schools with which I work, attendance has remained stable over the last ten years. While two long-standing schools have closed (both Moroccan), two new schools have opened (Arabic-speaking and Kurdish). I suspect the reasons for declining attendance and closure of schools is linked to the length of time communities arrived in the UK with more recently arrived communities being especially enthusiastic.

2.8 Extra-curricular opportunities
Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.217) found children who were succeeding against the odds from low SES families were the ones most commonly encouraged by

parents to participate in extra-curricular activities. They contend that children growing up in disadvantaged circumstances,

> depend on opportunities to participate in proximal processes that stimulate and facilitate the development of the particular skills, attitudes, behaviours and self-perceptions that contribute to spurring on their academic success" (ibid, p.126).

They break down the factors that lead to academic success, some of which are enabled through supplementary education. They suggest an ability to make friends and sustain friendships was good for children's wellbeing and mixing with more academically successful peers all helped children (ibid, p.229).

They found that having friends in school helped pupils to feel 'comfortable', 'confident', supported' and 'not alone' all of which helped them in the learning process (Siraj and Mayo, 2014, p.220). This certainly chimes with my own earlier research on what pupils valued about supplementary schools, namely a comfortable place to be where you could ask a question without worry (Patterson, 2009). This could be described as an example of "bonding capital" (Putnam, 2000).

In their study, Siraj and Mayo, (2014, p.246) recognise "family support networks offered additional social and cultural capital that could benefit the child's educational attainment." They make a list of recommendations for future policy and practice (ibid 2014, p.253). Despite specifically mentioning that 'significant others' from broader social or cultural communities could have an impact on children who were not 'succeeding against the odds' their recommendations are primarily aimed at mainstream schools. They do not suggest ways that alternative learning experiences could be supported. My study explores in depth the work of an example of these 'significant others', that is, the work of the three supplementary schools.

As noted above, Bennett et al (2012, p.131) suggest that there is evidence disadvantaged groups participate less in organised activities and as participation has been shown to affect college attendance and destination, that "organized activities become a mechanism through which social inequality is maintained and reproduced." They found that mainstream schools were critical in providing

access to extra-curricular activities to all class groups but working-class youth had far less access to activities outside of school due to financial constraints and there being less prevalence of structured activities in working-class neighbourhoods (ibid, p.132). Bennett et al also suggest that parents' attitudes towards organised activities are shaped by their concerns of neighbourhood danger and those in disadvantaged areas were more likely to act in a preventative way by keeping their children at home (ibid, p.133). For these reasons, supplementary schools, located in pupils' neighbourhoods, may offer valuable access to resources such as activities and information to parents.

2.9 Reification

I use Wenger's theory of participation and reification to discuss the social relations within supplementary schools and parents' access to education information. Wenger (1998, p.54) suggests that "Meaning exists neither in us, nor in the world, but in the dynamic relation of living in the world." Applying Wenger's theory to education implies that a child's experience in a school, be it mainstream or supplementary, will be in a context dominated by many factors such as, the organisation of the school, the background, experience and training of its staff and what else might be happening in the world. The child may be in more familiar territory within the supplementary school. Certainly the parent will because of a familiarity generated by shared ethnicity, language and religion although as Cantle has pointed out variations within ethnic groups can be as great as those between them (Cantle, 2013, p.5).

Wenger suggests a person's ability to interpret something, be it a product or a process, reflects the relations that the product or process and the person have to particular practices. A parent or child will contribute to the negotiation of meaning "by being a member of a community and bringing to bear her history of participation in its practice" (1998, p.55). The product or process reflects "aspects of practice that have been congealed in it and fixed in its shape," which Wenger describes as "reification". Wenger suggests that it is in the convergence of participation and reification where the negotiation of meaning takes place. To give an example, parents who were educated in their country of origin understand assessment through their own experiences. Parents, who were educated in Sudan or Somalia, will have experienced a system where pupils only moved up

in year groups when they had passed an annual test. In the UK every child moves up year groups notwithstanding their academic attainment. This process is so well known that it has become reified. It is not shared as it is assumed that every parent is aware of the process. Wenger suggests that "reification must be reappropriated into a local process in order to become meaningful" (Wenger, 1998, p.60). Supplementary schools may offer an opportunity for aspects of the education system to be made meaningful through the sharing of information through networks.

2.10 Inequity and social mobility

Recent studies have shown that the achievement gap has narrowed for some migrant groups with only Somali and Turkish pupils performing below the national average (Nwulu, 2015, p.5). Despite this narrowing of the achievement gap, BME pupils' post 16 and post 18 outcomes show evidence of continuing disadvantage and inequality (Nwulu, 2015, p.20) with BME students less likely to be offered a place in a Russell group university and more likely to face higher unemployment rates (ibid, p.2, Cabinet Office, 2017). In addition, "private school pupils are 55 times more likely to end up at Oxbridge than a student on free school meals" (The Sutton Trust, 2014, p.9).

Wacquant reminds us that inequality can be pervasive and unobtrusive, "Inequality in…education appears to be rooted in the very structure of the school space" (Wacquant, 1989a, p.212, cited in Reay 1998, p.62). The effects of this inequality are felt by BME parents who look for strategies, such as supplementary education, to combat this oppression.

Other forms of support that may reduce inequality in attainment have largely disappeared. Support for migrant pupils through the ethnic minority achievement grant has now largely diminished as this money has not been ring fenced in mainstream school budgets. BME pupils eligible for FSM may receive support through the pupil premium[7] but this is through the direction of the school and there are suggestions of its limited effect (Ramalingham and Griffith, 2015, p.6).

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[7] Pupil Premium is funding devolved to mainstream schools to target resources on pupils eligible for free school meals and is an attempt to reduce disadvantage.

The economic benefits of social mobility have been well evidenced (HMSO, 2013, p.10, The Sutton Trust, 2010, p.5). The UK government is currently not on track to meet its child poverty target by 2020 (HMSO, 2013, p.15) and "together with high youth unemployment this condemns the UK as a low-mobility society" (ibid, p.17). The Social Mobility Commission's assessment is that, "we remain a divided country, with disadvantage still strongly shaping life chances" (ibid, p.18). As noted above, Strand's research has shown that pupils attending supplementary schools experience extremely high levels of educational disadvantage, well above the national average (2007, p.1). Annual monitoring of City Partnership schools show 81% of children live in an area recognised as disadvantaged and face the challenges associated with living in a high density community with multiple disadvantage.

There is much discussion in the Social Mobility Commission's assessment on the methods for improving social mobility in the UK, such as widening access to higher education, extending work experience opportunities, outlawing unpaid internships. However, there is little on the social capital opportunities for improving social mobility except in the Appendix to Chapter 3 of the report (HMSO, 2013) that refers to child poverty in Scotland which has halved in the last 15 years and where progress on social mobility has been more rapid than in any other area of the UK. Here social capital is included as part of an asset-based approach, one of three underlying principles aimed at tackling poverty:

> **An asset-based approach:** building on the skills, capabilities and social capital of people in poverty to enable them to increase their income (as opposed to a 'deficit approach' focused only on barriers and seeing people as passive recipients of support) (HMSO, 2013, p.109).

Supplementary schools certainly take an asset-based approach, building on the skills and capabilities within the community to support positive outcomes for pupils. Zhou and Kim (2006, p.6), for example, suggest that Chinese and Korean supplementary schools are part of the "community forces" that "shape an ethnic group's orientation toward social mobility" and "mediate the process of social capital formation in the community" finding evidence of the schools' contribution to students gaining "entrance to prestigious colleges in disproportionately large numbers" (ibid, p.24).

They conclude that,

> Local social structures must be strengthened in order to sustain community forces that value education and facilitate the formation of social capital conducive to education (ibid, p.25).

A study that looks at the social capital opportunities in supplementary schools may be useful to alert government to the possibility of supplementary schools contributing to an increase in social mobility although we should be mindful of the criticism of Zetter et al (2006, p.20) that social capital should not replace basic welfare entitlements.

2.11 Conclusion

Nwulu (2015, p.11) has described the "unequal life outcomes of BME pupils" as a "neglected current area of public policy." Supplementary schools have not been included in government education policy despite being in a position to impact on BME pupil outcomes.

Gholami (2017, p.567) suggests there is some urgency to develop new theoretical frameworks to understand supplementary education in view of the increase in public Islamophobia. These are issues which I take up in the course of this thesis. There has been little literature on the capacity of supplementary schools to be engines of social capital despite their utilisation of many of the components of social capital, such as trust, networks and the importance of relationships. I have therefore used the concept of social capital to explore one dimension of the impact supplementary schools can have on pupils.

Nwulu (2015, p.26) suggests that supplementary schools are likely to "have an impact on young people's broader cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, including social and emotional wellbeing, and social and cultural capital" but that studies "have not sought to understand this impact." She suggests that "there is an array of less obvious advantages to supplementary schools that tend to be overlooked by those outside the sector" (ibid, p.29). This thesis seeks to understand the impact and explore some of these less obvious advantages and any disadvantages.

Bourdieu (1986, p.89) emphasises that a network is not a "natural given" but is "the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term." My study will examine the investment strategies of the schools and seek to understand how far the social relationships gained in them are productive in the short and longer term. My research questions will therefore focus on sources of bonding, bridging and linking capital, how these capitals are developed in supplementary schools and what impact they have on pupils. The following chapter sets out my methodology for exploring these areas.

Chapter Three: Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology and examines the epistemological and design frameworks underpinning this research. My approach is rooted within the epistemological framework of social constructionism. It applies the concept of social capital, developed by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990), Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001) as a theoretical framework. A multiple case study is adopted as the design framework, for which the research methods include participant observation, semi-structured interviews and group interviews. This chapter will also explain the main concepts used to analyse the data and consider the ethical issues arising from the methods, for example my positionality as a researcher.

3.2 Epistemological context

As a social constructionist, I approach this study of supplementary school education with an acute awareness of the influence of the subject position and the artificiality of social categorisation. Burr (1995) has comprehensively summarised the critical features of social constructionism fundamental to the approach adopted throughout this study and I aim to apply the core principles, as set out by Burr, for the purposes of this study.

The first principle is the adoption of "a critical stance towards our taken-for granted ways of understanding the world (including ourselves)" (Burr, 1995, p.2). In other words, social constructionism challenges us to question the basis on which we view the world. Social constructionists seek to understand how people use categories to build an understanding of the world around them, and suggests that these categorisations are man-made and "and do not necessarily refer to real divisions" (ibid). This thesis adopts this core principle by challenging the essentialist divisions of 'ethnic categories' and aligning with Vertovec's (2010) conceptual framework of 'super-diversity', outlined in Chapter 2, which emphasises the multi-dimensional nature of diversity. Hall (1989, p.447), for example, suggests that the term "Black" is a "politically and culturally *constructed* category" and rejects a definition of ethnicity that is reductive and expands the notion of ethnicity to recognise,

> That we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular culture, without being contained by that position as 'ethnic artists' or film-makers. We are all, in that sense *ethnically* located and our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are.

This theoretically opens up the concept of ethnicity to include additional aspects of identity formation, including diaspora influences, transnational practices and homeland links. Carter goes further to suggest that the new world of global capitalism and interconnected systems destroys the concept of "territorially fixed communities and of a local knowledge capable of producing relatively stable and clear-cut identities" (Carter, 2003, p. xvii). Theoretically, this expansion of the construct of ethnicity is relevant to an analysis of Supplementary schools, which may be superdiverse. Gholami (2017, p.576) recognising the diasporic influences on supplementary schools has called for their renaming as "diasporic schools." Marisha was the most ethnically diverse with interviewees representing the following ethnicities: Black Caribbean, British Moroccan, Moroccan, Ethiopian, Eygptian, Somali, Moroccan-Iranian, Cambodian-Moroccan, Cambodian, Arabic-Scottish and Caribbean-White British. Warida and Jadud despite on the surface representing a single ethnicity, Sudanese and Somali respectively, included a wider range of ethnicities notably Moroccan, Pakistani, Algerian and Eygptian as well as pupils' hyphenated ethnicities.

The second principle of social constructionism contends that an individual's way of understanding is a product of their own culture and history and is "dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture at that time" (Burr, 1995, p.3). This applies to my thesis, for example, in terms of how parents from different cultural contexts and educational backgrounds will vary in how they access and experience mainstream English education processes, which may impact on their children's overall and long-term educational outcomes. Parents, through their bonding experiences in supplementary schools, are potentially able to share knowledge and make sense of some of the structural barriers they face, for example, the complexity of the mainstream school admissions system. This principle of social constructionism also applies to my own subjectivity as a researcher, viewing the data within a

specific context and time period as a White, monolingual, British, professional, female teacher. My positionality as a teacher, for example, could influence what I see as the functional role of supplementary schools – a psychologist or a paediatrician may see their role completely differently in terms of benefits and what the schools aim to achieve. I explore my positionality further in section 3.9.

Burr emphasises an important tenet of social constructionism that,

> There can be no such thing as an objective fact. All knowledge is derived from looking at the world from some perspective or other, and is in the service of some interests rather than others (Burr, 1995, p.4)

This echoes Foucault's theory of power/knowledge where "power is everywhere" and "comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1998, p.93). Thus, social interactions are not reducible to "a binary structure" with "dominators" on one side and "dominated" on the other, but rather a multiform production of relations of domination (Foucault, 1980, p.142). Power and knowledge are interconnected and are embedded "in practices of control and their related forms of resistance" (Power, 2011, p.39). The theory is pertinent to my thesis, for example, supplementary and mainstream schools could be described as institutions of power whereby staff have power to impose their own knowledge systems on pupils. Mainstream and supplementary schools are also in a power relationship with each other which may be explicit or implicit. The supplementary school staff are in positions of power in the schools relative to the children and parents but may be more marginalised outside of the school sites. In their communities, however, they could be described in the words of Foucault as "people through whom power passes" (Foucault, 2001, p.356) and thus have the potential of being transformatory or the opposite or somewhere in-between.

Francis and Archer (2005, p.31) use Foucault's theoretical framework to posit that "the performance of gender identities is inextricably bound up with the enactment of relations of power" (ibid, p.32) and I would suggest the same could be said of learner identities, which are shaped by the system, the teacher and peers and then policed through regimes of self-surveillance (Foucault, 1977, p.148). In line with a social constructionist approach I argue that learner identities are not pre-determined or fixed but are constructed through social structures, in

this case a school, which results in the reproduction of power relations. Examples in mainstream schools include rigid setting, teaching that focuses primarily on testing, high entrance requirements for sixth form study, all of which have the potential to affect pupils' learner identities.

The final principle of social constructionism relevant to this thesis is that our knowledge of the world is constructed and reconstructed on a daily basis though our social interactions with other people and this is how "our versions of knowledge become fabricated" (Burr, 1995, p.3). This is important to be aware of when conducting interviews within a short time frame, and highly relevant in the supplementary school context, where the interactions between pupils, parents, mainstream school, teachers and community members are constantly influencing and creating new 'truths' which then influence the behaviour and perspectives of all actors.

By analysing the significance of "the social practices engaged in by people and their interactions with each other" (Burr, 1995, p.5) social constructionism provides a natural lens for a study of social capital with its focus on the connections between people. The following section explores the concept of social capital as the theoretical framework for this thesis.

3.3 Theoretical framework

I am using a theoretical framework based on the theories of social capital developed by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990), Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001), described more fully in Section 2.2, to explore whether supplementary schools act as networks that provide value to those who participate in them. I briefly discuss here the difficulties in measuring social capital and focus on the types of social capital that I use as my analytic tool, namely bonding, bridging and linking.

It has been broadly recognised that the measurement of social capital is extremely complex and potentially costly (Catts and Ozga, 2005; MacBride, 2012, p.99). Researchers have challenged the large scale measurement such as that provided by Putnam (Morrow, 1999, p.752; Zetter et al, 2006; Portes and Vickstrom, 2011) and the transferability of the concept from the US to the UK (Morrow, 1999, p.751; Bassani, 2007, p.31) due to the cultural differences

between the two states (levels of violent crime, history of race politics, and differing types of economy). McGonigal et al (2007, p.78) cites a lack of empirical evidence, particularly in relation to education, suggesting the concept should be applied to mainstream schools in order to identify community resources available to them. I use the concept of social capital partly, as Morrow (1999, p.757) recommends, as "a heuristic device for exploring processes and practices that are related to the acquisition of other forms of capital" such as cultural capital.

In particular I use the concepts of bonding and bridging (Putnam, 2000) and linking (Woolcock, 2001) to map evidence from the three case-study schools. As a reminder from the previous chapter, I use Catts and Ozga's description of different types of social capital (2005, p.2):

- Bonding social capital is characterised by strong bonds among group members…It is valuable in building a sense of shared identity and security.
- Bridging social capital is a resource that helps people to build relationships with a wider, more varied set of people than those in the immediate family or school environment.
- Linking social capital connects individuals and agencies or services that they would not otherwise access easily.

I will identify examples of strong bonds within the communities of the supplementary schools, examples of relationships made outside the immediate community (bridging capital) and examples of linking capital where pupils and/or parents have benefited from "valued relations with significant others" (Barry, 2012, p.57). I recognise that Yosso's model of community cultural wealth is also pertinent to this thesis. Her concept of familial capital is similar to Putnam's bonding. Yosso's concept of navigational capital shares some characteristics of Woolcock's linking capital in its emphasis on "manoeuvring through social institutions." I focus on bonding, bridging and linking as together they provide an oppositional narrative to the current media narrative of segregation and cultural isolation levelled at supplementary education (Sellgren, 2015).

I use Bourdieu's analysis of how privilege is reproduced through understanding the 'rules of the game'. I also use Foucault's theory of knowledge/power as set

out in Chapter 3.2 to examine how educational spaces, become "fundamental in any exercise of power" (Foucault 2001, p.361). I hypothesise that social capital developed through the supplementary schools leads to increased access to those forms of cultural capital that are valued in the fields of mainstream and higher educationI now turn to my research design to explore this hypothesis.

3.4. Research design framework

This study adopts a qualitative research design framework, utilising multiple case studies to explore social capital within supplementary school contexts. Schuller et al (2000, p.4) raise "the problem of operationalizing non-tangible 'capitals,'" such as social capital, and the corresponding methodological challenges in measuring them, particularly through quantitative methods. Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.4) also suggest the limitations of quantitative research,

> quantitative research cannot provide the explanations, illumination and insights that rigorous in-depth case studies can, through their focus on the authentic voices of individual children, families and teachers.

Supplementary schools in the main do not have the organisational infrastructure of mainstream schools that support their capacity for monitoring and evaluation, necessary for large-scale quantitative studies. A qualitative study that drills down to explore the wider benefits of three supplementary schools will add to the research literature and body of knowledge. My questions are exploratory and thus potentially I could have used a variety of research strategies, for example, surveys. However, I had undertaken surveys in the past with little success. Answers were cursory, partly due to language barriers but also questionnaire fatigue. The strength of a case study is "its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence" (Yin, 2003, p. 8). This approach allows me to use interviews and observations to distil a variety of evidence that might help me understand how supplementary schools supported children (or not) over time. As Yin says, ""how" and "why" questions are likely to favour the use of case studies" (ibid, p7). A case study enables the researcher to make "a concentrated inquiry" (Stake 2005, p. 444) through focusing on a smaller number of sites in depth.

The disadvantages of using a case study research strategy is that it can be considered to be less robust because there are fewer "systematic procedures" (ibid, p.10) and the possibility that "biased views…influence the direction of the findings and conclusions." As a researcher I made continuous efforts to be reflexive in order to eliminate potential bias but also to ensure I was ethically responsible, elaborated in Chapter 3.9. I also ensured I followed good practice guidelines as set out by BERA (2011) and BSA (2002) and approached the research with transparency. Another concern is that you cannot generalise from a single case. Yin makes the point that multiple case studies can help to make the evidence more compelling (ibid, p. 46) although they can be extremely time consuming.

I am, therefore, using a multiple case study approach to place children, families and teachers at the centre of this narrative and explore social capital processes in greater depth. As a research design, the multiple case study is of greater benefit to the researcher than a single case study as it provides a broader and more robust body of evidence from which to draw conclusions. Yin (2009, p.61) suggests that there are substantial benefits to multiple case study approaches, as single case study methods may be subject to criticisms of uniqueness particular to specific conditions attached to the case, for example, the special interest of a particular member of staff. With multiple case studies, similarities in findings between cases can support the validity of research conclusions. Building a comparative approach into the research design may further improve the validity of findings, for example, by having "a set of linked case studies which share important characteristics" (Robson, 2007, p. 42 and 63). The three cases share similar characteristics as supplementary schools, that is, they are community-led and community–based provision that fall outside the mainstream school day but as each school is unique they will also have dissimilarities. Themes from my research might also apply to other schools beyond my remit of study.

In conducting case study research, I have adopted Simons (2009, p.21) approach whereby the case study serves as an "in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real life' context". I selected this approach as it is particularly suited to the varied nature of supplementary education: every

school is unique and can be understood from the different subject perspectives of pupils, parents and staff. The multiple case study method allows for a nuanced exploration of these perspectives to understand the unique and similar features of each supplementary school in a 'real-life context' (Yin, 2009, p.20) and to explore the potential for social capital opportunities for beneficiaries. For this reason I do not intend to generalise. Instead I aim to use in-depth analysis of each of the three schools in order to provide some preliminary conclusions as to how social capital might operate within similar institutions.

Thomas (2011, p.14) distinguishes between the subject and the "analytical frame or object" in case study research. He suggests a case must be a case *of* something and it is this "analytical focus that crystallises, thickens or develops as the study proceeds." My subject is the three supplementary schools and my analytical framework is the focus on social capital generated by the activities of these schools. This involved examining the particular features of the schools, how and why they started, whether their purpose has changed, the activities of staff and volunteers and the benefits for pupils and parents.

3.5 Case Study and Participant Selection

I selected three schools through my professional contacts in the City Partnership. To provide a more robust evidence base, I selected three schools that broadly represented the main categories of schools I identified in City Partnership. The three categories are: ethnicity-based schools where teaching a community language is the main motivation (Warida), generic schools that serve the immediate neighbourhood (Marisha) and ethnicity-based schools where the main motivation is supporting mainstream curriculum subjects to boost mainstream attainment (Jadud). There are 18 supplementary schools in the partnership of which 11 are in category A, 1 in category B and 6 in category C although it must be recognised there are overlaps. I undertook a purposive sample of each category.

All schools are located in a multiple disadvantaged super output area, although it should be recognised there are specific complexities in analysing migrant social class (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.34), for example, Tereshchenko and

Cárdenas (2013, p.459) found "a recognised tendency for deskilling of adults after migration" in their study of Ukrainian supplementary school pupils in Portugal.

To select my participants, I interviewed the coordinators of each school, who acted as gatekeepers by identifying potential interviewee pupils and parents and securing participant permission. We arranged this at the end of the coordinator interview as I felt that once s/he had a deeper understanding of my research topic s/he would be able to identity participants; this enabled the coordinators to act as "informants" to the study providing insights and initiating access to new sources of evidence (Yin, 2009, p.107). The limitation of this strategy is that I am relying on the coordinator's subjective selection of interviewees. I am interviewing a number of people from three different schools, including both past and current pupils so this will mitigate the possibility of the research being based on only a few examples, carefully chosen by the coordinator.

I worked on each case study sequentially, starting my interviews with all participants from Warida, then Marisha and finally Jadud. This was intentional on my part as I wanted to immerse myself in the unique ethos and features of each school to build up a clearer picture while I conducted observations and interviews. Maintaining absolute consistency with regard to the number and depth of interviews and observations between case studies was difficult as I had to remain flexible to the different circumstances presented by each school.

3.6 Research Methods

For each case study I used three methods, observation, semi-structured interviews and group interviews. I chose to use multiple methods of data collection to help build the validity of the case study through triangulation, where "the events or facts of the case study have been supported by more than a single source of evidence" (Yin, 2009, p.114).

3.6.1 Participant observation

Yin suggests participant observations "add new dimensions for understanding either the context or the phenomenon being studied" (Yin, 2009, p.110). I was eager to spend time observing the schools as my interactions to date had been regular but cursory. I was also prepared to participate if appropriate given the

benefits this could have in allowing myself as an observer to better understand the viewpoints of those at each school (Yin, 2009, p.112).

For each school, I made visits within the space of two weeks to conduct the observation. I visited Warida on two consecutive Saturdays, Marisha, Monday to Friday from 4.30pm to 7.00pm and Saturday from 10am to 5pm. I visited Jadud on Monday and Wednesday evenings for two consecutive weeks.

I used a short observation proforma (Appendix 2) using questions developed by Emerson et al (1995, p.146 cited in Silverman 2005, p.175) and wrote up field notes immediately after the observation. Data obtained from the participant observation was particularly useful for describing the schools and developing the pen pictures in Appendix 1. My experience at each school varied according to the school's size and venue. I was more of an observer at Warida, as there were many valuable observation opportunities resulting from the multiple start-of-term activities. In Marisha I was invited to become a full participant by helping children with their homework. In Jadud my participant role was limited by the size of the room and the number of adults already assisting pupils.

The main advantage of the participant observation was that I was able to access "'real life' in the real world" (Robson, 2007, p.310) of the school. I witnessed the day-to-day pressures affecting parents and the interactions between children and between staff and children. A common criticism of participant observation is that an observer can alter the conditions for observation, for example by altering the behaviours of individuals under observation. As I was a familiar person, I noticed that the pupils very quickly became used to my presence, therefore I suspect that compared to an outsider that this effect of altering behaviour was unlikely, however it remains a possibility.

3.6.2 Semi-structured interviews
Semi-structured interviews were conducted with coordinators (n= 3), staff (n= 6), parents (n= 14), current pupils (n= 15) and past pupils (n= 9) (total interviews = 47) with a total of 81% of parents and 29% of pupils born outside of the UK. 100% of pupils and their families could be described as coming from a disadvantaged background as they either lived in a super output area or claimed FSM, the indicators the Borough uses to assess disadvantage.

I used a semi-structured questionnaire to guide my discussions. The semi-structured interview was beneficial in breaking down power dynamics between myself and the participant. I used each question as a basis for discussion to encourage a more casual dialogue between equals. As Vincent (1996, p.70) suggests, "semi-structured interviews have a considerable advantage in helping to avoid hierarchical researcher-respondent relationships" as they "allow respondents to introduce and develop themes, thereby giving them some control over the shape of the interview" and allow "a more natural, conversational style." While this seemed to be effective for opening out my interviews with adults, it proved to be more problematic to implement in the interviews with younger participants as I perceived that my positionality as an adult in a 'school' setting meant that they related to me as a teacher-equivalent.

The interview schedule covered the main aspects of the theoretical proposition that supplementary schools constitute sites of social capital. Questions explored interviewees' history of contact and their perspectives on the schools and the impact for pupils and communities. I ensured I included questions that might draw out both positive and negative outcomes, for example, "What do you like best? What do you like least? If you were describing the school to a friend how would you describe it?" I prepared interview schedules for coordinators, pupils, past pupils and parents with possible probes (see appendix 3). Some questions were purposely repetitive in order to confirm participants' thoughts and ensure these could later be elaborated on. However, where the repetition did not seem necessary, I did not stick rigidly to the schedule. Some interviewees responded more loosely and in great detail, so where we had already covered a question I moved on to the next question. I was conscious that there is an optimum interview time for participants to remain focused and engaged, so I was careful to cover all key areas within the agreed time of one hour.

Other factors such as location had some impact on the quality of data obtained. Some interviews held at the school, while lessons were in progress, were subject to conditions outside of my control, for example, one interview with a volunteer parent was concluded early by the arrival of a sick child and I missed out on obtaining the demographic information at the end. When interviews were conducted on site they were subject to localised noise. One interview was

dominated by background noise, where parents were chatting, although this provided useful evidence of the potential for bonding opportunities.

The interviews also varied as they improved in quality over time, as my interviewing skills improved over the course of the research period. I listened to interview recordings which helped in achieving greater objectivity or distance from the interviewee and provided time to reflect on my interviewing style. When listening to an interview I could tell if I was in a rush, perhaps conscious a parent was waiting to collect the pupil interviewee. I learned how to prevent this by, leaving lots of pauses for open-ended discussion and creating opportunities for questions that demanded a reflective response by the interviewee. Because interviews were of a higher quality towards the end of the schedule, it is possible that better data was obtained for Jadud interviewees than for Warida and Marisha interviewees, therefore in retrospect it may have been better to interview a range of interviewees from each school throughout the research period. Both parents and pupils were very forthcoming and some even wanted to continue the conversation after the interview. Smith (2012, p.26), likewise, found in response to her research that "families – mother, fathers and children – like to tell their stories, and to talk about their lives."

I chose to record and transcribe the interviews where participants consented, in order to capture the exact words of the interviewees. I found that recording interviews freed me to reflect on what the interviewee was saying and helped me to probe further (Stake, 1995, p.56).   Overall, I recorded 33 out of 41 interviews. 7 parents and 1 pupil chose the option of not being recorded, and in these cases I made notes during the interview and ensured I wrote them up the same day to achieve accuracy. I transcribed interviews as soon as I could after recording. I did not transcribe pauses or non-verbal responses unless they seemed particularly significant. If an interviewee corrected him/herself, which occurred frequently as many of the adults were ESOL speakers, I did not transcribe this unless it was significant to their response.

I enjoy conducting interviews, and I feel this was apparent to the participants and encouraged them to talk freely and openly. As a social constructionist, I am acutely aware of the limits of interview data in terms of researcher bias and the

interviewer-interviewee relationship. Undoubtedly, a researcher's unique identity will always shape their findings as "data are explained and interpreted, and knowledge is constructed through interaction and interpretation" (Shah, 2015, p.44). Therefore, a study led by the voices of participants can never be *fully* authentic: as Christine Griffin points out, "when we speak for others, we cannot become them, we can only tell *our* story about *their* lives" (Griffin, 1996, in Gillies 2007, p.15, emphasis added). In this study, the questions I asked were framed by my own perceptions and experiences as a worker connected to supplementary schools. Also I was aware, in particular, of the criticism that interviews merely provide "anecdotal 'insights'" (Robson 2007:241). I minimised this effect by choosing to do three separate case studies in order to build a more reliable picture of the work of supplementary schools and by triangulation through using other methods such as participant observation and group interviews.

3.6.3 Group interviews

I selected this method of data collection because of the additional benefits I had previously observed when using this approach, where extended discussion between a group of pupils produced new insights and themes. I recognised that group interviews may make children feel comfortable with an unfamiliar adult. Thomas distinguishes between focus groups and a group interview, suggesting that in a group interview the researcher is in control of the discussion (Thomas, 2011, p.164). My interviews veered more to this style than a focus group which he describes as more facilitator-led. My intention was to have a more facilitative approach but in practice, due to time and space constraints, this proved challenging. The group interviews were based on a shortened version of the semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 4) but allowed for extended discussion.

When I conducted the group interview at Marisha, I realised that three of the pupils had already been interviewed individually, as the interviews had proved to be popular and several other pupils had volunteered themselves. As the questions for the group interview were based on the individual interview, I decided to abandon the proforma and just have an open discussion with the pupils in order to gain new insights into their reasons for attending by listing their priorities. This

was fruitful, as pupils introduced new themes including how friendship aids learning and some of the performative effects of mainstream schools.

3.7 Analysis

In order to analyse my data, I transcribed all of the interview recordings using Dragon voice-recognition software, which saved considerable time. I was able to become closer to the data as a result of this process (Denscombe, 2005, p.183). To analyse the transcriptions, I imported them into the computer-assisted data analysis programme, NVivo. I used NVivo for the IFS and found it supported a thematic analysis, the process of which is "ongoing, organic and iterative" (Swain, 2018). Thematic analysis "pinpoints and organizes the themes which the analyst deems to be important in the description of the phenomenon under study" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013 cited in Swain) I used what Swain has described as a hybrid approach, "a top-down, deductive, theoretical process and a bottom-up, inductive, data-driven process" (ibid). Thus, I used a set of a priori codes based on my research questions and my interview questions plus some posteriori codes based on the data generated. Thus, naming a code assists in the classification of data which in turn supports the analysis of the data (Bazeley, 2007, p.73) and theory development. Although the interviews were time-consuming to conduct and to transcribe they provided extremely rich data. The past pupils were a particularly rich source of data. A headteacher in Maylor et al's study (2010, p.162) believed the impact of supplementary education may be seen over a longer period of time so it was useful to be able to access the past pupils who were able to reflect on how the schools had impacted on their current situation.

I read through each transcription and coded the content into my own interpretational categories (stored as nodes in NVivo). Some A Priori codes were descriptive, for example, '*future suggestions*' which explored pupils' ideas for future developments in supplementary schools and '*known as*' which identified how pupils referred to the supplementary school. Others were theoretical codes that linked to my research questions and conceptual framework, for example '*bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking*' codes were used to identify responses which provided real-life evidence of social capital accumulation. A Posteriori codes emerged, as Bazeley (2007, p.76) describes "in vivo", or from the words of the interviewee. Examples of this were '*fun*' and '*giving back*'. The rest emerged as

those processes in action that could be interpreted from the data and thus could be described as analytic codes, for example '*active cultivation'* and '*progression'.*

When I finished interpreting the transcripts and field notes I reviewed them for a second time in NVIVO with the colour coding function turned on, to display how I had coded the text (see Appendix 5 for examples). During the second review I referred back to a complete list of the codes used, to ensure that all of the content had been scanned for all codes. For example, I developed the code '*transition'* approximately a third of the way through the first analysis to mark evidence of support for the process of transition from primary to secondary school. On the second reading, I ensured the code was applied to all material where relevant. I mapped these codes or nodes onto each research question to build a picture of the data-driven themes and used this to support the write-up of the case studies. There were 73 nodes in total and a full list of nodes and the number of individual sources and references can be found in Appendix 6. Appendix 7 shows the mapping of nodes against each research question from which key themes emerged and are analysed in Chapters 4 and 5.

In summary, the thematic analysis approach has supported the identification of new and pre-existing categories within the interview data. This has enabled not only the analysis of the data in light of existing themes and research questions (namely, if supplementary schools create social capital for pupils and parents), but also opened up analysis to incorporate new themes relevant to the topic, for example, the impact of performativity. NVIVO was an extremely useful tool for operationalising this approach, by bringing me as a researcher closer to the data and quantifying which codes have been most frequently highlighted in the transcriptions.

3.8 Reporting
I intended to report my findings as three separate case studies in Chapter 4 and then do a cross-case analysis in Chapter 5. However, due to constraints on the length of the thesis and the frequent repetition of themes, I combined the findings of the three case studies in Chapter 4. I intend to report back to the case study supplementary schools individually. I will also disseminate a shorter report to my

employer, to relevant bodies in my area and to relevant bodies that focus on supplementary education.

3.9 Ethical considerations

I used the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011) in planning and conducting my research. I also adhered to the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2002). I operated within an ethic of respect for anyone involved in the research (Bera, 2011, p.5). I met with the coordinators to explain the research and to ensure they "understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported" (ibid). All three schools involved had previously taken part in research conducted for my Institution-Focused Study.

I gained informed consent from all participants. Coordinators distributed letters explaining to parents the parameters of the research and obtained informed consent for their children to participate. I provided individual adult participants with a letter outlining my research and requesting their involvement in the study. I discussed confidentiality and maintained it by storing recorded data, both written and audio, securely on a password-protected computer. I assured the participants of their anonymity, although I alerted the coordinators to the difficulty of disguising their identity as a small number of schools possess   a combination of characteristics that may make the coordinators easily identifiable, particularly to other local organisations (BSA, 2002, No 36). I sought permission to record interviews. If an interviewee expressed the slightest uncertainty about the recording of the interview, I took notes instead.

I also took extra measures to ensure Child Protection standards were upheld when interviewing children. As a professional who regularly works with children, I am acutely aware of child protection standards and have passed all the relevant clearances. I emphasised that I did not want coordinators to put any pressure on children to be involved. In my past experience, both children and staff have welcomed the opportunity to talk about what they do. Despite this, I did not assume that because their parents had provided consent that the child also consented, but double-checked with him/her that s/he was happy to participate

immediately before the interview. In recognition of ethical guidelines, I interviewed children in a room with the door open, remaining visible to the main classroom.

Vincent (1996, p.70) suggests the importance of researchers being reflexive "in an attempt to acknowledge particular identifications or tensions" in their relationships with respondents. My position as a cultural outsider raised ethical and methodological issues (Smyth and Santoro, 2015, p.xiii). I am neither Black, nor a migrant or second language speaker and thus did not share those key aspects of many of my respondents' identities. I have not experienced a different education system or lived in a different country as the vast majority of my adult interviewees had and so in that respect, my understanding was limited. This meant I needed to be constantly reflexive and recognise that some of the factors shaping the participants' lives were totally outside my realm of experience and were foreign to me (Santoro, 2015, p.76). Edgeworth (2015, p.26) recognises that:

> credibly representing the lives of marginalized groups in education in ways that trouble the exclusions they experience is an epistemological, theoretical and methodological challenge.

Although as Edgeworth rightly notes, I could not fully represent the experience of these communities, I believe that because of my past experience and familiarity with supplementary schools I was able to engage with their concerns and was unlikely to use my own cultural distance to "import damaging frameworks of understanding" (Hand, 2010) and thus less likely to exploit or disempower the communities I researched. I was acutely aware as Walters (2012, p.113) suggests "that the way you write and talk can be implicated in continuing the reproduction of inequality and disadvantage."

I considered in-depth the ethical issues of insider research when approaching my participants. Shah (2015, p.43) problematises the dichotomy of insider-research and outsider-research recognising that "people can be both insiders and outsiders at the same time and in the same context" and that the positionalities of researchers can change. I used the model provided by BERA (2011), which illustrates the full range of research approaches that fall within the insider-outsider spectrum, to classify my own research. I acknowledge my advantageous position

as an inside researcher, because I had familiarity with and knowledge of the schools' communities; I have established working relationships with the people involved in supplementary schools and understand how these schools are run and what they do. However, I am also disadvantaged in my understanding as an outsider who does not share a common biography with people in the communities who run/use the schools.

While the insider position presents some challenges, on balance there are many more advantages than disadvantages. As an insider, I was familiar with the cultural contexts as these were familiar through my ten years' experience of working with supplementary schools, for example, why a parent would be confused by automatic end of year progression to the next academic year in the UK as this is decided by an annual examination in Somalia.

As an insider researcher, I was able to apply an additional perspective through my in-depth knowledge of the schools. This was particularly valuable as I could observe perspectives and information missing from participants' responses, demonstrating how much hidden information remains unseen by external or outsider researchers. This was significant in terms of my research as it also showed the importance of perspective: pupils, teachers and staff perceive the value of the schools differently. I was also able to see where staff seriously underestimated their achievements; one volunteer who gave a very detailed interview completely failed to mention her recent fundraising success which had given the school stability over the past two years.

My insider status, which stems from my influential role as a former coordinator of the partnership also presented ethical challenges: I am viewed as a distributor of funds, an authority and an expert. I needed to ensure that participants did not feel pressured to speak to me or respond in a particular way because of my status. I was aware that I needed to be sensitive when obtaining informed consent from participants with whom I have an ongoing relationship (Schmidt, 2015, p.21). Possessing insider status can also be a disadvantage if it "'dulls the researcher's ability to view the setting with the sensitivity one would have when seeing it for the first time'" (Morse, 1994, p.27 cited in Shah, 2015, p. 45). I was able to mitigate

against this by spending extended amounts of time in the schools which my normal work routine prevents.

Another practical advantage of my insider position was that I had direct access to the schools. Ross et al (2008) had a low response rate to their questionnaire, but found their qualitative work more fruitful through a focus group. Supplementary schools have frequent requests for information or invitations to participate in events, consultations and projects and in my experience rarely respond to a generic request, particularly from an unknown source.

Finally, I had to consider my ethical responsibility in writing up interviews and observations in terms of how participants wishing to read my research might interpret it. I took on board Gewirtz' (2006) definition of ethical reflexivity as involving and taking seriously the practical judgements and dilemmas of the people we are researching and taking responsibility for the political and ethical implications of our research when it is disseminated.

3.10 Limitations

Despite the excellent rapport I developed with all participants, language remained a barrier. Most parents spoke English as an additional language and their confidence in speaking in English varied. Some interviewees gave very short answers which I suspect was due to the language barrier. There is no doubt that if I had been a fluent Arabic speaker my data would have been far richer.

Another limitation could be selector bias on my part, in choosing the schools, and by the coordinators, who selected the interviewees. Each school was carefully selected to represent the three types of supplementary school in City Partnership, recognising the results may not be applicable to other supplementary schools as they are all different according to place, people and time.

To ensure a high quality case study it is always important to consider rival explanations for a proposition (Yin, 2009, p.47). An alternative explanation could focus on the uniqueness of the supplementary schools in question by considering the impact of the City Partnership. Some of the opportunities schools offered that provided social capital to students were delivered as a result of the City Partnership, which could suggest this offering was solely the result of the impact

of City Partnership. This would not entirely invalidate my research, as it might show the added benefits of a coordinating organisation, such as City Partnership. Nevertheless, this supposition is unlikely to be entirely true, as each school also independently engaged with other external opportunities, and there are numerous examples whereby other nationwide supplementary schools engage with similar opportunities on the NRCSE website. Many museums, for example, have in fact developed specific projects to liaise with supplementary schools. Finally my ten years' experience working with the schools means I have a deep understanding of their strengths and their limitations, but despite this I sought to engage with them all critically.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the methodology behind the research. The research is a qualitative study based on the principles of constructionism that question the perspectives by which we view the world. I have used the case study to illuminate the real-life context of three supplementary schools. I benefited from being both an insider and outsider researcher although had to be sensitive to the disadvantages of these roles, particularly in terms of my cultural differences. Participant observation, semi-structured interviews and group interviews were all methods used to analyse the workings of the supplementary schools and investigate evidence of social capital, which the following chapter explores.

Chapter Four : Sites of Social Capital

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the findings of the three case studies in response to the research questions. I originally wrote up findings as accounts of the three individual case studies. However, there was a great deal of duplication in terms of themes and I far exceeded my word limit. I, therefore, decided to merge my account of the three schools to avoid duplication of similar material. The consequence of this is that different schools may be differently relevant to different sections. I chose quotations that best exemplified the theme being discussed. I discuss the similarities and dissimilarities between the schools in Section 4.6. Overall, the schools are referenced more or less equally throughout the whole thesis Warida (54 references), Marisha (57) and Jadud (58) although examples may be drawn from one particular school in a given section due to more examples from that school being available. I will give more details in the introduction to Chapter 5 where it is particularly applicable. Recognising the responsibility of (re-) presenting the contexts and experiences of marginalised communities (Danaher et al, 2013, p.118) I've created "as much space as possible for interviewees' multiple voices and perspectives to be heard and outlined" (ibid, p.120)   In the final section I summarise the similarities and differences between the schools and finish with examining any negative outcomes.

4.2 Sources of bonding, bridging and linking capital

In this section I describe evidence of bonding, bridging and linking capital based on interviews and observations in the three schools. Table 1 shows the number of sources and references and their rank order in NVIVO for *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* capital, the three categories of social capital developed in the conceptual framework. I have added sources and references for progression capital, a concept I develop in Section 5.4.2. Unsurprisingly evidence of bonding was extremely strong with 35 out of 43 data sources evidencing bonding. There was also considerable evidence of bridging but less evidence of linking. The following sections examine in greater depth evidence of bonding, bridging and linking capital.

Rank order	Nodes	Sources (individuals)	References
4	Bonding	35	128
15	Bridging	21	73
47	Linking	8	20
11	Progression	23	99

Table 1: Total number of social capital sources and references

4.2.1 Bonding capital

The research demonstrated strong evidence of bonding capital through the provision of the schools and their wider activities. Examples of bonding included enjoying being together, valuing friendship, peer support, sharing information, organising and attending events, recognising others as 'extended family' and socialising both with those of a similar age and those across generations. There was a great deal of informal communication when parents lingered and talked to each other and to staff at the beginning and end of the school day. Knowledge about mainstream school processes was shared. I started my research at the beginning of the academic year and there was frequent discussion of secondary school admission processes.

The metaphor of the school as an extended family came up frequently in the interviews. When asked what he liked best about Marisha, Ayoub, a Y6 current pupil, reflects the effect of bonding, "I like that it's a kind of a community of people that come to Marisha." Bailey, a Y8 pupil, adds,

> It's like home. It's warm. Say if you come down the stairs;
> it feels like your house, more like a family. Everyone here
> is just like … just homely (Group interview).

This family atmosphere corresponds to similar findings in Maylor et al (2010, p.153) where the notion of family was attributed by supplementary school heads to be "largely responsible for supplementary schools 'making a difference' to children's mainstream school learning and overall attainment." This is a form of "familial capital" described by Yosso (2005, p.79) as the extended family and

kinship ties which demonstrate to children "the importance of maintaining a healthy connection to our community and to its resources."

This extended family atmosphere is achieved through the bonding activities in the school and the friendships created as a result. These activities include birthday parties, assemblies, celebrations and cultural festivals. Parents contribute and attend and the children enjoy the opportunity to bond. Tahlia discusses why she likes the annual New Year's party,

> I like it because we spend time as a group; it's like a celebration and you can make new friends (Y4 pupil, Marisha).

The opportunity to be with friends was valued highly. Selam, a Y4 pupil, explains why friendship is a priority:

> If you're not comfortable where you're working in and you're not comfortable with the people around you and who is helping you, you are not going to be able to do the work because then you feel a bit shy to actually do the work and if you've got something wrong you'd be like, Oh I got something wrong. I don't wanna show anyone, but if you know the friends you have there and the staff you're working with and you're comfortable you don't mind getting something wrong because you know you have people to help you there (Group interview, Marisha).

Selam's commentary illustrates Watkins et al's (2007, p.87) notion that "social interaction, social relationships and social climate" contribute to a positive classroom and aid effective learning.

The parents at Warida send their children primarily to associate (bond) with others of a similar heritage and to learn Arabic as explained by Akifa, a mother who sends her son to:

> socialise with other Sudanese kids and adults because during the week I'm not involved with friends or the Sudanese community. I want them to know who we are, our identity, Sudanese culture so can grab it from school at the weekend (parent interview).

For Akifa the supplementary school forms an important component of her son's identity formation, a resource that he is unable to access during the week. Learning Arabic is valued at supplementary school unlike in mainstream where,

as Walters (2012, p.85) points out, a child's heritage may be placed in a subordinate role through a devaluing of the community language.

Bonding between teachers and families helped reduce barriers and encouraged more open communication:

> you see them in school as teachers but then you see them out of school like your parents' friends; teachers that are more interactive with the students, just like a fun day out, (Maysa, Y9 pupil, Warida).

And her sister, Samar, explains the benefit of this community-based social capital, "you can feel (them) more open to you so you can talk to them more." Coleman (1988, p.107) suggests this type of "intergenerational closure" (described in Chapter 2.2) provides additional social capital for parents through the sharing of information and the monitoring of all children, although on the negative side, both could provide constraints on children and/or parents. The following section looks at the bridging opportunities enabled through the schools.

4.2.2 Bridging
Coleman suggests that an organisation "brought into existence for one set of purposes, can also aid others, thus constituting social capital available for use" (ibid, p.108). Coleman uses a distinction delineated by Max Gluckman (1967) between "simplex and multiplex relations":

> In the latter, persons are linked in more than one context (neighbour, fellow worker, fellow parent, coreligionist, etc.), while in the former, persons are linked through only one of these relations. The central property of a multiplex relation is that it allows the resources of one relationship to be appropriated for use in others (Coleman, 1988, p.109)

The supplementary schools in my research offered opportunities for parents and pupils to develop "multiplex relations." Figure 1 demonstrates how the simplex relationship of a neighbour can develop into wider multiplex relationships through engagement in supplementary school and how a simplex relationship at supplementary school can develop various multiple relationships for a parent or what Putnam might describe as opportunities for bridging (Putnam 2000, p.23). To illustrate this further, in Figure 1 a neighbour (Shukriiya, parent, Warida) is

encouraged to send her child to a supplementary school and subsequently has access to relationships with other parents.

Shukriiya

Supplementary

Mainstream School

Work Opportunity

Adult Learner

Supplementary School

Adult Learner

Work Opportunity
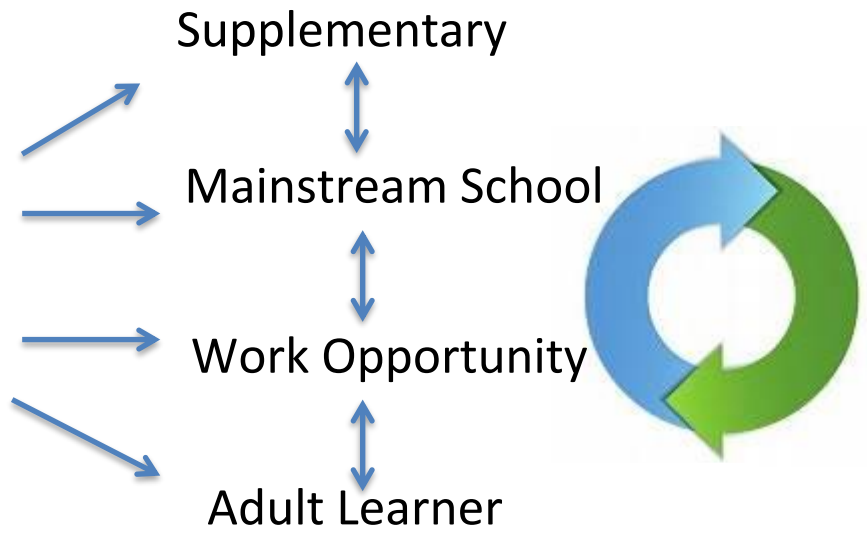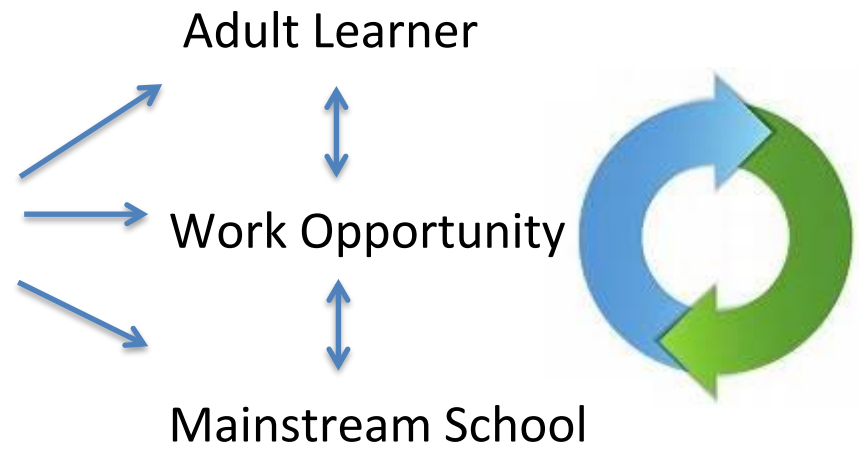
Mainstream School

Figure 1: Multiplex parent relationships

Through discussion with those parents she chooses a primary mainstream school for her child. She learns about local education, training and job opportunities and subsequently accesses part-time work in a local nursery. The coordinators and other key staff members have built up considerable experience and expertise and are able to act as a bridge for parents to other organisations and to mainstream schools. Table 2 details the number of references recorded in NVIVO that evidence bridging.

Supplementary School	Staff/parents	Pupils	Organisations	Mainstream schools
Warida	4	4	11	1
Marisha	5	5	11	1
Jadud	3	4	23	1

Table 2: Examples of bridging to other organisations and mainstream schools.

The bridging networks provided by each supplementary school are represented in Figure 2. Pupils and parents are bridged with local organisations through the various projects and activities the schools participate in. Farouk, a past pupil, benefited from key projects accessed through Marisha:

> For example I've done peer tutoring; I got put on to Duke of Edinburgh and stuff like that. And it's just – it's allowed me to develop a lot of skills that I wouldn't necessarily have developed through normal schools

Peer mentoring through the Borough youth service and the Duke of Edinburgh scheme are good examples where all three schools have bridged pupils to opportunities that were not available to them in their mainstream school. These opportunities also helped young people develop "multiplex relations" with their local youth centre where the projects took place. Some parents have a concern about their children attending youth centres largely because of the poor perception parents can have of youth centres. As the Duke of Edinburgh programme is largely based in youth centres, in this particular Borough, many

pupils are denied this experience. The coordinator of Jadud even attended the overnight expedition in order to satisfy parents who would not have entrusted their children to people they had no knowledge of. Some pupils continued to attend the youth centre subsequent to the Duke of Edinburgh scheme and became involved in other projects.
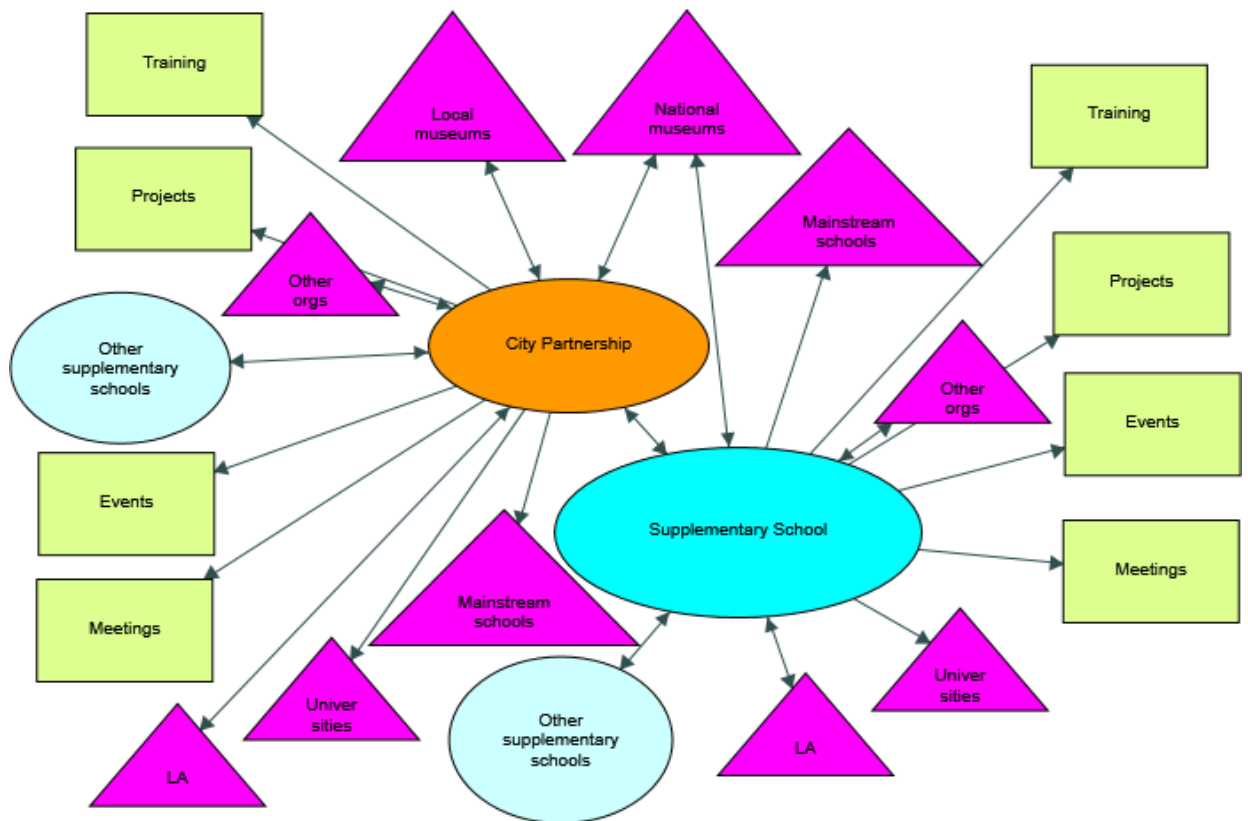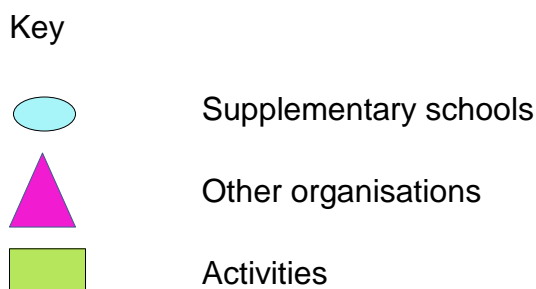

Figure 2: Bridging opportunities at supplementary school.

Key

(light blue ellipse)	Supplementary schools
(magenta triangle)	Other organisations
(green rectangle)	Activities

The schools have bridged with other local organisations, for example, with a community group that organises visits to universities, which "has given our youngsters I think an early opportunity to know the routes after secondary school, after A levels" (Coordinator, Jadud).

The schools have provided access to opportunities that parents and pupils may not have been aware of through taking up offers circulated through NRCSE and other organisations. Some of these have been one off opportunities such as a theatre widening access scheme, which encourages parents to take their children to the theatre, thereby increasing their cultural capital:

> This summer one family they been like ten years in the country and this is the first time to visit the Theatre. They said that because they don't know how to go, how to buy ticket, when we're offering that, helping them to fill their application just they have to pay and post it, helping them with the amount of money - five pound is good...it is a bargain for them to go (Coordinator, Warida).

Other opportunities have arisen through relationships with national museums leading to family trips and opportunities for individuals, for example, older children have been accepted as volunteers at a museum bridging them with different young people and adults. One young person went to a week's summer school at a prestigious Drama College bridged through an opportunity advertised at the school.

Other organisations, such as museums and youth organisations, bridge to the school in order to ensure they are reaching a diverse group of pupils. Thus the local youth service invited Jadud to take part in an Arts project creating Art for underground stations. The coordinator recognised the benefits of a project such as this as an opportunity for the pupils to work with other young people who normally don't work together, "where they have relationship, they work together, they understand each other, mutual respect" (Coordinator, Jadud).

This also has implications for community cohesion as different groups of young people meet each other. Zahi, a past pupil involved in the project, commented that collaboration in the joint project evidenced where "our group working skills came into play to get to know each other." Allport (1954, p.21) found that

"increased contact makes for lessened prejudice" when different groups meet in circumstances when they have equal status with shared interests in common.

The schools provide a virtual bridge between parents and pupils to the pupils' mainstream schools through the support given to pupils and parents that impact on their understanding of mainstream school. It is a virtual bridge as it is unseen and unrecognised by the mainstream schools. Examples mentioned included information workshops, homework support and advocacy. Parent workshops have been held on issues such as child safety, safeguarding, admissions to secondary school, assessment and bullying. In the following example a parent explains how the coordinator is able to almost interpret the mainstream school's meaning to the pupil and/or parent:

> Faith understands the education. It can be a bit complex for a parent to break down the homework if a child doesn't understand. Faith has been really good with that. She knows what the (mainstream) school does (Jamila, parent, Marisha).

Wenger describes how knowledge can be reified, how "we project our meanings into the world and then we perceive them as existing in the world, as having a reality of their own" (Wenger, 1998, p.58). When Jamila suggests Faith "knows what the (mainstream) school does," I believe she is acknowledging that Faith understands the reified language of the school which for her is more difficult to unpick.

Another example of how Marisha encourages connections is through providing infrastructure support for more complex homework demands. Thus, if the mainstream school sets a project or an artefact to be created, the staff take a lot of pride in ensuring the child creates a fantastic product. Parents living in overcrowded accommodation are less likely to have access to messy paint, glue and other Art resources. However, at the school it becomes a joint enterprise between pupil, parent and staff. They all take pride in the outcome.

Tahlia, a Year 4 pupil, describes recently created artefacts,

> I've been making a mosaic for the Romans and I was making a hut for the Vikings (Marisha).

Not only do they get enjoyment from the creative activity itself, children get a great deal of pride when they take their artefact into mainstream school, particularly when it is well received by teachers. In this way supplementary schools are ensuring children have an equal opportunity with other children who may have easier access to resources.

If a child does not bring homework from mainstream school, teachers will give them work connected to what they are doing in mainstream. Teachers also respond to requests from parents reacting to issues raised by their mainstream teachers, as Maly describes,

> last time I saw his [mainstream] teacher he was quite weak on spelling and I did talk a little bit with Faith and she worked on it and now he's getting really top marks (Parent, Marisha).

Schools also respond to annual demands, for example, they will provide practice for verbal and non-verbal reasoning tests prior to secondary school entrance tests in November.

The coordinators also act as a bridge, unseen by the mainstream school, by encouraging parents to get involved in their children's mainstream schools despite parents' wariness:

> And also, our message is ... no matter how tough they [mainstream schools] are or how they are not considering the parents' role is to work with the local schools, try to attend their events, open days, their sports day, their fundraising events. So they know you are somebody involved in school. (Axmed, coordinator, Jadud).

Axmed recognises that mainstream schools can be challenging to work with. Diane Reay (1998, p.59), citing research from Gewirtz et al (1994), refers to the difficulties migrants have when their "cultural capital …is in the wrong currency" but despite this, this coordinator encourages parents to build a bridge with the mainstream school. Staff, volunteers and particularly coordinators spend much of their time bridging parents to other organisations or services. In this way they are taking on the role of a community cultivator, a concept explored more fully in chapter five.

The coordinators also act as advocates for parents attending case conferences with Social Services or meetings at mainstream schools. They act as a bridge explaining the processes/system to the parent and advocating for the parent to the mainstream school. They will also signpost parents to other specialist organisations.

In the last three years the local Prevent team has bridged with two of the coordinators recognising - or arguably *exploiting* - their expertise and access to the Somali and Sudanese communities to raise awareness with parents and pupils of the legal implications of going to Syria. The coordinator has delivered parenting programmes on behalf of Prevent. The power implications behind this were explored in chapter 2.3. This type of involvement has been critiqued as "a disciplinary mode of regulation" whereby the coordinators could be seen to be acting as conduits for state-sponsored messages. However O'Toole et al (2016, p.162) have argued that attempts to co-opt Muslim engagement can be conceptualised as "contested practice" rather than a form of disciplinary regulation recognising the agency of particular actors in "reinterpreting, appropriating, contesting or resisting governance practices" (ibid, p.166). I conducted my research at the time young people were disappearing to Syria and some parents welcomed an opportunity to discuss preventive measures (Huda, parent interview). Coordinators were able to mediate and ensure Prevent personnel were providing the information parents wanted.

All coordinators are accredited parenting facilitators and deliver the parenting programme, Strengthening Families, Strengthening Communities to parents from the African diaspora. This bridges parents to other community organisations as part of the programme.[8] The following section examines the opportunities for linking for pupils, parents and staff.

4.2.3 Linking
There were fewer examples of clear-cut linking opportunities although ex-pupils who had gone on to attend university attributed their journey there to the cultural

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[8] Strengthening Families, Strengthening Communities is an evidenced-based parent programme accredited by the Race Equality Foundation. It has been shown to be popular with marginalised communities (REF 2017) and has been evidenced as leading to improved parenting and parental mental well-being and reduced child behaviour difficulties (Lindsay et al 2011).

capital developed through access to some of the opportunities at supplementary school.

These were mainly through access to volunteers from a local university who coached national curriculum subjects and gave extended individual support on the process of university application; through opportunities to develop confidence in speaking to adults and making public presentations through extra-curricular provision and volunteering opportunities. Aaden, a past pupil from Jadud describes what he felt he and his brother gained from the school:

> I would say obviously the educational angle; me and my brother are both at university now and like if we didn't come to the classes we might not have reached the levels required and got the grades required to go to university or at least specific universities. I think that's quite important so that's one direct link straight away…one thing I don't think is tangible and measurable is the confidence and I've already said the confidence we have within ourselves which might not be wholly coming down to these activities as I mentioned the Duke of Edinburgh, the football sessions, the Swedish exchange program all these ones might not be directly but they definitely played quite a significant part {to HE access}.

Section 4.4.4 below describes further examples of the cultural capital accessed through the schools that helped pupils progress to university.

A mother describes the benefits for her son through a linking opportunity over a period of time with a university volunteer:

> He went straight into pharmacy in UCL and it wouldn't have been possible. Honestly I'm saying that with my hand on heart without supplementary school. Through a great deal of one to one support from a [university] volunteer with (his) Science A levels and writing his personal statement (Huda, Warida).

A recent RSA Report suggests BME students are less likely to be accepted into Russell Group universities (Nwulu, 2015). All four students from Warida who progressed to university last year were admitted to Russell group universities.

There was no specific evidence of linking capital in Marisha although, four recent pupils are all at university and one is on an apprenticeship.

Jadud has a long history of using and retaining volunteers from the corporate sector and from a local university from which, a senior lecturer, has volunteered for over 6 years.

> A lot of children come because of him because he can help Physics, he can help Chemistry, he can help Biology because he did science in his PhD. (Coordinator).

These volunteers act as a link to the world of higher education by being a constant presence and by giving tailored support on university access. A past pupil explains how volunteers have helped provide a future perspective,

> Having this exposure to all these people from different working backgrounds helped you choose what you wanted to do in the future (Tahiil, Jadud)

The coordinator has ensured his pupils have access to "navigational capital" that will help them to "manoeuvre through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80).

Supporting the organisation of the supplementary school helps parents develop their own social and cultural capital and links them with organisations that can give them work. Thus Rihab, a parent/volunteer from Warida, first attended a parenting course through the supplementary school and has moved on to become a paid facilitator delivering courses for other organisations. In Warida five parent interviewees had progressed into work or college courses through the promotion of opportunities by the school. Two of the three coordinators had developed significant work opportunities as parenting facilitators for neighbouring local authorities and the Home Office through their work in the schools. The following section examines the methods by which social capital is acquired and developed in supplementary schools.

4.3 How is social capital acquired and developed?

Bonding capital is acquired through regular attendance at supplementary schools and the opportunities for building friendships this provides for both parents and pupils. Consistency of staffing enables relationships to be nurtured over a long period of time and for trust to be developed within families and community networks. In each school several children attended because their siblings had

attended. In Marisha there are three pupils who are second generation where their parents attended. Jamila, one of these parents commented, "I came here as a child and I loved it. Faith supported me with my work and all stages of my education." She has since sent her two sons to the school. Bailey, a Year 8 pupil, describes the coordinator,

> Faith is like the mum; we're just like her kids…I really enjoy coming here cos it's fun; it is like a second home to me to come here.

Mustapha, a past pupil at Warida, refers to the importance of relationships at Warida,

> I remember most clearly that all the teachers are friends with each other and especially friends with my mum. That made a very welcoming atmosphere because everyone knows each other and it's all very local.

These examples suggest bonding capital is high between the families and the schools. The schools become an extended family, as Huda reflects,

> There is a lot of informal support, a lot of that being older sisters to younger parents… We are very close knit. (Huda, parent and teacher, Warida).

The metaphorical use of the language of family here reflects the strong ties within the community and has been found in other studies (Maylor et al, 2010, p.153).

The cultivation of bonding partly stems from a link to "back home" as Huda goes on to describe,

> the culture, us Sudanese very informal. You see somebody today, you talk to them as if you know them for years and you will turn out to know one of his family because it is a very close-knit community; so you'll be sitting down and I say my name of my village and they say 'oh yes my grandmother is married from…' They find a connection somehow (parent and teacher, Warida).

Each school holds regular activities each year which support the development of bonding capital, for example, the end of term parties and the celebration of festivals which enable people to mix across generations.

The majority of pupils are taught in mixed age groups which encourage bonding between different year groups. Bonding encourages peer support to take place naturally as in Tahlia's response to my question: tell me what you do here?

> Well if I have homework I practice my homework and spelling but if I don't, I sometimes help other people or ask for work (Y4 pupil, Marisha).

The opportunity to spend extended time with pupils from different ages enables the development of older pupils as role models,

> just as we are doing our GCSEs they'll ask us a lot of questions how hard is the GCSEs? How's this? How's that? They ask what grades you get and then you are like, "an A" and they say, "A, that's good I want an A." Then it inspires and motivates them as well (Aaden, past pupil, Jadud).

Dwayne, a past pupil, who was at Marisha from the age of 4 describes how bonding happens:

> I would say it's very homely at the same time which is nice; it's not like Kumon[9] where you come in and sit on chairs and it's one person per table or one person is facing the wall, one person is facing the window; it's interactive you can sit next to each other. You can sit across each other. You can still have little conversations but you also get your work done. It's nice that when the mums come to pick up their kids …they stay behind for a few minutes and have a conversation…All the mums literally know each other in a way so then the kids know each other and we play out together so it's homely really

Here Dwayne illustrates the difference between what a supplementary school can offer as a community-based organisation, sensitive to the discrimination minoritised groups can face, and a more commercial organisation where relationships are more instrumental. Bonding takes place not just between children but extends to the rest of the family; it is "familial capital," that signals a cultural wealth for the whole community (Yosso, 2005, p.79).

The majority of the bridging opportunities for pupils came through the schools' involvement in extra-curricular opportunities which have bridged them to a range

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[9] Kumon is an independent study programme where children learn from graduated worksheets studying at their own pace with some support from instructors.

of local and national institutions and pupils testified as to the beneficial impact participation had for them, examples of which can be seen in chapter 4.4 which explores the impact on pupils.

The coordinators maintain valuable links with a wide range of volunteers, often attracting junior doctors and have used them to both teach and also to act as mentors. They act as a link for pupils helping them to understand the processes of university life. The volunteers are able to emotionally connect with pupils because of their recent experience of the education system as Ibraahin describes,

> They're not that much older than you so they help you because they know how you feel, the pressure you feel when you get to Year 10, year 11; they can help you (Y10 pupil, Jadud)

These examples confirm Siraj and Mayo's findings that getting support from people with higher educational qualifications acts as a protective factor (2014, p.229).

Involvement in the organisation of a school deepens the bonding capital of the staff and volunteers although there was some variance between the schools. For Marisha where the leader, Faith, was particularly charismatic, relationships between staff and volunteers were strong but hierarchical which could be off-putting to some volunteers. Warida had a distributed leadership model where relationships between staff were far less hierarchical. Each volunteer took responsibility for an aspect of the organisation of the school. This led to less pressure on any one individual but also led to an increase in bonding through recognising themselves as a team. It also enabled them to increase their cultural capital through these experiences, for example Huda, a parent, started off as a volunteer helping in the kitchen. She then took on the role as secretary using her ICT skills to create rotas and a database of the children. After a maternity break she returned as an Arabic teacher and took on a fundraising role.

Staff and coordinators are able to provide a bridge between mainstream school and parents because of their experience and expertise regarding education issues. The coordinator of Marisha, through understanding the cultural

background of the parent, is able to recognise the roots of a parent's reticence as resistance caused by "minority status and experiences of racism in Britain" (Andrews 2013a, p.27). Faith is able to explain the parent's reticence at a meeting in the mainstream school,

> one of the things I said to them at the meeting – culturally, black people as a whole don't like to get involved in social services, police and anything that is the state - just a cultural thing from when we young so that's something they actually need to look at when dealing - be a bit more gentle about it.

Andrews alerts us to the possibility that, "those who work in and for mainstream institutions adopt positions that are framed by Whiteness" (2013a, p.15). He suggests that because a mainstream school as an institution historically upholds principles based on Whiteness as the norm there may be social practices that unconsciously encourage the persistence of racism. Faith understands that the perspective of a Black parent towards a representative from the state may be very different to that of a White parent and is able to bridge the school to the parent by making this explicit and urging services to take this into account in their engagement with parents.

Social capital is sustained through the value of 'giving back' which was referred to many times by returning past pupils and/or their parents. Older pupils continue to help the younger ones as can be seen in this father's hope,

> I see them going and I hope my son will give back what he got, like Tahiil, what he's doing now; he will help. Now even the little ones; he helps them on Saturday (Warsame, parent, Jadud).

He hopes his son will become a tutor like Tahiil and recognises that he has already started on this path by acting as a peer mentor to the younger pupils. The following section examines the impact that was evidenced and is divided into themes that arose from the data.

4.4 What impact does the generation of different forms of social capital have?

This section examines the impact of social capital. Table 3 lists the most common nodes (themes) which reflect a positive view of the benefits of the three schools with access to extra-curricular opportunities and contribution to attainment

mentioned by the majority of respondents.

Rank order	Node	Sources	References
1	Extra-curricular opportunities	43	146
2	Contribution to attainment	41	140
3	Benefits	36	82

Table 3: Top three nodes

The section is separated into themes which emerged from the data: identity, community cohesion, comfortable learning space, development of progression skills, improved learner identity and improved attainment. I discuss the impact for parents and then examine the similarities and differences between the schools. I end the section by examining evidence of negative outcomes.

4.4.1 Identity

Warida and Jadud hold regular events that celebrate their religious and cultural heritage and participation in these events helps pupils reaffirm their ethnic identity (Zhou and Kim, 2006, p.21).

Warida was the only school in the study that taught a community language and explicitly taught cultural studies and the school's contribution to helping pupils strengthen their identities emerged. For Rihab, the school environment helps her and her children to be confident in their identity by,

> linking me back with my culture. And teaching my children - it helps me with bringing up my children in a way which I want them to be… They have the sense of being proud, of who they are (Rihab, parent volunteer, Warida).

For Rihab, it is important that her children are linked with their heritage and she recognises the importance of being proud of one's identity. Zhou and Kim (2006, p.22) recognise the role of supplementary schools in consolidating ethnic identity, "these ethnic institutions nurture ethnic identity and pride that may otherwise be rejected by the children because of the pressure to assimilate." In the wider environment, identities of Sudanese-origin may seem marginal in a society where Whiteness is normalised and so it may be more challenging for parents to

generate pride with their children. For parents like Rihab, the school becomes an arena for the sharing of their Sudanese heritage with their children.

When the children visit Sudan they are able to bond more easily through their knowledge of Arabic:

> When I go to Sudan people are confused as to how I know Arabic at such a good level. They wouldn't expect you to - they don't expect … they (think) all I know is English. So the advantage is so massive that I know Arabic. Because if it wasn't for Arabic school I wouldn't be writing Arabic or know how to speak proper Arabic (Ayesha, past pupil, Warida).

Understanding how to read, write and speak Arabic helps Ayesha bond with her extended family and extends her linguistic capital (Yosso, 2005, p.78). She is also able to communicate fully while in Sudan which should help her develop her intercultural literacy (Cantle, 2013, p.16) and assist in consolidating her own identity. As *Our Shared Future*, New Labour's proposals for enabling social cohesion and integration, recognised, "a trans-national identity may give people the confidence in their own identity to engage with wider society" (COIC, 2007, p.35). Improving community cohesion is expanded on in the following section.

4.4.2 Community cohesion

Children seemed to recognise the importance of cross-cultural relationships,

> lots of people in different places come from different areas and different cultures what your (mainstream) school might not have …so you get to interact with different religions and age groups to know how they socialise (Y8 pupil, group interview, Marisha)

There were examples in each of the schools of how pupils and parents of different ethnicities were able to mix and increase their awareness of different cultures and religions. Each coordinator expressed an awareness of the importance of contact between different communities even explicitly holding events or being involved in specific projects to enable increased contact. These examples would suggest that supplementary schools can be enablers rather than barriers to different ethnic groups mixing as The Casey Review suggested (Casey, 2016, p. 15).

The schools attract pupils who attend a range of mainstream schools. Samu recognises the benefits of developing friendships outside his mainstream school:

> it helps to have a wider circle of friends, a wider knowledge of people around you, people in your area as well so I think it's a good thing (past pupil, Jadud)

This has benefits for community cohesion and integration as the mixing of pupils from different schools has the potential to give pupils contacts in a wider geographical area. Ayoub, a Year 6 pupil in Marisha, understands the importance of bonding and having relationships in the wider community,

> Let's say you live somewhere and you go somewhere very far and your friend from outside the (mainstream) school lives in your area; if you're in danger you always know where they live and there's a chance (for) you to go to their house.

Black male pupils will be all too aware of the dangers that can lie on the streets. Candappa et al (2007, p.3) reported on the high levels of racism and the negative impact of danger on the streets felt by refugee children, particularly in deprived areas. In the last few years any pupils with cultural or religious dress associated with Islam are also increasingly likely to be victims of hate crime (Corcoran and Smith, 2016).

The schools have harnessed the skills of past pupils to tutor, help at residentials, plan projects and even to sort out IT issues. This has helped past pupils to stay linked to the community. For Khadija, a mentor, she begins her journey as a potential community cultivator:

> when you come back you get a sense of not pride but joy that you've helped them out   and hopefully made the experience better by being there (Past pupil, Jadud).

The bridging with other organisations has helped develop civic literacy as the following example illustrates from Farouk, a past pupil and current volunteer from Marisha:

> I came into contact with a lot of people that run these I don't know how to put it -- like that run all this stuff - So I met you, you're one. But I also met - I forgot his name, (local councillor). The person that runs (the youth service). And there's a lot of stuff these people who run

things in the community but a lot of people won't know who they are. But I've met a lot of them. And I'm able to speak to a lot of them freely. And that's one thing I like. Because it gave me like this - this like sense of belonging and community, or having the ability to be able to do something if I saw anything wrong within my community.

Here he has described how this bridging with civic community personnel has helped develop his sense of belonging, security, and his potential to become a future community leader. Having networks within the wider community ensures Farouk feels embedded within it, thereby supporting positive community cohesion. In all three schools there were further examples of wider community interaction emphasising the outward-facing nature of the schools rather than the more inward-facing, restricted character with which they are often associated in the media (Sellgren, 2015).

4.4.3 Comfortable learning space
Bonding and the trust inherent in bonded communities helps develop confident learners who are not afraid to ask for help in front of their peers. Pupils in all schools identified friendship as a key motivator for attending. The following dialogue, is a good example of how the exact words of Aaden, a past Jadud pupil, "capture the mood and affective components" and help to understand the context from which he is perceiving the world of the classroom (Yin, 2009, p.70). He compares the mainstream and supplementary school classroom:

> you're surrounded by people who also need help; you're not alone; so you're not the only one who is struggling. That also gives you confidence in terms of, 'if I'm not the only one; it is not abnormal'. Whereas you might be in (mainstream) class and you don't understand something; you're looking around, ask,
>
> "This is a bit tricky?"
>
> "No it makes perfect sense." (indicating a different voice of a fellow pupil in reply)
>
> "Okaaaay."
>
> But you come here; it just shows that it is okay to be stuck; it is okay to not hundred percent know something or get something the first time. It is important to just recognise that and have someone know and obviously in the supplementary school you could tell the teacher and

> you could tell Axmed and you could try to get help; help
> needed for you to understand.

The effect of the bonding between the children and between the children and staff lead to a comfortable learning space where children feel they are not being judged by others and where they can learn and ask questions without fear of embarrassment or fear of failure.

For Ayoub it also becomes a form of respite from the mainstream school day:

> It supports me like every day I think ooh Marisha and every day when I'm at school, my mainstream school, I'm thinking I wonder what am I going to do at Marisha today? I think it supports me and my confidence (Y6 pupil, Marisha).

A comfortable learning environment is important for a parent too,

> Saturday I will take them to a restaurant and then come here. It's like a day out. Like a hobby. The atmosphere is good. I struggle to get them to do their homework at home. (Isabel, parent, Marisha)

Marisha becomes an enjoyable place to come for a day out as well as fulfilling the necessary function of getting homework done in an atmosphere that promotes learning rather than at home where a parent may feel isolated and the learning may be reduced to a chore. The schools also bridge pupils to projects that support them to develop skills that enable progression, such as teamwork and communication, as the next section describes.

4.4.4 Development of wider skills

The ability to develop relationships across multiple cultures has been recognised as a twenty-first century global competency by The Asia Society Centre for Global education (Russell, 2016, p.7), a think tank set up to develop global competencies in education systems in Asia and the US. The Asia Society includes interpersonal, intrapersonal and cognitive skills in its classification of the competencies required for success recognising they may be known as soft skills or social and emotional skills among others. Wishing to avoid the value-laden binary distinction of hard and soft skills, I refer to them as wider skills by which I mean all skills outside a technical or functional skill. Participation in the activities of the schools helped develop these skills which in turn help pupils progress as the following examples show.

Some pupils talked about being naturally shy and referred to how the schools helped them socially,

> You gain many things from Marisha; if I hadn't come to Marisha I would have still been a very shy person so it also builds your confidence (Ayoub, Y6 pupil).

They describe how opportunities helped them develop self-confidence.

> I think it taught me to be more sociable, it helps you. Cos a lot of people came from different primary schools. You made new friends and that is huge. When you make new friends you talk to a lot more people. So now at university it's easy to make friends. Just talk. I think the interaction with others is very important. (Farouk, past pupil, Marisha)

For Farouk, an economically disadvantaged pupil, his experience of getting to know new people has helped him make the transition to university with confidence.

Farouk specifically attributes his improved confidence to the bridging opportunities he accessed:

> And what I've been able to do through here is amazing. I've done so much stuff so...it's built my confidence. And I think that's one of the most important things cos when I was young, my confidence was so bad. Now when I think about it; it was quite terrible. But I've done a lot of stuff through Marisha where I've presented in front of people, done Powerpoints. I've gone to courses and done stuff that's helped me out massively (Farouk, past pupil, Marisha).

As discussed at 2.6.1, Lareau (2011, p.62) points out that many of the activities that middle-class parents, as concerted cultivators, provide for their children, replicate key aspects of the workplace, for example, relating to adults, thereby preparing them for the institutional settings of adult life. Supplementary school staff serve as alternative, community cultivators by providing access to similar opportunities.

The coordinator of Jadud is very clear about why he has encouraged involvement in projects and extra-curricular activities,

> if you've done volunteering, or if you've done Duke of Edinburgh, then it stands for yeah somebody committed, good timekeeping, you are part of a team and it also helps them in the future with employment opportunities. So if you are interviewing someone and they've done all this volunteering, well, I can trust this person to give them a job (Axmed, coordinator).

Axmed is acting in a similar way to the middle-class parents Lareau refers to. He believes that involvement in such activities has helped his pupils to progress, as out of the group who undertook the Duke of Edinburgh programme he says,

> almost every single one of them has gone to university. Every single one. …So that shows you, you don't only need good GCSEs / A level, you need the wider opportunities where you do something different rather than you know the books (Axmed, coordinator).

This coordinator realises the impact of these practices and exercises agency to ensure community members have access to these experiences. The supplementary school becomes a site through which power passes (Foucault, 2001, p. 356).

These examples reflect the findings of Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.215) who found evidence of the positive effect of extra-curricular activities on children from low SES families. Chanfreau et al (2016, p.15) in their research on out-of-school activities also found a benefit on emotional wellbeing,

> spending time with friends outside school was also positively linked with emotional and behavioural child outcomes at age 11

The following section details how this positive effect contributes to an improved learner identity.

4.4.5 Improved learner identity

There were many examples of how the schools support a resilient learning identity. For Nala, Marisha becomes a resource she can fall back on,

> We might not have the books or the worksheets you do at home and we might end up not been able to do certain things when you're at home or at school because the teacher (mainstream) might say something and he might think that all of you know it because he knows you've been to certain places to learn about it but you don't

actually know so you can learn it from here (Nala Y5
pupil–Group interview, Marisha).

The mainstream school teacher here appears to be privileging the cultural
practices of middle-class families (Lareau 2011, p.28) by assuming all pupils have
had access to a wide range of cultural resources. Nala is already showing signs
of what Lareau describes as an "emerging sense of constraint" in her interactions
within the institutional setting of her mainstream school (ibid, p.6). Without the
support of Marisha she may have taken on a fragile learner identity.

Homework too can be wrapped in a reified (Wenger 1998, p.58) language as
Tahlia intimates here,

> it's a very good place for doing your homework because
> most of the adults in here understand all types of
> meanings of our homeworks (Year 4 pupil, Marisha).

Both Tahlia's parents are ESOL speakers and have no experience of the English
education system. The perplexities of homework for any parent can be daunting
but for those with English as a second language it can prove to be impossible to
navigate resulting in a highly stressful experience. Research by the Sutton Trust
has shown the socio-economic gap in parental support with homework (Jerrim,
2017, p.29). Supplementary schools are providing an important substitute for
parents who are unable to give this support.

Pupils talked about the advantages coming to Marisha gave them over other
children in their class and this added to their confidence:

> Selam: Sometimes I learn about things   here that I
> haven't learnt yet in my (mainstream) school so when the
> teacher asks it's about a new subject I'll be able to
> answer.
>
> Val: How does that make you feel?
>
> Selam: It makes me feel very intelligent.

Maylor et al (2010, p.104) also found that repetition of learning was valued as it
gave children more time to understand concepts. Bilan saw the difference in her
daughter's confidence,

> it's the way some time my daughter learnt here
> something which she doesn't learn in the (mainstream)
> school and then later on when this thing comes she is so

> happy she said I already learn in Saturday school. I'd
> done it with Ayman on the Wednesday and do you know
> Mum I was the only one in the class I know this and she
> is more fully confident (Jadud).

There is no doubt that parents were aware that attending supplementary school gave their children an advantage over other children and that pupils confirmed this advantage, although Andrews (2018, p.22) suggests such an approach is simply treating the "symptoms of racism" rather than the oppression itself. In the following section I examine the impact on attainment.

4.4.6 Improved attainment

Pupils and parents talked about how coming to school has helped pupils' attainment at mainstream school. Pupils were asked, "What did you gain from coming to supplementary school?" Many of them saw this in terms of attainment:

> My spelling scores, my maths scores. Before I used to
> get really low ones but now since I'm coming here it's
> normally 10 or nine (Gabriel, Y5 pupil)

Parents also recognised the improvement in attainment, particularly through the individual support available,

> She focuses on what they are looking at. She tests them.
> She breaks down what they are doing at (mainstream)
> school. In (mainstream) school they teach the curriculum.
> If a child is struggling they might miss them. My son had
> a few things-lowest level in maths. He is now in the
> middle group. I've seen a difference when they come
> (Jamila, parent, Marisha)

Chanfreau et al's (2016, p.13) research on after-school provision supports these findings,

> encouraging self-directed and intrinsically motivated
> additional academic activity, through homework and
> reading, may be better than extending curriculum
> learning through formal tuition (ibid).

This is exactly the type of provision Marisha is. They go on to suggest that promoting activities such as the ones above could close the attainment gap (ibid, p.17).

For Ibraahin, a Year 10 pupil, the benefit has been an increase in enjoyment as well as an increase in levels.

> It benefits my learning. I've seen a difference in the way I understand English because when I was in year seven or eight, English was one of the subjects I dreaded to go to lessons but now I understand it more so I enjoy going to it… I understand more and I've seen a difference in my levels at school (Ibraahin, Y10 pupil).

Achieving higher levels has resulted in him moving from set 3 to set 2 in English in mainstream. Warsame's son obtained Level 6 in his English test and Warsame attributed this to practicing past papers on Saturdays,

> That's why I encourage other parents as well. (I) say do this; is only two or three hours but it makes a big difference for your child (parent interview).

He also describes how his son benefited from a bridging opportunity between the school and the local library organised by the City Partnership encouraging supplementary school children to do the Summer Reading Challenge.[10] The routine installed by the summer reading challenge encouraged him to become an avid reader.

The focus on individual needs, the extra opportunities the schools have provided, whether that is learning a language, volunteering or taking part in different activities has helped develop social skills and cultural capital which have enabled pupils to progress. The next section examines how parents too have had opportunities to progress.

4.5 Impact on parents

Parents seemed to obtain a great deal of support through the strong ties established in the schools through the ability to talk to other parents:

> If I have a concern about my child I ask mothers, what they can do, what is a good school…it gives me more ideas, more choices, what I want for my son and also about behaviour (Akifa, Parent, Warida).

They also obtain support through the bridging opportunities of a parenting course, accessed at the school, of which one mother spoke positively,

> Everything I learned from that course I do it with my children and now my children is very good at the

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[10] A national initiative to encourage reading where children receive certificates if they read six books during the summer holidays.

(mainstream) school and is very good at home; they are doing very well. (Yusra, Parent, Marisha).

Axmed compares the different role expected of parents in the UK compared to his country of origin,

> To compare to back home where parenting really have no role in the child's education, only very few who are educated will say 'What are you doing? Who is your teacher?' But back home it's the duty of the school and teacher to ensure that child does well. If they don't do well then they stay the same class. So [in England] you only know when your child fails that something went wrong. (Coordinator, Jadud)

Thus, parenting courses delivered through the schools are particularly valuable in increasing the accessibility of the English education system that can seem reified to parents who have not been through it themselves. Previously posts such as Family Support Officers, available under the Extended Schools programme, aimed to increase mainstream school accessibility, but austerity measures and changing government policy have led to their deletion.

Being involved in the organisation of the school increases staff and volunteers' knowledge of educational issues which together with support helps other parents engage with mainstream schools. Maylor et al (2010, p.129) found one of the inhibitors to parental involvement in mainstream schools was a lack of knowledge of the education system and that through involvement with the supplementary school, parents "were also better placed to assert themselves in mainstream education" (ibid, p.130).

Finally, parents have found opportunities to progress through learning or obtaining work through information provided by the school or through being involved in the organisation and thereby increasing parents' own cultural capital through experience and training. The following section examines the commonalities and differences between the three schools.

4.6 Similarities and differences between schools

The three schools had lots of similarities. All children and/or parents heard about their respective schools through word of mouth, through a neighbour, friend or relative. The schools have few leaflets advertising their services. This suggests there is already a strong bonding propensity within the community that each school builds on.

The schools' core work is curriculum provision but additional support is available for a wide range of issues as the schools have built up significant expertise. Bonding, bridging and linking opportunities are available to varying degrees according to each schools' own interests and specialisms. There is a strong sense of bonding in each school. In all schools both pupils and parents show enjoyment in each other's company and a high level of social connections. I noticed in my observations how people chat; they don't rush off at the end of the session (Field notes Warida 12th and 19th September, Pimento 9th October, 20th November). The schools also provide a welcome alternative to overcrowded living conditions. One mother talked of feeling like being "in prison at home" (observation at Warida). Pupils in all schools talked of the distractions at home, television and younger siblings, the effects of which are exacerbated in overcrowded housing.

All three schools involved young people in planning future activities. This involvement gives pupils skills in project management, reporting and creating presentations, which increased their wider skills. It was these activities that past pupils mentioned specifically as helping them with university access and long-term career planning.

The schools all seemed to provide a respite from mainstream schooling. Many pupils referred to the pressures of mainstream schools. Certainly shyness came out quite strongly as a theme both from pupils and parents talking about their children. In the supplementary schools pupils felt they were in an environment, a safe space where they can express themselves, ask questions and access individual support which all impact on their cultural capital. Pupils and parents attested to increased attainment and improved confidence and communication skills. Pupils attested to how these benefits impacted on their progression and

supported their transition to sixth form and university entrance, as evidenced in sections 4.2.3 and 4.4.4 above. Friendship was cited as an important motivator for pupils in all three schools and this has an impact on learning. This symbiosis of friendship, a safe learning space and access to curriculum resources and extra-curricular opportunities can be summarised in Figure 3.

Curriculum Resources/Extra-curricular opportunities

Friendship

Pupil Attainment

Safe Learning Space
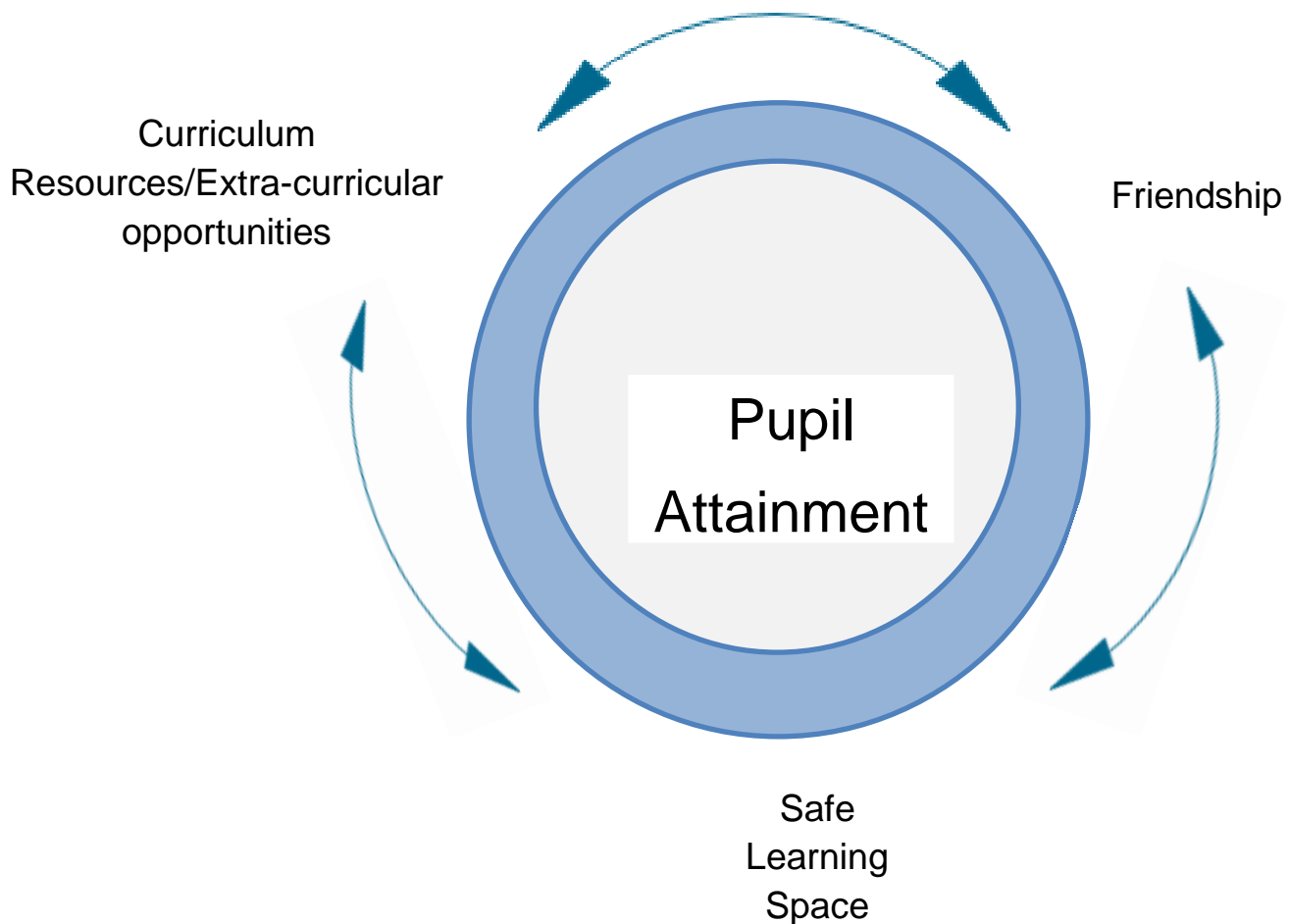
Figure 3: Symbiosis in schools

Marisha had a more family-like atmosphere but this may have more emphasis because pupils have more contact time to develop relationships and because it has control over its venue, staff can decorate the walls to reflect the school's interests and cultural background, giving it a more welcoming environment. Warida has capitalised on bridging opportunities for pupils, connecting with wider organisations, although parents at the school seemed to have benefited from linking opportunities, in terms of employment, through their involvement with the

school. Jadud had the advantage of having a long history since 2010 of offering bridging opportunities and capitalising on the linking opportunities provided by university volunteers. Its focus on secondary and sixth form pupils meant parents were less evident at the school as pupils were able to make their own way to and from the school. In the next section I examine potentially negative outcomes of the schools.

4.7 The negative side of social capital

This section examines evidence found of any negative outcomes of bonding, bridging and linking social capital, what Putnam (2000, p.350) and others have described as the "dark side" of social capital and as outlined in Chapter 2.2. To summarise this evidence I drew on the analytic nodes/themes of 'disadvantages of coming to school', 'future suggestions' and 'pressure to go.' I have collated this evidence in Appendix 8.

Pupils accessed the school through the bonding relationships of their parents. There was a strong sense of parents wanting their children to access supplementary schools, recognising the opportunity added value. Pressure to conform by attending supplementary school could be described as the darker side of social capital (Catts and Ozga, 2005). I specifically asked questions on how the child/young person came to attend the school and why. Younger children were more ambivalent. Older pupils were clearer about why they were attending and were obviously making a conscious decision themselves. Past pupils seemed to value the experience more on reflection. There was only one example of a reluctance to attend where a parent admitted, "If he had a choice he probably wouldn't come but would stay at home" (Akifa, Warida). Five pupils expressed either a reluctance to go or reluctance to get up early on a Saturday but three of these tempered this reluctance with compensatory statements like but "it's more free" (Maysa, Warida) or "the hardest bit is getting out; once you're there, you're there with your friends" (Khadija, Jadud). All three who tempered their reluctance were past pupils with one adding you have to "think about long-term" (Aaden, Jadud). Larger numbers at the beginning of a new term suggest that parents may pressure their children to give the school a try and then allow them to drop out if it does not suit them.

Warida included cultural studies and particularly emphasised cultural events. Parents felt that attending the school helped their children to adjust to their country of origin culture. It should be recognised that supplementary schools may alleviate bi-cultural conflict (Zhou and Kim 2006, p.22) by providing a process of adjustment but it is possible they could also heighten conflict by providing an emphasis on 'back home' although I found no evidence of bi-cultural conflict in my data.

In the next chapter I discuss the findings of Chapter 4 in relation to the theories of social capital in greater depth.

Chapter 5: Progression Capital

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses my findings in relation to the theoretical framework and methodology I set out in Chapter three drawing out key themes from the three case studies. I reflect on the concept of social capital and the divisions of bonding, bridging and linking capital outlined by Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001) and recognise the merging/symbiotic nature of these categories. I argue the terms bonding, bridging and linking are not sufficient alone to explain the process of supplementary education. Thus, bonding enables the development of confidence that enables successful linking. Without the supportive bonding environment of the supplementary school, successful bridging and linking are unlikely to take place. In addition, I suggest the term progression capital to describe the accumulation of attributes derived from bonding, bridging and linking opportunities that support the future development of the child, young person or adult. I include adults, as parents who are involved in supplementary school acquire progression capital through opportunities accessed that lead to work or through the development of skills that support a parent to progress. Progression capital is broader than Yosso's "navigational capital" because it encompasses several components, enhanced attainment, language acquisition, extended individual support, strengthening of a positive learning identity, development of wider skills, careers support and peer support, the latter two coinciding with Yosso's concept of 'navigational capital', which focuses on the strategies to "manoeuvre through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind" (Yosso, 2005, p.80). However, it should be recognised all aspects of "community cultural wealth" (ibid, p.78) have the potential to provide progression capital. Yosso does not include bridging to other organisations as part of her definition. In my thesis, it is clear that bridging has allowed pupils to access opportunities, such as volunteering, confidence-building programmes and university access support, which give them social and cultural capital that is deemed valuable by many higher education institutions and employers. This may be particular to the UK where Black community specific resources are less available than in the US which has had a longer tradition of positive action programmes instituted by the

African-American community, such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

The acquisition of progression capital has become more important during this current educational period where "the regime of performativity" (Ball, 2013, p.27) dominates mainstream schooling and where "the conditions for learning are erased" (ibid, p.20) thereby lessening opportunities for wider progression capital. It has been reported widely that mainstream schools are focusing on a narrower range of subjects and are providing less individual support and this is having an effect on pupils' self-esteem, confidence and mental health (Hutchings, 2015). Hutchings describes the narrowing of the curriculum to the detriment of subjects like personal and social education (ibid, p.40) and Drama, subjects that support the development of wider skills (ibid, p.41). It is these skills, such as team work, communication and presentation skills that support wider progression. It should be noted that quotations from interviewees in this chapter represent Jadud more than the other two case study schools in this chapter because Jadud's focus on secondary-aged pupils meant that there were more pertinent examples of progression capital. The other schools also had evidence but had far fewer examples because they had fewer secondary pupils. There were more opportunities for links with external agencies for secondary-aged pupils both at the schools and external to the schools where pupils could travel independently. I begin by discussing my research questions.

5.2 To what extent are supplementary schools sources of bonding, bridging and linking capital for the pupils and their parents?

My research evidenced the strength of bonding in supplementary schools which in turn acts as a valuable resource for both pupils and parents. Bonding has been critiqued as "exclusive rather than inclusive" (Thomas and Sanderson, 2011, p.140; Cantle, 2001, p.35). Bonding in the case study schools, however, underpins a social model of learning. In addition, the positive dimensions of being part of a group where the attributes of bonding, such as trust, are inherent should be recognised. These schools provide a safe space for children which may be in contrast to mainstream school which may act as an inhibitor. Thus, Edgeworth asserts that some students may suppress some aspects of their identity in mainstream schooling in particular circumstances:

> in order to fit in, a Muslim student adopts the hetero-
> normative behaviours of his peer group at school (in
> direct contrast to his religious life at home), in order to be
> culturally recognizable (Edgeworth 2015, p.36).

Edgeworth uses Foucault's concept of a 'dividing practice' (Foucault, cited in Edgeworth, 2015, p. 37), where if a pupil is in a minority, her/his separation from those around her/him by her/his ethnicity and culture, "subjugates the expression he [sic] is allowed to have of his ethnic and religious identity" (Edgeworth, 2015, p.37). Noting that the term 'Muslim' is a very heterogeneous category, a pupil in supplementary school is released from this 'dividing practice' and can learn with fewer inhibitions, particularly as research has shown for many young Muslims, religion is the most important form of identification (Thomas and Sanderson, 2011, p.1033; Franceschelli and O'Brien 2014, p.1197). Vertovec (2007, p.20) suggests,

> when immigrants feel well plugged into a field of
> interactions whether in the UK or spanning a place of
> origin, this may well provide a sense of confidence to
> engage yet other people and spaces. If, on the contrary,
> exclusion from interaction – in the UK or place of origin –
> is felt, this may work to mitigate propensities to engage
> further.

This might suggest the bonding opportunities supplementary schools provide give confidence to parents and pupils to engage further with other organisations rather than act as a reinforcement of segregation as Cantle infers (Cantle in Antonsonich, 2015, p.8). Modood and May found evidence "that while the ethnic minority young strongly identified with a minority identity, this did not compete with a sense of Britishness" (Modood and May, 2001, p.313). Far from being segregated areas of exclusion, evidence from the case study schools show supplementary schools have the potential to support young people to make sense of their multiple identities. Religious identification may be the most important identifier for many Muslims but the case study supplementary schools provide opportunities to negotiate religious identity with modern day British identities for example, through extended discussion with peers and/or staff.

An array of bridging opportunities occurred between the supplementary schools and a range of other organisations sometimes independently and sometimes

brokered through the City Partnership which also acts as a broker of peer support, as a tutor from Warida points out,

> that's the whole point isn't it of being in a consortium together, sharing good experiences and problems, learning from each other

The City partnership could be described as providing an opportunity for inter-group contact through a contact process that has been described as 'mutual differentiation' (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001, quoted in Vertovec, 2007, p.26) where "cooperation or interdependence is stressed while maintaining and recognizing distinct group boundaries and membership" (Vertovec, 2007, p.26). This can result in the reduction of tension and the creation of bonds of trust (ibid, p.28).

Most examples of linking came through volunteers at the schools, some of whom came from a corporate background and had access to knowledge unavailable to most parents. The clearest example of this was in Jadud where a volunteer had experience of obtaining bursaries to private schools and helped the coordinator obtain a bursary for his son for sixth form, which his son felt opened up further opportunities for him:

> in hindsight I think that move helped me quite a lot as again I was exposed to a new environment. I had to meet new people and simultaneously you pick up new skills that helped me and the other thing that I found really useful was that also similar to supplementary schools with that school compared to (previous mainstream school) there was a lot of access to information to help you, both to choose what course you wanted to do at university so there was the journal club, also with the sports activities. Also, I remember lots of small group(work)… I'd regularly do presentations in front of class all this stuff that I didn't do at mainstream school but I still had access to them at the supplementary schools

It is interesting that he compares these other experiences with similar experiences at supplementary school rather than his previous mainstream school where he didn't have access to them. This was corroborated by other pupils who referred to opportunities such as these that only go to a select number of pupils in mainstream school. Reay and Mirza (1997, p.497) refer to the claim that

supplementary schools may be recognised as "conservative" in nature as they acquiesce to the current system with its inbuilt inequalities rather than challenging it. The acceptance of a bursary for a private school could be evidenced as a conservative act but I argue that it should also be seen in a context where labour market outcomes for Black and minority ethnic graduates are reduced (Zwysen and Longhi, 2016) and where "resources through the family or the co-ethnic community are important in determining the labour market outcomes of ethnic minorities" (ibid). In addition the motivation to achieve social and educational mobility is born out of the economic and social hardships endured by migrants as Archer and Francis (2006, p.42) found in their research on Chinese families. For these reasons, like Reay and Mirza, I recognise the "transformative possibilities" (1997, p.497) of these particular supplementary schools. Andrews recognises the importance of this type of support but critiques it as "treating the symptoms rather than the disease" (Andrews, 2018, p. 219) suggesting it is not possible to be radical while operating within a system of oppression (ibid, p.125). However, success for Tahiil, the student involved, is not an individual act, but has a strong collective element. He has continued to volunteer each Saturday, teaching children Maths and coaching individuals in order to transform opportunities for all.

In all three schools the motivation for the work of the staff and volunteers echoed that described by Reay and Mirza. Parents were aware that they needed to do everything in their power to get the best possible education for their children in order to safeguard their children's long term security and prosperity. This might mean extending their own knowledge on education through parenting courses or by providing additional tuition and support. Whereas their own "cultural capital … is in the wrong currency" (Reay 1998, p.59), they strive to ensure their children's isn't. The schools become sites of power (Foucault, 2001, p.356) where parents are able to exercise agency.

5.3 How is social capital acquired and developed in and through supplementary schools by pupils and their families?

Social capital is acquired and developed through the bonding that leads to a successful learning environment, the bridging to extra-curricular opportunities and the role of individual parents both as 'active cultivators' (Siraj and Mayo 2014,

p.248) of their children and as community cultivators of the wider community. This section looks at each of these themes in more detail.

5.3.1 Successful learning environment

The mixture of friendship and learning emerged strongly suggesting the effectiveness of a more social model of learning. Key ingredients of a successful learning environment emerging from the pupil data suggested the following components

- Fun
- Variety of learning opportunities
- Safe space where you can be yourself
- Learning with friends
- Access to resources and individual flexible support by 'expert' adults
- Opportunity to develop social, communication and other soft skills
- Opportunity to communicate with a wide range of children, young people and adults.

These components largely depend on key attributes of social capital such as high levels of trust and shared norms (Coleman, 1988). All three case study schools, like the Chinese schools in Archer and Francis' (2009, p.483) study, provided spaces where pupils could try out "more 'playful' learner identities' and were contrasted starkly with mainstream provision which was described as highly pressurised:

> it is not like mainstream school so not in a bad way everything is more relaxed; it's not so intense. You don't feel the pressures of having to do homework on time having to keep your grades up; it is literally just a calm atmosphere (Mustapha, past pupil, Warida)

Some of the consequences of mainstream hyper-accountability were reflected in my research. The more relaxed environment at supplementary school contrasted with the performative effects of the mainstream classroom,

> it was like an active learning. I don't remember it being like boring and sitting writing a lot. Like being tormented

> like that! I just remember like having fun whilst learning (Ayesha, past pupil, Warida)

Relationships with teachers are also affected by performative demands,

> the link between student and teacher is a bit more easier and you can talk to them but in a mainstream school, the teachers are responsible for more kids so it might be harder for them and they're in such a rush to keep up with content so there is pressure for them from high above to be at this stage of the curriculum, by this lesson, by this date, by this week. So in that sense it might even be just a case of leaving people behind sometimes (Aaden, past pupil, Jadud).

One can almost hear the stressed-out mainstream teacher behind Aaden here. Aaden recognises that a performative culture will have losers as well as winners and corroborates research on the performative impact on pupils (Hutchings, 2015, p.32). One impact has been a reduction of creative and practical activities (Hutchings, 2015, p.46) and the following section examines how supplementary schools compensate for this reduction through providing extra-curricular activities.

5.3.2 The role of extra-curricular opportunities

Attending after-school clubs has a positive impact on the attainment of disadvantaged children (Chanfreau et al, 2016, p.21) and schools are able to provide similar opportunities through bridging with other organisations. Tahiil explains why schools can be in a better place to offer these opportunities:

> There's 30 people in a (mainstream) class and not every single person would have access to {particular initiatives} so it would be small chunks of the year group that would go off and do these stuff so having the chance in supplementary school, doing it with people that live in the same local area as you. Some pupils might not be comfortable doing it at (mainstream) school and feel more comfortable doing it with the supplementary school (Tahiil, past pupil, Jadud).

Tahiil alludes to pupils taking up opportunities through supplementary rather than their mainstream school. There may be a perception that when opportunities come to a mainstream school the same chosen few are put forward. Bennett et al (2012, p.133) refer to teachers as "gatekeepers to slots in extracurricular activities, recruiting students they perceive to be talented while restricting others".

Due to recent performative demands there may also be reduced capacity to organise extra-curricular opportunities. Tahiil also reflects how it can be challenging to do something in front of your peers at mainstream school,

> but there could be aspects of bullying or some people might have a certain reputation at (mainstream) school and might not want people to see another side of them whereas in supplementary school everyone was friends; everyone would be from the local area.

Here Tahiil recognises the 'dividing practice' that pupils may be subject to in mainstream school, expressed here with reference to friendship groups and peer sub cultures. Supplementary schools can provide alternative places to access bridging opportunities at times that suit pupils and in ways that feel comfortable to them.

The coordinator of Jadud recognised the opportunities presented by extra-curricular activities and the benefits for young people and made deliberate attempts to attract more opportunities. The coordinators in Warida and Marisha, however, failed to even mention some key opportunities they had provided. There was a mismatch on what past pupils recognised as being valuable to their progression and how the coordinators described their offer. It was almost as if the coordinators had taken up the opportunities when offered but had not fully considered their benefits. In fact this finding is similar to that of Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.55) who found that parents of children who succeeded against the odds had organised a number of extra-curricular activities but, "for many they had not previously given much thought to why they had chosen these activities in particular." As past pupils credit such opportunities as contributing to their progression there may be some worth in promoting the value of them more explicitly in all schools and to parents in general. Parent-respondents could be described as active cultivators as they make every effort to cultivate their children's capacity to achieve as the following section explores.

5.3.3 Parents as active cultivators

Aaden, a past pupil, now at university, sheds light on what Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.248) would describe as his father's "active cultivation", in response to a question on whether he felt pressure to attend the school,

> it's not forced to go in the sense like we have no choice like you'd be grabbed by the arm and forced to go, but more or less forced to go where my dad explained to us in such a way, where he stresses the importance of education, the importance of this opportunity, where if you don't go you're missing out, so forced in a way where it makes you understand the importance of attending (Aaden, past pupil, Jadud).

I would describe parents who send their children to supplementary school as possessing this "active cultivation" which could range from low to intense. Intense cultivation bordered on surveillance where a parent attended the school with the pupil to ensure he was not only attending but maximising his opportunity:

> I have to make sure what they're studying, behave, how they get profit from the teacher. I never got me myself (Magan, parent, Jadud).

On the face of it this could be compared to the individualistic response of the middle-class parents described by Lareau as "concerted cultivation" (2011, p.28). However, Magan is making a personal commitment to redress the inequalities he has experienced through attempting to change the life course of his child. This motivation, to make up for what they perceive they did not have, is common to many parents, as one coordinator suggests:

> being as someone from ethnic minorities, who didn't have a good job with reasonable qualification, parents see their only opportunity is to help with their children, so their children will be in a better position than they themselves are at the moment (Coordinator, Jadud).

Magan's initial positioning is one of disenfranchement and is thus very different to the positioning of Lareau's (ibid) middle-class concerted cultivators. Magan is using his "aspirational capital" (Yosso, 2005, p.77, see p.42 above) to transform his son's life opportunities. For parents like Magan, ensuring your child has maximum opportunities to progress can be understood as a political act (Casey, 1993, p.124 in Mirza and Reay, 2000, p.524), as a way of "attempting to transform structure through agency" (ibid, p.525).

Magan is an active agent, an active cultivator, investing considerable time and effort to support his children's learning and spending time with them. He is also responding to pressure from mainstream school,

> we make sure because (mainstream school) is so tough;
> if you do not study good they will have meeting for you to
> come. Always they have to be very good study so I have
> a lot of effort to do for my children. I have a teacher
> coming in every Wednesday two hours and I have to
> bring to Saturday and City partnership and also I bring
> here and also good mathematics for myself I have to
> always study with them and we have time to play for
> ourselves…football, swimming (Parent, Jadud).

It is unlikely the mainstream school has any idea how much effort this parent is making towards his children's education. His efforts are conducted independently and may be largely invisible to the mainstream school (Vincent, 1996).

Many working class and minority ethnic parents lack the confidence and sense of entitlement to demand mainstream teachers' time and attention (Rollock et al, 2015). Vincent and Warren (2000, p.126) found refugee parents had questions and comments on the way their children's schools operate and the progress the child was making,

> But many of those views and opinions remained hidden
> from the school, submerged in a web of conflicting
> concerns and competing priorities which may include, for
> example, housing, status, benefits and racism… They
> spoke a different language and were met by an unfamiliar
> set of practices.

They suggest that the difficulties refugee families face reflect the difficulties many parents face, particularly those from Black and minority ethnic groups. Supplementary schools can provide a space for Black and minority ethnic parents to talk to teachers many of whom share their own ethnic background and first language. Parents are creating their own information networks through the schools and become their own sites of power (Foucault, 2001, p. 356). In the following section I look further at these opportunities.

5.3.4 Parents as community cultivators

In each school there are key individuals who have some type of community or education qualification or experience. In Warida and Jadud this experience was developed in their countries of origin. Other parents looked to these individuals to develop the service. The coordinator of Jadud explains how this happened,

> people were looking at me as someone who got a bit of education, a bit of language abilities. So I was able to represent in terms of local forums, talking to the councillors, talking to the (mainstream) schools. I used to attend with parents when they've got parents evenings, when there are issues of exclusion. I still do it (Axmed).

Sudbury (1998, p.87) cited in Mirza and Reay (2000, p.526) similarly refers to the "catalytic impact" of a few "pioneer" women who begin "a process of awareness raising and mobilisation." They become "people through whom power passes" (Foucault, 2001, p.356). Mirza and Reay also recognise the women coordinators' roles in the construction of community (ibid, p.527). These individuals, both male and female in my study, act, as what I call, community cultivators where they become beacons of hope inspiring other parents, as can be evidenced by a parent talking about the coordinator of Jadud:

> I work with Axmed before my children were small and I see the way he do. Axmed. When I saw how they doing, his children, I say this is the place to be. (Warsame, Jadud).

Gradually as others from the community gain experience, they take on additional roles and become community cultivators. The supplementary school becomes part of the fabric of their lives, as Rihab describes,

> And that's when I faced the big challenge in that now - this is not just helping, this is part of my life now, I'm going to commit to it (volunteer, Warida).

Her paid work becomes less important than her volunteering at the school. The attitude of contributing to one's community through being a community cultivator is also being passed on to the younger generation:

> The school's been unbelievably beneficial to me so in terms of all they have done for me; I'm very grateful so that's why I'm volunteering for them so …it's a kind of way of giving back, giving back to the community (Mustapha, past pupil Warida).

Kwon and Adler (2014, p.416) questioned the durability of social capital once an outcome has been achieved unless other motivations come into play. The example of coordinators, parents and past pupils continuing their involvement demonstrate strong community bonds.

Coordinators also have a role in brokering the education system. Quite often it is because they go through the system with their own children, learn from it, then help the rest of the community,

> you have to understand the system, you have to get used to the interview system, public speaking. Someone may have good GCSEs but they cannot say a word when they go for interview (Axmed, coordinator, Jadud).

Axmed' s reference to wider skills, is one example of the way in which he has learnt to understand and identify the forms of cultural capital that support progression and he has put in place opportunities for pupils to benefit and to learn 'the rules of the educational game' (Reay, 1998, p.145).

Community cultivators help bridge to mainstream schools often in less obvious ways, unrecognised by the mainstream. They talk to parents about issues within the mainstream school and decode letters. They act as translators of school meanings (often tacit and hidden) into common understandings. They will go to meetings with parents at the mainstream school. For parents this support goes some way to address the power imbalance they feel with the mainstream school.

They are also able to broker potential conflict or misunderstandings between children and their parents. Axmed reflects here on a common tension within families over career pathways:

> And also the message of love of parents wanting their children to become engineers, doctors, including myself. But to say let us consider children's expressions. Let's not force them. We can guide them, because we've got that parent issue of I really want my children to get good degrees. That's fine, but we should need to respect and consider their wishes. They may want to do psychology, they may want to do I.T; their mum, dad wanted maybe to do radiology or pharmacist. And really that's the message coming through …saying to the parents please don't force your children…Because what you don't want is to confuse our children and they do it for you and not for themselves (Coordinator, Jadud).

Zhou and Kim (2006:24) discuss the constraining influences of the social capital generated through supplementary education as pupils focus on Science and engineering to meet the wishes of their family. This pressure to conform is the

negative side of social capital but in **this** supplementary school the coordinator acts as a mediator. Axmed's understanding of all perspectives, parents' motivations, a young person's motivation, the requirements of the job/university market and the opportunities and challenges of adapting to British society (Franceschelli and O'Brien, 2014, p.1191), puts him in a unique position to allay a parent's fears and support the family through the process of career development and progression. The following section explores the impact that social capital has on both pupils and parents.

5.4 What impact does the generation of different forms of social capital have on supplementary school pupils and their parents?

This section is divided into two key themes that emerged to demonstrate the impact on pupils of the social capital generated by supplementary schools: cultural inclusion and what I have termed progression capital. It moves on to examine the impact on parents suggesting social capital opportunities in supplementary schools support parent engagement in mainstream education.

5.4.1 Cultural inclusion

Staffing reflects the cultural background of the pupils and this aids learning, as this description of a university volunteer, accessed through linking with a world class university, shows:

> because he is someone from ethnic minorities, he is not English person, White person, majority see him as a role model, they relate to him more; he just seem like one of them. So they are more likely to ask him question (Coordinator, Jadud).

The coordinator intimates here that pupils' experiences contrast to the mainstream where pupils may have teachers who share their ethnic origin, but as Andrews points out, may "adopt positions that are framed by Whiteness" due to the White hegemony which dominates the English education system (2013a, p.15). Black teachers in a mainstream school are constrained by institutions that are founded on principles that historically have centred on a White English education system.

Mirza (1997, p.204) recognised the radical and subversive nature of supplementary schools,

> Some schools provide an alternative world with different meanings and shared 'ways of knowing'. Where whiteness is displaced and blackness becomes the unspoken norm. It is a place of refusal and difference; a place of belonging.

These "shared 'ways of knowing'" and the sense of belonging and cultural familiarity with school staff are acknowledged by Dwayne at Marisha,

> the way Faith is, is the way my Nan was at home so it's more of a culture thing but it was nice to just know it was not just my family that was like that (past pupil, Marisha).

For Dwayne, the supplementary school is a space where he does not feel "divided from those around him by his ethnicity and culture" (Edgeworth, 2015, p.37). For second generation children, born in Britain, fluent in English, there may be important cultural and ethnic influences they may need to negotiate or even suppress in a mainstream school setting.

Cultural familiarity also helps family relationships through a process of replicating culture from 'back home' at the school,

> But when they see me involved with the other teachers and you know the way we eat together, because they still go back home and they see the same thing. It's like our little...home. Like extended family (Rihab, parent volunteer, Warida).

This corresponds with Zhou and Kim's (2006:22): findings in Chinese and Korean supplementary schools in the US,

> Such cultural exposure reinforces family values and heightens a sense of ethnic identity, helping children to relate to their parents' or their ancestor's "stuff" without feeling embarrassed.

Moreover they found that "being part of this particular ethnic environment helps alleviate bicul-tural conflicts" (ibid, p.23) that can be found in migrant families. Warida can help to avoid this bi-cultural conflict by its provision of a culturally, familiar space,

> I felt like it's bringing a piece of home back here. Like with people that are just like, they live the same - they have the same background as us – (Ayesha, past pupil, Warida)

Warida helps to smooth the disjuncture between Ayesha's life in the UK and the life she recognises as "back home."

As Creese et al (2006, p.33) found, complementary schools "offer children connections between their home lives, their mainstream school lives and their linguistic and cultural heritages" as Ayesha reflects:

> they understand the whole process of like balancing your Sudanese life and like - your English - well not English life - like going to school and doing that (Ayesha, past pupil, Warida)

Rather than heightening bi-cultural conflict supplementary schools can offer a process of mediating and working through the space between a pupil's cultural heritage and life in the UK helping pupils to develop transnational identities. The ability to discuss and share transnational experiences is particularly important as transnational engagement has intensified among migrants, due in large part to changing technologies and reduced telecommunication and travel costs (Vertovec, 2007, p.19). The pressure in mainstream secondary schools, the increased focus on qualifications and the resulting squeeze on practical and creative work (Hutchings, 2015, p.5) has meant supplementary schools are becoming an alternative outlet for young people to access bridging opportunities with other organisations. These opportunities support the development of a range of wider skills which, in turn, help pupils acquire progression capital as the following section explores.

5.4.2 Progression capital

All sources in NVIVO which referenced linking, apart from one, were from either staff or past pupils. It is difficult to evidence linking without the passage of time. This led me to two conclusions, the data from past pupils was particularly crucial and that linking capital is not self-evident at the time. Past pupils gave examples of how they had benefited from bonding or bridging opportunities that supported their long-term outcomes, for example, presenting to parents at an Eid party (bonding) or participating in a joint project with another organisation (bridging). At the time the opportunities cannot be described as linking but the long-term impact enables the pupil to access a university place thereby affecting his/her outcome. This led me to develop the concept of progression capital to describe the

opportunities created through community networks to enhance pupil attainment and to develop wider skills, thereby enhancing pupils' cultural capital, which will support pupils to access further and higher education, training or employment. Progression capital describes the particular amalgam of social and cultural capitals developed by supplementary schools. I refer to this amalgam as progression capital to draw attention to its usefulness in helping pupils progress through and succeed in the educational system. The impact of progression capital is explored in the following sub-sections which describe the key components: enhanced attainment, language acquisition, extended individual support, positive learning identity, development of wider skills, careers support and peer to peer support.

5.4.2.1 Enhanced attainment

Supplementary school impact on attainment is difficult to prove as discussed in Chapter 2. Pupils in the case studies referenced examples where they clearly felt they had achieved better results because of experiences at supplementary school. Past pupils recognised the role of supplementary classes in their admission to university. The extra hours spent on core subjects are likely to have had an impact on attainment. Some of the past pupils had attended supplementary school from the age of 5 to 16 amounting to many extra hours of potential learning reinforcement. It may have led to improved GCSE performance as Pensiero and Green (2016) have found that

> teacher-led out of school time study programmes are moderately effective in improving overall GCSE performance. For children whose parents are unemployed or in a routine occupation, this improvement is the equivalent of two GCSE grades.

Evidence that supplementary schools have helped raise attainment demonstrates the role they can have in increasing pupils' progression capital. Overall attainment is benefited by language acquisition (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Barradas, 2010) as the following section explores.

5.4.2.2 Language acquisition

Learning Arabic was seen as a bonding, bridging and linking mechanism. Learning a language enables bonding both in the host country and the country of

origin. It will ensure pupils can communicate when they go "back home," as Maysa explains,

> it's nice just to be able to talk well and be able to write it as well if I am talking to my family, if I go to my country as well (Warida, Y9 pupil).

Pupils also recognised the benefits of this "linguistic capital" (Yosso, 2005, p.78), see p.42 above) in terms of communicating in the future, allowing them to bond with extended family as well as potentially bridge or link to other opportunities in not only their countries of origin but also any Arabic-speaking countries across the world. This will enhance their progression opportunities; particularly as the British Council have recognised Arabic as being the second most important language in the world for workers of the future (Tinsley and Board, 2015, p.3). Pupils also recognised the impact of learning Arabic on their learning of other languages,

> because once you've picked up Arabic it is very easy for you to do other foreign languages like Spanish, especially, because Spanish, French and Arabic they all have very [much in] common (Mustapha, past pupil, Warida).

Pupils in Chinese complementary schools likewise found learning Mandarin helped them learn other languages at school (Archer et al, 2009, p.491). Learning Arabic extends the cultural capital of pupils like Samar and enables them to consider careers abroad,

> I mean especially with Samar, she has a language, and she's planning now to study international, maybe law and to work in the UN and travel (Rihab, parent volunteer, Warida).

She had also attained A grades in Year 10 in Spanish and French GCSE in her mainstream school. Language proficiency increases pupils' progression capital.

5.4.2.3 Extended individual support
Time for extended explanations and the opportunity to discuss why an answer is wrong is something pupils valued. Maylor et al (2010, p.104) also found the value pupils placed on extra time in their research on the impact of supplementary schools on pupils' attainment:

> Pupils also perceived the explanations provided by their supplementary teachers to be more effective, partly because they spent time explaining things, but also because they made learning more manageable by breaking it down.

Dwayne's individual support accessed at supplementary school helped prepare him for working life. The extensive time spent discussing behaviour with someone he trusts, seems to have had a longer lasting impact which is now benefiting him in his apprenticeship:

> I would say before I wasn't able to analyse things so if I had an argument with a teacher at (mainstream) school and I would talk to Faith about it, it was always me, me, me, me. I'm being picked on and then she would sit me down and be, like, well, look listen, say the story again. She said well if you didn't do that they wouldn't have retaliated or if you didn't retaliate and you came home and told me or your mum things could have been different …it's changed my mindset; even coming into my apprenticeship to work I know now how to put [work] first.

Dwayne's opportunity to talk through incidents has helped develop his emotional capital, that is, "the emotional resources you hand on to those you care about" (Reay, 2004, p. 60). Dwayne appeared at the end of one of my observation periods and talked about how people behaved in his apprenticeship. The complex micro-politics of a work place came out strongly but what came through was Dwayne's resilience in dealing with it. Many of the phrases he used to describe the situation echoed ones used by Faith, the coordinator. Extended individual support helps develop a positive learning identity which the next section addresses.

5.4.2.4 Positive learning identity

Increased confidence helps support a positive learning identity. Creese et al (2006, p.24) make the point that "(mainstream) schools privilege identifications through their institutional discourse" and in their study of two complementary schools found that teachers, parents and students were able "to project a discourse around successful learner identities" (ibid, p.24). Watkins et al suggest effective learning is discouraged by "denying the emotional and the participatory aspects" (2007, p.44). The pupils valued the opportunity to engage in extended dialogue with people they trust where they are able to explore the emotional

aspects of the learning environment. Stephen Ball recognising the effects of a performance culture in mainstream schools has called for a recognition that

> successful learning requires human relations between educators and learners that are freely chosen, based on trust and mutual respect, in which learners feel safe, supported and then challenged, so they become better at learning (2013, p.28).

The formality of the mainstream classroom may prevent natural expression which can become a barrier to learning. Pupils referred to instances where they were anxious in mainstream to ask more than once if they did not understand or they talked about being embarrassed in front of other children. Farouk describes the process of trying to avoid failure in mainstream,

> so I'd think about lifting my hand and then I'd think of all the bad possibilities that could happen. So I'd be like what if I'm wrong? Will people laugh at me? Will the teacher get angry at me for not learning? And it's all those negative possibilities. And then from there you just stop and you just think it's not worth putting your hand up; it's not worth the risk (Past pupil, Marisha).

Here Farouk is describing how he polices his learner identity. The social relations and structure of the mainstream classroom have been internalised to such an extent that he perceived his options to be limited. By contrast, the safe space, in an atmosphere of trust, provided by Marisha, has helped him develop a less fragile learning identity:

> over the years through here (supplementary) it's really just helped me build my confidence and now if a teacher says anything I used to be like scared to talk but now I feel happy to give an answer (Farouk, past pupil, Marisha).

Ball (2008, p.43) describes the new roles and relationships of a market-orientated education environment as that of client/consumer suggesting previous roles and loyalties have been marginalised. The pupils above bear witness to this change in mainstream school teachers' subject positions.

The development of wider skills also contributes to a positive learning identity to which the following section turns.

5.4.2.5 Development of wider skills

The bridging and linking opportunities with other organisations have helped pupils develop wider skills that have enhanced pupils' cultural capital and future progression. Increased confidence was mentioned in all schools, emerging through bridging opportunities, where pupils have met and worked with new people,

> Just the confidence to just walk freely down the road have a conversation and just encounter different social situations even; it's very broad in terms of its benefit to me (Aaden, past pupil, Jadud).

Maylor et al (2010, p.149-152) also found extensive evidence to suggest pupils' confidence is raised through supplementary schools and recognised this as an important part of their added value (ibid, p.168). Volunteering experiences within the supplementary school have also helped develop wider skills that are useful in later life. Tahiil describes how teaching younger pupils helped him as he trains to be a doctor,

> I think it's helped me develop professionally, acting in a professional manner…to express yourself in an understandable and easy way is directly helping me; it's helped me be a more open person and more receptive to other people (Tahiil, past pupil and volunteer, Jadud)

His experience of teaching younger pupils within the school has helped him develop empathy as well as the ability to communicate with different audiences. Unequal access to opportunities that support the development of pupils' cultural capital has been identified as a barrier to social mobility (Jerrim, 2017, p.29) for disadvantaged pupils. The social capital opportunities supplementary schools offer potentially mitigate this social inequality by enhancing pupils' progression capital.

5.4.2.6 Careers support

Support for future career development was achieved through direct support, volunteering opportunities and by contact with role models from various career pathways. Opportunities for older pupils to volunteer was specifically mentioned in connection with helping to shape ideas for the future,

> I think it helps you find the path that you want to take when you get older (Samu, past pupil, Jadud)

but also with developing cultural capital through providing valuable experience for a CV,

> Personally I think I want to go into a career working with kids that's why even just doing volunteers is really important. I think I can even write that on my CV (Khadija, past pupil, Jadud).

Direct individualised support with future course/career intentions through university mentors over a period of time, that was not available in mainstream school, was cited as helping with university admissions.

> he was there for the whole year so he was there for my whole application process so from the beginning, from personal statement he helped me write it; he went through it with me. Once it got to extra exams … he gave me support, told me which books to read. When it came to the interviews he helped me do mock interviews, gave me practice questions and that helps so much into helping me get a place at Imperial. With him I just felt I had so much guidance (Tahiil, past pupil).

However, the point needs to be made that this type of linking capital is not simply a connection that provides a foothold into a job or new opportunity. I argue that this linking capital is something much deeper. It constitutes obtaining 'the rules of the game' (Lareau, 2011, p.6) of a particular field (in this case Higher Education) from someone in a more embedded position in relation to the HE field. Catts and Allan (2012, p.222) suggest that "it is not necessarily the quantity of social capital that an individual can access, but rather the quality of the social capital that is important." For Tahiil, the quality of the link was high as the university volunteer was able to respond to his needs as and when necessary and help him to understand fully "the rules of the game" (Lareau, 2011, p.6) when it comes to university admission. Woolcock (2001, p.11) recognises this "capacity to leverage resources, ideas, and information from formal institutions beyond the community" as a key function of linking social capital. It is similar to Yosso's concept of navigational capital whereby community members are connected to "social networks that facilitate community navigation through places and spaces" (Yosso, 2005, p.80).

Links through

economically successful role models from the same ethnic background or within the same community have been shown to inspire young people in their thinking about future prospects [DCLG, 2009], as well as providing routes out of crime, disaffection and unemployment (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011, p.5).

For Samu regular access to a Science volunteer from university helped shape his university choices and sustained his motivation:

> it helped me realise science was one of my favourite subjects. For University I want to study sports science and to do that I know I have got to succeed in my last two years of secondary school so I'm going to make sure I put in the hours needed to succeed in Science (Samu, past pupil, Jadud)

The benefits of access to role models were also achieved through peer support within the schools as the following section examines.

5.4.2.7 Peer to peer support

The small size of supplementary schools and their limited budgets ensures pupils are grouped across wider age ranges than mainstream school. It can be compared to the vertical tutoring system adopted by some mainstream schools, which is promoted as raising attainment and improving outcomes for pupils, as well as improving cross-age peer relationships (Barnard, 2010, Tedesco, 2015). The advantages of this mix of ages came through the data of all three schools and supports the development of progression capital.

The bonding within the supplementary school ensured the mix of ages was a positive experience,

> I think everyone at the supplementary school is either friends as well so naturally they would help support the people that are younger than them (Khadija, past pupil, Jadud).

Transition from primary to secondary school can be problematic with children needing support to develop their social and personal skills (Evangelou et al, 2008, p. v). Supplementary schools provide a natural opportunity for extending the time to process transition that is just unavailable to them in mainstream. Blessing, a teacher from Marisha refers to a typical conversation she hears between children from different year groups,

> There's also that person that they can look to; yes this person is in secondary school and they can see the homework they get. The kids always talk about the different types of discipline in their schools, the uniform they have to wear and what they're not allowed to wear. It's quite different in all the schools. They get to have a feel of what it's like.

This type of familiarity with the expectations of secondary school helps prepare younger pupils for change. In Marisha support for transition came out strongly as pupils talked about listening to older children and how that helped them to acclimatise to secondary school and in Jadud younger secondary students were more prepared for the demands of GCSE subjects through listening to the interactions of older pupils. Tahiil describes the advantages for him of the mixed age grouping:

> It was a good thing because with the people that were in the year groups above you, you could see what they were doing and passively you would know what to expect in the upcoming years (past pupil, Jadud)

My data supported the evidence Siraj and Mayo (2014, p.247) found for children who "succeeded against the odds," that peers can,

> inspire high aspirations and help children do well by supporting school work and by offering emotional support that reinforces their positive perceptions of themselves as learners and of school in general

In summary key benefits obtained at supplementary school, namely the possibility of enhancing attainment, learning a community language, access to individual and peer support and access to opportunities that develop wider skills all help develop a pupil's progression capital that may be utilised at some point in the future. The following section examines the impact of social capital opportunities for parents.

5.5 Improving parent involvement in mainstream education

This section examines how social capital opportunities have improved parents' involvement in their children's mainstream schools. Support for parents was offered, both formally by staff and informally by other parents, at all three schools over a wide range of issues and this gives parents more confidence in their interactions with mainstream schools. The majority of my parent interviewees were educated in countries of origin where there was no expectation for parents

to be involved in their children's schools.

Nwulu (2015, p.28) has recognised that "supplementary schools tend to be rich in community relationships" yet partnerships between mainstream and supplementary schools remain in contention and centre largely on the letting of premises. However, supplementary school staff do act as a, largely unseen, bridge for parents to the mainstream through their discussions with parents. Sometimes a parent will seek support from supplementary school staff because s/he is sceptical or lacks trust in the mainstream or as Vincent et al (2012a, p.142) found in their research on Black middle class parents, "their awareness and experience of discrimination adds an acuteness and intensity to their surveillance." I found similar examples in my research, as can be seen in the following example,

> it's just nice to hear someone independent outside the school. So that's nice because it's independent. It's nice to hear what she (Faith, the coordinator) says (Isabel, parent, Marisha).

Isabel here values an opinion from someone she trusts. Sometimes parents don't feel heard or as Vincent and Warren (2000, p.125) remind us, "from a parental perspective, schools can seem impermeable and inaccessible".

Rihab, a parent volunteer, feels the school has to raise awareness of educational information and issues with parents so they are in a stronger position to make their views known,

> they (parents) don't have all the benefit from mainstream school 'cos most of the time whatever we say is not heard. But with supplementary school it become more strong now, so... we have to raise awareness or to update us about information that we can fight, or we can argue that our children they need (Rihab, parent volunteer, Warida)

Here, Rihab recognises that some parental voices have no impact on the organisation of the mainstream school (Vincent 2000, p.5) and so she resorts to helping parents be as informed as possible about educational information, such as assessment criteria or admissions information to empower themselves when they speak to mainstream teachers on an individual basis. Coleman (1988, p.104)

identifies information channels as an important form of social capital recognising that, "information is important in providing a basis for action". Parents, active in these supplementary schools, become these channels of information.

Other times staff act as a bridge because parents are unable to access the mainstream because of a language barrier. Thus Yusra, who is not a confident English speaker says:

> it's helped me a lot because my English is not good and when I went to the meeting in the (mainstream) school sometimes I can't understand anything. When I came here (supplementary school) and I ask they tell me if I didn't understand something (parent, Marisha).

Parents will bring letters from mainstream school for help with understanding the full meaning and implications of the text. They bring in their children's mainstream school books,

> I seen it they bring their homeworks and even they can ask us what the (mainstream) teacher write in the book. How they are doing; what's the comments and they are happy (Bilan, parent volunteer, Jadud).

Staff will be able to explain the teachers' comments in the parent's first language and this leads them to a fuller understanding.

Maylor et al (2010, p.130) similarly found in their study of supplementary schools, that "language and general communication were said to be unproblematic compared to when parents tried to engage with mainstream schools." They concluded that as a result of the supplementary school experience,

> Not only were parents in a better position to help their children with homework, addressing any poor behaviour and support the learning that occurred at supplementary school, they were also better placed to assert themselves in mainstream education.

Staff act as an unseen promoter for parent involvement in the mainstream school by giving them information that will help them to assert themselves with mainstream schools. The coordinator of Jadud explains:

> some of the advice we normally give to parents is to explain how the system works. From year six, what your child need to get, what is the national average? …for you

> to know where your child is then work with your class teacher, and also seek help either from Jadud or other organisations locally (Axmed).

Zhou and Kim (2006, p.21) link this support to achievement,

> through these ethnic institutions, immigrant parents are indirectly but effectively connected to formal schools and are well informed about the factors crucial to their children's educational success.

Bearing this in mind it would be beneficial to see more tangible links between mainstream and supplementary education as Maylor et al (2010, p.11) found the majority of supplementary schools had no links with mainstream schools.

All three case study schools had links with mainstream schools but only Jadud had some tangible benefit which was access to experienced and qualified staff from the relationship through the link with two teachers. Warida was treated as a letting. The links Marisha had were primarily around supporting parents when there were issues with their children. The propensity for generating social capital between the staff and parents remains an untapped resource for mainstream schools. The following section reflects on the concept of social capital itself.

5.6 Conclusion: reflections on the use of bonding, bridging and linking as an analytic tool

When analysing my data it was difficult to maintain a separation of bonding, bridging and linking capital as can be seen in the following example where Mustapha accessed an opportunity to volunteer at a museum through his supplementary school. He talks about the impact of volunteering in the museum,

> it helped me a lot in terms of how I get along with others, meeting people I've never met before (Mustapha, past pupil, Warida)

Mustapha has accessed the supplementary school through Sudanese connections (bonding). He was bridged to the museum through a volunteering opportunity advertised at the supplementary school. However, for this young man the experiences of volunteering at a world class museum have developed his cultural capital through an improvement in self-confidence. The opportunity to put

this experience onto his CV could have a linking effect because it will be attractive to a future employer or university.

My study has shown how bonding capital has led to both bridging and linking capital as well as increasing pupils' cultural capital in terms of improved GCSE grades, language competence and overall confidence. The symbiosis of bonding, bridging and linking capitals has what I term a *transcapital* effect where one type of capital affects another. The divisions between bonding, bridging and linking are useful to exemplify the different work of the schools. However, when it comes to looking at the impact of the capitals, the divisions do not represent discrete activities as they often contribute to each other (Cross et al 2012, p.27). I have preferred to use the concept of progression capital to assess the impact of social capital on pupils.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I summarise my findings and what I have learned about social capital and about supplementary education. I acknowledge the limitations of my research. I examine the implications for my professional role and the wider context of out of school hours learning and I make recommendations for further research, policy development and practice. I detail how my findings will be disseminated.

6.2 Summary of contribution

I reflect in this section on the contribution my findings make to an understanding and knowledge of supplementary education and to social capital theory.

6.2.1 Supplementary schools

This thesis contributes to the existing literature on supplementary schools. It provides evidence that supplementary schools can be important instruments of social capital. Other studies have referenced supplementary schools as providing social capital opportunities (Zhou and Kim, 2006, Archer et al 2009, Maylor et al 2010, Nwulu 2015) but to my knowledge there has not been an in-depth study evidencing social capital and examining how it is developed within supplementary education. This thesis provides evidence of bonding, bridging and linking capital, all of which contribute to the development of additional cultural capital for young people and their parents. Through their activities and projects, these schools gave pupils and parents opportunities to access "external assets" (Putnam, 2000, p.23). The schools are flexible and can adapt according to the needs and demands of pupils and parents (Nwulu, 2015, p.29) and thus can be more responsive particularly in contrast to the more performative environment of current mainstream schooling, which might act as a "significant barrier to the development and maintenance of social capital" (McGonigal et al, 2007, p.82). The work of the schools can be understood as what Bourdieu calls "investment strategies" (1986, p.89), that provide social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term.

These schools offer a safe space where pupils can learn and develop academic, social, cultural and wider skills and also have access to individual support.

Relationships are important for effective learning and supplementary schools through their propensity for bonding are valued by pupils and parents for relationships between teachers and families that are less hierarchical than in mainstream schools. Supplementary schools not only support young people in their academic pursuits, but also offer sites of resistance to racism and class oppression, providing spaces to resist stereotypes and build resilience among Black and minority communities.

They provide safe spaces where pupils can escape the "hegemony of whiteness" (Mirza and Reay, 2000, p.525) they may face in mainstream institutions. For children growing up in disadvantaged circumstances, learning environments and experiences play an important role (Siraj and Mayo, 2014, p.123/4). Through their experiences at the schools, pupils benefit from an "emerging sense of entitlement" rather than "a sense of constraint" (Lareau, 2011, p.28). Engaging in activities outside the home helps children to "acquire skills and dispositions that help them navigate the institutional world" (ibid, p.39), which, in turn, supports pupils' long term progression. I found evidence to confirm the supposition of Maylor et al (2010, p.168) that supplementary schools' added value lay in positive identity reinforcement, increased confidence and socialisation.

I also suggest rather than being inward-looking, encouraging segregation through their bonding environments as some have argued (e.g. Cantle, 2001, p.35; Casey, 2016, p.15), supplementary schools, in fact, can provide bridging and linking capital that enables young people and their families to access a wider range of opportunities than they may have received otherwise. Such bridging and linking opportunities support enhanced progression, which is of particular value, when employment rates for adults with a Black background remain disproportionately low (Cabinet Office, 2017, p.10) and just under 50% of young people 16-24 are unemployed (ibid, p.27).

My findings highlight the importance of supplementary schools and their ability to provide access to social capital for both pupils and their parents. It is through the supplementary school that some of the reified (Wenger, 1998, p.60) processes of the education system are made meaningful to parents. The coordinators are key connectors, community cultivators enabling the acquisition of social capital.

They are "actively engaged in constructing" community (Mirza and Reay, 2000, p.539).

Ball (2013, p.16) has described how "middle-class families use their social and cultural resources in relation to school choice both in order to escape from class 'others,' and to maximize their children's performance and future opportunities". The black and minority ethnic parents in this study turn to supplementary schools to reduce inequality in their children's attainment.

Parents' involvement in the maintenance of supplementary schools, with a focus of reducing inequality between their communities and others, stays true to one of the original purposes of the Black supplementary school movement, that is, to combat "the racial disadvantage endemic in the system" (Andrews, 2013a, p. 136). The organisation of the supplementary school can become a radical strategy whereby parents use their agency to secure an alternative future for their children (Reay and Mirza, 1997, p.479).

6.2.2 Social capital
I focused on the concept of social capital and specifically in relation to bonding, bridging and linking capitals developed by Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (2000), Coleman (1990) and Woolcock (2001) and I developed the concept of progression capital to explain the benefits of aspects of supplementary education for pupils' future outcomes.

Bourdieu suggested the volume of social capital depends on the number of connections in a network and the volume of capital each person in the network possesses (1986, p.89). He also suggested it should be durable in order to be effective (Bourdieu, 1990). I would argue that supplementary schools can offer more durable relationships between staff and pupils than are possible in mainstream education, mainly because of shared ethnicity/religious familiarity. However, I would suggest it is the quality of the connection rather than the number of connections that is important. That quality may produce a relationship that is trusting and durable (bonding) and/or one that enables access to significant others (linking).

The impact of the supplementary schools in my research is shown by the development of the young people who attend them. The Office for National Statistics found in a study on young people and social capital that they are,

> less likely to participate in social and civic activities. Young people are less likely to vote, less likely to be involved in their local community and less likely to undertake formal voluntary work. (Whiting and Harper, 2003, p.1)

However, my research evidences community organisations where young people **do** participate in social activities, **are** involved in their local community **and** participate in volunteering and thus contributes to the literature on young people and social capital, by identifying a neglected site.

Zetter et al (2006, p.14) imply that "social capital formation may not be a particularly effective instrument of social cohesion" as it may widen "ethnic enclaves" and reinforce separation (ibid, p.13). They argue further from their research that although associational forms have been created by refugee groups, these are a form of self-defence in a hostile policy environment. Thus, they "contend that this social capital constitutes the currency of differentiation, fragmentation and exclusion, not a vehicle of social cohesion that Putnam's concept implies," (2006, p. 10). My research on three supplementary schools provides evidence of the reverse, that pupils are helped, through social capital opportunities, to connect with others who are not of their particular community and to enhance their access to forms of cultural capital. I argue that both of these support social cohesion. Thus although supplementary schools may have been instituted as a form of self-defence by vulnerable and marginalised communities, their potential to bridge and link can enable greater future social inclusion for their pupils rather than isolation and exclusion.

Putnam (2000, p.22) himself recognised that social capital can be directed towards malevolent purposes.

> Therefore it is important to ask how the positive consequences of social capital – mutual support, co-operation, trust, institutional effectiveness – can be maximized and the negative manifestations – sectarianism, ethnocentrism, corruption – minimized.

This thesis has found positive consequences of social capital for individuals as well as communities with marginal negative consequences. Loizos (2000, p.126) argues that refugees, in fact, have the characteristics of 'social capitalists' as they utilise "customs, beliefs and practices" from their homeland consciously both conserving social capital and creating new stocks of it as they adjust to life in the wider diaspora. Of course social capital should not replace basic welfare and education entitlements (Zetter et al 2006, p.20) but in an age of sustained inequalities, parents, acting as active subjects rather than passive objects (Hall 1989, p.442) in their struggle for equality and social justice, should be encouraged.

In summary, I contribute to the literature on social capital by developing the concept of progression capital and by providing evidence that in **these** cases social capital can constitute an instrument of social cohesion rather than exclusion.

6.3 Limitations

My cultural background was a clear limitation. As a social constructionist I believe that our perspectives are limited by our language, our gender, our class, our experiences and our cultural backgrounds. In that way every piece of research is a personal perspective that arises from a particular point in time. My research findings could have been different if I was of Arab-origin or even if I had conducted it a year before or a year after because other emphases may have come to the fore, for example, late into my research I was introduced to the literature of Koser (2003) on the New African diasporas. An earlier introduction to this may have influenced the focus of my research in a different direction.

My familiarity with supplementary schools and my knowledge and experience of them gained over the last nine years helped me gain access to the "richness and depth" that may not have been available otherwise (Thomas 2011, p.76). Data collected from coordinators were particularly rich in detail. Coordinators trusted me because of my role and our existing relationships. However, I remained an outsider to the communities of the case studies. My Whiteness was a barrier as I felt potential examples of racism remained below the surface of interviewees' narratives and were only referred to obliquely. In Chapter 5.5, for example,

parents felt some distrust of mainstream where they felt their views are not listened to and pupils felt that they missed opportunities in mainstream through the gatekeeping of teachers (Chapter 5.3.2). Language was definitely a barrier. My lack of Arabic meant I missed a lot of incidental chatter. I could have minimised these limitations by creating a network of Arabic-speaking support researchers between the three schools. This would have involved developing research capacity prior to my research and time became a barrier. However, developing research capacity within the schools will be a future priority for me. Finally the study was based on only three schools in a very specific area.

6.4 Implications

This section examines implications of the study in terms of method and the implications for both the wider context and my professional role.

6.4.1 *Method*

Interviewees were "selected" by the coordinators of the schools although selection varied between schools and according to whether they were past or current pupils. For all three schools the decision of which current pupils to interview was based on which pupils were due to be present at the pre-arranged time and whose parents were able to sign the consent form prior to interview. In the case of Marisha consent was sought for all pupils who then volunteered themselves on the evening according to their homework schedules. There was more overt selection of past pupils as they needed to be especially invited in. As the aim of the research was to explore "in depth into a particular situation with a view to exploring the specifics" (Denscombe, 2005, p. 172) from the perspective of past pupils then it made sense to choose "key players in the field" (ibid) of whom the coordinator was aware. I was not seeking to generalise from this study thus pupils were not selected on the basis of random sampling. Coordinators may have chosen their best examples and thus my findings and analysis would be based on limited data. I mitigated against this by including more than one school.

6.4.2 *Wider Context*

Coleman (1990, p.312) saw social capital occurring as a "by-product of activities engaged in for other purposes." My research has found this to be true. Schools' primary aims were to teach language for cultural or academic purposes and/or to teach core curriculum subjects in order to boost children's cultural capital.

Coleman suggests that as a result of being a by-product, "there is often little or no direct investment in social capital" (ibid). This was true at the inception of supplementary schools but as schools developed relationships with other organisations and when they began to see the effect on their young people of an increased access to social capital opportunities, they have begun to invest in them further. This would suggest a greater understanding of the concept of social capital and its benefits for young people could encourage supplementary schools and mainstream schools, as well as other organisations, to increase access to the resources of social capital.

In an age when "ethnic boundaries are contextual, contested and ever changing" (Archer and Francis 2007, p.28), spaces, like the schools in this study, where young people can explore and negotiate their identities should be recognised and supported. Mainstream schools could develop more culturally inclusive practices and work in partnership with supplementary schools.

Supplementary schools' role in providing social capital opportunities has implications for government policy and potential funders which have restricted funding to smaller groups, particularly those perceived to stem from a single ethnicity. This research could prompt government/funders to rethink their strategy on single group funding. Increased financial support for capacity-strengthening in the smaller voluntary organisations could help strengthen the provision although it would need to ensure the schools remain independent and not simply a mainstream extension. Organisations like NABSS and NRCSE could be fully funded to take a lead on supporting governance, quality assurance and monitoring and evaluation, all of which would support consistency across provision.

Reay and Mirza (1997, p.478) suggest the fragmented nature of supplementary schools has been an advantage as it has sheltered them; they have been left alone as they are not seen as a threat to the mainstream. In 2017 with an increasingly emphasised securitisation agenda, that disparateness may not be so much of an advantage. The benefits of an infrastructure organisation, such as City Partnership, that coordinates a network where organisations can offer mutual

support, should be recognised and supported across other urban centres where supplementary schools proliferate.

6.4.3. *My professional role*

Grenfell (2014, p.212) draws our attention to the political dimension of Bourdieu's work asking, "what are we to *make* of this work?" In this spirit, I now turn to what I will *make* of this thesis. I will continue to apply the knowledge, gained through reading the literature and producing my portfolio and thesis, to developing projects with supplementary schools that will continue to enhance them, particularly projects that past pupils have attributed their success to, for example, team projects, public speaking, the Duke of Edinburgh programme and residential experiences. I will certainly lobby for community language support and funding for groups perceived to be from a single ethnicity. I will also continue to champion issues that the marginalised communities I work with face, for example, poor housing, the benefit cap and exclusions from mainstream schools.

6.5 Recommendations

This section makes recommendations for future practice, research and policy development.

6.5.1 Practice

I have evidenced that supplementary schools can be a valuable resource for maximising social capital opportunities. A fuller understanding of social capital and its mechanisms and how social capital formation works through supplementary schools will ensure communities have access to the wider opportunities obtained through bridging and linking. I intend to encourage further discussion across all supplementary schools and other community organisations in the area by facilitating workshops and coordinating a development plan and fundraising strategy to enable implementation of future projects/activities. This may include building research capacity within the supplementary schools.

However, the schools often depend on one or two key individuals, which can affect continuity and sustainability. Warida's model of distributed leadership (see p. 106) would benefit from wider dissemination as it would help to strengthen the governance of schools.

6.5.2 Future Research

This case study focused on minority communities from mainly a North African background. It would be useful to replicate the study across a wider range of ethnic backgrounds.

Andrews (2013a, p.128) found supplementary schools disconnected from one another with little contact with other programmes. Although not the focus of my research, evidence showed the benefits of the City partnership in terms of connections between schools and connections with other organisations. Woolcock found evidence that where there are organisations that bring together different groups "conflict is addressed constructively" as they provide a channel for dealing with difference (2001, p.4). Further research could explore the role of City Partnership and the additionality that this network itself provides.

Supplementary school staff are in a unique position to undertake research themselves and action research involving the schools would help to build research and monitoring and evaluation capacity as well as being more ethically appropriate. Research grounded in community voices would also help challenge negative constructions of marginalised communities (Danaher, 2013, p.107-15).

Funding should be enabled for research on issues that face marginalised communities in relation to schooling. Areas that my research touched upon are parent experiences of mainstream secondary schools, particularly when children are excluded from school. The impact on children and young people of a culture of hyper-accountability and performativity in mainstream schooling would be useful to explore further, particularly with the recent focus on the effects of pressure on children and teachers (Hutchings, 2015, Rose, 2016, Ellis, 2016) and current concerns about the mental health of children and young people (RCN 2017).

My research did not focus on identity. The positioning of second generation children born in the UK should be further explored.

6.5.3 Policy development

I would encourage local and national government policy-makers to support organisations to enable bridging and linking opportunities. This may include directing funding to organisations perceived to be of a single ethnicity,

understanding that bridging and linking is harder without bonding but also recognising that ethnic groups are not single homogeneous entities (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.28). Education policy development should recognise the value of voluntary sector organisations (including supplementary schools) and encourage partnership with the mainstream. Organisations like The Sutton Trust and Educational Endowment Foundation could recognise explicitly the work of supplementary schools in their recent focus on out of school tuition (Jerrim, 2017). Several writers have raised the point that providing social capital is insufficient. It is the mobilisation of the resource (Bassani, 2007, p.23), the conversion (Bourdieu, 1986, p.92) and engagement (McGonigal et al, 2007, p.83) that transforms it into value. McGonigal et al (ibid) suggest mainstream schools (and I would add supplementary schools) should work towards "the active use of social capital by disadvantaged youngsters" particularly for those children who have difficulty in "reading the signposts to the spaces" (ibid, p.87). Mainstream schools could start by welcoming supplementary schools as weekend users of their buildings.

Finally policy would enable communities in disadvantaged areas to access funding to develop extra-curricular activities for their children in order to provide progression capital.

6.6 Dissemination
There are numerous channels that I can utilise to disseminate my research. I will start by making short presentations to each of the communities of the three case study schools, particularly inviting interviewees so they are able to hear and discuss the results of the research. I will then move onto wider dissemination to the City Partnership, my own charity and to the local council in order to inform and hopefully impact on future policy development. The NRCSE has been working with universities to develop a research community around supplementary education and I hope I will be able to contribute to this by publishing a paper based on my research.

6.7 Finally
In Chapter 2.4.1 and 2.5 I raised the question of the radical/conservative nature of supplementary education reflecting on whether supplementary schools are conservative by nature, concerned to make the existing system work for a few

individuals, treating the "symptoms of racism" (Andrews, 2018, p.22) rather than acting as radical organisations prepared to challenge a system that perpetuates inequality. The schools are not radical in the sense they are aiming to "overturn the existing political and economic system" (Andrews 2018, p.150). However, the staff and increasingly past pupil volunteers are "spheres of influence" (Mirza 1997) who not only envision an alternate world but slowly try to achieve it by increasing the number of "spheres of influence" who may be in a position to effect more radical change.

Attending supplementary school may provide pupils with alternative discourses that contribute to their identity construction, which as post-structuralism suggests, is an ongoing process contested everyday through language and the cultural discourses available to us (Burr 1995, p.34). This process of adopting a cultural identity or currency is not apolitical, but reproduces power relations. As Burr proposes,

> The discourses that form our identity are intimately tied to the structures and practices that are lived out in society from day to day, and it is in the interests of relatively powerful groups that some discourses and not others receive the stamp of 'truth' (1995, p.37).

Thus the negotiation of identity through supplementary school is not an apolitical process. Discourses important to a Muslim family are likely to be absent from a child's mainstream school and it is through the supplementary school that parents can create new social structures that will enable them to reproduce "counter-discourses" to the status quo (Fraser, 1990, p.67), and produce a site for validation of their and their children's identities.

This use of language to assign identity is also an expression of power in the Foucauldian sense, "To define the world or a person in a way that allows you to do the things you want is to exercise power" (Burr, 1995, p.43). Thus for a parent volunteer who feels she is silenced by the staff in her child's mainstream school, her identity as a parent educator is denied. As a supplementary school tutor, she is able to obtain this prestigious label for herself and gains alternative power. As Hey (1997, p.137 cited in Mirza and Reay 2000, p.533) asserts,

> we urgently need to interrogate which forms of discourse

> create what sort of places and how these positions
> encode cultural and social powers for their speakers and
> forms of powerlessness for those silenced

Supplementary schools through their enactment and validation of different forms of knowledge and their message about who can be conventionally successful, are institutions, echoing Foucault (2001, p.356), through which power passes. They are "places of resistance…forced to articulate new ways of governing" (Power 2011, p.51). Wenger (1998) describes how knowledge can be "reified" or made invisible. Supplementary schools can make different forms of knowledge visible and thus the schools are involved in developing their own power. Their mechanisms for doing so are through the form of social capital. The impact on pupils can be far-reaching as Aaden states,

> I'd say now it's made me the person I am today. I think
> that's how big an effect it's had on me and I think it's the
> same for my sister we've talked about it before; we've
> grown up going to the supplementary school

By asserting their own concerns, parents and community leaders are able to exercise agency and develop schools which have the ability to disrupt systematic disadvantage. In this way, parents' actions in setting up and maintaining supplementary schools, as their own sites of power (Foucault, 2001, p. 356), can be seen as transformative, thereby challenging the current narratives of segregation and restriction which stalk supplementary schools.

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Appendix 1: Pen Pictures

Pen picture: Warida

Staff will start arriving through the community entrance at the back of the mainstream school from 9.30am. Gradually parents and their children arrive. All congregate in the reception area where there is a table set up to register any new pupils. Teachers are present and will talk to parents about their children. There is much laughter and chatting. Children will sit together and talk. Younger children will find areas to play. There is no rush to move upstairs where the classrooms are situated. When a good number are present the children are escorted upstairs. New parents are welcomed to help settle in their children. On the first floor a table is set up in the corridor that acts as a second reception. Two members of staff sit and do a number of tasks, administration, First Aid and planning. New parents join them until they are satisfied their child is settled.

Two classes take place consecutively and then the school breaks for lunch. Adults and children all eat together in the same hall. One volunteer brings food every week for all the staff and volunteers. There is a great deal of sharing of food with children coming up to the table when they spy a treat. After lunch some staff stay to do a final clean up. Children have the option of staying inside or going to the outside play area. The majority choose to go to the outside area which has a combination of attractive seating areas and activities. Some staff keep a watch over the whole group while others will join in table tennis and table football with different children. Some staff will sit and enjoy the sun chatting with (usually) a group of girls. An energetic game of football will take place with mostly boys running around the other children.

The third and fourth lesson take place and then everyone moves down to the reception area where again staff linger talking to parents about general or specific issues. There is no rush to hurry people out of the building so staff can get off home. The staff then move to the local café for a debrief and future planning, eventually ending their school day by 5.30pm.

Pen picture: Marisha

When I arrived several children were already doing their homework quietly. Faith was helping them individually. They all had school homework exercise books they were working through. Dictionaries and other reference material were placed in the centre of each table. One parent was sitting with her daughter encouraging her to do her homework. Occasionally she would ask Faith to give more specific support. I felt her lack of confidence.

Other children arrived. Parents welcomed the children as they arrived. Midway an older pupil came to finish some homework from secondary school. Someone tells a joke and everyone laughs. Blessing, a teacher, joins in the banter. Slowly the focus shifts back to work. Children are all working on homework they have brought from mainstream school. As they finish either Faith or Blessing check it. Sometimes they make a suggestion and the child will erase part of their work and rewrite it. A few pupils are working on drafts of extended pieces of writing.

Gabriel finishes his homework and pulls out a reading book from his book bag and begins reading. Several children are learning spellings ready for a test in their mainstream school. Faith or Blessing test them when they are ready. A boy comes in and tells everyone he got 9/10 in his spelling test at school. There is much discussion about it between him and Faith.

Blessing is supervising a small group of pupils. Three of them are on ipads doing Maths games. Every now and then they will show her what they have achieved. There is lots of talking between adults and children. A parent arrives early to pick up her child and sits helping her finish her homework. Two parents with young babies arrive to pick up older siblings and linger talking to each other and to children. Parents welcome another parent who arrives. Parents pick their children up over the course of 30 mins. There is no clear start or end time. Faith spends a few minutes chatting to each parent. She spends longer talking to a parent on a housing issue.

Near the end an 18-year-old past pupil turns up, two months into his hairdressing apprentice. He relates an incident that happened that day between workers. He seemed to be able to talk to fellow workers about his situation. I left them still talking.

Pen Picture: Jadud

As you walk into the session you will see the teacher sitting with a pupil working individually. Two or three children will be working on some homework. As others are buzzed in, the coordinator will chat to them in the reception area. Pupils will greet their friends and will continue to chat as they unpack their school books. Gradually they will settle and begin to focus on a particular piece of homework they have brought with them. Every now and then a pupil will approach the teacher with a question and the teacher will work with him/her for 10 mins. The teacher will also move round checking on how pupils are doing. If a pupil has not brought any work with them the teacher will have prepared something for him/her to do. There will be a couple of pupils at computers around the outside of the classroom, working on their online homework from mainstream school. Three volunteers from a local university will be working with pupils, helping with homework or practicing test papers.

At some point the teacher may stop the class and spend 15 mins going through a particular concept. Pupils will stop and get a drink, as and when necessary. The coordinator might pop in and talk to individuals or the whole group about a potential opportunity at the weekend. A parent will be sitting in the reception area talking to the coordinator while she waits for her daughter. Parents arrive early and talk as their children finish. There is no hurry to rush off and children leave over a period of half an hour gradually finishing off bits of work.

Appendix 2: Structured observation proforma

School………………………….Date……………….

1. What are people doing? What are they trying to accomplish?

2. How exactly do they do this? What specific means and/or strategies do they use?

3. How do members talk about, characterise and understand what is going on?

4. What assumptions are they making?

5. What do I see going on here? What did I learn from these notes?

6. Why did I include them?

7. What new hypotheses, speculations or guesses about the field situations were suggested by the contact?

8. Where should the fieldworker place the most energy during the next contact, and what sorts of information should be sought?

Appendix 3: Semi-structured interview proformas

Semi-structured interview proforma with coordinators
(Coordinators have already been briefed on the nature of research).

I would like to record the discussion as it helps me to focus on what you are saying if I am not worrying about writing everything down. After I will listen to the tape and type out what we said in full. If you would like to see a copy of the transcript and check it for accuracy/further comment you would be very welcome. This helps to get an accurate picture of what we say. If you don't like the idea of it being taped then we don't have to tape it. I will make notes and then check them with you at the end. If we tape the interview I will keep the record until I have finished the course I am on, which is likely to be no more than 3 years. If there are any topics you would prefer not to discuss please just say so. I will be submitting a thesis on the findings of the research and will also produce a shorter report for supplementary schools.

Anything you say will be confidential and no names of individuals or schools will be recognised in the report.

Are you happy to proceed?

Are you happy that I record the discussion?

Topics	Notes
Can you talk about the history of the school? How it originated? How it was set up? Who was involved? What it looked like? When? Where? How did you come by the name? What does it mean? Who was the school set up for? Ethnicity? Refugees? Migrants?	
Currently who is involved in the whole organisation of the school?	Role? Paid/volunteer?
Can you tell me something about your background that was influential in setting the school up/continuing the organisation of the school? And what about now? (Main reasons for continued involvement). Length of time involved in supplementary school and in what roles?	
How has the school changed since the school started?	

What were the reasons for the changes (if any)? Venues? Size?	
Current position? What are your key activities? Include specific subjects/areas taught. What other activities have you provided access to? How did these come about? How do you decide what is to be offered? Changes?	
Are there any events that take place regularly? Describe. What? When? Who involved? Why? One-off events in the recent past?	
How has the source of your funding influenced your programme? Does it matter? If you had an unlimited, independent source of funding what would you do differently?	
What do you think are the main reasons for parents sending their children to supplementary school?	
Discuss the definition of social capital (developed in our relationships, through doing things for one another and in the trust that we develop in one another. It helps in bonding fragmented social life; in the bridging of communities to places and contacts beyond their immediate environment and in the linking of people to formal structures and agencies that they may need for help with opportunities for education or employment). Then discuss the contacts the school has. For each contact discuss the nature of the contact including connections with other people/organisations/agencies/supplementary schools.	
Describe the connections you have with parents. Issues raised? Other examples of support given? Describe any connections you have with past pupils and parents.	
Describe any connections you have with mainstream schools.	

What do you feel pupils gain through attending supplementary school?	
Are there any disadvantages? What reasons do people give for leaving?	
Describe examples of opportunities pupils have had through attending supplementary school and how you think they have benefited.	
How do you see the future for your supplementary school?	
Is there any other information you feel is relevant that you would like to add?	
Demographic questions	
Gender Age Postcode	
What is your ethnic background?	
How long have you lived in the UK?	
What age did you finish formal schooling?	
Have you completed any courses/training since? If so what? What qualifications have you got?	

Thank you for participating in this research.

Would you like to see a transcript of our discussion?

Would you like a copy of the final report?

Semi-structured interview pro-forma: parents

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to talk to me. I'll tell you a little bit about the research I am doing and then you may want to ask me some questions. After that if you are happy to carry on we will start the discussion. I would like to record the discussion as it helps me to focus on what you are saying if I am not worrying about writing everything down. After I will listen to the tape and type out what we said in full. Nobody else will hear the tape or see the transcripts. If you would like to see a copy of the transcript and check it for accuracy/further comment you would be very welcome. This helps to get an accurate picture of what we say. If you don't like the idea of it being taped then we don't have to tape it. I will make notes and then check them with you at the end. If we tape the interview I will keep the record until I have finished the course I am on, which is likely to be no more than 2 years. I will be submitting a thesis on the findings of the research and will also produce a shorter report for supplementary schools.

I am looking at the work of the supplementary school in depth, particularly the opportunities and networking provided by the supplementary school which may support and further develop the children as they go through compulsory education and beyond. There isn't a great deal of information about what supplementary schools actually do and I am hoping to shed some light on this. Details like how long it has been operating, what it does and how it works. I also want to look at any opportunities this supplementary provides for you and your family and would like to understand parents' views a little more.

Anything you say will be confidential and no names of individuals or schools will be recognised in the report.

Are you happy to proceed?

Are you happy that I record the discussion?

Topics	Notes	
Can you give me some details of your child/children?	Gender	Year Group

History of using supplementary schools	
History of using this supplementary school. How did you found out about it? By what name is it known to you?	
How are you involved in the school?	
What are your main reasons for sending your child(ren) to supplementary school?	
What does your child do at this supplementary school?	
What do you think your child has gained from attending supplementary school? What qualities do you think your children will need for the future? Is the supplementary school helping them develop these? How? What **more** would you like to see?	
Are there any disadvantages?	
Describe examples of any opportunities pupils have had through attending supplementary school and how you think they have benefited.	
Has the school changed over the period you have been involved? If so, in what way?	
Have you had any other support through the supplementary school?	
How does going to supplementary school affect your child's work in mainstream school-if at all?	
Have you attended any events/activities at the supplementary school? If yes can you tell me about them? What? When? Who involved? Why?	
Have you met families through the school? Have you or your children	

met people from outside organisations through the school?	
What other support/activities might be useful to your child/family?	
How do you see the future for your supplementary school? And your child's involvement?	
Is there any other information you feel is relevant that you would like to add?	
Demographic questions	
Gender Age Postcode	
What is your ethnic background? Nationality?	
Are you willing to tell me how long have you lived in the UK?	
What age did you finish formal schooling?	
Have you completed any courses/training since? If so what? What qualifications have you got?	
Are you willing to tell me whether your child is eligible for free school meals at his/her mainstream school?	

Thank you for participating in this research.

Would you like to see a transcript of our discussion? Would you like a copy of the final report?

Semi-structured interview proforma with past pupils

Thank you for agreeing to talk to me. I'll tell you a little bit about the research I am doing and then you may want to ask me some questions. After that if you are happy to carry on we will start the discussion. I would like to record the discussion as it helps me to focus on what you are saying if I am not worrying about writing everything down. After I will listen to the tape and type out what we said in full. If you would like to see a copy of the transcript and check it for accuracy/further comment you would be very welcome. This helps to get an accurate picture of what we say. If you don't like the idea of it being taped then we don't have to tape it. I will make notes and then check them with you at the end. If we tape the interview I will keep the record until I have finished he course I am on, which is likely to be no more than 3 years. I will be submitting a thesis on the findings of the research and will also produce a shorter report for supplementary schools.

I am looking at the work of the supplementary school in depth, particularly the opportunities and networking provided by the supplementary school which may support and further develop the children as they go through compulsory education and beyond. There isn't a great deal of information about what supplementary schools actually do and I am hoping to shed some light on this. Details like how long it has been operating, what it does and how it works. I also want to look at any opportunities this supplementary provided for you and your family and would like to understand the supplementary school from someone who experienced it in the past such as yourself.

Anything you say will be confidential and no names of individuals or schools will be recognised in the report.

Are you happy to start?

Are you happy that I record the discussion?

Topics	Notes
When and for how long did you attend this supplementary school? Did you attend any others? Discuss	
What did you call it? How did you refer to it when talking to others?	
Tell me how you got to come here? How you found out about it.	
Why did you come here?	
Tell me what you did here?	

What did you like best?	
What did you like least?	
What did you gain from coming here, if anything?	
Describe any activities you did when you attended? Trips? Events? Projects? Parties? Can you tell me about them? What? When? Who involved? Why? What activities did you take part in that have involved outside organisations/individuals? Can you describe them? What do you feel you gained from them- if anything? Make clear you may not have gained anything from them.	
How did you decide how you were going to use your time while at supplementary school?	
Who was involved in running the school?	
Talk me through a typical Saturday	
What do you remember most clearly about your supplementary school?	
What were the advantages of coming here?	
What were the disadvantages of coming here?	
How would you describe the school to a friend?	
What experiences/activities would you recommend to current pupils?	
Do you think supplementary school affected your work in mainstream school? If so how?	
Did the school change over the period you attended? If so, in what way?	
Did the school support you? If so, in what way?	
Can you list all the people you came into contact through involvement with this supplementary school? Discuss the nature of this contact.	

What other support/activities might have been useful to you or your family?	
What ideas have you got for the future? In terms of education, job etc.	
Is there any other information you feel is relevant that you would like to add?	
Demographic questions	
Gender Age Postcode	
What is your ethnic background?	
Were you born in London?	
What age did you finish formal schooling?	
Have you completed any courses/training since? If so what? What qualifications have you got?	

Thank you for participating in this research.

Would you like to see a transcript of our discussion?

Would you like a copy of the final report?

Semi-structured interview proforma with current primary pupils

Thank you for agreeing to talk to me. I'll tell you a little bit about the work I am doing and then you may want to ask me some questions. After that if you are happy to carry on we will start talking. I would like to record the discussion as it helps me to think about what you are saying as I am not worrying about writing everything down. After I will listen to the recording and type out what we said in full. If you don't like the idea of it being recorded then we don't have to record it. I will make notes and then check them with you at the end.

I am looking at what happens at supplementary school. There isn't a lot of information about what supplementary schools actually do and I am hoping to find out more. I will be interested in the types of things you do, how long you have been here and what you think works well and what could be better. I am going to be talking to some of the teachers and some of the parents but I want to get some idea from pupils themselves.

Anything you say will be confidential, between myself and yourself (unless of course you tell me something that might be dangerous to yourself or others and then I would have to pass it on to make sure anything dangerous did not happen). Your name will not be recognised in the report. We could make up a name for you. What would you like it to be?

Are you happy to start?

Are you happy that I record our talk?

Supplementary School…………………………..

Topics	Notes
How long have you been coming to this supplementary school? Have you attended any others? Discuss	
What do you call it? What do you call it when talking to others?	
Tell me how you got to come here? How you found out about it.	
Why do you come here?	
Tell me what you do here?	
What do you like best?	
What do you like least?	
What do you gain from coming here?	
Describe any activities you have done since you have attended. Trips? Events? Projects? Parties? Can you tell me about them? What? When? Who involved? Why? What activities have you taken part in that have involved outside	

organisations/individuals? What did you gain from them, if anything? Make clear you may not have gained anything from them.	
Who is involved in running the school?	
Talk me through a typical Saturday	
How do you decide how you are going to use your time while at supplementary school?	
What has stood out for you since you have been coming here?	
What are the advantages of coming here?	
What are the disadvantages of coming here?	
If you were telling a friend how would you describe the school?	
How does going to supplementary school affect your work in mainstream school?	
Has the school changed over the period you have been coming? If so, in what way?	
Does the school support you? If so, how?	
What other activities might you like to do? you or your family?	
How long do you think you might carry on coming to supplementary school?	
Is there any other information you feel is important that you would like to add?	
Demographic questions	
Gender Age Postcode	
What is your ethnic background?	
Were you born in London?	
What year group are you in?	

Appendix 4: Group Interview

Supplementary School…………………………..Date…………………………

Number of M   Year Groups

Number of F   Year Groups

Introduce

Research – looking at benefits of supplementary schools

No names. Contribute to the debate by having a discussion. Record it. Only myself will listen to it.

Topics	Notes
What are the main reasons you come here on a Saturday?	
How do you think it will benefit you?	
How does it impact on your mainstream school?	
What are the main differences between here and mainstream? What about your relationships with teachers?	
What are the advantages of coming here?	
What are the disadvantages of coming here?	
What works well?	
Even better if…..	
Describe any activities you have done since you have attended. Trips? Events? Projects? Parties? Can you tell me about them?	

What? When? Who involved? Why?	
What activities have you taken part in that have involved outside organisations/individuals? What did you gain from them, if anything? Make clear you may not have gained anything from them.	
How has coming here contributed to your future?	
What stands out for you? Over time what has stood out for you?	
Is there anything you have gained that you would not have got if you hadn't come? Outside people/speakers you have had access to?	
Has the school changed over the period you have been coming? If so, in what way?	
What other support/activities might be useful to you or your family?	
Anything else you might like to add?	

Appendix 5: Examples of colour coding a transcript

Appendix 6: Summary of nodes, sources and references

Rank order	Node	Sources	References
1	Extra-curricular opportunities	43	146
2	Contribution to attainment	41	140
3	Benefits	36	82
4	Bonding	35	128
5	Individual support	34	106
6	Future Suggestions	34	55
7	Comparison to mainstream	31	79
8	Wider skills	28	117
9	Friendship	27	68
10	Disadvantages	24	36
11	Progression	23	99
12	Homework support	23	48
13	How got to go	23	25
14	Self-esteem-confidence	22	57
15	Bridging	21	73
16	Community cohesion	21	57
17	Role Modelling	21	37
18	Support for parents	20	59
19	Reasons why parents send children	20	40
20	Fun	19	37
21	Known as	19	21
22	Volunteering-young people	18	44
23	Advantages over other students	18	40
24	Shared responsibilities	18	33
25	Familiarity	18	28
26	Arts access	18	27
27	Cultural inclusion	17	38
28	Shyness	16	28
29	Learning space	16	27
30	Safe Space	15	30
31	Impact	15	18
32	Language	14	45
33	Imperial	14	31
34	Active cultivation	14	24
35	Reasons for coming	14	22
36	Changes	14	17
37	Performativity	13	16
38	Stands out	13	14
39	Westway contribution	12	33
40	Transcapital	12	29
41	Avoidance of boredom and being inside	12	16
42	Events	12	14
43	Working family	10	11

44	Behaviour support	9	13
45	Transition	9	11
46	Community activators	8	22
47	Linking	8	20
48	Religion	8	13
49	Duty-giving back	8	13
50	Access to resources	8	13
51	Achievements	7	12
52	Thinking for themselves	8	9
53	Independent learner	7	18
54	Physical activity importance	7	12
55	Security	7	11
56	Professionalisation	6	15
57	Peer support	6	14
58	Surveillance	6	8
59	Identity	5	14
60	Pressure to go	5	6
61	System	4	12
62	Involvement of young people	4	8
63	Links with mainstream schools	4	6
64	Thorough parenting	4	5
65	Trust	3	9
66	Making up for parent's lost opportunity	3	5
67	Underestimating value	3	3
68	Reasons for leaving	2	2
69	Recommend	2	2
70	Whiteness	2	2
71	Issues	1	4
72	Future funding	1	1
73	EAL	1	1

Appendix 7: Mapping of Nodes Across Research Questions

To what extent are supplementary schools sources of bonding, bridging and linking capital for the pupils and their parents?		How is social capital acquired and developed in and through supplementary schools by pupils and their families?		What impact does the generation of different forms of social capital have on supplementary school pupils and their parents?	
Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Families	Pupils	Parents
Extra-curricular opportunities		Extra-curricular opportunities		Contribution to attainment	
Bonding	Bonding	Individual support	Individual support	Benefits	
Friendship	Friendship	Comparison to mainstream		Wider skills	
Bridging	Bridging	Role Modelling		Progression	
	Support for parents	Fun	Support for parents	Homework support	
Reasons why parents send children	Reasons why parents send children		Shared responsibilities (volunteering adults)	Self-esteem-confidence	Self-esteem-confidence (as a parent)
Familiarity	Familiarity	Familiarity	Familiarity	Community cohesion	Community cohesion (wider society)
Reasons for coming	Reasons for coming	Volunteering-young people		Independent learner	Support for parents
Language	Language	Learning space		Advantages over other students	
Imperial	Working family	Safe Space		Arts access	Arts access
Events	Events	Language EAL	Language EAL	Shyness	
		Imperial		Impact	
			Active	Reasons for	

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			cultivation Thorough parenting	coming	
Stands out		Stands out		Stands out	
Religion		Performativity		Avoidance of boredom and being inside	Behaviour support
Linking	Linking	Transcapital		Transition	Transition
Identity	Identity	Community activators	Community activators	Achievements	
Involvement of young people	Links with mainstream schools	Access to resources		Thinking for themselves	
Recommend	Recommend	Duty-giving back		Physical activity importance	
Trust	Trust	Peer support	Professionalisation	Security	Security
		Involvement of young people		Surveillance	Making up for parent's lost opportunity
		Trust	Trust	Identity	
			System	Underestimating value	
				Whiteness	Whiteness

Appendix 8 : Issues

Issues	No of refs
Classes can be crowded and noisy	8
Insufficient creative/active opportunities	5
Teacher weakness/lack of experience	5
Getting up early on a Saturday	3
Small space	3
Lack of modern/IT facilities	3
Work can be complicated	2
Funding	2
Reluctance to go	1
Don't get to rest at home	1
Repetition of work	1
Homework	1
Can't spend as much time on Playstation	1

Appendix 9: Demographic Data

Pseudonym	School	Type	Gender	Ethnicity	Born in UK
Faizah	Warida	Coordinator	F	Sudanese	No
Ayesha	Warida	Past pupil	F	Sudanese	Yes
Rihab	Warida	Parent/vol	F	Sudanese	No
Akifa	Warida	Parent	F	Sudanese	No
Madihah	Warida	Past parent/vol	F	Sudanese	No
Shukriiya	Warida	Parent	F	Sudanese	No
Samar and Maysa	Warida	Current pupils	F F	Sudanese	Yes
Huda	Warida	Tutor	F	Sudanese	No
Mustapha	Warida	Past pupil/vol	M	Sudanese	Yes
Axmed	Jadud	Coordinator	M	Somali	No
Khadija and Samu	Jadud	Past pupils	M F	Somali	No
Bilan	Jadud	Current parent	F	Pakistani	No
Warsame	Jadud	Current parent	M	Somali	No
Ibraahin	Jadud	Current pupil	M	Somali	Yes
Hani	Jadud	Current pupil	F	Somali	Yes
Fadumo	Jadud	Current pupil	F	Somali	Yes
Magan	Jadud	Current parent	M	Somali	No
Ayaan	Jadud	Current vol/parent	F	Somali	No
Tahiil	Jadud	Past pupil	M	Somali	Yes
Aaden and Zahi	Jadud	Past pupils	M	Somali	No
Hanif	M + W	Parent	F	Eygptian	No
Faith	Marisha	Coordinator	F	Black Caribbean	No
Farouk	Marisha	Past pupil	M	British	Yes
Elene	Marisha	Parent	F	Ethiopian	No
Jamila	Marisha	Parent	F	Moroccan	Yes
Nala	Marisha	Current primary pupil	F	Somali	Yes
Ayoub	Marisha	Current primary pupil	M	Moroccan/Iran	Yes
Hani	Marisha	Current primary pupil	F	Somali	Yes
Khalid	Marisha	Current pupil	M	Moroccan	Yes
Bailey	Marisha	Current pupil	F	African-Caribbean	No
Emma	Marisha	Current primary pupil	F	Cambodian/Moroccan	Yes
Maly and Mustapha	Marisha	Parents	F M	Cambodian/Moroccan	No
Tahlia	Marisha	Current primary pupil	F	Cambodian/Moroccan	No
Selam	Marisha	Current primary pupil	F	Ethiopian	Yes
Blessing	Marisha	Tutor	F	African	Yes
Gabriel	Marisha	Current primary pupil	M	Cambodian	No
Hakim	Marisha	Current primary pupil	M	Moroccan	Yes
Isabel	Marisha	Current parent	F	Caribbean	Yes
Oumaima	Marisha	Current parent	F	Arabic/Scottish Caribbean/White	Yes
Dwayne	Marisha	Past pupil	M	British	Yes
Yusra	M + W	Past and current parent	F	Sudanese	No