

Language Provisions in Manchester's Supplementary Schools



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Executive summary

Several thousand pupils attend Manchester's supplementary schools, which are run by community initiatives. The report presents the results of interviews with staff and pupils at 23 schools. Teachers and instructors are often volunteers. Schools vary in size, engaging between 1 and 35 staff members and enrolling between 25 and 350 pupils or more. They rely on the facilities of state schools, community centres and other local institutions, and attract pupils from around the city, usually for weekend classes. Some offer GCSE and A-level qualifications in the community language, others offer international certificates. Schools often struggle to cope with a high turnover of staff, difficulties to secure premises, and lack of formal recognition and teacher training. Nonetheless, they demonstrate communities' commitment to maintaining their cultural heritage as well as to enhancing young people's skills, thus making an important contribution to the city's cultural and economic development.

Introduction

This report presents the results of an interview survey of supplementary schools in Manchester, which was carried out between 2013 and 2014. We conducted interviews with head teachers and teachers at 23 of the city's supplementary schools; additionally, we interviewed fourteen pupils from three of these schools.

Manchester is characterised by a great variety of cultures and ethnicities. It is a city of over 150 languages, and approximately 40% of its youth are thought to be multilingual. Every year, there are around 1500 newly arrived children of school age from about 70 countries of origin. Some of the largest community languages spoken in the city are Urdu, Cantonese, Arabic, Polish, Panjabi and Bengali (MLM 2013b:1). Apart from global languages like Spanish and Portuguese or national languages like Farsi (Persian), there is a noteworthy presence of speakers of regional and minority languages such as Yoruba, Hausa and Hakka Chinese. For a detailed report on Manchester's language profile and language provisions, see Multilingual Manchester: A Digest (MLM 2013b); the Multilingual Manchester School Language Survey (MLM 2013a) offers information on community language skills identified in four primary schools of the city.

The following section gives a definition of what is meant by supplementary schools and offers a general overview of how these schools typically operate, how they contribute to their communities and what challenges they face. We then describe the method of investigation used in our survey, before presenting the study's results: After discussing the general profile of the supplementary schools included in our survey, we elaborate on language qualifications and curriculum, staff background and qualifications, infrastructure and sustainability and school language policies. Subsequently, we relate the results of our research into supplementary schools with the findings from the Multilingual Manchester School Language Survey (MLM 2013a). We then offer a more detailed account of the schools we interviewed and present case studies of individual institutions. We present the findings from the

interviews carried out with pupils at three schools, before conclusions are drawn in the last section.

The research context

Supplementary schools are community-run, independent schools that teach elements of language and culture to children, alongside their regular education, or to adult members of the community. Their evening or weekend classes are typically held in community centres, places of worship, or public places such as libraries or the premises of state schools. In teaching community (heritage, ethnic minority, or immigrant) languages that are not usually taught at ordinary schools, self-organised supplementary schools provide for communities' educational needs. As they complement mainstream education, they are also known as complementary schools; other terms used worldwide are Saturday schools, community language schools, ethnic schools or heritage language schools (Blackledge & Creese 2010, Creese et al. 2008).

In the UK, language supplementary schools have existed since at least the mid-1800s. Numbers have grown since the 1950s, closely following waves of immigration (cf. Tomlinson 1984; Pillas 2002). The more recent arrival of refugees from war-torn countries has again increased the demand for supplementary schools in England (cf. Abdelrazak 2001). Currently, between 18% and 28% of non-white British children are estimated to have some contact with supplementary schooling in the UK (London Metropolitan University 2010). In general, supplementary schools are run autonomously by local communities and are typically established and led by parents and dedicated community members. Some schools receive additional support from volunteering University students, usually members of the local community or exchange students from the relevant countries of origin. The main sources of income for most supplement schools are usually donations or fees paid by the pupils' parents (Mirza & Reay 2000, Issa & Williams 2009). However,

supplementary school staff are in most cases not paid for their work (London Metropolitan University 2010: 37).

Typically, supplementary schools in many countries worldwide operate outside any formal framework and are not overseen by local or national bodies. An exceptions to this are Australia's ethnic schools. They are regulated by the umbrella organisation "Community Languages Australia", which is designed to unite the community language schools of the entire country (Blackledge & Creese 2010: 51). As Clyne & Fernandez 2008 report, Australia's ethnic schools are accredited and receive funding through the government's School Language Programme. Moreover, some State and Territory Departments have decided to provide additional funding or support such as professional development programs for teachers and free access to state school premises (Cardona, Noble & Di Biase: 2008:15).

Supplementary school teachers usually come from a range of professional backgrounds. Often only a small proportion of the staff have formal teaching qualifications (Thorpe 2011:4), and some school are run exclusively by untrained community members. Boukaz and Persson's (2007) research on supplementary schooling in Malmö, for instance, illustrates how Arabic-speaking parents with no prior teaching experience take responsibility for supplying material and teach their heritage language to younger generations. There is a long tradition of organising language-related activities for bilingual children outside mainstream schools in Sweden, initiated by parents who wish to improve their children's achievements in the regular schools and want them to learn about specific cultural and religious matters.

Supplementary schools may differ considerably in character and aim. Language teaching is not necessarily the main purpose of the schools. Many pursue a cultural agenda and emphasise aspects of history, heritage and folklore (Issa & Williams 2009). Additionally, some schools aim at improving pupils' performance in national curriculum subjects such as English, Maths and Sciences (Heywood 2005, Creese et al. 2008). Other supplementary schools are based on a religious

background and focus on the teaching of a particular faith and related practices rather than language skills as such. Hornberger (2005) reports for the United States that there is a great variety of churches and other religion-based groups that aim to promote their faith and preserve their ethnic identity through community-run Saturday or Sunday schools, which may also involve the teaching of related languages.

Research has shown how supplementary schools make contributions to their communities in a variety of ways (cf. Handley 2011, Strand 2007, Walters 2011, Creese et al. 2008). Apart from teaching language, they have a key role in meeting the social and cultural needs of children with an immigrant background (Martin et al. 2004; Creese et al. 2008; Francis et al. 2008). Blackledge and Creese's (2010) sociolinguistic research into supplementary schools in the UK illustrates that the schools play a key role in the identity development of both parents and students. This is facilitated not just by the passing on of linguistic knowledge, but also by the social environment of the schools in which individuals can "practice" their multilingual identities with others who share the same influences and expectations (Blackledge & Creese 2010). Archer et al. (2009) noted in their study of Chinese supplementary schools in London that the students appeared to behave more "playfully" in the supplementary school setting than they would in a mainstream school. This is believed to be a result of the students feeling more comfortable in a space dedicated to their specific culture and one that allows a more holistic method of learning.

Studies have also shown how supplementary school pupils benefit cognitively and economically when developing their multilingual proficiency (cf. Blackledge & Creese 2010: 47). Martin et al.'s (2004) research into supplementary schools in Leicester highlights their role in raising educational achievement in regular schools. Similarly, Hall et al. (2002:400) find for Leeds and Oslo that supplementary schooling may have a positive impact on children's achievement in mainstream schools. The Multilingual Manchester School Language Survey suggests that there

are connections between heritage language proficiency and supplementary school attendance for the pupils attending the Manchester schools surveyed: the average proficiency scores for each additional home language increase with the number of total languages spoken by respondents (MLM 2013a: 53).

In their study on supplementary schooling in Sweden, Bouakaz & Persson (2007) find that the parents involved in supplementary school teaching aim at supporting their children's education, but also want them to be proud of their heritage culture and origin (Bouakaz & Persson 2007: 740). For African-Caribbean communities in the UK, it has been shown that parents are concerned with the education and the general atmosphere at mainstream schools and consider supplementary schooling as essential for their children's identity development (Tomlinson 1984: 68). Troyna (1984:157) argues that underachievement of migrant children in state schools may be linked to an "inherent racism of the mainstream system", raising yet another issue in relation to the role of supplementary schools in building pupils' confidence.

Supplementary schools often support the community language used in the home. Yet, in some cases, the schools may actually teach a different language that is perceived as important by the community. Walters' (2011) study of Bengali supplementary schools in the UK found that for the overwhelming majority of students, the standard variety of Bengali taught in the school was not the home language. The students actually spoke a Sylheti dialect in the home; yet, standard Bengali language skills were considered essential to the children's education, whereas Sylheti was perceived as less important. This parallels the case of Chinese supplementary schools. Li Wei's (2011) findings for the UK suggest that at present, the majority of British Chinese people come from Cantonese backgrounds. However, the supplementary schools that teach Cantonese will also teach Mandarin, though the Mandarin schools do not teach Cantonese.

Previous research has also emphasised the various challenges the schools face. It has been suggested that their success is not always acknowledged by local

authorities and mainstream schools (Abdelrazak 2001; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Martin et al. 2004, Issa & Williams 2009, Minty et al. 2008, Thorpe 2011). As Blackledge and Creese (2010: 48) argue for the UK, the teaching of minority languages and culture is generally not considered to be the state's responsibility; rather, the education of multilingual children seems to be oriented towards monolingualism (Blackledge & Creese 2010: 42). While modern foreign languages such as French, Spanish or German are studied as part of the curriculum in mainstream schools, the teaching of community languages is not usually supported by state schools.

Supplementary schools' main concerns are usually related to financial issues, as many schools have to rely on donations or volunteering staff (Reay & Mirza 2001, Martin et al. 2004, Issa & Williams 2009, Minty et al. 2008). In those cases in which funding is available, it is often not secure or does not cover the total costs of running the schools (Hall et al. 2002: 400). In addition, many schools have reported the lack of teaching resources, teaching training and accreditation (Cardona & Di Biase 2008). Another challenge that schools face is the securing of local, suitable and affordable premises for their teaching. Further problems are related to staff, as supplementary schools are vulnerable to relatively frequent fluctuation of teachers (Thorpe 2011). Moreover, time seems to be a major issue for the teachers who are often volunteers, both in terms of fitting everything into the short weekly lessons, as well as finding time to prepare lessons or mark exams (London Metropolitan University 2010: 125).

The method

In Manchester, supplementary schools had been established by Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe already in the late 1800s. Polish and Ukrainian refugees set up supplementary schools in the 1940s and 1950s. A great variety of supplementary schools have since been established by different language communities in

Manchester. According to some estimates, there are currently around 100 supplementary schools teaching classes to approximately 8000 pupils in the city. Among the languages taught at these schools are Arabic, Panjabi, Bengali, Kurdish, Polish, Somali, Gujarati, Hindi, Bosnian, Cantonese, Mandarin, Korean, French, German, Tigrinya, Persian, Greek, Nepali, Ukrainian, Latvian, Igbo and Armenian. Figure 1 shows numbers of speakers of selected languages according to the School Census 2013 and the National Census from 2011, providing an indication of potential demand for supplementary schools in the city.

Language	Total schoolchildren as of Jan 2013	Census 2011 reported population in Manchester city
Total	62522	480,738
English	43592	400,886
Urdu	6497	13,095
Arabic	2448	7,037
Somali	2095	2,958
Punjabi	2000	4,719
Bengali	1374	3,114
Polish	865	6,447
French	706	2,351
Yoruba	565	559
Chinese	378	[cannot be compared]
Pashto	358	1,147
Kurdish	311	1,886
Czech	225	933
Persian/Farsi	204	2,660
German	179	936
Swahili/Kiswahili	132	674
Hindi	126	601
Tigrinya	91	417
Latvian	84	315
Gujarati	82	490
Igbo	80	181
Romani	38	[census does not specify]
Greek	35	[census does not specify]
Korean	14	[census does not specify]
Romany/English Romanes	14	[census does not specify]
Serbian/Croatian /Bosnian	14	[census does not specify]
Ukrainian	9	[census does not specify]
Armenian	6	[census does not specify]

Figure 1. Numbers of speakers of selected languages, based on the Manchester School Census 2013 and National Census 2011 for Manchester.

This study is based on qualitative interviews conducted with members of staff and pupils of 23 community-run supplementary schools across Manchester, carried out between August 2013 and June 2014. At each school, we usually interviewed one of the teachers or the head teacher. We asked about the size and demographic makeup of the school, the structure of the school day, formal qualifications offered at the school, and the curriculum. Further questions related to teaching materials, staff background, funding and external support, as well as the challenges the schools are confronted with. Additionally, under staff supervision we spoke to fourteen pupils at three of the supplementary schools, in order to find out more about the students' attitudes to language and language biographies, their experiences at the school, and their aspirations.

The interviews were guided by a standard set of questions, but also encouraged the interviewee to discuss any further aspects of the school that they found interesting. This approach was applied in order to obtain a fuller picture of each case. In order to identify the schools, we obtained information from a variety of sources including websites, community contacts, teachers, researchers, community activists, local authority contacts, and more. For various reasons, however, a number of Manchester's supplementary schools could not be included in this study. The major challenge was the availability of up to date contact information, a problem that has been noted in other studies of this kind (Minty et. al 2008, London Metropolitan University 2010).

Supplementary schools are usually run by private individuals and many schools do not have their own premises. Contacting them involves obtaining information of individuals who lead or work at the school, which is generally less freely available. In addition, many of the schools have a high turnover rate for staff. For this reason, contact information can change rather quickly. In several cases, the person initially contacted was no longer involved in the school; most often, however, they were willing to provide an up to date contact.

A complete up to date list of the city's supplementary schools does not exist. The City Council website on supplementary schools is not kept up to date; during the research period it listed schools that were no longer running or were completely untraceable even when we attempted to contact the school in person during the hours that were indicated. On the other hand, we identified a large number of supplementary schools in Manchester that were not mentioned on the City Council website. It appears therefore that the City Council does not keep contact with all or even the majority of supplementary schools, and if it does, it does not have the resources to or the motivation to share its information with the general public.

General profile of the schools

The 23 supplementary schools interviewed are outlined in Figure 2 below, which lists the language(s) taught at each of the schools, the total number of students at the time of the survey, and the qualifications taken in 2013.

Name of the school	Languages taught	Student numbers	Qualifications in 2013
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan	Hindi, Panjabi, Sanskrit (Plans to start Gujarati and Tamil in 2015)	210 (not all language students)	GCSE: Numbers unknown.
Bosnian Supplementary School	Bosnian, Arabic	20	Exams sent to the Bosnian embassy (London), which issues certificates: 15-20 students.
Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre	Mandarin, Cantonese	150	GCSE: 20 students. A level: 3 students.
Central	Panjabi	50-60	None at the time of the survey.

Name of the school	Languages taught	Student numbers	Qualifications in 2013
Gurdwara			Planning to do GCSE (in 2015).
Chinese Christian School	Mandarin, Cantonese	160-180	GCSE: 12 students. AS level: 14 students. A2 level: 10 students.
Dashmesh Sikh Temple School	Panjabi, Gujarati, Hindi	15-25 (15 regular)	GCSE - Numbers unknown. A level - Numbers unknown, but reportedly lower than for GCSE.
Didsbury Mosque School	Arabic (for Qur'an)	359	None.
Ensemble French School	French	24 (12-16 regular)	None.
Greek Orthodox Church Of The Annunciation	Greek	Numbers unknown	GCSE: 5-6 students.
Farsi School	Farsi	72	GCSE: 6 students. A2: 4 students.
Hijra Supplementary School	Arabic	200	None.
Huaxia Chinese School	Mandarin	360-400	GCSE: 30 students. AS level: 10-20 students. A Level: 15-20 students.
Igbo Language Society	Igbo	2	None.
Iranian Cultural Society	Farsi, Arabic	60	Exams sent to Iran to be marked. Numbers unknown.

Name of the school	Languages taught	Student numbers	Qualifications in 2013
Language and Culture of Bangladesh	Bengali	40	None at the time of the survey. Planning to do GCSE (by 2016).
Manchester Chinese Centre	Mandarin	263	GCSE: 25 students. A level: 26 students.
Manchester Korean School	Korean	25	None.
Noor Arabic School	Arabic	350	GCSE: 15 students. A level: 3 students.
Polish Saturday School	Polish	250	GCSE: 10 students. AS level: 7 students. A2 level: 9 students.
Somali School	Somali	30-40	None.
Sudanese School	Arabic	135	GCSE: Numbers unknown.
Ukrainian Saturday School	Ukrainian	60	Advanced Ukrainian Studies: 10-20 students.
Wai Yin Chinese Society	Mandarin English to adults	30-40	Numbers unknown.

Figure 2. Supplementary schools included in this study

This overview relates to activities that involve around 3000 pupils in total, most of whom are children and teenagers between five and eighteen years old. As can be seen in Figure 2, the schools interviewed in this survey teach the following languages: Arabic (taught by six schools), Mandarin Chinese (taught by four schools), Farsi (taught by two schools), Cantonese (taught by two schools), Panjabi (taught by three schools), Bengali, Bosnian, French, Gujarati, Greek, Hindi, Igbo, Korean, Polish, Somali, Sanskrit, and Ukrainian. The Bhavan supplementary school, which offered Hindi, Panjabi and Sanskrit lessons at the time of the survey, is planning to start

teaching Gujarati and Tamil in 2015. There are other schools that teach more than one language, offering classes for instance in both Mandarin and Cantonese, or Arabic and Farsi. The oldest of the supplementary schools we interviewed is the Polish Saturday School, which had been in operation for more than six decades. The Somali Supplementary School, on the other hand, was established only in September 2012 and is the youngest school in the sample.

Manchester's supplementary schools do not only operate in specific neighbourhoods of the city. As the map in Figure 3 shows, the schools included in this study are spread across the city, and their locations do not directly reflect the clustering of speakers of particular languages as reported in the Multilingual Manchester Digest (MLM 2013b). This might be connected to the difficulties of finding suitable premises. Some schools operate from libraries, mainstream schools or University buildings, where they can find lower overhead costs but are not necessarily located in the area of the city where the language is geographically concentrated. Some languages, of course, are not concentrated in a particular area, and pupils attending the school come from different areas of the city.

Many of the schools cater not only to pupils from local areas in the city, but also have students who travel from districts in Greater Manchester or even farther away. The teacher at the Language and Culture of Bangladesh school reported that some of their students come from Bolton, and the interviewee at the Central Gurdwara said that any families who attend the services also send their children to the lessons, meaning that the pupils "come from all over, for example from as far as Chester".

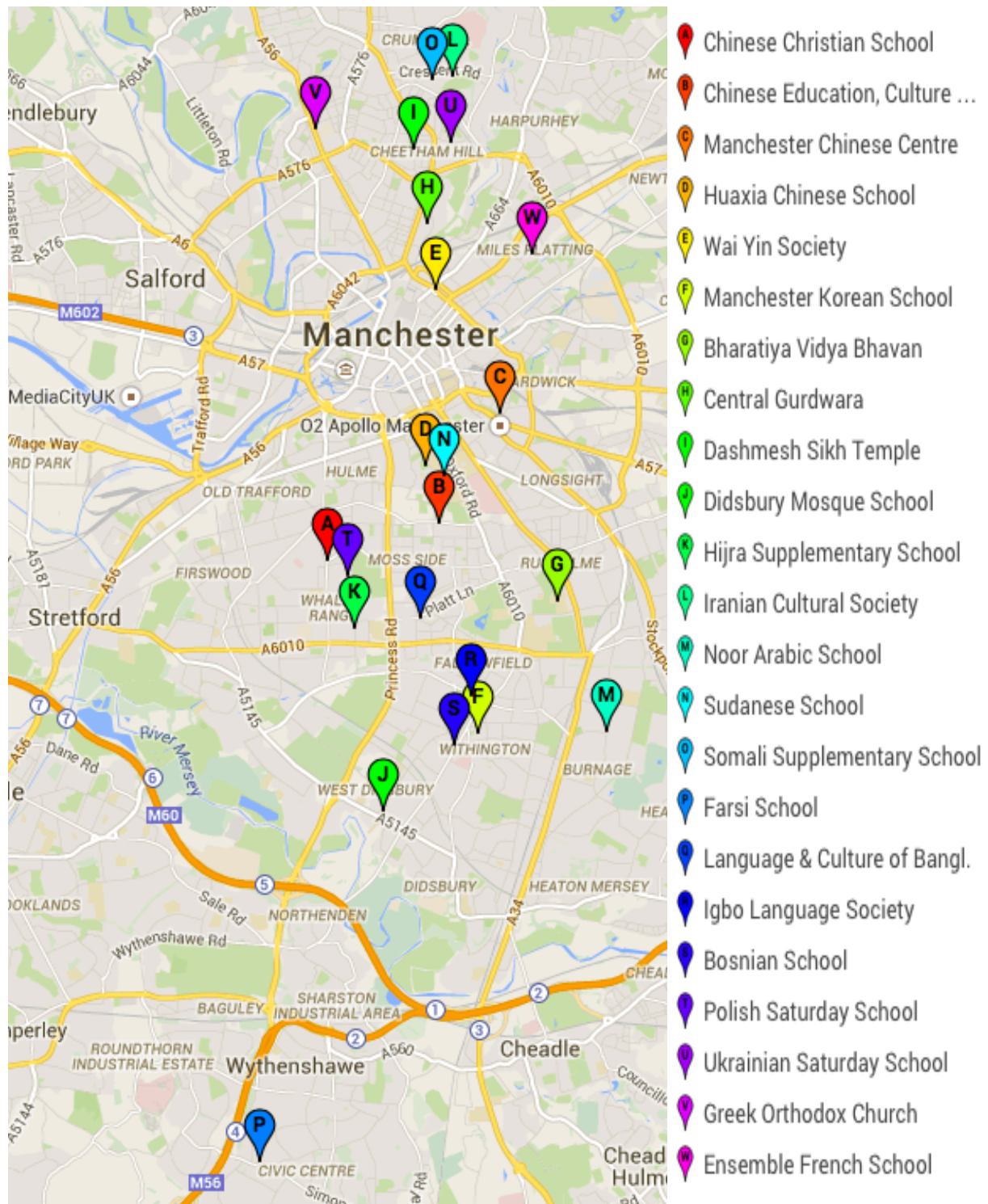


Figure 3. Locations of the supplementary schools included in this survey

In most schools, lessons take place at the weekend and last between one and four hours. The schools differ in nature and size, ranging from large, highly organised schools to small tutoring activities. The tutoring service Igbo Language Society, for instance, had only two students at the time of the study. The largest schools reported numbers between 300 and 400 students. In general, these larger institutions tended to provide formal qualifications and have longer school days than the smaller schools. As for student numbers and age groups, attendance is highest among younger children across all the schools. The decline in numbers of students is steeper in smaller schools that do not offer formal qualifications, which suggests that GCSE and A level qualifications may be a motivating factor to stay at the school and progress to higher classes.

Apart from differences in student numbers and qualifications, supplementary schools vary in their aims. Most of the schools focus on the teaching of language, which is explicitly addressed in their structured language classes. Others base their lessons on musical performance and use singing and storytelling as a tool to improve pupils' language skills, thereby actively passing on various aspects of culture. The Language and Culture of Bangladesh supplementary school, which has around 40 students, implements different approaches to the teaching of Bengali language and culture. The teacher explained that "the first two hours is for the language aspect - reading, writing, speaking - and the last hour is singing and dancing obviously in Bengali. It is still language practice. Actually, the kids learn more when they sing!"

While the majority of the schools teach their heritage language only to children, there are some schools that also hold adult classes. The Wai Yin Chinese Society offers English classes for adults besides teaching Mandarin Chinese to children. Likewise, the age range of pupils at the Bhavan supplementary school is very broad, with pupils between 5 and 65 years of age. The oldest student learning Sanskrit is about 45, and some of the students of music and dance are in their 60s. According to the staff's estimates, more than 30% of the student body are adults: "We have people who perhaps just want to be a bit more confident in their

language. The teenage group are working toward their GCSEs, but [...] the older parents groups are more interested in making sure they know the language well enough to speak it at home and then teach it at home".

Regarding the length of the pupils' time in the UK, the makeup of the student population in most supplementary schools is diverse. The Polish school is an exception in that 95% of its students were born in Poland, and Polish is the language used in their homes to communicate. In most of the other schools, the majority of the pupils are second- or third-generation immigrants who do not necessarily use the heritage language in all conversations with family and friends. Staff at the Sudanese School explained that they had an almost balanced mix between UK-born pupils and children born in Sudan.

Particularly in Mandarin Chinese and Arabic schools, interviewees reported that they also had a small number of students from non-Chinese and non-Arabic speaking backgrounds, respectively. Both Mandarin and Arabic are politically strong languages that have a long literary tradition and play a global role. The attendance of children who are not part of the language community reflects the prestige and global importance of the language. The attendance of pupils from non-Arabic backgrounds in Arabic schools is also related to the religious significance of the language, as these students are generally Muslims with other language backgrounds.

In other cases, supplementary schools reflect social and political shifts in languages and their relation to each other. For example, the Korean School has been growing, which the head teacher relates to the more prominent role of Korean culture on the world stage in general. As the country is undergoing a period of growth, parents seem to become more interested in ensuring that their children learn the heritage language. At the Somali Supplementary School, staff suggested that issues of prestige affected pupils' and parents' language choices and that it was often difficult to persuade parents that continuing to use their heritage language was valuable for the children's future. The Bengali school Language and Culture of Bangladesh, which was established in 2011, is an example of the language

revitalisation in the long-standing Bengali community in Manchester. It is one of at least two Bengali supplementary schools that are in operation in the city. The interviewee stated how she, a second-generation immigrant, wished to have had the opportunity to attend a similar school when she was a child. Unlike her third-generation immigrant children, however, Bengali supplementary school teaching had not been available to her.

Communities may be more able to provide this sort of education for their children as they settle and become more prosperous. It appears that more long-standing communities tend to become more comfortable in shifting their focus away from achieving competency in the dominant language only. Staff at the Somali supplementary school explained that some decades ago, “a lot of the parents were more concerned about pushing their children toward the mainstream language, to learn English. And it was the main concern for them that their children can be effective communicators. But now, a lot of parents are realising the importance of the mother tongue”. As their children are now growing up in an English-speaking environment and the learning of English is no longer a problem, communities are acting to prevent the loss of their heritage language. In some cases, heritage language skills may even be considered more important than previously. Staff at the Somali supplementary school and the Bengali school emphasised, however, that the children generally have a very low level of competence in their heritage language when they first arrive at the school.

Seven of the 23 schools included in our survey charged fees. These schools tended to be the larger and more structured institutions, which teach between 130 and 400 students. Fees normally range from £120 to £200 per student annually, and one school charged only £15 per student and year to cover the basic costs. Not all of the schools that charged fees paid their staff; some used the money to purchase teaching material, pay rent and the like.

Of the 23 supplementary schools, nine operate from the premises of state schools and one uses the University of Manchester's premises. The small tutoring

service Igbo Language society holds its lessons in the Withington library, and the Fallowfield library is used for the teaching of Bengali. Four of these nine schools had to pay rent or a small amount of money to cover incidental costs.

It appears that there is generally much support from the mainstream schools or libraries that rent out their premises for supplementary schooling. Fallowfield library, for instance, has actually closed down but is still open for Bengali lessons and similar activities of other communities. The head teacher of the Bosnian Supplementary School, which uses the premises of the Manchester Muslim Prep School for lessons, said: "The school is very understanding. Sometimes we don't have the rent and they wait for us".

Ten of the 23 supplementary schools within this sample operate from their own community centres or places of worship (e.g. churches, mosques, Gurdwaras). This does not necessarily mean, however, that the communities are not required to pay fees for using these premises.

Purpose and objectives of supplementary schools

The main purpose of the majority of the schools is to preserve their community's heritage and facilitate access to culture through the teaching of their language. There are, however, other reasons that motivate communities to offer language classes. Staff at the Sudanese Supplementary School, for example, emphasised the school's role in serving the entire community and "putting most of the community under one roof. It is not just the language; it is the culture as well". Staff at the Language and Culture of Bangladesh supplementary school emphasised their aim to involve the students' parents as well. "We want [children and parents] to get to know each other and enjoy each others' company [...]. It's not just that you drop your children off and go - we welcome the parents to stay, and we do performances of the things we practice".

Apart from creating a space for community members to meet, many supplementary schools actively cultivate traditions and celebrate (religious) holidays. Staff at the Sudanese Supplementary School said: “We have Ramadan coming up, we have a different way of eating food, a different way of dressing. It doesn’t mean we don’t want to integrate into the [British] community; it’s just that we want the kids to understand their history because if you don’t have a history you don’t have a future”. Our interviews suggest that, for those involved with the schools, supplementary schooling may be regarded as a means of helping their communities to integrate and build a future in the UK.

As mentioned above, some schools are based on religious backgrounds. Schools that teach Arabic are perhaps the most common examples of religious supplementary schools: On the one hand, Arabic functions as a means of communication and is used in the pupils’ homes. Among the Arabic schools we interviewed, this was the case in the Hijra Supplementary School, the Noor Arabic School, the Sudanese School and the Iranian Cultural Society. The purpose of teaching Arabic in mosque-affiliated schools, on the other hand, obviously has religious reasons. Didsbury Mosque School teaches nearly 360 students in total and, according to the teacher we interviewed, 90% of the children are from non-Arabic backgrounds. Rather than teaching children how to write and speak modern Arabic, the main aim of the school is to teach the children liturgical Arabic for reading and reciting along with “Muslim morals and manners”. The interviewee explained that, when their students leave the school, they “can read the Qur’an but they don’t speak [Arabic] because that’s not what we teach”.

Serving a Muslim community, the Bosnian Supplementary School has several aims. The school’s main purpose is to develop the pupils’ Bosnian language skills and to teach aspects of art, history and culture; on the other hand, the school aims at improving the children’s understanding of the Qur’an and its meaning. The pupils learn Arabic mainly for religious reasons rather than as a means of communication.

Most mosque schools appear to cater to a specific ethnic group, though we encountered two that seemed to cater for an ethnically diverse range of Muslim children. These schools are supported by the mosque framework. When contacting a Somali community charity, we were informed that there used to be a Somali supplementary school some years ago, but it was no longer running. Yet, they said that most children did attend mosque school where they may speak in Somali, but the focus is on the teaching of Arabic. It appears that there are close similarities to the use of Urdu in supplementary schools in Manchester, which will be elaborated on below.

There are also institutions in Manchester that have a religious focus, but also aim at developing communicative skills in the language they teach. Staff at the Central Gurdwara, for instance, underlined that Panjabi carries great importance not only for religion, but also for communication in the community. Apart from reading and writing religious texts, the children are encouraged to give presentations on varied cultural topics.

In schools where language teaching is not the primary aim, it is sometimes difficult to discern what effect the school is having on children's language skills. For example, a school listed on the Manchester website as a Gujarati school declined to participate in the survey when approached as they saw themselves as a temple school whose members happened to speak Gujarati. Further research should attempt to discover whether religious classes taught in community languages develop literacy skills in those languages, and whether they are the principal source of input on that language for children.

Curriculum and language qualifications

At twelve of the 23 schools we interviewed, pupils can attain state-recognised GCSE language qualifications; two further schools are planning to introduce GCSEs in the course of 2015. Not all of these schools enable their pupils to take official exams at

the school itself, but they prepare them for the exams that are then administered by state schools.

The schools offering formal qualifications are all four Chinese schools, two schools teaching Arabic, the Polish Saturday School, the Greek School, the Farsi School, the Sudanese School, the Dashmesh Sikh Temple School, and the Bhavan. The latter two offer GCSE qualifications in all three languages that they teach: at the Dashmesh Sikh Temple School, the pupils may sit Hindi, Panjabi and Gujarati GCSEs; the students at the Bhavan can take GCSEs in Hindi, Panjabi and Sanskrit, as well as in dance, music and religious studies.

Nine of the schools offering GCSE qualifications offer their pupils the possibility to carry on to A-level. Only the Bhavan, the Noor Arabic School and the Sudanese School do not offer A-level qualifications. Staff at the Sudanese school reported that this was because they did not have the capacity or time, nor the experience to do more than GCSE. That the Bhavan does not offer A-level qualifications is related to the fact that language is only one of several aspects in which the school provides instruction. According to the administrator, the pupils' aim is not necessarily to prepare for and attain formal language qualifications. "The dance classes are the strongest pull to this institution [...], and the language does come through the dance".

In the schools that teach Mandarin and Cantonese, the Noor Arabic School, the Farsi School and the Polish School, pupils usually sit exams a year or two before the equivalent exams in mainstream schools. The reason given for this was that the younger students were more capable due to their exposure to the target language in the home or at the school from an early age. A teacher of the Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre noted that, although the students were given the option to take the exams whenever they wished, they tended to take them at the same time as other pupils. Accordingly, some years see large numbers of candidates whilst other years see significantly fewer. Staff at the Bhavan supplementary school reported that the school population is very fluid and that there is less continuity in

the number of formal qualifications taken at the school. While the school has the capacity to teach Hindi, Panjabi and Sanskrit to GCSE level, this is not consistently utilised.

At many of the schools offering state-recognised qualifications, results which do not fall into the A-A* range are seen as an anomaly. This may be reflective of the long exposure to the language and the immersive effect of language teaching in supplementary schools, and it shows the pupils' motivation to achieve high marks. The students, parents and teachers seem to be aware of the benefits related to attaining formal language qualifications in minority languages, being confident that additional qualifications are beneficial for the pupils' future. Further benefits are pointed out by Matras and Robertson, who emphasise that the "[a]ccreditation of community language skills has the potential to formally flag the worth of these skills and boost motivation in the learning process, and to enrich students' employment prospects" (Matras & Robertson, forthcoming).

The proportion of pupils attaining formal qualifications is higher at the Chinese supplementary schools than at other supplementary schools we interviewed (see Figure 2 above). With more than 350 pupils in each school, the Huaxia Chinese School and the Noor Arabic School are of a similar size; while the former entered 30 candidates for GCSE examinations in 2013, the latter entered only 15. Both schools recognised this as a fairly normal amount. The Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre has only 150 students and entered almost twenty students for GCSE exams in the same year; however, it was noted that this was a larger number than usual. Only three students took A levels at this school. At the Polish Supplementary School, which has 250 students, ten pupils took GCSE examinations in 2013, and almost the same number of pupils took AS level (seven pupils) and A2 level examinations (nine pupils).

The schools that offer both GCSE and A-level qualifications showed a considerable decrease in the number of pupils after pupils had taken their GCSEs, meaning that many students do not carry on to A-level. The reasons given for this

relate to the children's career plans. Particularly for children who are not planning to specialise in language, it does not seem to be of great benefit to carry on to A-level when they have already got their GCSE. Staff at the Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre reported that "if the children are aiming for a higher university, they will do A levels as well". On the whole, there was a decline in the number of GCSE and A-level candidates at the Chinese and Arabic schools over the past decade. The interviewees attributed this mainly to the demands of mainstream schooling and other obligations of older students.

Three of the schools included in this study offer non-British qualifications, which take the form of certificates of completion provided by their home countries or embassies. The Ukrainian School offers a certificate in Advanced Ukrainian Studies, which is externally examined by a Ukrainian University and taken by students who are in Year 10 or 11. The exams test Ukrainian language skills as well as knowledge of literature, history and geography; however, they do not include any oral components. The head teacher said that this was not necessary as the students' competence in speaking was usually high at this point and did not require examination, even though most students did not speak Ukrainian in the home. Between ten and twenty students sit the exam every year. The school used to offer GCSE exams but since 1996 these are no longer available due to low candidate numbers. The Iranian School provides certificates at the end of their primary and secondary school, which are recognised for school leavers in Iran. These exams are sent to Iran for marking. Lastly, the Bosnian school grades its pupils from a grade book provided by the Bosnian Embassy in London, which also provide the certificates. As the interviewee at the school reported, "children across the world get the same certificate" and grades are offered to all the students every year rather than as a final achievement. The pupils generally receive high grades in the last few years, which may be connected to their personal motivation and awareness of the benefits of language qualifications for their future career.

The content of the schools' curricula obviously depends on the aims of each supplementary school. All of the schools address aspects other than language that are usually directly related to their cultural heritage, such as religion, history or cultural studies. However, this additional content is usually delivered in the target language, as it is believed that such instruction contributes to the students' holistic language education and helps to expand their vocabulary. Methods for securing teaching materials vary, though often schools work from a core textbook that comes from the country of origin. The Bosnian supplementary school follows a curriculum provided by the Bosnian Government, which designed a textbook that is used in Bosnian supplementary schools worldwide. However, not all communities use teaching materials from their own heritage countries. The Noor Arabic School uses a special set of textbooks from the United States for their students who learn Arabic as a second language, whilst the classes for students who speak Arabic in the homes follow the Jordanian curriculum. Likewise, the Sudanese school is now using textbooks that follow the Jordanian curriculum, as these are easier to obtain. "It is not a matter that the Jordanian curriculum is interesting to us itself but the kids [...] just need to know Arabic letters, how to write it and how to read it. We can get a supply for each year and get a book for every student, which is very important".

In most schools, core textbooks are supplemented by books brought back from visits to the heritage countries by parents and teachers; additionally teachers use materials prepared by themselves. In the Bhavan School only GCSE preparation is done on the basis of structured textbooks. In lower levels, the teachers work with basic literature from India. The Hijra Supplementary School practice their own curriculum. Similarly, the Igbo Language Society does not follow any external curriculum or use any supporting teaching material. The lessons are based on the teacher's own ideas and learning methods. Some of the larger schools use modern equipment such as computers, let their pupils give PowerPoint presentations in the lessons, and use the internet as a resource.

Staff recruitment and qualifications

Most of the teachers working at Manchester's supplementary schools come from the communities' countries of origin. Some are professionally trained teachers and have already worked at schools in their origin country. A small number of teachers is currently also working at a state school during the week. The majority of supplementary school staff, however, have not received any official training and come from a range of professional backgrounds. There was no school in our sample that employed only staff with formal teaching qualifications. At the Manchester Korean School, for instance, there are teachers who have a PGCE, university graduates with degrees in areas other than education, as well as parents who do not have a degree. Some schools, such as the Somali Supplementary School and the Ensemble French School, are run exclusively by parents who do not have any formal teaching qualification. The Manchester Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre on the other hand does not tend to have parents as teachers.

While the majority of supplementary school staff are not professionally trained teachers, many teachers received some kind of school-internal training when they started to work at the school. Seven schools reported that they had designed their own teacher training method, ranging from a very general introduction at some schools to regular and structured sessions at others. The Noor Arabic School offers three training sessions per year, covering aspects such as managing classes, classroom behaviour, safeguarding and child-protection. The Central Gurdwara and the Bengali school, on the other hand, rely on the teachers' mutual assistance or their "own experience". As we learned at the Gurdwara, the language teachers "aren't trained. Some may have more experience than others or more knowledge, but in general they are just volunteers".

While some schools have their own internal training sessions, in other supplementary schools staff are trained externally. Volunteers at the Sudanese school receive teaching training in London, which is held by an Arabic language

expert. The weekly internal training sessions at the Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre are supplemented by “training from outside, like from MMU [Manchester Metropolitan University]. Occasionally they will give some free training and that’s very helpful”. The parents running the Somali Supplementary School receive guidance and some training from the Abraham Moss School, which is the mainstream school whose premises are used to teach Somali. Manchester City Council’s Children’s Services department occasionally organises training sessions for supplementary school staff as well as networking meetings.

Confirming the findings from previous research, our survey has shown that the majority of the schools are staffed by volunteers who are not paid for their work. The head teacher of the Manchester Chinese Centre reported that the school relies exclusively on volunteers. “This is what they call a ‘charity school’ - so we don’t pay the staff for their teaching”. The Chinese Schools reported that some of their staff are University students. In the Korean Supplementary School, almost all of the teachers are volunteering University students; in addition, the school receives support from the pupils’ mothers. Staff at the Chinese Education Cultural Community Centre, on the other hand, pointed out that they tried to avoid drawing on pupils’ parents for teaching.

Only a third of the schools in the sample pay their teachers. These were most of the Chinese supplementary schools, the Korean School, the Greek School and the Bhavan. However, interviewees from several of these schools emphasised that the fee was intended mainly to cover the teachers’ expenses. According to the head teacher at the Korean school, teachers are motivated not by the prospect of earning but by using their experience of teaching in a Korean school in the UK as a work experience when returning to Korea. Staff at the Manchester Chinese Centre reported that the teaching training offered by the supplementary school would be very valuable for their staff. “I know we don’t pay wages but we give the teachers opportunity and training, which is important to them.”

Infrastructure and sustainability

Similar to the situation in other UK cities and many countries worldwide, Manchester's community-run supplementary schools rely heavily on the dedication of their staff for there is hardly any involvement or support from the local authority. Manchester City Council used to provide small sums of money towards the running of supplementary schools, but this was withdrawn in 2012. Instead, the City Council is now running an awards system, which is intended to provide schools with an incentive to continue to engage with the City Council and to report on their activities. Based on the supplementary schools' submission of a detailed, written report on their function and current profile, the framework informally accredits the schools. An annual achievement event for supplementary schools brings the different communities together and recognises their work.

Insufficient funding is a very serious concern for Manchester's supplementary schools and often their main issue, a problem noted for other cities in previous research (Martin et al. 2004, Minty et al. 2008). As mentioned above, many communities pay rent to use the premises of other institutions or their own community centres. Further costs arise to pay fees or reimburse expenses of schools staff. In addition, the schools usually have costs for textbooks, photocopying and other administrative matters. Staff at the Central Gurdwara reported that they "invested a lot of time and a lot of money buying teaching material from India". Some schools ask the parents to purchase the books themselves, but there seems to be a general desire to keep the costs for parents low. However, our interviews have shown that the withdrawal of supplementary school funding results in the schools being largely dependent on financial support from parents. Staff in the Sudanese school stated that "without the fund, we cannot operate, and this is why we are trying all the time to push the families to understand how important it is to pay us so we can pay our rent and all our commitments".

Another aspect related to financial difficulties is the schools' limited capacities. Two schools reported that they had long waiting lists. Staff at the Polish Saturday School said that "the building doesn't lend itself to more classes. We are looking for new premises, but it's not easy". Likewise, it is impossible for the Somali School to take on more students due to the lack of premises and volunteer teachers. The fact that many supplementary school teachers work on a voluntary basis makes recruitment difficult and may also have a negative effect on teachers' motivation. Staff at the Bengali supplementary school emphasised that "it would be nice if the teachers could get paid something because it is so difficult for us. Like, for example, at end of the year we want to reward the children with something [...]. We just try and collect money ourselves from the parents [...], but it is difficult to ask the parents so most of the time we just try to do it ourselves".

Low budgets can lead to a lack of formal teacher training and teaching material, which may in turn affect the quality of instruction. Several interviewees reported that more regular training sessions would be vital. Staff at the Sudanese school emphasised that they felt the need for "more advice and supervision". As Lamb (2001: 7) warns, the absence of professional teaching qualifications may sometimes lead to "poor teaching methods" and can thus have a serious impact on the teaching standards.

Apart from financial issues, another major concern for supplementary schools is the question of where the teaching can take place. Some of Manchester's supplementary schools operate without permanent premises. Staff at the Sudanese Supplementary School, for instance, reported that growing student numbers in the past 15 years forced them "to move from school to school", until they joined Dulcie High School in Manchester Academy. The lack of a permanent correspondence address and contact person makes cooperation with outside agencies and examining bodies extremely difficult and complicates the administration of GCSE and A-level exams.

Staff at the Somali school reported that it can be hard to find appropriate textbooks. Likewise, a teacher at the Sudanese school reported that before they shifted to using Jordanian textbooks, pupils were struggling with the curriculum. “We find it very hard because the kids were born here, they live here and there is lot of the Sudanese culture in the curriculum, which is hard for them to understand”. Furthermore, the interviewee noted issues connected to the supply of teaching material in the quantities they need, as it is often difficult to get the textbooks delivered from the countries of origin.

Surprisingly, interviewees at several schools reported a lack of support from the side of the parents. A teacher from the Sudanese school emphasised the school’s aim to help their pupils to get A*s and As in their GCSEs, but “if we can't find support from their family and if the language itself cannot be practiced, well then that is a challenge for us”. Staff at the Somali school told us that parents do not always seem to be aware of the importance of maintaining the community language. “A lot of the parents don’t think ahead to forty years. They just think about today: ‘Today I need my child to speak English effectively so he can get a job’, but they don't realise how the language will disappear in two decades”.

Supplementary school teachers at several schools explicitly voiced their desire for more support in general. The head teacher at the Sudanese School explained that although “the school started maybe 22 years ago and we do think it is established, it still needs help from the Council. We need them to come to look into our syllabus, look into our [...] classes, the kids, to advise us on what the shortages are, how we could get more out of the school and how we could link with other schools to get experience from the people in the same field”. As the interviewee from the Noor Arabic School explained, it would be essential to have their community language as one of the foreign language options in mainstream schools, which would allow for minority language teaching in a more organised manner. Working as e-learning mentor during the week, she is familiar with the mainstream sector and stated that “the facilities and resources we have access to at the state

school are amazing. And comparing it with the Arabic school, it's an absolute struggle".

School language policies and pupils' home language use

In order to find out more about language use in the schools and language policies, some of the questions pertained to the rules regulating which language(s) may be used during class or between the lessons. All interviewees said that they would generally encourage the use of the heritage language both at the school and at home. Yet, there seem to be differences in the attitudes towards language choice. The school administrator in the Bhavan emphasised the school's "multilingual environment, [where] there is no limitation what language can be spoken" at any time. Likewise, staff at the Bosnian school explained that teachers were encouraging the students to speak Bosnian, but they "give them freedom and don't force them". Similar to other supplementary schools, subjects such as History, Music, Art and Geography are taught in the heritage language; however, "sometimes [...] we explain it all in English" for those who are not yet very confident in Bosnian. This is in line with Blackledge and Creese (2008), who emphasise the advantage of multilingual classroom interaction as opposed to strict monolingualism in the schools, which contradicts the children's usual experience (2008: 546). Blackledge and Creese (2008: 550) find that multilingual supplementary schools pupils use their linguistic resources in creative and sophisticated ways in the negotiation of identities.

With their focus on religious aspects rather than language itself, classes in the Didsbury Mosque School are mostly in English. The teachers at the Ukrainian Saturday School, on the other hand, always try to actively avoid English although it is "sometimes very hard because English is [the pupils'] main language". At the Noor Arabic School, language use differs from class to class since some children learn Arabic as a foreign language, whereas others speak it as their first language at home.

“In the classes of children learning it as a foreign language, at the start teachers usually speak a little bit of English [...]. At a later stage, we exclusively speak Arabic, especially at advanced levels [such as] pre-GCSE, GCSE, A level”.

About one third of the schools seem to be relatively strict about which languages may be spoken during language classes. In the lessons offered by the Iranian Cultural Society, “there is the rule that we have to teach in Persian and the students have to speak Persian as well”. Outside of the classes, however, pupils are free to choose the language they are most comfortable with. The teacher we interviewed reported that “most of the time, students speak to each other in break time in English, and then when they see me, they change to speaking Persian”. This corresponds to the statements made by the teachers of the other supplementary schools. With the exception of the Polish Saturday School, all interviewees reported that their pupils spoke to each other almost exclusively in English outside the classes.

The choice to speak English with their friends matches the children's language preferences in private contexts. In many cases, the language taught at the supplementary schools is a language children learn in addition to what they speak with family members or their peers. In ten out of the 23 schools included in the study, interviewees reported that their pupils used exclusively English at home. Among these are religious institutions such as the Didsbury Mosque School, Central Gurdwara and the Dashmesh Sikh Temple. Most of the students' families settled in Manchester already three generations ago and have shifted from speaking their heritage language to English. The teacher in the Dashmesh Sikh Temple said he encouraged the children to speak also Panjabi at home, but “this is simply not happening [...]. One of the children asked how to tell his mum he was hungry. In the following week, when the child came, he said ‘I did [ask my mum in Panjabi], but she answered in English ‘what do you want?’”.

As the teacher from the Didsbury Mosque School reported, most pupils do not speak Arabic at home as they come from non-Arabic speaking backgrounds.

Likewise, only a small part of the pupils attending Hijra School come from an Arabic-speaking background. The other students learn Arabic as a second or third language, using English or even additional languages such as Somali, Urdu, Bengali or Pashto in family contexts.

According to the interviewees, the pupils of ten schools used both English and the taught language in their homes. Strikingly, all teachers from Chinese supplementary schools said that the children themselves preferred to speak English, while many of the parents still spoke Cantonese to them. The teacher from the Bosnian school explained that a demographic change has brought about a change in language use. When the community was larger, both parents were usually of Bosnian background and tended to speak their heritage language at home. Since the community has become smaller in the past few years and most of the children come from mixed families, English is the main language spoken in many of the homes.

Only in three schools a majority of the students were estimated to be using their heritage language almost exclusively, both in their communities and at home. This is the case for students of the Ensemble French School, the Iranian Cultural Society and the Polish Supplementary School, which will be elaborated on below.

Findings from the MLM School Language Survey

The MLM School Language Survey (MLM 2013a) offers the very first attempt to measure the impact of supplementary schools in the city. The study was designed to overcome issues of mislabelling and under-reporting of languages in general, and to reveal a fuller picture of each child's language use and exposure. It surveyed 531 children with 'English as an Additional Language' in four schools in Manchester – two primary and two secondary schools located in the Gorton/Levenshulme, Rusholme/Moss Side, and Crumpsal/Cheetham areas of the city. Along with biographical details, the School Language Survey looked at language use on school grounds and in the children's homes, passive and active knowledge of the home

language(s), the use of these languages with different interlocutors, proficiency of English, exposure to media, as well as attendance at language clubs and supplementary schools.

Of the children who were surveyed, 21% attended supplementary schools in their home language. Speakers of Arabic, Somali, South Asian languages, Albanian and Polish reported to be learning or improving their home languages at community-led schools; those who spoke Romani, Czech, Pashto, Yoruba and Swahili, on the other hand, did not have any supplementary schooling.

Attendance at supplementary schools is particularly common among the Arabic-speaking respondent, 58% of whom reported attending such schools. Further languages that showed above-average participation rates in supplementary education were Albanian, Panjabi, Somali, Bengali and Urdu.

For children who reported attending a school with some teaching component in their home language, a tentative link can be established between proficiency and supplementary school attendance. Languages that have significantly higher proficiency scores than the sample's average overall proficiency score include Arabic, Somali and Polish, which corresponds to attendance at supplementary schools alongside other factors such as exposure to media in the home language. On the other hand, lower proficiency scores were shown for languages that are not widely taught in supplementary schools, as is the case for Pashto, Yoruba and Swahili.

It is important to bear in mind that the School Language Survey looks at a sample of only four schools in Manchester, and findings are largely based on the pupils' self-report. However, its method of recording children's heritage language skills allows important insights into the maintenance of these languages and the roles of supplementary schools in heritage language maintenance and proficiency.

Language-based case studies

The following section gives a more detailed account of some of the supplementary schools we interviewed in the context of this study.

Arabic schools

In the four schools surveyed in the MLM school language survey, 58% of the Arabic-speaking children attended some form of supplementary schooling (MLM 2013a: 5). In the context of this supplementary school research, we secured interviews with six schools teaching Arabic in Manchester. The Bosnian supplementary school and the Iranian Cultural Society are the smaller schools among the Arabic-teaching schools, offering Arabic lessons to approximately 20 and 60 students each; the largest Arabic-teaching school, on the other hand, had almost 360 students at the time of the study. Apart from the size, the schools differ considerably in their purpose. The Didsbury Mosque School, which is the largest of the schools, teaches Arabic explicitly for religious purposes. The other schools may be based on religious backgrounds, but they teach Arabic as a means of communication alongside aspects of culture and religion. Two of the six schools included in the survey offer Arabic in addition to teaching their respective community language, namely the Bosnian Supplementary School and the Iranian Cultural Society.

The schools do not all offer formal qualifications. The Sudanese school offers GCSE, and the Noor Arabic School even leads up to A-level. The Bosnian Supplementary School and the Iranian Cultural Society offer external qualifications, while the Didsbury Mosque School and the Hijra School do not offer any qualifications. In contrast to the other schools, the latter only goes up to the end of primary school.

The head teacher at the Noor School noted that the early years are particularly popular at her school. This is borne out by the fact that, in a school of 350 students,

only 15 students took GCSEs in 2013. Both the Noor Arabic School, as well as the Hijra School divide their students between those who are learning Arabic as a foreign language and children from Arabic-speaking backgrounds. The former group are generally Muslims from mixed backgrounds. Lessons at the Noor School are distinct from the classes at Didsbury Mosque School in that the teaching of Arabic as a means of communication makes up a large part of the curriculum. Staff at the Sudanese Supplementary School, for instance, emphasised that the school employed teachers of North African descent in order to continue teaching their “own style of Arabic”.

Chinese language schools

The four Chinese schools interviewed have been in operation for a relatively long time, and they are among the largest schools in this sample. Huaxia School normally has between 360 and 400 students, the Chinese Christian School between 160-180 students, the Manchester Chinese Centre offers lessons to approximately 260 students, and the Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre has around 150 students. All Chinese schools provide formal qualifications in the form of GCSE and A-level. Though Cantonese is the second largest language community in Manchester, the schools predominantly teach Mandarin. Both the Wai Yin Chinese Society and the Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre have in the past decade shifted from teaching Cantonese to a focus on Mandarin. As one interviewee reported, the school “want[s] to teach Cantonese, but not enough students want to learn it”. The Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre and the Chinese Christian School offer both Cantonese and Mandarin lessons, but formal qualifications are typically taken only in Mandarin. The Huaxia Chinese School has established itself as a school teaching only Mandarin at a time when there was still considerable Cantonese presence. Thus, our research confirms Li Wei’s (2011) findings on the strong interest in learning Mandarin, which reflects the growing international importance of Mandarin.

However, the interviewees in all Chinese language schools did not perceive Mandarin as the home language of the majority of their students. The pupils spoke largely English at home although the majority came from Cantonese or other Chinese language backgrounds. Nevertheless, Mandarin is the Chinese language that parents are most eager for their children to learn. The teacher at the Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre stated that he himself spoke Hakka, but he did not want his children to learn it as it was such an isolated language. He instead thought it was very important that they learned Mandarin. For most of the students, the lessons at the supplementary school are their first and major, if not only, exposure to Mandarin. The Huaxia School noted a growing trend for students from non-Chinese backgrounds to attend the school. The Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre noted that this sometimes occurred but that drop-out rates among these students were high.

Supplementary education in the Urdu-speaking community

With more than 13,000 speakers, the Urdu-speaking community is the largest language community in Manchester after English, and the language is spoken across the city. From the 168 Urdu-speaking children interviewed in the Multilingual Manchester School Language Survey, 42 pupils (25%) reported that they attended some kind of supplementary schooling (MLM 2013a: 45). Despite extensive and detailed research, however, we have not yet been able to ascertain the existence of any school in Manchester that is currently teaching Urdu.

We identified only one single case in which children were taught written and spoken Urdu in afternoon classes, which was a service that had been offered for 35 years. In Alma Park Primary School in Levenshulme, a parent of one of the primary school pupils started teaching Urdu classes as an optional afternoon activity in 1980. According to current staff members of the school, approximately 30 pupils of different ages and from several schools used to attend these weekly lessons. Despite

considerable demand, the teacher stopped offering the classes in February 2015. At the time of writing, Alma Park Primary School had yet been unable to find a new teacher.

Another school we approached used to teach Urdu alongside liturgical Arabic. Focusing on the teaching of Arabic in the context of Islamic Studies, however, the school stopped teaching Urdu. According to the interviewee, they are planning to re-establish Urdu lessons in the future. In general, the findings of our research suggest that supplementary schools providing Urdu language environments are actually mosque-affiliated schools that serve the Pakistani community, but their purpose is the teaching of Arabic rather than Urdu.

Among the children surveyed in the Multilingual Manchester School Language Survey, Urdu is the most frequently cited home language other than English (MLM 2013a: 22). However, the use of Urdu seems to be largely restricted to home contexts, where spoken rather than written Urdu skills are developed but formal instruction is not given. This is reflected in the Urdu writing samples provided by Urdu-speaking pupils in the School Language Survey, which were generally simplistic in content. The children often produced their script with hesitancy (MLM 2013a: 59), and a small number of children wrote Urdu in Roman script rather than Persian-Arabic (MLM 2013a: 34). The average proficiency score for Urdu was slightly lower than the average for all respondents (MLM 2013a: 58), and Urdu-speaking children tended to watch television, to be read to and to read actively in this language to a lesser extent than the average child in the survey (MLM 2013a: 58, 59). Furthermore, the School Language Survey suggests that there are great differences in Urdu usage across generations, with Urdu being used less frequently among younger speakers. Only 31% of the children who used Urdu as a home language with their parents stated that they spoke it also with their siblings (MLM 2013a: 58). This suggests a generational shift to English in the family context (MLM 2013a: 22).

That the biggest language community in Manchester after English does not seem to provide institutional support for the teaching of their language may, at a first glance, seem paradoxical. The city's Urdu-speaking community is a longstanding community; most likely, a large part of the Urdu-speaking children in the city do not have an Urdu language background from education in the heritage country. In the School Language Survey, 74 of 104 Urdu-speaking children who could state their country of birth were born in the UK (MLM 2013a: 54).

School case studies

The following section of this paper focuses on individual schools we interviewed and offers a detailed outline of some selected schools.

The Manchester Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre

Established in 1978, the Manchester Chinese Education, Culture & Community Centre is among the older schools in the sample. At the time of the interview, 23 teachers were teaching Chinese language and culture to around 150 children between the ages of 4 and 16. The school offers courses in both Cantonese and Mandarin up to GCSE and even A-level. As the teacher explained in the interview, most of the students usually take GCSE but do not go on to A-level. The majority of the pupils come from Cantonese-speaking families, but some have mixed Cantonese-English backgrounds.

Yet, there is a clear focus on the teaching of Mandarin in this school. Staff reported that “at first, when the school was established, Cantonese was very popular. But now Mandarin is the main important language”. However, the teachers use the children's understanding of Cantonese to support the teaching of Mandarin.

According to the interviewee, “for nearly all of the students Mandarin [is] a foreign language, but Cantonese could be a second language because the family speaks it”.

The staff consist of mostly Chinese University students and graduates. Most of the teachers do not have any formal teaching qualifications, but the supplementary school offers weekly teacher training; in addition, the school makes use of the free training occasionally offered by Manchester Metropolitan University. The teachers are all volunteers, but the school pays travel expenses. Since donations are not enough to cover such costs and the monthly rent, the school charges a fee of £150 per year per pupil.

Chinese Christian Church Sunday School

The Manchester Chinese Christian Church Sunday School was established in 1966 and had around 160 to 180 students at the time of the study. Pupils aged 5 to 20 are taught Mandarin and Cantonese every Sunday for almost 2 hours. Language teaching, however, is not the only focus of the school. In addition to Mandarin and Cantonese lessons, students between 5 and 12 years take part in Bible classes on Sunday afternoons. According to the interviewee, a few children come from Chinese backgrounds.

There are 36 language teachers working at the school, and there are on average 2-3 teachers in each class. The teachers have gone through internal teacher training and the majority have been teaching for many years. The school teaches up to GCSE, AS, A2 and A-level in Chinese, but the exams are then taken externally. Since the pupils are divided into different classes according to their language competence, children who take exams may be at different ages. The pupils pay £15 a year to cover costs for the teaching material, but the teachers are not paid.

Huaxia Chinese School

On Sundays during term time, the Huaxia Chinese School teaches oral and written Mandarin Chinese in the premises of the University of Manchester. The school's focus is clearly on language teaching, but practical activities like dancing or painting are also offered. The school even used to arrange rugby games after the lessons. Around 25 language teachers and four dance and painting teachers work at the school, and they are supported by a group of teaching assistants. Including the administration workers, there are between 40 and 50 staff working at the school.

The numbers of students range from 360 to 400 every year, and the pupils are broken up by year-group. Huaxia Chinese School teaches Mandarin up to GCSE, AS and A level. Additionally, it offers a small number of adult classes that are not bound to a particular curriculum. The 2-hours lessons are based on textbooks approved and provided by the Chinese Government. These are purchased from UK distributors for small fees.

The University of Manchester does not charge the complete rent for using the premises, but the school is required to pay a small fee to cover costs for security and electricity. The children and adult-learners pay £110-120 for the entire school year, which includes textbooks, a few organised events and the children's little Christmas presents. The fee also allows the school to pay teachers and admin workers.

Huaxia Chinese School does not have a formal language policy. The interviewee said that it was difficult to stick to Mandarin since the pupils generally preferred using English. Although about three-quarters of the parents are estimated to speak some Mandarin, they do not tend to speak it at home. The teacher reported that "in most of the cases, parents are not fluent enough to not allow children to speak English at home". Persuading the children to use Mandarin more often amongst each other is "something we're never going to reach".

As to the reasons for learning the language, the interviewee emphasised the strong will of the parents and reported that in most cases, it is the parents who want their children to learn Mandarin. Initially, “very few children are motivated by themselves” to go to the school. The pupils’ own motivation tends to increase as they get older, since they want to get high marks in their GCSE and A-level exams. Besides, the interviewee related their increasing willingness to learn to the children’s identity. “The younger children are happy in primary school, they don’t care about the culture. All they care is that other children complain on Sunday they have to go to Sunday School and do extra homework and all that. Only when they get older, they start to form their identity”.

Interestingly, the teacher noted an increase of pupils from non-Chinese backgrounds in recent years. Besides, the numbers of students who already speak Mandarin and join the supplementary school just to take GCSE qualifications have risen. This again reflects the growing importance of Mandarin; additionally, it shows that by offering language classes and qualifications in Mandarin, the community-run schools fulfil growing needs that many mainstream schools do not meet.

Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation

As staff at the Greek Orthodox Church reported, there has been a Greek community in Manchester for around 160 years. Particularly since the 1950s, the community has been growing. The church services at the Greek Orthodox Church are mostly in English, and the number of people who actually speak Modern Greek in the community seems to be declining. According to the interviewee, many people nowadays “just come because they are orthodox, not because they are Greek. Some maybe don’t feel Greek because they have been in England for several generations”. In order to maintain the Greek language and culture, there are organised Greek lessons every Saturday. The classes take place in the community’s premises next to the church. Although not all of the teachers are professionally trained in teaching,

they all have a University degree. This is different from the situation three to four decades ago, when the teachers were volunteering native speakers of Greek but did not have any academic qualifications.

The students are primary school, secondary school and high school pupils. The school offers to take GCSEs, but only a minority of the students do usually take these formal qualifications. The interviewee reported that the pupils seem to be particularly enthusiastic in the first years, but a great number tended to leave the school as they get to higher levels. This may be connected to the fact that most of the children are second or third generation immigrants who speak mainly English, which is why many have difficulties learning Greek. According to the interviewee, the children come to learn the language “[b]ecause their parents (and) grandparents, in some cases, want the children to know Greek”. The textbooks used in the lessons are from Cyprus, but they are adapted to the English environment in that the level of difficulty is lower.

Polish Saturday School

The Polish Saturday School was established in 1949 in Manchester, and it currently has around 250 pupils. As mentioned above, it is an unusual case within the sample in that Polish is the home language of almost all of the pupils. The school has seen a demographic shift in recent years: while it had catered to first-, second-, and then third-generation children of immigrants in the past, almost all of the school's students since 2007 were born in Poland. These recently arrived children are completely fluent in Polish, and the education provided at the Polish school is in many ways a continuation of their Polish mainstream education. In fact, the school prepares some of the pupils for a possible return to Poland. These shifts have led to a greatly increased standard of Polish taught at the school, to the extent that the children of more longstanding immigrants have difficulties keeping up.

As for language use between lessons, the school was the exception to the rule of supplementary school students who usually tend to communicate in English among each other. With the great majority of the students speaking Polish as their first language, it is not surprising that many prefer it to English also outside the classes. The head teacher felt that the Polish school environment was very important to the children who had been born in Poland, for they may not feel completely comfortable in their new English environment. The Polish Saturday school provides GCSEs, and of their ten candidates in 2012, only two did not get an A* or an A. The interviewee mentioned that in one of the cases it may have been the pupil's level of English that proved to be a disadvantage on the exam, which included a Polish text with English questions.

Because of the large size of the Polish community in Manchester and the growing demand of Polish supplementary schooling, the school has waiting lists for prospective students. There is at least one other Polish school in Manchester, but it has thus far been impossible to arrange an interview.

Ensemble French School

Compared to the schools outlined above, the Ensemble French School is very different in nature. It is a small, parent-led community organisation that aims at developing French language skills and creating awareness of the Francophone African culture in Manchester. The school was established in 2006 and emerged from the desire of a number of women from Cameroon as well as local women to actively support their children in learning French. After a short period of time, the group had attracted wider interest and other organisations such as the Refugee Support Network and Refugee Action became involved.

From the 24 children enrolled at the time of the survey, around 12 to 16 children were attending the lessons on a weekly basis. The pupils are usually between 8 and 16 years old and are from Congolese or Cameroonian backgrounds.

According to the interviewee, the families from Cameroon typically spoke French at home, whereas pupils from Congolese families mostly spoke the Bantu language Lingala. This is an example of polycentric identity formation discussed by Blommaert (2013) and demonstrates that communities cannot be considered closed units with homogenous populations. Despite differing uses of African languages, this particular West African group is united by the French language to form a speech community. French is not necessarily the 'heritage' language or the dominant language in the environment in which they are currently living, but the connection to French does not disappear.

The lessons at the Ensemble French School are usually led by two of four volunteers and take place on Saturday afternoons in the Victoria Mill Community Centre in Miles Platting. The sessions are based on a range of activities such as singing and dance, playing African instruments, role-plays and telling stories in French. Other activities include cookery courses and preparation of events and festivals, all of it in French. In addition to internal events, the Ensemble French School regularly participates in local festivals to raise awareness of the French African community and celebrate their language, music and culture.

The school's aim to maintain their heritage in these varied ways is closely linked to aspects of identity. As the head teacher explained, the parents want their children to "have a certain desire to speak French because [they] are so into the English culture and they look at African as second class thing. And we have to help them to understand that it's not just our mother tongue, it's a living language [...]. We're not French, but we are French African". This shows parallels to findings of previous research on supplementary schools, which has found that African and African-Caribbean communities aim at showing that their children can do well at schools and still 'act Black' (Reay & Mirza 2001:96). Mirza (2009) argues that black supplementary schools "are much more than a response to mainstream failure. They are spaces of hope and transcendence", where the children are encouraged to develop a positive sense of being Black (2009: 141-2).

Apart from occasional singing performances in French, the pupils do not have to take any tests. The head teacher has designed a training programme to prepare the volunteer teachers for their work at the school. Apart from the training in teaching French and music, the programme touches on safeguarding, classroom management, confidentiality and communication. The training sessions are all delivered by the head teacher herself, but she said she was hoping to raise enough funds to be able to offer a more formal and official training for the staff.

The Ensemble French School receives funding from Miles Platting and additionally uses donations to pay musicians, to purchase musical instruments, or to cover other expenses. At the time of the interview, the pupils did not have to pay for the lessons. However, the interviewee mentioned that the school might have to start charging fees since they may be required to pay rent in the future. Apart from financial issues, the school is struggling in terms of finding volunteers who come from an educational or academic background and are experienced in teaching children.

Pupils' motivations, language use and future aspirations

At three of the schools we arranged separate interviews with a total of fourteen pupils in order to learn more about their personal histories, motivations, aims and aspirations. These were the Huaxia Chinese School, the Ukrainian Saturday School and the Noor Arabic School. The students were not specifically chosen, but volunteered for the interviews. Interviews were supervised by staff, and no personal data of pupils were recorded. Like the other components of the research, the interviews with pupils were reviewed by and received prior approval from the Research Ethics committee of the School of Arts, Languages and Cultures at the University of Manchester.

Huaxia Chinese School

At the Huaxia Chinese School, we met six students who were between nine and eleven years old at the time of the survey. All started attending the supplementary school at the age of six. None of the interviewed students was born in China; four of the six children were born in England and the other two in Australia and Sweden. Four pupils said that they used to understand and speak better Chinese when they were younger, but English was now their dominant language.

The four pupils we interviewed cannot be taken as a homogenous group. Length of time and frequency of visits to the heritage country differed greatly among the students, as did the motivations to learn Mandarin and the frequency of use. Five of the six pupils reported that their parents spoke Mandarin to them. One of the interviewees said that the parents used English at work, which is why they spoke a mixture of the two languages at home. One girl stated that since her grandparents were monolingual, they necessarily spoke Mandarin in the home. Another pupil reported that her parents had begun to find Chinese conversation very difficult, which is why they preferred speaking English. Yet another interviewee reported she could not understand the dialect of the region where her family lived in China, which is why she never had a chance to practice her Chinese with family members there.

The pupil interviews confirm the teachers' statements that although the parents might be trying to encourage their children to speak the heritage language at home, the pupils themselves preferred to speak English. This matches the situation at the school, where the pupils choose English when speaking among themselves. The pupil interviews indicate that the parent generation has a much closer bond to the heritage language than the children. This is hardly surprising, since most of the pupils' parents were born and raised in China. One pupil noted that his parents "have started to be worried about [him] not speaking Chinese. They don't want [him] to forget that [he is] a Chinese person as well as an English person".

The students themselves showed mixed feelings about attending the school. On the one hand, they emphasised that it is quite demanding and stressful to go to schools on Sundays and do the homework in addition to preparing for their regular school. The children also explained that they found learning and speaking Chinese very difficult, especially when trying to communicate with family members who often have strong or different accents. On the other hand, the interviews revealed that the pupils appreciate the opportunity to learn about their heritage language and culture. They emphasised that Chinese is part of their cultural identity. Moreover, the children were aware that knowing Mandarin is “a good qualification to have for the future”, as it is likely to improve their career opportunities. All of the pupils had already taken their GCSE qualifications, and they were preparing for their AS and A-level examinations. When asked about future aspirations, it became clear that both their parents’ expectations, as well as the pupils’ own ambitions were high. Furthermore, they reported that speaking Mandarin Chinese was essential if they wanted to be respected in China. The interviewees regarded the language as an important aspect connecting their generation to their family back in China, as the grandparent generation usually does not speak English.

Noor Arabic School

At the Noor Arabic School, our interviews with four students revealed four different language biographies. The interviewees were between 12 and 14 years at the time of the study. Their parents are from Tunisia, Libya and Lebanon, and one of the interviewees’ mother comes from Bosnia. Only one girl was born in England, whereas the other pupils we interviewed moved to England when they were between three and eight years old. English is not the children’s first language, but they learned it at school or just before going to school.

The languages spoken in contexts other than the supplementary school differ from pupil to pupil. While some do not use Arabic outside the school, the majority

speak the language at home with their parents and are exposed to media in Arabic. However, many pupils still choose English for conversations with their siblings and peers, which confirms the findings of the MLM school language survey (2013a: 21). One of the girls interviewed for the present study used Amazigh at home, but speaks English with her friends and siblings. During the week, she goes to a Muslim girls school where Arabic forms part of the curriculum. Apart from that, she is exposed to Arabic at the mosque and in Qur'an classes. From the interviewed pupils attending Noor Arabic School, she is the only one to receive religious education.

The students see the taught language as a link to their grandparents and other family members, and they regard it as essential when they go to their heritage countries to visit. Additionally, the children believe it is important to learn Arabic since they "want to be able to travel". All of the children who were interviewed wanted to take GCSE qualifications in Arabic. In contrast to the six students from Huaxia Chinese School, however, not all students attending Noor Arabic School were planning to carry on to A-level. Yet, the students are convinced that Arabic skills "will be useful for getting a job and getting accepted by better universities". The majority of the pupils said they enjoyed going to the supplementary school, as it offers them the opportunity to meet people from a variety of schools and neighbourhoods.

Ukrainian Saturday School

The four pupils we interviewed at the Ukrainian Saturday School were between 12 and 14 years old. Only one of them was born in England. Two children were born in Ukraine and one girl was born in Russia, and they moved to England when they were four, six or eleven years old, respectively.

Ukrainian is spoken by a smaller and more specific group of people than Arabic, which explains why the diversity of languages spoken in the pupils' homes was smaller at the Ukrainian school than at the Noor Arabic School. Yet, the children we interviewed had very diverse individual language biographies and their language use

represents different ways of language maintenance, which is in many cases connected the length of time in the UK. One of the students returned to Ukraine on a regular basis and had friends with whom she spoke Ukrainian frequently, while another pupil had not been to Ukraine since the family moved to England but had many Ukrainian friends in England. Yet another interviewee rarely spoke Ukrainian outside of the supplementary school context and did not visit the country, and the fourth had only very recently moved from Ukraine and thus had greater difficulties with English than with Ukrainian.

All the pupils were very motivated to improve their Ukrainian, particularly their reading and writing skills. Unlike the students of Mandarin, all interviewees at the Ukrainian Saturday School regarded their community language as an integral part of their everyday life. Even the girl who was born in England considered Ukrainian to be her first language. As their parents are “not very good at English” and many of their friends and family friends are Ukrainian, the heritage language is the dominant language used outside their regular schools. All pupils agreed that they enjoyed going to the supplementary school, which is where they could expand their language skills and improve writing, as well as participate in activities offered by the school. Besides, social motivations played an important role. Apart from that, the pupils saw the Ukrainian language as an important part of their identity. One of the girls feared that her Ukrainian language skills might fade away if she did not practice regularly. “It’s good to try and keep it up, because it’s where you’re from”. The pupils learning Ukrainian also mentioned that their Ukrainian skills would be beneficial for their lives, and help them to get into University.

Pupils’ aspirations: General remarks

When asked about their future aspirations, all fourteen children from the three schools reported that they were planning to go to University after graduation. Many said they wanted to study Maths and Sciences, IT, Medicine, Geography and

Architecture, and four of the pupils emphasised their intention to apply to Cambridge or Oxford. Two children were planning to specialise in Interpreting or Linguistics. Both were planning to take language GCSEs and A-levels at their regular schools in addition to the qualifications they take at the supplementary schools.

The majority of the pupils said they intended to stay in Manchester or somewhere in the UK for their studies and work. Six teachers from different schools made similar assertions about their own children, who recognise the benefits of speaking several languages when living in England. The teacher of the Dashmesh Sikh temple said: “My youngest daughter is a solicitor, my eldest daughter is a teacher, and my wife is a teacher. All of them have passed their bilingual exams, and they can speak different languages as well, and that is a great benefit. Any client [who] comes, they can communicate with them”.

Likewise, those pupils who said they were planning to return to their origin countries regard the language skills developed at the supplementary schools as valuable for their future. The head teacher of the Iranian Cultural Society reported that some of the former pupils have benefitted from the qualifications acquired at the supplementary school. “All of them are qualified when they go back to Iran and go to University, and I remember three of my students went to study medicine in Iran”.

Conclusions

Supplementary schools generally teach languages that are not widely available in mainstream education, thus providing for educational and social needs that are not usually met by the mainstream sector. Our study has shown that the schools operate in a variety of ways to preserve and promote their heritage, passing on minority languages and culture to next generations. Supplementary schools vary in size and nature, and they may use different methods and focus on distinct aspects in

their teaching. Larger schools tend to have more in common than the smaller schools, which often have unique methods and standards. Following selected textbooks, the classes of the larger schools are in many cases more structured; moreover, these schools frequently offer formal qualifications. Among the smaller schools in the sample are schools that base their lessons on musical performance or activities connected to their cultural heritage. The motivation for language teaching in other schools is related to religious aspects, where language may be taught for liturgical purposes rather than as a means of communication.

Yet, supplementary schools generally share their fundamental aims. A recurring theme in the interviews was the importance of preserving culture or religion through a heritage language as well as the contact to other members from their language community. Speaking the language and understanding the values of parents and grandparents help to bridge the gap between generations and build cohesion within the communities. It enables students to communicate with relatives who do not speak English and facilitates access to culture. Our study shows that communities are interested not only in language as a means of communication, but also in language as a heritage.

Many supplementary schools rely on volunteer teachers and parents, which seems to be related to the near absence of local authority support for the teaching of community languages. The lack of practical and financial support increases the challenges the schools are facing and makes it harder for them to operate and pursue their objectives. However, teachers show much enthusiasm, which leads to innovative and student-oriented teaching. This commitment of supplementary school staff and parents suggests that the promotion of their heritage language and culture is of central importance to the communities. A variety of language communities in Manchester have taken upon themselves the responsibility to maintain their heritage and support younger generations. They help their pupils succeed academically and socially and prepare them for their future in a multicultural reality.

The pupil interviews conducted at three of the supplementary schools have revealed that the children were generally very positive about supplementary schooling and recognised the varied benefits of acquiring and improving minority language skills. The children appreciate the opportunity to meet with peers from similar backgrounds, which can be regarded as a way of identifying and connecting with the culture and family members in their heritage countries. Supplementary schools create a space for people from similar backgrounds to meet and maintain traditions, allowing students to shape their complex cultural identities in the interaction with other multilingual children. Furthermore, the reflection on aspects of their heritage culture and history may help children to develop confidence. Apart from the development of the individuals' personalities and social skills, many see widening career opportunities through the attendance of supplementary schools, where the pupils are often encouraged to attain additional qualifications.

Language skills are an important economic resource and a particularly valuable feature of a next generation local workforce. In an increasingly globalised world, employees with skills in languages other than English are vital for the city's economic growth. Supplementary schools play an important role in maintaining the city's linguistic diversity, for various reasons. First, for those children who use the taught language in the home, the schools offer support in enhancing their knowledge of the heritage language. They help to expand the pupils' vocabulary and provide literacy skills and qualifications in the community language, which is beneficial for the children's personal as well as professional future. Second, for pupils who do not regularly use the heritage language in private contexts, supplementary schools provide a structured means to maintain and improve language skills learnt earlier in life and introduce the children to this aspect of their culture.

The growing numbers of supplementary school pupils at many schools, as well as the interest in Chinese and Arabic teaching among students of different linguistic backgrounds, reflects the increasing demand for global languages. Yet,

children who attend supplementary schools make up a small percentage of Manchester's overall school age population. Supplementary school pupils acquire skills in languages that most others will not be given the chance to acquire before university. Many are developing these skills up to a high level, taking formal qualifications earlier than their mainstream counterparts and generally achieving top marks. Although many students leave the supplementary school system after GCSEs due to the demands of their mainstream education, the literacy skills gained in these languages lay the foundation for language maintenance by the individual and for further engagement. The children's intentions have greater implications for the future of Manchester's workforce, and further pupil interviews and interviews with teachers from other supplementary schools will be extremely valuable.

The findings nicely show that different communities seem to have different reasons and varied approaches to the way they maintain their heritage languages. A community's motivations for teaching language in a supplementary school setting may, on the one hand, be connected to prestige values or the global economic importance associated with their heritage languages. Manchester's Francophone community, for instance, includes French speakers from several African countries who may actually speak their ethnic languages or English in their homes, rather than French. Yet, they have established supplementary schools to teach French, based on the conviction that French skills are beneficial for the pupils' career prospects. Furthermore, communities might want to preserve French as part of their identity, as it is the language of education and government in their origin country.

On the other hand, 'heritage' is understood by some to as religious heritage; in these cases, the communities' principal aim seems to be to ensure the teaching of the language of religion rather than the language they actually speak in everyday life. Thus, communities whose members speak mostly Urdu besides English in family contexts do not tend to teach Urdu in school settings. In supplementary schools attended by Urdu-speaking children, Urdu might function as a language of instruction, but the focus of the teaching is Arabic as the language of the Qur'an.

This again corresponds to findings of the Multilingual Manchester School Language Survey, according to which Urdu tends to be used alongside other languages in a supplementary school setting (MLM 2013a: 29). This illustrates one of the dilemmas facing the supplementary school system, as multilingual communities often have to set priorities and choose which aspects of their multilingual and multicultural heritage they wish to emphasise as part of the formal instruction offered at supplementary schools.

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