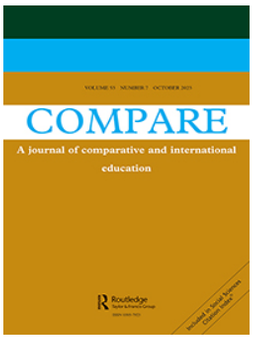

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How and why minoritised communities self-organise education: a review study

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ABSTRACT

Minoritised communities have a long history of self-organising learning to meet their youth's varied educational needs. Community education is a widespread societal phenomenon, yet a conceptual framework mapping the diversity of educational initiatives remained lacking. We bring together the body of academic work on community education in a systematic literature review and extract an array of cases. By regarding these cases through a conceptual framework based on their organisational form and their main objectives, we distinguish different types of community education and we deduce that different communities have different needs, which translate into different intended purposes. Distinguishing similarities and differences in community education across communities and countries is a necessary step in acknowledging the resourcefulness of minoritised communities in self-organising education, which is pertinent for stakeholders of community schools as well as for those researching community educational spaces.

KEYWORDS

Community education; community learning; community participation; comparative analysis; systematic reviews

Introduction

Minoritised communities across Western societies have a long history of self-organising education to benefit their youth. There are different types of community-organised learning such as Turkish weekend-schools, Hmong after-school projects and full-time Islamic schools. These spaces of community education, here defined as educational initiatives undertaken by minoritised communities to meet their youth's specific educational needs, are a widespread phenomenon. They have a significant impact on the educational trajectories of minoritised youth as they are innovative in finding ways to disrupt enduring inequalities (Baldridge et al. 2017; Miller 2012).

While community education initiatives have been studied for decades, the extant literature is marked by a high degree of fragmentation and limited knowledge sharing across disciplines. So far, academic research has either looked into community education as one homogenous body without thoroughly recognising the differences in its emanations or has applied single-case analyses of educational initiatives without acknowledging

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similarities across cases, with few exceptions (Bridglall, Green, and Mejia 2005; Burman and Miles 2018; Lee and Wright 2014; Leeman 2015; Maylor et al. 2013). Specifically, different ways of organising learning such as full-time schools or after-hours schools have not been brought together even though they share important characteristics (Musharraf and Nabeel 2015). The current fragmentation not only hinders knowledge sharing, but also the lack of a common framework limits our grasp of community education's richness and variety.

To further our understanding on these critical places, we bring different emanations together under the overarching concept of 'community education' and aim to present an encompassing framework. In the large variety of initiatives, organised in many ways, two shared and crucial characteristics can be discerned: a) they are undertaken by minoritised communities and b) they meet their youths' specific educational needs. These characteristics are crucial as they emphasise the self-determination that exists within these communities, and they acknowledge the specific educational needs across communities and locations.

The research questions formulated to gain a better understanding of community education are the following: (a) 'Which types of community education emerge when viewed through a conceptual framework of organisational structure and purpose-orientation?' and (b) 'Which descriptions of community education are present and which gaps can be identified in the current body of academic literature?'

Research shows the educational purposes of community education to go beyond mere increasing academic achievement of minoritised youth (Baldridge et al. 2017; Burman and Miles 2018). Therefore, we regard community education's objectives through the lens of education's threefold purposes of qualification, socialisation and individual development (Biesta 2009). Acknowledging the rich variety in organising learning spaces, we further differentiate between informal, after-hours, and full-time occurrences of community education. We then conduct a systematic literature review and bring together the dispersed academic literature on community education (Alexander 2020). A review of the literature, through a shared theoretical framework, enables us to distinguish as well as compare different types of community education.

This study argues that educational initiatives undertaken by minoritised communities differ greatly in their educational purposes and their organisational structures, yet similarities arise across communities and countries. Such similarities and differences shed light on the educational aspirations as well as challenges of different communities. In recognising the richness of learning spaces, we not only acknowledge the resilience and resourcefulness of minoritised communities but also emphasise the importance of community education as a broad societal phenomenon. This will forward the academic discussion and broader understanding of the educational needs of minoritised youth and the ways in which communities aim to meet those needs.

In what follows, we will, first, expand our definition of community education. Second, we discuss the method used for the systematic literature review. Third, we deduce a theoretically grounded typology to the cases discussed in the literature and fourth, we make comparisons across types, communities and locations. Finally, we end with a discussion of the implications of our findings.

Defining community education

We use the concept of 'community education' to distinguish a variety of initiatives that are organised by minoritised communities in Western societies to support their youth. To a large extent, academic descriptions of community education remain limited to differentiating at the level of organisational structures. Traditionally, community education is discussed in the literature as weekend schools or after-hours schools and is often defined as 'supplementary education', 'complementary education' or 'language heritage schools'; this includes, for example, Chinese language schools, Black supplementary schools and Thai Saturday schools.

Yet, communities initiate educational spaces that support their youth in a variety of ways. This not only includes the broad scope of initiatives such as Black supplementary schools and language heritage schools, but also encompasses other educational spaces. For example, communities organise education in more informal ways, such as peer-to-peer homework support, and sometimes they organise educational spaces that are formally recognised as full-time schools, such as Islamic schools or Jewish schools. These different schools have never been brought together and compared, thus similarities and distinctions between them remain unaccounted for.

A thorough conceptual framework should surpass organisational distinctions and bring together research on informal learning spaces, after-hours schools and full-time schools and then regard the different intentions formulated by such schools.

Beyond the organisational differentiation, a comprehensive framework should encompass the diversity in purposes of community education. Mainstream education does not meet every minoritised group's specific needs and community education is a reaction to the gaps experienced in mainstream education (Andrews 2016; Evans and Gillan-Thomas 2015; Hall et al. 2002). It supplements, critiques or substitutes the curricula taught in mainstream schools. We acknowledge, first, that communities self-organise education in response to mainstream education, whilst they seek to meet their specific needs. Second, we understand community education as a way of educating that goes beyond academic achievement (Baldridge 2014; Burman and Miles 2018). Therefore, we conceptualise its purposes in the threefold approach of socialisation, individual development and qualification.

We thus define community education as educational initiatives organised by minoritised communities to support their youth in a variety of ways and to achieve a variety of goals. For a more comprehensive approach, we acknowledge a diversity in organisational structures as well as purpose-orientation and use the term community education as an overarching one.

Some scholars have noted that the richness and complexity of community education complicates the construction of a typology (Matarese 2013). Others have sought to work towards frameworks through which to examine community education (Burman and Miles 2018; Gholami 2017; Gordon, Bridglall, and Meroe 2005). We build upon these previous works and take their concerns and reflections into account to differentiate different types of community education. We examine different cases and critically assess their purposes and organisational structure.

Method

Because the academic knowledge of community education is scattered throughout research disciplines and journals, methodically searching the literature is the best way to bring together different cases and observe them through a shared lens. We conduct a systematic literature review (Grant and Booth 2009) in order to gather the wide range of existing research on community education and synthesise findings from different disciplines, research areas and journals to answer the research questions. Search terms for scanning databases were selected, and inclusion and exclusion criteria were set. We present a synthesis of cases (Aveyard 2018; Liberati et al. 2009) that serves as the data for our subsequent analysis and comparison of types.

Article selection

Search criteria

After an inductive, explorative reading phase (Shadiev and Sintawati 2020) search terms were identified and decided upon. These terms were used in significant articles and book chapters. A first search using those search terms was conducted to check if relevant works were included. We used the following search phrase:

> (Ethnic* OR migrant OR minorit* OR communit*) AND (supplementary OR complementary OR language OR heritage OR culture* OR religio*) AND (school* OR educat*) NOT health

The search term 'health' was excluded to eliminate articles in medical journals. We had no exclusion criteria for year of publication and extracted articles from as early as 1993 to 2019. However, there were not enough case descriptions throughout these years for a thorough historical analysis. To ensure the quality and academic rigour of the selected studies, we limited our analysis to peer-reviewed articles included in the Web of Science Database, a comprehensive repository that contains almost all published (social) science research (Alexander 2020). Books and book chapters were not included in our synthesis of cases but were used as theoretical foundations. We followed the selection procedure described in the PRISMA flow diagram (Liberati et al. 2009 see Table 1).

Table 1. PRISMA flow diagram.

PRISMA Flow Diagram (Liberati et al. 2009)	
Identification phase	Articles identified through database search: $N = 5895$ Records added after reference snowballing and contacting authors: $N = 53$
Screening phase	Articles screened on title and abstract: $N = 5948$ Articles excluded: $N = 5338$
Eligibility phase	Articles full text assessed for eligibility: $N = 610$ Reason for exclusion: (1) Top-down initiative (2) Aimed at majority pupils (3) Initiative in mainstream set-up (4) No discussion of empirical case analysis Articles excluded with reasons: $N = 539$
Inclusion	Articles included for analysis purposes: $N = 71$

We further narrowed the search by only including articles written in English, Dutch, French and German, as these are languages spoken by the researcher. The search terms were written in English as journals in other languages often have English abstracts and would thus be included in the search, yet only articles written in English were extracted. As the focus of our study is education initiatives in the context of Western countries, we included only countries in the EU, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the US. Whilst an analysis of cases in other regions of the world would certainly add to our understanding, in this paper, we limited ourselves to Western countries as certain educational, political and social characteristics of contexts in other parts of the world might add too many variables into our analysis complicating a profound comparison of the cases and the purposes they aim to meet. After the removal of duplicates, we extracted 5895 articles. Through snowballing the references of the final sample list and contacting authors in the field, we extracted an additional 53 articles.

Screening

All the extracted articles were then screened based on title and abstract, excluding all the articles that did not discuss educational contexts or ethnic-minority pupils. This led us to exclude 5338 articles. For the remaining 610 articles, the full text was scanned for eligibility. In this phase of the screening process, we used four exclusion criteria rooted in our theoretical framework.

The exclusion criteria were as follows:

(1) Initiatives taken by government or mainstream schools: because community education is defined as initiatives undertaken by minoritised communities, top-down initiatives were excluded.
(2) Initiatives set up for majority pupils: community education exists in support of minoritised youth and therefore, initiatives that target majority pupils were excluded.
(3) Method: the goal of the review is to extract and categorise cases, so we excluded articles that did not contain empirical discussion and/or description of specific cases.

The final sample of articles included for analysis spanned a total of 71 articles. Some articles discussed more than one case, bringing the total number of cases to 76[1] including 36 different communities.[2]

Coding

We coded the articles' description of the cases and results to extract geographic location, community involved, purposes and organisation. For coding purposes, we relied on the case description, results and discussion. Organisational characteristics were described in each article and we could therefore straightforwardly categorise the cases as informal, after-hours or full-time. Coding purpose was more complex because as Matarese (2013) points out, community education initiatives are so rich and diverse that it is hard to categorise them. She suggests 'tagging' different occurrences of community education instead. We followed her lead and added 'tags' of intended purpose codes inductively, whilst coding the articles. The tags of purposes were taken as described in the articles (for

Table 2. Purpose tags grouped in categories.

Qualification	Socialisation	Individual Development
Information network, qualification asset, test prepping, support mainstream education	Community capital, community network, ethnic identity, religious identity, cultural reproduction, family relations, ingroup socialising, heritage language learning, sense of belonging and ties to original society	Sense of pride, safe space, anti-racism, self-consciousness, exemplary role models for pupils, multiple-identity and counter-subtractive schooling

example, 'test prepping' or 'language learning'). The intended purposes of the described cases were extracted both from the authors' descriptions and from interview findings that are described in the articles. Each case could receive up to four tags, to ensure that more than one purpose, and of each strand, could be assigned. In the end, 26 different tags were used to distinguish purpose. In summary, each intended-purpose tag was coded inductively and then these tags were grouped together within the deductively constructed categories of qualification, socialisation and individual development (see Table 2).

Results

Diversity in organisation

The organisational categorisation of the cases described in the literature was adopted from the authors' descriptions. Although there is no shared framework, authors tend to give – albeit brief – descriptions of the way that initiatives are organised, so differentiating between organisational types did not pose any theoretical challenges. We provide an overview of the typical traits for each organisational type (Table 3) followed by a few illustrative examples.

Informal initiatives

These initiatives have no curriculum and no formal timetables. Often pupils will attend these programmes for a variety of reasons. The educational purposes are not necessarily the main purpose, but they are by-products. For example, Lu (2013) describes a music school, organised and initiated by members of the community, in which pupils get musical instruction but additionally, Wei-Ting describes the school's waiting room as a place for knowledge exchange. Parents, both middle and working class, use these information networks to learn about university admissions and obtain advice on enhancing pupils' chances on getting admitted to highly regarded schools.

Table 3. Overview of organisational variety.

Informal Initiatives	After-Hours Initiatives	Full-Time Schools
No curriculum, no timetables, a variety of activities, educational purposes are often by-products	Curriculum, pre-set timetable, voluntary teachers and principals, financial support from heritage country's contacts, borrowed spaces and community commitment	Alternative to mainstream schooling, public school, state curriculum with community's specific emphasis, teachers with recognised certificates and receive funding

After-hours initiatives

After-hours initiatives are organised either on the weekend or after school. Contrary to their informal counterparts, they do have a curriculum, textbooks and predetermined timetables. These initiatives usually do not have their own building but use the classrooms of mainstream schools. Cruickshank (2015) describes how every Sunday morning, a local primary school in Sydney is transformed into a Thai Language School (163). The teacher has a teaching certificate from Thailand and every Sunday follows the same routine with a set timetable. Cruickshank describes how the school's existence depends on the support of the community, the consulate and a Thai university.

Full-time schools

Contrary to the informal and after-hours initiatives, full-time schools do not add to the mainstream schools, but rather offer an alternative to them. Often using state recognised curricula and receiving funding, they offer their students a full-time programme with an emphasis on specific communities' needs. Howard and James (2019) describe a full-time school in Canada, Toronto's Africentric Alternative School. The school is the product of the community's decades long struggle to gain the right to establish a full-time public elementary school. The school serves as an alternative to other full-time schools by emphasising the community's needs and 'more appropriately considering Black life' (320).

Diversity in purpose of community education

Attending community schools is shown to be beneficial for pupils' sense of empowerment, interconnectedness and learning attitudes (Berliner 2006; Francis, Archer, and Mau 2009; Mirza and Reay 2000; Sneddon 2014; Strand 2007). However, community education seems to exist in the margins of mainstream society (Fishman 2014; Lee and Wright 2014) and the impact of community education on mainstream school achievement has proved difficult and problematic to measure (Maylor et al. 2013). Therefore, we focus on intended purposes. Understanding the intended purposes of community education is vital because it offers insights into the variety of community education as well as in the variety of educational needs.

The purpose of education is often divided into qualification, socialisation and individual development (Biesta 2009). We acknowledge that communities' efforts to self-organise education are a response to their experiences in mainstream education. We therefore mirror the threefold purposes that are traditionally applied to mainstream education and apply them to community education. We do so from a composite view. These three educational dimensions can be separated for theoretical-analytical reasons but are interwoven in reality. As previous research has shown, community education is prone to have more than one objective (Maylor et al. 2010; Strand 2007) and therefore strands of purpose are not mutually exclusive.

The different goals that are described in the different community education cases are categorised under qualification, socialisation and individual development (see Table 2). We briefly illustrate how these three purposes are manifested in the discussed cases and describe authentic examples, extracted for the review study, for each purpose.

Qualification purpose

The purposes of community education that are categorised as 'qualification' exist in support of mainstream educational success. The intended purpose is to achieve better outcomes in mainstream schools and colleges, either concurrently or in further education (for example, university admission). In previous research, this has sometimes been defined as 'complementary' to mainstream education (Creese et al. 2011; Strand 2007). The support organised in community education can be very concrete such as maths classes (Arthur 2003) or test preparation (Andrews 2016). It can also be about language acquisition when the language in question is seen as an asset in professional environments, for example, for young learners of Korean or Japanese heritage in Northern America, heritage language skills are seen as an advantage on the job market (Cho, Cho, and Tse 1997; Shibata 2000). In a few cases, the purpose is described as the sharing of information in order to achieve more success in mainstream educational settings, for example, by informing co-ethnics about scholarships and university admission policies (Lu 2013; Nygreen 2017).

Socialisation purpose

Socialisation purpose is understood as the deliberate process of teaching how to be a member of the heritage cultural group (additional to mainstream culture). Activities that seek to transmit cultural traditions and languages, such as language teaching and history lessons, are part of the socialisation process into the ethno-cultural minorities' in-group. Ethnic identification is also included in the socialisation purpose, interpreting it as integrating children to become part of the ethnic in-group. Community education often emphasises the perpetuation of culture and the importance of recognising one's heritage (Du 2017; Ganassin 2019; Hirsch 2019). The same goes for religious identity, which is about learning the norms, values, histories, traditions and customs considered important in the religious community (Ahmed 2012; Brooks and Ezzani 2017; Makosa 2015). Learning heritage languages that are significant either for the pupils' religious education (Hall et al. 2002) or to maintain communication with family members (Tereshchenko and Archer 2015) is categorised under the socialisation purpose too. The socialisation purpose in community education might also be translated to other goals such as in-group socialising (Kim 2017), ties to heritage society (Walters 2019) and building community networks (Sai 2018).

Individual development purpose

The third purpose encompasses all the activities that relate to the strengthening of the pupil as an individual. Individual development is closely entwined with socialisation but differs in its objective. If the goal is group-oriented, we categorise it as socialisation. If the purpose is described as being specifically for the benefit of the individual, it is categorised as individual development. Goals as formulated in the case studies are the cultivation of pride (Tereshchenko and Archer 2015) and self-confidence (D'Arcy 2014) or specifically the development of multiple identities. The latter is different from the cultivation of ethnic or religious identities as it is not concerned with including youth into the ethnic group but rather with supporting the youth in their coping with development of multiple identities (Gholami 2017). A recurring theme in the objective of individual development is that of anti-racism and safe spaces (Pecenka and Anthias 2015; Shirazi 2019).[3] In the

same vein, some activities that community schools offer counter processes of subtractive schooling; in other words, they teach the minoritised perspectives and histories that are not taught in mainstream school (Valenzuela 2005). The objective often is to cultivate a positive self-image and sense of pride (Howard and James 2019; Wong 2010). Finally, community education might function as spaces where youth see role models that they might identify with (Kifano 1996).

When applying the typology on the cases, we gain an overview of purpose described in the different cases. Most community education initiatives intended to achieve socialisation (87%), a little over half were described as having individual development as purpose and only one third of the discussed cases had qualification as an intended purpose.

Types of community education: combining organisation and purpose

Combining a variety of purposes and organisational forms will advance the study of community education as it allows the inclusion of the large array of initiatives that exist. Acknowledging that community education cases may answer to one, two or three strands of purpose that are not mutually exclusive, we deduce seven purpose-oriented types with three organisational distinctions. As mentioned before, it is important to bear in mind that applying the framework to the cases described in the selected articles holds some challenges and limitations. Specifically, we are dependent on the authors' description of the cases to extract a case's intended purpose(s). Therefore, the following analysis should be understood as a categorisation of the cases *as they are described*, which may well stray from how the cases actually *are* from a more holistic perspective. As such, this typology should not be understood as a categorisation of different types of community education, but rather as a categorisation of types of community education *as described in academic literature*. This is appropriate when pursuing a systematic review of the literature in order to gather the scattered scholarship and develop a shared framework and helps us answer our research questions. Table 4 shows a distribution of cases with some examples that are illustrated further on.

To further illustrate, we give a case example of each purpose type with their organisational occurrence as they are described in the articles. Notably, to distinguish the purposes described in the cases, we 'tagged' the cases with the purposes mentioned in the articles. Therefore, it is possible that a school also responds to different strings of purpose, but when these are not mentioned throughout the article, we have not included them. In doing so, we adopt the primary purpose(s) as emphasised by the authors.

'The Madrassa' (UK)

In her article on the factors that influence the educational progress of Pakistani-heritage youth in Britain, Davies (2019) applies the concept of habitus to study the youth's milieu. The Madrassa, or after-mosque class, was described in support of the youth's educational progression. Parents saw the respectful and disciplined pedagogical approach as beneficial to pupils' mainstream educational success and pupils described the support in the Madrassa classes as beneficial (Davies 2019, 693). Learning and educational betterment was achieved through the Madrassa

Table 4. Distribution of types and examples.

	Organisation		
Purpose Type	Informal	After-hours	Full-time
Qualification	[*N* = 1] 'Madrassa' (UK) (Davies 2019)	[*N* = 0]	[*N* = 0]
Socialisation	[*N* = 2]	[*N* = 18] 'Texas Dragon Chinese School' (US) (Wu, Palmer, and Field 2011)	[*N* = 4]
Individual Development	[*N* = 0]	[*N* = 0]	[*N* = 0]
Qualification + socialisation + idividual Development	[*N* = 0]	[*N* = 3]	[*N* = 2] 'Iqra Islamic School' (UK) (Pecenka and Anthias 2015)
Qualification+ socialisation	[*N* = 1]	[*N* = 10] 'Korean & Chinese supplementary education' (US) (Zhou and Kim 2006)	[*N* = 0]
Qualification + lidividual development	[*N* = 1]	[*N* = 7] 'Black supplementary school' (US) (Dove 1993)	[*N* = 1]
Socialisation + individual development	[*N* = 3]	[*N* = 15]	[*N* = 8] 'Muslim school' (Ireland) (Sai 2018)

N = 76

classes almost haphazardly, without textbooks or curricula. The Madrassa as it is described in Davies' article is an example of *informal community education of the qualification purpose-type*.

'Korean and Chinese supplementary education' (US)

In their article on social capital and educational achievement, Zhou and Kim (2006) describe cases of Korean and Chinese supplementary education in the US. These two cases are examples of *after-hours community education of the qualification + socialisation purpose-type* as their intended purposes are described with relation to qualification (the initiatives function, among other things, as information networks as well as educational programmes with the aim of heightening academic success) and socialisation (the maintenance of heritage language and transmission of cultural traditions and being part of the in-group by identifying with their ethnic identities: 12).

'Iqra Islamic school' (UK)

In their description of a Muslim school, the Iqra Islamic school in the UK, Pecenka and Anthias (2015) give an example of a *full-time qualification + socialisation + individual development purpose type* of community education where the case answers to the three strands of intended purpose. On the qualification strand, they describe the Iqra school as having higher educational standards in comparison to mainstream schools that 'fail' Muslim students (443); on the socialisation strand, they mention 'teaching of religion-specific values and behaviour' (439), and on the strand of individual development, the school is described as having a counter-racism purpose (444).

'Texas Dragon Chinese School' (US)

As an example of an *after-hours socialisation purpose-type* of community education, we use the description of Wu, Palmer, and Field (2011) of the 'Texas Dragon Chinese School' in the US. The school's purposes that are described can all be placed in the socialisation strand of intended purpose: reading and writing Mandarin and cultural transmission (50).

'Muslim school' (Ireland)

In his ethnographic study of a state-funded Muslim school in Ireland, Sai (2018) describes an example of a *full-time community education of the socialisation + individual development purpose type*. The reasons parents give for sending their children to the state-funded Muslim school are to be placed in the socialisation strand: among others they wanted their youth to learn Islamic traditions and to have a sense of cultural belonging (559). In the individual development strand, the school parents describe the sense of pride they hope to give their children for the benefit of their children's personal growth (559).

'Black supplementary school' (US)

In Dove's (1993) description of a Black supplementary school, she mentions intended purposes on the qualification strand (the help to develop academic skills: 439) and on the individual development strand. Pupils in her article describe the Black supplementary schools, among other things, as a safe space from racism (439) and as providing exposure to positive images of Africans (441). The Black supplementary school as described by Dove is an example of an *after-hours qualification + individual development purpose type* of community education.

Discussion

Bringing together the dispersed literature on a variety of cases, we deduced a framework encompassing the wide array of community education types. By looking at the initiatives' objectives, we established that there are similarities in different initiatives, which surpass the organisational differentiation. More specifically, this tells us that communities are innovative and flexible in the ways they meet educational needs and that the same needs are met in informal, after-hours and full-time cases. This finding offers a strong argument for the use of a shared framework, such as the one presented here, through which minoritised communities' educational initiatives are observed as it eliminates blind spots and refines our understanding of community education.

By differentiating types of community education, we can make comparisons and analyse the state of the art that enables us to identify trends and gaps in the literature and formulate implications for future research.

Comparison of community education types

From comparing the purpose types over different communities, we deduce that different communities indeed seem to have different needs, which translate into different intended purposes. For example, 40 of the cases name individual development as an intended

purpose, including all seven cases of Black schools, yet only five of the 18 Chinese schools. Moreover, although many cases mention purposes in the individual development strand, it seems insufficient on its own as there are no cases mentioning only this purpose strand. More than half of the Black schools had qualification as an intended purpose compared to less than one third of the Chinese schools. In total, only 25 out of 76 cases described qualification, with support to mainstream education, as one of their intended purposes.

In all of the Chinese cases (18), socialisation was an intended purpose, regardless of organisational type (17 after-hours and one informal occurrence). This might not seem surprising as socialisation includes the teaching of heritage languages, yet for Latino community education, this was typically not an intended purpose (Aragon 2018; Nygreen 2017). Thus, the needs indeed differ across communities. On the other hand, qualification was described as an intended purpose in only 5 of the Chinese cases. That the Chinese community in particular does not often describe qualification is interesting when acknowledging that that community is often (problematically) portrayed as a 'model minority' (Lee 1994; Ng, Lee, and Pak 2007). Yet the educational needs of that community are not translated to the qualification strand in their community educational initiatives. Whilst Zhou and Kim note that Asian-American youth experience extra pressure to be successful and turn to community education for admission to prestigious schools (Maylor et al. 2013; Zhou and Kim 2006), the data, by and large, do not reflect this. This might be due to the fact that for those involved in community education, the academic benefits are self-evident and thus not explicitly mentioned in case descriptions.

We can overall observe that most of the described cases are located in Anglo-Saxon countries (71 from 76 cases are located in the UK, the US, Ireland, Australia or Canada). Of the after-hours schools, the UK and US make up 43 of the 53 described cases. Whereas initiatives in Anglo-Saxon countries are strongly represented in the current literature, we know little about the variety of community education in continental Europe. Expanding research beyond the Anglo-Saxon world would not only strengthen our knowledge of existing types but would also add insight into community education in different contexts. Communities organising education in countries where policies are less oriented towards 'multiculturalism' (Alba and Foner 2014; Triandafyllidou and Modood 2006) are likely to have different needs and thus different types of community education. An examination of such varieties is indispensable if we want to achieve a comprehensive grasp of community education.

Analysing the cases extracted from the academic body of work, we found that some communities are much more frequently represented than others. For example, the description of cases organised in the Chinese communities make up a large part of the literature, whereas other communities remain almost or completely invisible. For example, in London alone, there are 96 supplementary schools that have the QRCSE quality trademark (National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE) n.d.) and scanning the directory, Chinese community schools make up only a small share of these cases, contrary to what we would expect based on our literature review. There are, on the other hand, many examples of Polish initiatives, a community that is hardly represented in the academic literature (but see Makosa 2015; Piqueray, Clycq, and Timmerman 2016). Further research into other communities would add to our shared understanding.

Trends and gaps in the literature

By bringing together the dispersed literature and systematically reviewing it, we came across some significant trends and gaps in the current literature such as a correlation between research interest and purpose description. Analysing the purposes of community education, we found significant variation not only across communities but also across research areas. For instance, researchers of bilingualism were more likely to describe cases in which heritage languages are taught. This makes sense as that is where their interest lies. Yet, as a consequence, it is unclear if the description of the cases always does the richness of the cases justice. Do these cases only teach heritage languages, or do they offer test preparation too?

As mentioned above, in comparing purpose-types for each community we established that the description of cases differs per community too. In most of the cases of Chinese community education the qualification purpose was omitted in the authors' description of the cases. One reason could be that the involved actors do not discern any qualification purposes because this is deemed self-evident. Alternatively, qualification is perhaps not emphasised because the researcher describing the cases in question does so from another disciplinary perspective. More specifically, the researcher's academic interest likely influences the description of the community school's objectives.

Whilst analysing the cases, we also found some other indications that the researchers' own academic interests seeped through their description of the cases. For instance, when the author of the article was involved in the community school, as volunteer, parent or teacher, 50% of the cases mentioned anti-racism as one the case's main purposes. When the author was not described as involved, this decreased to 20%.

These findings are indicative of the researcher's specific interest and/or personal involvement likely influencing their description of a community education programmes purpose. As minoritised communities organise community education in response to their specific needs, acknowledging the variety of such needs would do the richness of such manifestations justice and add significantly to our shared knowledge of minoritised youths' educational needs.

A critical review of the literature uncovers gaps in research and opens up avenues for future research. First, community education has been described mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries. We lack understanding of the educational needs, translated to community school initiatives, in different contexts. Second, the cases presented in the literature do reflect the diversity of communities organising education as they illustrate a wide variety of types but they do not reflect it in a proportional way, over-representing some communities whilst neglecting to describe others. Third, although community education exists in response to mainstream education, there is almost no research on the interplay between these two educational settings. Although it is broadly accepted and acknowledged that community education exists in response to mainstream education, works on this mutual relationship are surprisingly scarce (exception: McPake and Powney 1998). This gap in research is significant, as the pupils attending community education move between these different contexts continuously. Switching between different educational contexts is likely to affect the pupils' perceptions and attitudes towards mainstream education. Research that focusses on these transitions is urgently required, when seeking to understand the educational experiences of minoritised youth.

Limitations and implications

The main goal of this study was to bring together the scattered knowledge on community education through a systematic review of the literature. This approach is best fitted to serve our goal, but there are also some limitations. We extracted only peer-reviewed papers and although this does ensure high-quality research and a greater likelihood of providing a thorough case description, it also eliminates other potentially relevant publications. Additionally, the application of a categorisation, which takes into account both organisation and purpose-orientation, are novel. Therefore, the articles extracted did not necessarily extensively describe both of these aspects, which poses some challenges in categorisation. And lastly, we were dependent on the authors' description of the cases to extract information. It is possible that the described cases serve more goals than mentioned in the case description and we could then not include those in our categorisation. Nevertheless, in applying the proposed typology, we found it to encompass all the cases described.

This study has important implications for future research. First, a shared theoretically founded framework can support a comprehensive description of cases of community education. A more comprehensive and systematic description of cases will broaden our understanding of community education in all its variations as a societal phenomenon. Second, studying the organisation form together with every community education's case-specific objectives is necessary when researching their impact. For instance, the impact of a case that has objectives in the socialisation strand cannot and should not be measured by applying qualification evaluations and vice versa. When measuring the impact of community education, future research should consider the variety of types both on an organisational and purpose-oriented level.

Finally, future research on community education should take into account the diversity in purposes as this might broaden our understanding of different communities' educational needs in their particular contexts. A conceptual framework shared across research areas that acknowledge the various purposes that community education can meet will hopefully support a more comprehensive case description in future research.

This overview of community education is valuable for practitioners too. It emphasises how versatile communities are in finding ways to meet their youths' educational needs. The innovative ways in doing so might serve as inspiration. More pressingly, a large part of minoritised youth attend community school in addition to their mainstream schools. Yet, teachers in mainstream schools are often not aware, and their knowledge of the pupils' learning processes and trajectories is therefore incomplete. Gaining insights into the different purposes served by community initiatives might help to tap into these resources and instigate collaborations.

Notes

1. The analysis relies on case descriptions as portrayed in the articles examined in the systematic literature review. As not all authors provide exact details of the cases, it cannot be ruled out that there is some degree of overlap in the cases discussed in the articles by the same author. Yet, as this contribution's emphasis lies on the ways in which the cases are discussed in the literature, this does not affect the substantive results.

2. The communities included were the following: African, Armenian, Bangladeshi, Bengali, Black, Bulgarian/Albanian, Chinese, Farsi, Greek, Gujarati, Gujarati, Hmong, Hungarian, Indian, Iranian, Japanese, Jewish, Khmer, Korean, Kosovo-Albanian, Latino, Maltese, Mennonites, Muslim, Pakistani, Polish, Punjabi, Sikh, Slovenian, Somali, Swedish, Taiwanese, Tamil, Thai, Travellers, Turkish, Vietnamese.
3. Racism in mainstream education was often mentioned in the extracted articles and we therefore inductively added it as a code for analysis purposes. In 22 of the 71 cases (30%), racism in mainstream education was discussed.

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