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Community Schooling:
The invisible supplement to minoritized youth's educational pathways

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Summary

Community education, or the organization of educational initiatives by minoritized communities for the benefit of their youth, is a widespread phenomenon. Our understanding of the organization of such spaces, of the goals they pursue, as well as the experience of the pupils attending these schools remains limited. To this end the main aim of this research project is to explore how community schooling is organized and how it impacts minoritized pupils' educational experiences. We specifically focus on supplementary schools, the most frequently organized form of supplementary schooling which supplements mainstream schools and takes place after-hours or in the weekend. We also add to the existing state of the art which mainly discusses supplementary schools in Anglo-Saxon contexts by investigating supplementary schools in Flanders.

To shed more light on what the role of supplementary schooling is in the lives of its students we take a 4-step approach. First, we start by gathering the current state of the art. Research into community organized educational initiatives is fragmented and has not been brought together to distinguish differences and similarities. Such a systematic review of the literature will inform further studies of community education. Second, as studies overviewing several cases of supplementary schooling are lacking, we will add to this, and we will conduct interviews with the organizers and school leaders of a variety of community schools in Flanders. Investigating the purposes that the school leaders seek to pursue as well as their underlying motivations for doing so, will not only further our understanding of minoritized communities' educational needs but also the strategies they engage with to meet these needs.

These two studies are the backbone needed before aiming our attention at the students attending the schools. In the third and fourth study we rely on the opportunity that arises with these minoritized youth attending two educational settings, widely different in terms of culture and ethnic congruence. As the supplementary schools indicate to emphasize the importance of the teacher-students relationship as well as nurturing a sense of belonging we we conduct interviews with the pupils in the supplementary schools to explore how they perceive the relationship to their teachers and their sense of belonging in each school. The student teacher relationship is crucial to many aspects of students' educational experience, and we want to unfurl how students review these relationships in each setting. And last, sense of school belonging has been the topic of much research. With studies showing that minoritized youth have a lower sense of belonging than their majority peers. When these children attend both mainstream schooling and supplementary education in their own communities it is noteworthy to investigate how they construct a sense of school belonging with their experience in each setting.

Combined these findings do not only add to our knowledge of community education in Flanders and beyond but they also gain us insights into the educational experience of minoritized youth. Building upon these insights we can formulate recommendations for policy makers, emphasizing the importance of acknowledging borth the agency and resourcefulness in minoritized communities. these findings do not only add to our knowledge of community education in Flanders and beyond but they also gain us insights into the educational experience of minoritized youth. Building upon these insights we can formulate recommendations for policy makers, emphasizing the importance of acknowledging borth the agency and resourcefulness in minoritized communities.

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Julia

Community Schooling: The invisible supplement to minoritized youth's educational pathways

Prologue

My family and I had just moved to Montreal, Canada, for a six-month research stay. We are slowly adapting by dusting of our French language skills, trying new foods, and discovering the neighborhood. In an endeavor to actively engage my five-year-old I took him to the local yoga studio for a class. While walking to the yoga studio we pass a Korean community center, a Chinese Catholic church, and a polish grocery store (in which we buy the laundry detergent we miss from back home). The yoga class is not easy on our son as he can't understand a word of what is said, so I stick around to watch the class. In a brief introduction one of the other children mentions she just got back from a visit to her 'oma' (which means grandmother) in the Netherlands. Just at hearing the word 'oma', the single word he understands in the whole class, my son sits up.

After the class I approach the girl's parents. Very quickly we get into a conversation in Dutch. The father, as it turns out, is from the same area in which we live, and his daughter speaks some Dutch too. In no time we share anecdotes about the differences in food, weather, and culture. We make a joke about Dutch people, and we even set a date for meeting up later that week. Our five-year-old son is delighted. Finally! He can speak Dutch to another child, and they understand not only his language, but also the references he makes to games, books and tv-shows. In the following days my son keeps on asking: "When will we see the Dutch people?" and "How many more nights before we go and see the Dutch family?".

Even though we have only been in Canada for a few weeks, knowing that we will not stay for very long, and conscious of the privilege to be there, meeting people with whom we could speak Dutch and with whom we shared cultural repertoires such as language, habits, food, … (to an extent) felt comforting. Arriving in a new city, adapting to our new surroundings this brief and superficial connections felt like touching a part of home. Something familiar in a setting that was wildly unfamiliar. On our way back home, we pass the same community centers as before. In this superdiverse city that we temporarily adopt as our home. We were not the only migrants. Far from it. And as the street scene confirmed, we were not the only ones to find comfort in traces of home.

Sending the kids for school the first day feels like sending canaries down the coal mine, waving them off into a situation that is unfamiliar and feels insecure. Like many children with a migration background our children can be described as multilingual, as they understand and speak multiple languages (Dutch, German, English) even though not all equally fluent. Nevertheless, this linguistic capital does not give them a lot of advantage in a context wherein French is dominant. While I comfortably write my papers in a coffee bar ordering an americano in English, my five-year-old pees his pants in school because he does not know how to ask to go to the toilet. When we pass playground after school and there are families speaking German or Dutch my son and I both sit up straight and try to make eye contact.

We are in Montreal in the last year of my doctoral studies. And throughout the years, I have studied experiences of migrants and children with migration background from various perspectives. Yet, to be here in another country, trying to navigate this new city, education system, care system and more, adds another level of understanding to the subject of my research. These experiences resonate with what I have learned in my empirical research of the last few years. I recognize the need of people to connect. I understand the wanting for a support system. And I grasp the importance of help in navigating your host country. The supplementary schools I study meet those needs. They can be an anker in times that feel disorienting or leave you feeling unsure. These schools, for me, tell a positive story, of community, resilience, and empowerment.

1. Introduction

General Introduction

Education is a fundamental human right and a crucial tool for social and economic development. However, not all students have equal educational trajectories, and this is particularly true for minoritized communities[1] Educational inequality persists in a wide array of outcomes both academically and socio-emotionally with minoritized pupils and students having lower grades than their majority peers as well as a lower sense of belonging and overall wellbeing (OECD, 2015; OECD, 2018). Various research disciplines have sought to understand this structural inequality by looking at different factors, such as the cultural capital available in the students' environments, to effects of the socio-economic background of the students and their families, supposed cultural gaps between school and home culture as well as looking into the role of teacher attitudes and perceptions (Barnard, 2020; Demanet et al., 2016; Denessen, 2016; Driessen, 1997; Lamont & Small, 2008; Rios-Aguilar & Neri, 2021; Wolbers & Driessen, 1996; C. Wright et al., 2016). Researchers have investigated the mechanisms that are at the root of this inequality pointing towards a variety of reasons and the truth lies in the complexity of all those factors combined.

Despite efforts from policy makers, educators, practitioners, and researchers there still is a considerable gap in the achievements between majority and minoritized students. This structural inequality endures in most countries and regions. Flanders, the northern, Dutch speaking part of Belgium, where this research is situated, still battles an ethnic achievement gap between minoritized students and their majority peers. International comparative tests such as PISA show time and time again that students with a migration background achieve lower test scores, even when taking into account other factors such as socio-economic background (Franck & Nicaise, 2015). Students of migrant background score less on standardized testing, are referred to special education more often, must repeat a school year much more, and have slimmer chances of pursuing a university degree (Crul & Schneider, 2012; D'Hondt et al., 2016). Minority students also indicate to have a lower sense of school belonging and evaluate the relationship with their teachers as more negative than majority peers (Agirdag, van Houtte, et al., 2012; D'hondt et al., 2015). Minority students also have a lower sense of school wellbeing and evaluate the relationship to their teachers more negative overall, and there is ample research investigating the effects of prejudice, exclusion, and racism from teacher on the self-perception of minority students (Clycq et al., 2014; Nouwen & Clycq, 2019).

Both in international research and in policy making, the minoritized communities that are the topic of these endeavors are viewed as passive actors far too often. The community members that experience these educational challenges daily are not passive bystanders. They undertake initiatives themselves and can be agents of change. This study focuses on one of the ways in which minoritized communities respond to the gaps they experience in educational systems (Dove, 1993; Francis et al., 2009; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002; Rose, 2013; Wei, 2006) For the benefit of their youth, and by expansion, for the benefit of the whole community, they voluntarily organize education (Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002; Hancock, 2012; Lytra, 2011). As the famous, Black sociologist Dubois wrote almost nine decades ago about separate schools for Black students in USA:

> *"They are needed just so far as they are necessary for the proper education of the Negro race.The proper education of any people includes sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil;knowledge on the part of the teacher, not simply of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and back- ground, and the history of his class and group; such contact between pupils, and between teacher and pupil, on the basis of perfect social equality, as will increase this sympathy and knowledge; facilities for education in equipment and housing, and the promotion of such extra-curricular activities as will tend to induct the child into life." (Du Bois, 1935, p328).*

[1] *We use the term 'minoritized' to indicate the status of minorities with regards to their status of power, or lack thereof, compared to the majority, rather than as a measure of quantity (Chappell & Cahnmann-Taylor, 2013; Sotto-Santiago, 2019; Wingrove-Haugland & McLeod, 2021)*

In other words, if schools cannot offer all students equal opportunities to succeed, there will remain a need, and a desire for separate schooling. The obstacles that minoritized students experience in mainstream schooling have since long been at the root of minoritized communities' desire to organize education, either in replacement of, or in supplement to, mainstream schooling.

Community organized schooling is a widespread societal phenomenon with centuries long history (Dove, 1993; Fishman, 2001; Morris, 1999; Wei, 2006). Even though such initiatives are common and of crucial importance to many minoritized communities they often remain in the margins of mainstream society. With this research project we aim to explore the role these schools fulfill in the lives of the youth attending them and seek to answer the following research question: "How do the supplementary schools affect pupils' educational experiences?". We define community education as educational initiatives undertaken by minoritized communities for the benefit of their youth and in the empirical part of this project we focus on supplementary schooling, educational spaces organized by minoritized communities in addition to their mainstream schools, taking place after school hours or in the weekend (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; Hancock, 2012; Sneddon, 2014; Wei, 2006).

Current Research Gaps

Looking at the body of literature into community schooling a few trends can be observed. First, this academic literature into community organized schooling is to a large extent fragmented with various disciplines taking a different perspective from language learning to an emphasis on religion and surprisingly little cross referencing. Second, most of the empirical data discusses singular cases of community schooling with no comparisons between different kinds of schools. An overview of the existing research which discerns patterns would be a helpful tool to better understand the role these schools play for the students and pupils attending them (Bridglall et al., 2005; Burman & Miles, 2018; Simon, 2018).

There is also a gap in our knowledge across different cases of communities organizing education. As community education is such a widespread phenomenon with many communities undertaking supplementary education, an investigation into the why and what of those schools would add to our understanding (Gholami, 2017). Furthermore, the existing research in community schools, or educational initiatives undertaken by minoritized communities for the benefit of their youth, has focused on the Anglo-Saxon context with few exceptions[2] (Bocale, 2023; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002; Piqueray et al., 2016; Sun & Braeye, 2013; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2013, 2015; Zielińska et al., 2014). Within the various forms in which communities organize education, supplementary education, which takes places outside of the regular school hours, is the most prevalent. Studies in the UK have shown that 25% of minoritized pupils attended supplementary schooling (Maylor et al., 2013) and a much more recent study conducted in Flanders found that 45% of students with a migration background attend supplementary schooling at a certain time (Coudenys et al, 2023). Research in Flanders, however, remains limited (Piqueray et al., 2016; Sun & Braeye, 2013). Acknowledging that supplementary schools are responding to their specific contexts highlights the need for more research into different regions, especially those with significant educational inequality such as Flanders.

Looking more closely at the processes taking place in these schools more gaps can be discerned. Even though these schools are evidently widespread in Flanders as well as in the rest of Europe, the UK and the US, we know surprisingly little about how they impact their students' educational experience. For example, little is known about what the initiators of such schools hope to achieve for their students beyond the abstract notion of responding to the gaps they experience in mainstream schools, and there has not been research into how the attending pupils perceive the relationship to their teachers and how they construct school belonging while navigating these two spaces (Gholami, 2017; McPake & Powney, 1998). Supplementary schools pose a unique vantage point from which to study the experiences of minoritized pupils and students. An interesting question is how the student-teacher relationships affect minoritized students' school experience. Ethnic incongruence in the mainstream school context would negatively affect the students' outcomes (Bosman et al., 2018; Georgiades et al., 2013; Thijs et al., 2012).

[2] *More research might be conducted in different contexts that has not been published in English.*

In supplementary schools, where teachers and students share a migration background this hypothesis could be further explored. And last, school belonging has been researched using quantitative methods, and though we know that minoritized students have a lower sense of belonging than their majority peers, we know little about how they themselves perceive and construct sense of belonging (Georgiades et al., 2013; Halse, 2018; Tereshchenko & Araújo, 2011; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Children attending supplementary schooling in addition to their mainstream school, offer an interesting opportunity to investigate how they construct school belonging across contexts. In other words, what these schools aim to achieve, and how the students attending these schools experience them, remains, surprisingly, underinvestigated.

In this research project we delve deeper into the phenomenon of community schooling, and supplementary schooling specifically, in the Flemish context. We will discuss the research conducted on minority organized education in a systematic review of the literature. Then we look at a variety of cases of supplementary schools in Flanders and explore the goals they pursue and the needs they hope to meet. To gain understanding in the experiences of the pupils attending the schools we then compare their views on the relationship to their teachers in both the mainstream and supplementary school. Last, we unravel how these pupils construct a sense of school belonging with their experiences in each school. These findings not only shed light on supplementary schooling as an underexposed aspect in the educational trajectory of minoritized youth, but they also provide valuable insights for practitioners and policymakers in both mainstream and supplementary education.
In the following section we will first outline the background against which community education is organized and we expand on the existing knowledge on community education and supplementary education specifically. We will then highlight the aims of this research project followed by the methodology, in which we will expand on the Flemish context as well as our positionality.

Theoretical Framework

It is impossible to discuss the role of community organized educational initiatives without discussing the educational reality of minoritized youth in majority schools. Mainstream education does not meet every minoritized group's specific needs and community education is a reaction to the gaps experienced in mainstream education (Andrews, 2014; Baldridge et al., 2017; Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002). It supplements, critiques and/or substitutes the curricula taught in mainstream schools. We acknowledge, first, that communities self-organize 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 (Burman & Miles, 2018). Therefore, we conceptualize its purposes in the threefold approach of socialization, individual development, and qualification (Biesta, 2009). In the following section we will look, first, at the educational challenges that minoritized youth find themselves confronted with, building on previous research Then we delve into a brief history of community organized schooling after which we highlight supplementary schoolings purposes and pursued goals. We will also briefly discuss the role of community schooling for all members of the community. Before we get into the empirical work of this research project we will elaborate on the specificities of the Flemish contexts and lay bare the lacunas in the current state of the art.

Minoritized students in education

Schools prepare their students to be part of society and to do so they teach them, not only academically, but socially, and on an individual level too. The threefold purpose of education is commonly understood and explicitly named by Biesta (2009) as qualification, socialization, and subjectification. Biesta defines qualification as "providing them (the pupils) with the knowledge, skills and understanding and often also with the dispositions and forms of judgement that allow them to 'do something'" (p. 39). Qualification is the purpose of education that comes most readily to mind when thinking about schooling. It is quantifiable (to an extent) and measurable and relates to academic attainment. In minoritized communities the desire to do well in terms of academic attainment is high, higher even than in majority families (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2018; Salikutluk, 2016). This

desire to do well academically, however, does not always translate in results and students with a migration background tend to structurally have lower test scores, slimmer chances of pursuing higher education, they often repeat a year, and are referred to special education more often than their majority peers (B. D. Gillborn, 2005; D. Gillborn, 2015). This gap between the aspirations and the achievements is referred to as the 'attitude-achievement' paradox (D'hondt et al., 2016; Mickelson, 1990). Community schools are organized on the premise of the attitude-achievement paradox in that they meet the communities educational desire while consciously confronting the obstacles to educational success.

Education also encourages students to think individually and to strengthen themselves as individuals. Biesta called this function subjectification, however in this dissertation we will talk about individual development instead, to emphasize the agency of individual students rather than their roles as subjects. Arguably, the individual development of minoritized students is threatened too, in a situation in which they experience stereotype threat, exclusion or even racism on an intrapersonal as well as a structural level (Agirdag, Loobuyck, et al., 2012; Agirdag, van Houtte, et al., 2012; Nouwen & Clycq, 2019).

The last function of education, which Biesta calls socialization and which Durkheim described as secondary socialization, refers to the ways in which schools teach students to be a part of the social order of society. It is about teaching norms, values, and morals, both explicitly and implicitly. Interestingly, there is not one process of socialization, but children are also socialized in their families, neighborhoods, and communities. This is explicitly true for children attending supplementary schooling, in addition to their mainstream school.

Community schools aim to respond to gaps they experience in terms of qualification, by offering tutoring and support, in socialization, by teaching heritage language and culture, and on an individual level, by helping students to navigate their multiple ethnic identities in host society. In a way, community schools challenge the orders that are dominant in mainstream education by adding to the mainstream narratives or even replacing them (Mirza & Reay, 2000a). Exploring the experience of pupils attending these different educational settings can offer some enticing insights into such socialization processes.

When it comes to experiences of inequality, the research into the perspectives of students themselves remains limited. However, questions concerning student-teacher relationship and school belonging are acute as they impact both academic and personal outcomes for minoritized students. The importance of the student-teacher relationship has been extensively studied, highlighting its crucial role in the social adjustment, academic achievement, and overall wellbeing of students, especially those with a migration background (Bosman et al., 2018; Roorda et al., 2011; Suldo et al., 2009). However, students with a migration background face significant challenges in maintaining positive relationships with their teachers as research in Flanders has shown, perceiving these relationships as more negative overall (Agirdag et al., 2012). This disparity may be attributed to the limited representation of teachers with an ethnic minority background in classrooms across Europe and in Flanders specifically (Overheid 2021). Additionally, many Flemish (majority) teachers admit to feeling ill-prepared in establishing a positive and strong relationship with their ethnically diverse students (Talis 2018). Researchers have argued that this mismatch in ethnic backgrounds between teachers and students can have detrimental effects on the student-teacher relationship (Denessen et al., 2022; Thijs et al., 2012; Thijs & Fleischmann, 2015; van den Bergh et al., 2010). The impact of "ethnic congruence" (Thijs et al., 2012), or the matching between teachers' and students' ethnicity on the perceptions of students remains unclear, specifically whether having a teacher with a similar ethno-cultural or migration background influences various educational, social, and personal outcomes.

Existing studies on student-teacher relationships often focus on mainstream/public education and predominantly examine the perspectives of teachers and secondary education students. Supplementary schools, organized by minority communities during weekends, typically employ teachers from similar ethnic-cultural backgrounds as their students. This unique context provides an innovative research context that allows us to investigate the experiences of minoritized children across different educational settings, rather than solely comparing them to their majority peers.

The significance of a strong sense of school belonging cannot be overstated, as it provides children, regardless of their background, with emotional security, enhances their relationships with others, and shapes their identity and agency (Halse, 2018). While numerous studies have examined the concept of school belonging and its impact on academic outcomes and wellbeing, little attention has been given to understanding how young people themselves perceive and construct a sense of belonging. The existing literature on this topic tends to be quantitative in nature, providing valuable information but failing to capture the nuanced ways in which young individuals construct belonging. Moreover, there is a scarcity of research specifically focused on the experiences of different ethnic minoritized groups and how they navigate feelings of belonging or non-belonging in school. Existing studies primarily examine how schools foster a sense of belonging, rather than exploring how children personally experience it (DeNicolo et al., 2017; Di Stefano, 2017). Research has shown that minoritized children's sense of school belonging is often at risk in mainstream schools, particularly when they are part of a small percentage of students with a migration background (Georgiades et al., 2013). Additionally, the prevalence of monolingual bias and assimilationist practices in Flanders significantly impact the sense of belonging among ethnic minority youth in mainstream schools (Van Der Wildt et al., 2017). Supplementary schools offer a contrasting setting, free from monolingual bias and the majority-minority imbalance, making them a valuable space for exploring how minoritized children experience a sense of belonging in both their mainstream and supplementary school contexts. There is a lacuna in our knowledge of minoritized students' socialization processes in light of their supplementary school attendance. More specifically, we do not know what the organizers of supplementary schools hope to achieve for their students, nor do we have much insight in the relationships the students have to their teachers or how they construct a sense of school belonging while attending these different school contexts.

In the following section we will elaborate on some of the paradigms of community schooling after which we will focus on supplementary schools, or after-hours schools, and their purposes, specifically.

Paradigms of community organized schooling

The first accounts of community schooling go back as early as the times of slavery. Enslaved people would self-organize schooling to secretly teach their youth to read and write. This was an act of rebellion which would provoke severe and inhumane punishments (Morris, 1999). From Black schooling in the US context to Islamic schooling in Europe and every kind of heritage language schooling in the weekend community schools have a history of challenging the status quo in mainstream education and society as a whole. Ever since migrants settled in diasporic communities, they have organized education to teach their youth heritage language and culture (Fishman, 2001). In Flanders the multicultural mining sites in Genk offered heritage language classes for the workers' children (Beyers, 2017). Overall, minoritized communities have organized education through time and place. The history of community schooling is commonly understood from two paradigms. One, as sites of resistance, in which mainstream narratives or displaced (Andrews, 2014, 2016; Baldridge et al., 2017; Mirza & Reay, 2000a). And two, as educational sites in which heritage language and culture are taught (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, Martin, et al., 2006; Dove, 1993; Ganassin, 2019; Simon, 2018; Wei & Wu, 2009). These two strands of community schooling are not mutually exclusive. Rather, their difference lies in the way in which they are presented, either by the organizers and teachers at the schools or the researchers describing them (Li, 2006)).

The community-organized schools that are portrayed as spaces of empowerment and resistance are often, though not always, Black community schools. Historically these schools have sought to counter daily experiences of racism and exclusion (Kifano, 1996; Rose, 2013). Dove (1993) described the establishment of supplementary schools as an establishment of African resistance to racism (p430). The ways in which these schools resist racism touches upon the threefold categorization mentioned before. Dove discerns a holistic approach which meets the academic, social, and individual needs of Black students. Other scholars too, have looked at supplementary schools as counterspaces (Margherio et al., 2020; Ong et al., 2018; Shirazi, 2019) in which students can affirm their identities and displace mainstream narratives of suppression (Mirza & Reay, 2000b; Yosso, 2005). They do this by offering a safe space from racism, presenting role models, and celebrating the students ethno-cultural background but

also in offering academic support to confront structural inequality in achievement (Baldridge et al., 2017; Howard & James, 2019; Ramalingam & Griffith, 2015; N. W. A. Wong, 2010a). As such these schools can be understood as instrumental to empowerment and the disruption of inequality.

The other strand of community schooling and the research investigating it focuses on supplementary schooling, often defined as complementary schooling or after hour schools, as mainly spaces of bilingualism and heritage culture transfer (Lam et al., n.d.; Lytra, 2011; Lytra & Martin, 2010a; Martin et al., 2006; Sneddon, 2014; Szczepek Reed et al., 2020a). These schools do not contest mainstream education in the same way as the schools described above, rather they aim to maintain linguistic and cultural heritage, they add to mainstream curricula by offering youth classes in and about their cultural heritage. There are elaborate accounts of such complementary schooling organized by a variety of communities: Greek, Thai, Chinese, Korean and so on, in the UK as well as other countries. These schools rely on volunteers, and they may or may not have formal or informal connections to the heritage country. In these schools the ethno-cultural background of the children is central the curriculum and they too meet the threefold purposes of education organized around language teaching. They might support their students in their endeavor to obtain a qualification in the country of heritage, sustain connection to peers with the same heritage and support the students in the development of their multiple identities (Creese, 2009; Hancock, 2012; Lytra, 2011; Martin et al., 2006).

Although there are specific differences in these two strands of schools, they do share the characteristic that they respond to the gaps that minoritized communities experience in mainstream education systems (Li, 2006). Either they respond to the need for a safe space in which alternative narratives are taught or they respond to the desire to further heritage language and culture to new generations. Mainstream education cannot fulfill every community's specific need but in response to each need communities can self-organize educational spaces.

Supplementary schooling

Supplementary schools are the most frequent occurrence of community organized education. These schools take place after the hours of mainstream schooling, usually in the weekend. They are organized by volunteers and teachers often work on a voluntary basis too. They tend to have a preset timetable and make use of textbooks. Attendance is often free or at a small charge (Chow, 2001; Hancock, 2012; Simon, 2018). Research into supplementary schools remains fragmented as they tend to discuss single cases and overviews of different supplementary schools remains lacking. In this paragraph we will discuss what the current state of the art tells us about the classes taught at and the purposes pursued in different supplementary schools. Many of the schools offer heritage language classes, though not all. Other courses can include history, geography, dance, or homework support. Some schools are connected to the heritage country and receive subsidies as diasporic communities, they might also receive textbooks or sometimes even teachers from the country of heritage. Other schools are independent and rely solely on the resources of volunteers in the communities.

Research into the effects of supplementary schooling has been limited. Not only do these schools tend to exist in the margin of society, but the effects they are presumed to have, are also not necessarily quantifiable. Quantitative studies in the UK have found that attending supplementary schooling seems to positively impact academic achievements in mainstream schools (Maylor et al., 2013). Furthermore, the schools also manage in building a strong affective relationship with their students as the students hold positive attitudes towards their supplementary schools and maintain them longer than towards their mainstream schools (Strand, 2007). Further research into the role of supplementary schools for the students that attend them, finds that the students value the opportunity to meet peers with whom to share cultural registers (Lamont et al., 2016), learn about their heritage backgrounds, share religious values, and they develop an additional identity as 'learners' which is valuable in their mainstream schools too (Archer et al., 2009; Francis et al., 2009, 2010; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2013, 2015). However, there are significant gaps in researching these educational spaces. Pupils attend supplementary schools, per definition, in addition to their mainstream schools. This means that the children attend two different

cultural educational context which informs their perspectives on schooling and the processes that take place in the schools. Research into their perspectives of both schools remains lacking. Especially the ways in which these children perceive the relationship to their teachers in each context and how attending two schools affects their sense of school belonging remains to a large extent underinvestigated. More research into how these pupils navigate various educational spaces is warranted as it would deepen our understanding of their educational experiences and pathways.

Supplementary schools and their pivotal role for minoritized communities

The role of supplementary schooling also transcends that of the individual students attending the schools. Research into Korean and Chinese supplementary schools in the US found these schools to be a force of empowerment for all community members (S. S. Kim & Zhou, 2006). These schools are crucial for the parents of the students not only for building connections to other parents with a shared background but also for the access they provide in means of information and support. By tapping into the social networks of the supplementary school, community members have access to social capital that transcends socio-economic background. These schools are not only pivotal in the lives of the attending students but also of crucial importance to the students' parents and other involved community members (W. T. Lu, 2013; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Through the community schools, parents have access to information about the school system, they share experiences navigating society and its institutions, ask questions, and get in touch with translators.

Many schools even offer language classes for the parents or support groups. The strength of such schools lies in their versatility and adaptiveness. They know the needs of the community members and are flexible enough to respond to them on short notice. In this way the community schools can function as a support network for children and their parents whilst navigating the Flemish society (Steenwegen & Clycq, 2023). It is against this background of the position of supplementary schooling on a community level that – in this dissertation - we aim to understand the meaning of such schools for the youth that attend them.

Research Project

Now that we have given some background to the educational reality of minoritized students and their communities' response in organizing educational spaces, we will now, first, expand on the specificities of the Flemish context and then continue to formulate the research aims we hope to meet in the frame of this research project.

Flemish context

In terms of educational equality Flanders performs poorly (Borgonovi et al, 2021). Though, overall, Flanders does well on international comparative tests such as PISA the difference between majority students and their minority peers are confounding in comparison to native students. Though socio-economic background plays an important role in predicting unequal results, studies find that even it is taken into consideration migration background still predicts lower results compared to majority peers. Immigrant students achieve lower educational outcomes, are more often enrolled in lower tracks, more likely to drop out from high school and less likely to move on to higher education (Crul & Schneider, 2012; Franck & Nicaise, 2015).This inequality is persistent and connected to the organization of the educational system with early tracking and waterfall system, where students are divided into different educational tracks at an early age, and progression through the system is hierarchical, allowing students to move from one level to the next with limited flexibility or opportunity to change tracks (Danhier & Jacobs, 2017). Other factors that play into this structural inequality are the fact that teachers feel ill-equipped in dealing with the diversity in their classrooms and they can be prejudiced and hold lower expectation of their minority students (Agirdag et al., n.d.; Benoliel & Berkovich, 2020; Denessen et al., 2020, 2022; van den Bergh et al., 2010). Students with migration background themselves have a lower sense of

school belonging than their majority peers (D'hondt et al., 2015) and they evaluate the relationship to their teachers more negatively too. Furthermore, the Flemish educational system is both assimilationist and monolinguistic in character (Celeste et al., 2019; Guimond et al., 2014; Pulinx et al., 2017). In most Flemish schools, head scarves are banned, and schools have a strict monolingual policy which even includes punitive measures for speaking heritage languages (Agirdag, 2010a).

Against this background minoritized communities organize education and initiate supplementary schools. In an assimilationist context these spaces are highly contested (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006) The current minister for education, from the national-conservative party N-VA, has repeatedly blocked the opening of an Islamic secondary school, despite criticism from the Belgian supreme administrative court (HLN, 2022). In addition, public funds for grassroots organizations which rely on the shared ethno-cultural background of communities have been withdrawn (Gianni Paelinck, 2019). Overall, educational initiatives organized by minoritized communities have been the subject of public debate, in Flanders as well as abroad. Opponents have suggested that community schools pose a risk to the integration of migrant groups – leading to the segregation of ethnic groups from mainstream society, or worse, to political radicalization and extremism(Abbas, 2017; Mogra, 2016). While others have suggested that it is through segregated schools that equality can be obtained (Merry & Driessen, 2012, 2012). A survey recently conducted in Flanders shows that people are indeed worried about the segregationist effects of such supplementary schools (Steenwegen & Meijers, 2023).

However, in an experiment survey, in which people were confronted with a hypothetical flyer for supplementary schools from different communities, and aimed at different purposes, we found that people are especially suspicious towards initiatives that are undertaken by Moroccan communities and much less towards Chinese and Italian communities. They are also most critical of Moroccan supplementary schools when they teach heritage language classes, suggesting that prejudice and cultural threat play a determinative role in the evaluation of such educational initiatives.

As described above supplementary school respond to the gaps they experience in mainstream society. Therefore, they are flexible and highly adaptive. This also means that they are contextual in the purposes they serve. Research into the supplementary schools in the Flemish context invites some very interesting research venues (Piqueray et al., 2016; Sun & Braeye, 2013). This research project seeks to add to our knowledge of minoritized students' experience in attending supplementary schools in Flanders. In the next section we will highlight some gaps in the currents state of the art that we will explore within this research project.

Research aims

Within this project we investigate how the attendance of supplementary schools affects minoritized youth. Our main aim is to explore how supplementary schools are organized and how they impact minoritized pupils' educational experiences. So far research into educational spaces organized by minoritized communities remains fragmented, with various discipline describing supplementary schooling from a rather narrow perspective and very little crosspollination of the research. A more holistic approach towards these schools remains lacking (Burman & Miles, 2018; Gholami, 2017).

Even though a significant part of minoritized youth attend supplementary schooling at a certain time, our understanding of their experience navigating these two educational contexts remains limited. Not only is the literature on community organized schooling fragmented, but there are also no overviews of different schools and the purposes they pursue. Without an exploration of their purposes as well as the motives that underlie them it is impossible to grasp their meaning for the educational pathways of the students attending them.

Considering that supplementary schools take up an important role in the socialization processes of minoritized youth, more in-depth research into those processes is wanted for. Moreover, the perspectives of the students attending supplementary schools in addition to their mainstream,

Flemish, schools remain missing. However, these pupils have insights into two different cultural contexts which informs the ways in which they perceive each school. Particularly, with regards to the student-teacher relationship and sense of belonging, two crucial aspects of students' trajectories that are very contextual, research into the students' experiences attending supplementary schooling would add to our understanding and would be significant to researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.

By taking a more holistic, in-depth approach to supplementary schooling and the role it plays in the lives of minoritized youth we aim to bring the existing literature in a new direction and emphasize the versatility of resources as well as the complexity of experiences for the students and pupils attending these schools.

We start by formulating some research questions which lead to demarcated studies, building on each other. We will briefly elaborate on each of these research aims and situate them in the current literature.

RQ1. Bringing together the literature on community education which types of schooling can be distinguished and how do they compare?

In superdiverse societies, historically marginalized communities have a rich tradition of organizing educational initiatives to empower their youth. These initiatives, in the UK, the US, Australia or Europe, encompass various forms of community-driven learning, such as Turkish weekend schools, Hmong after-school projects, and full-time Islamic schools (Endo, 2017; Khalil & DeCuir, 2018; Lytra, 2011; Nordstrom, 2016; Rosowsky, 2013; Szczepek Reed et al., 2020). Termed as community education, these endeavors undertaken by marginalized communities aim to address the specific educational needs, either for educational attainment or transfer of cultural elements, of their youth and have become widespread. Notably, they have a significant impact on the educational journeys of marginalized youth, as they demonstrate innovative approaches to challenging long-standing inequalities (Baldridge et al., 2017; Miller, 2012).

Despite the existence of community education initiatives being studied for several decades, the current body of academic literature suffers from fragmentation and limited knowledge exchange across disciplines, such as language learning, education, or religion. Previous research has either treated community education as a homogeneous entity, overlooking the nuances among its various manifestations, or has primarily focused on individual cases without recognizing commonalities between them, except for a few exceptions (Bridglall et al., 2005; Burman & Miles, 2018; J. S. Lee & Wright, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Maylor et al., 2013). Notably, the diverse models of organizing learning, such as full-time schools or after-hours schools, have not been systematically examined together, despite sharing significant characteristics (Musharraf & Nabeel, 2015). This fragmented state of the literature not only hampers knowledge sharing but also restricts our comprehensive understanding of the richness and diversity inherent in community education.

To advance our comprehension of these educational spaces, we aim to integrate the various manifestations of community education within an overarching conceptual framework. By doing so, we seek to answer the following research questions: (a) "Which types of community education emerge when viewed through a conceptual framework of organizational structure and purpose-orientation?" and (b) "What descriptions of community education currently exist, and what gaps can be identified in the current body of academic literature?" By encompassing the wide range of initiatives organized in diverse ways, we can identify two fundamental and shared characteristics: a) their origin within minoritized communities and b) their focus on meeting the specific educational needs of their youth. These characteristics underscore the importance of self-determination within these communities and recognize the unique educational requirements across various communities and geographical locations.

Bringing together the currently fragmented literature in such a systematic way will be supportive of the following steps of our empirical research endeavor.

RQ2. How do initiators of supplementary schools in Flanders describe the purposes and motivations of their schools?

Among community school initiatives, supplementary schools are the most prevalent. They operate outside regular school hours, either after formal schooling or on weekends (Creese, 2009). These schools offer a unique perspective as they bridge the gap between mainstream public schools and the home and community environment (L. Arthur & Souza, 2020a). However, the existing understanding of the purposes of supplementary schools is limited, often focusing narrowly on their resistance to mainstream education or their role in heritage language transmission. Such fragmentation fails to acknowledge the complex interplay of multiple purposes found in the literature and overlooks the diverse motivations behind the establishment of these schools. The intricate relationship between the educational aspirations of the community, the challenges of mainstream education, and the engagement of supplementary school initiators necessitates further investigation to gain a comprehensive understanding of these schools and the needs of minoritized communities (Burman & Miles, 2018).

To delve deeper into the underlying mechanisms, it is crucial to systematically study the purposes and motivations of these initiatives from the initiators' perspective, which is currently missing (Simon, 2018). Importantly, this investigation should consider insights from research on the motivation-achievement paradox, which explores the high educational desires and aspirations of minoritized youth juxtaposed with their comparatively lower academic performance rates (Mickelson, 1990a). Supplementary schools address persistent academic and social inequities within mainstream education. Although the educational aspirations of minoritized youth and their parents are as high, if not higher, than those of the majority population (OECD, 2018), the motivation-achievement paradox reveals that this does not always translate into higher achievement (Salikutluk, 2016). Supplementary schools aim to tackle both the challenges in mainstream education and the community's aspirations by formulating specific purposes (Hall, Ozerk, et al., 2002; Simon, 2018).

In this study, we aim to bridge the aforementioned gaps and move beyond fragmentation by adopting a comprehensive approach that aligns with the threefold categorization of purposes—qualification, socialization, and individual development—commonly applied to mainstream education (Biesta, 2009). In addition to exploring purposes, we seek to shed light on the motives driving the pursuit of these specific purposes, an aspect that has received limited research attention thus far, with few exceptions (Simon, 2018). Understanding how supplementary schools respond to the educational desires and needs of their communities, which can expand our understanding of what minoritized students need in matter of support, requires a holistic examination of purposes and motivations.

RQ3. How do minoritized pupils, who attend supplementary schools in addition to their mainstream Flemish schools, perceive the relationship with their teachers in each school?

Numerous studies have highlighted the significance of the student-teacher relationship for the social adjustment, academic achievement, and overall well-being of students, particularly those with a migration background (Bosman et al., 2018; Roorda et al., 2011; Suldo et al., 2009). However, for students with a migration background, this relationship often faces considerable strain, as they tend to perceive it more negatively overall (Agirdag et al., 2012). This may be attributed to the fact that although classrooms in Europe are increasingly diverse, the representation of teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds remains limited in Flemish classrooms (Overheid, 2021). Additionally, (majority) teachers often express feeling ill-prepared in building strong relationships with their students from ethnic minority backgrounds (Benoliel & Berkovich, 2020). Consequently, researchers argue that this incongruence in ethnic backgrounds between teachers and students can have a negative impact on the student-teacher relationship (Thijs et al., 2012; Thijs & Fleischmann, 2015; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2012, 2013; van den Bergh et al., 2010).

However, despite existing research, many questions regarding this topic remain unanswered. Specifically, it remains unclear whether "ethnic congruence" between students and teachers or having a teacher with a similar ethno-cultural or migration background, has an impact on various educational, social, and personal outcomes (Koomen & Jellesma, 2015; Thijs et al., 2012, 2012; Zee et al., 2017). Most findings on student-teacher relationships are based on research in mainstream/public education and are primarily examined from the perspective of teachers and/or secondary education students. To address these gaps, our study focuses on primary school pupils attending supplementary schooling, additionally to mainstream Flemish schools. This unique setting allows us to establish an innovative research design to explore the experiences of minoritized children within diverse educational contexts, rather than comparing their experiences solely to those of their majority peers.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the student-teacher relationship, we draw insights from two different bodies of literature. Firstly, we build upon social psychology research that examines the affective aspects of student-teacher relationships, exploring concepts such as emotional bonding and security (Koomen & Jellesma, 2015). Secondly, we rely on educational research that emphasizes the academic aspects of the student-teacher relationship, particularly focusing on the academic support and validation that pupils receive from their teachers(Agirdag et al., 2012; Reddy et al., 2003). By interviewing pupils with a migration background about their relationships with teachers in both settings, we aim to identify the supportive aspects of these relationships as perceived by the students themselves, while also exploring the potential role of "ethnicity."

RQ4. How do the pupils attending supplementary schools, additionally to their mainstream Flemish schools, construct sense of school belonging in each context?

A robust sense of belonging holds numerous benefits for children across all age groups, including emotional security, enhanced relationships with others, and the formation of identity and agency (Halse, 2018). In recent years, research has increasingly focused on the concept of school belonging, which encompasses the extent to which students feel accepted, respected, included, and supported by others within their school community (Goodenow, 1993). Previous studies have revealed that ethnic minority students often experience lower levels of school belonging compared to their ethnic majority (D'hondt et al., 2015).This raises questions about the meaning and experience of belonging for these students. Furthermore, three gaps in the current state of research can be identified: the predominance of quantitative research that overlooks the complexities of students' lived experiences, limited direct inquiry into young people's perceptions and understanding of belonging, and a narrow theoretical perspective on the concept. We aim to address these gaps by conducting interviews with children attending supplementary schooling in addition to their mainstream Flemish schools.

A comprehensive understanding of school belonging requires further exploration of this concept and consideration of the lived experiences of minoritized pupils themselves. Their experience of school belonging is influenced by attending two distinct educational contexts. To comprehend the processes of belonging in these diverse contexts, we draw upon Wood and Black's refined conceptualization, which distinguishes three dimensions of belonging: space, relations, and emotions (Wood & Black, 2018). This framework brings together research highlighting different aspects of sense of belonging. Space relates to the attachment to spaces in which one can feel at home or ease (Antonsich, 2010), relations refers to the relational aspect of belonging in which connections to others make one feel to belong, and emotions rely the deeply entrenched connection to ones emotions to achieve a sense of belonging in as specific space.

Additionally, we introduce the notion of cultural repertoires, which encompass the frames of reference related to cultural heritage, histories, and language that individuals use to make sense of their environment (Lamont & Small, 2008). This theoretical framework enables us to capture the experiences of minoritized students across different schools and recognize the nuances in their cultural references that contribute to the construction and definition of belonging.

Methodology

To answer our research question: "How do the supplementary schools affect pupils' educational experiences?"., we first want to gain a broader and more holistic understanding of community schooling and then looking more closely at the processes that take place in these schools from the pupils' or students' perspective. To this end we designed a stepwise qualitative methodology, and different interconnected studies going from a broader overview approach to a more focused in-depth one. The research project exists out of one systematic review of the literature and three empirical studies, investigating supplementary schools in Flanders.

We started by delving into the existing literature and systematically extracting articles describing cases of communities self-organizing education (see below, Study 1). Bringing together the array of works we then deduce different types of community education and the purposes they pursue. In a next step we undertook a qualitative cross-case analysis of different supplementary schools in the Flemish context. Through in-depth semi-structured interviews with the schools' initiators, we examined their perception of the schools' purposes which motivations underly these specific purposes (see below, Study 2). By looking at how the motivations and purposes relate with each other, we gain insight into the mechanisms at play in these out-of-school learning sites. We understand the attendance of supplementary schools as an opportunity to investigate the perceptions of pupils who attend schooling in two very different settings. To this end we conducted group interviews with 29 pupils attending two supplementary schools.

The focus of the third and fourth study respectively is on the experienced of the pupils attending both mainstream and supplementary schools in Flanders. The third study explores how these young children (between 9 and 12 years old) perceive the relationship to their teachers in each context. These nuanced perceptions give insights in which aspects of the student-teacher relationship they deem important and offers some venues for interventions which might better the quality of the student-teacher relationship for minoritized children. The fourth study investigates how these children construct a sense of belonging while navigating two culturally specific educational contexts.

Studies

To investigate supplementary schools an explorative, qualitative approach is best suited. There has only been a limited amount of research conducted in these spaces, which leaves many questions open about the premise and pursued purposes of these schools. Moreover, an in-depth qualitative approach is a good way to capture the layered nuance of supplementary school attendance. In a first step, and our first study, we conducted a systematic review of the peer reviewed literature which described cases of community organized schooling. This endeavor, which brought together 76 cases of community education, shed light on the different varieties of such educational spaces. It also illustrated the emphasis on cases in the UK and the US. This review laid bare the gaps in the current literature illuminating that there are only few cases researched in mainland Europe (Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002; Piqueray et al., 2016; Sun & Braeye, 2013; Tereshchenko & Araújo, 2011). Acknowledging that these schools are highly contextualized as they respond to their current societal setting, more research in the European context is wanted for.

In the empirical part of our research endeavor, we took to the Flemish supplementary school scene to explore the pursued goals of the school initiators, for the second study, and to focus on the experience of the pupils themselves, for the third and fourth study. Whereas there is an inventory of supplementary schools in the UK[3] there is no such thing in Flanders. We were therefore dependent on informal contacts and mouth-to-mouth recommendations to find supplementary schools. Through connections with NGO's, community leaders, supplementary schoolteachers and snowballing we finalized a sample of 12 supplementary schools. This sample was diverse in terms of location, size, and community including a Thai, two Polish, a Russian, an Arabic, a Chinese, a Pan-African, a Turkish, an Albanian, an Armenian, an Italian and a Greek supplementary school. In the this first explorative study we wanted to investigate which purposes the school leaders aimed to achieve and what were their

[3] *www.supplementaryeducation.org.uk*

motives for doing so. To this end we conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with the school initiators of these schools. The interviews focused on the reasons they had for initiating the schools and what they aimed to achieve. The interviews were anonymized, transcribed, and thematically coded (Byrne, 2022). The coding process followed the three-fold categorization of purposes that is commonly applied to mainstream schools: qualification, socialization, and individual development. We reported on our findings of the school leaders' motives and pursued purposes and highlighted the versatility and adaptive character of these schools.

In a next step we took a more in-depth approach with two of the schools that took part in the first interview round. We selected the Russian language school and the Arabic language school because they were similar in terms of size, about 150 students, of location, in Antwerp, and because of their diverse character, teaching pupils from diverse ethnic backgrounds. To grasp the experience of children attending supplementary schooling we focused on the pupils in the school. We visited each school several times prior to the interviews to get acquainted with the setting and to make acquaintance already informally to the pupils. We interviewed 29 children in total. Some of the children attended the Russian and Arabic language school quite recently, others had been coming for years.

The sample of pupils was diverse. Some of the children indicated that their first language was Dutch, and they were there to learn and practice their heritage language, others were fluent in the heritage tongue and felt unsure in Dutch. Most of the pupils were first generation migrants who came to Belgium with their parents, though some of the children were second or third generation. These interviews shed light on the experience of children with migration background attending mainstream schooling as well as community organized supplementary schooling.

Note on children as participants

The pupils who took part in the interviews, were told about the research project and invited to voluntarily partake. They received a form explaining the goal and course of the study and only the children who signed up were asked for an interview. The children's parents, too, were informed about the study and given the opportunity to refuse their children's participation, in accordance with the ethical committees' guidelines. The children gave permission to record the interviews and they were given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. To ensure the children felt at ease, they were free to decide if they would come to an interview alone or with their friends. Most of the children preferred to come in pairs or in trios, though a few of them came alone. The interviews took place in an empty classroom in the supplementary school and the children were free to go whenever they wanted. In these interviews, which were not as structured as interviews with adults usually are but followed a topic list rather freely, the children were asked to talk about the relationship to their teachers and their sense of belonging respectively. The interviews were transcribed and inductively coded using thematic analysis (Braun, 2012).

Interviewing children is difficult to plan. While conducting preliminary fieldwork in different supplementary schools in Flanders and when in a next step conducting interviews with 12 initiators, we came to understand that most of the children attending the schools in the weekend were primary school children. Due to the pressure of secondary school and homework, most pupils stop attending the supplementary school after the age of twelve. This does not correspond with the empirical research we had read so far. In the research that included interviews with students and other reflections of the students' voices, the participants were often older (Archer et al., 2009, 2010; Francis et al., 2009; Hall et al., 2002; Martin et al., 2006; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2013, 2015). Young pupils' experiences attending supplementary schooling and the ways in which they negotiate navigating two school contexts was missing. There are quite some challenges to interviewing younger children about complex topics (Kostet, 2021), yet their accounts are valuable and should not be omitted when seeking to understand the educational pathways of minoritized youth. Throughout the interviews with the children, it became apparent that they have a very nuanced perspective on the differences and similarities between their mainstream and supplementary schools. The children formulated their views while considering differences in organization and the pressure the teachers are under in each context. In line with what other researchers have found

investigating children with a migration background in the superdiverse setting of Antwerp, they are flexible in the cultural repertoires they use, and they find similarity and homogeneity beyond ethnic boundaries (Kostet, 2022).

By focusing on the views of the initiators, the experience of these pupils attending supplementary schools and the ways the children perceive the relationships to their teachers in each context as well as how they construct a sense of school belonging, we believe to add significantly to the literature on supplementary schooling.

Researcher positionality

My identity as a researcher has steered the course of this research project. This includes my perspectives on knowledge construction, my professional background as well as the reflections on my place of privilege and power as a White researcher (Bourabain, 2021).

My perspective as a social constructivist is that knowledge is situated in time and place and interactions between people are what steers the construction of knowledge and is therefore interdependent(McKinley, 2015).At the same time, interviewing ethnic minoritized children as a white majority researcher poses some ethical considerations (Swartz, 2011; Vanner, 2015) In this frame I understand the various actors involved in supplementary schooling as valuable sources and active participants in the constructing of knowledge (Stoecklin & Fattore, 2018). To expand my own knowledge, I rely on their telling and therefore I try to replicate their words as accurately as possible. When investigating the experiences of children this also means listening to the children and let them tell in their own words how they perceive the relationship to their teachers and their sense of belonging.

Children are active agents in the ways in which they relate to their teachers and in how they construct a sense of belonging, but also in how they recount these experiences in their interviews with me. To that end I have tried to leave the interviews open to invite their own interpretations and to minimize the ways in which I would steer their answers. At the same time, I acknowledge that in a setting where I come and interview them, I will unavoidably steer the course of the conversation, within this research endeavor that means to acknowledge that power balances between the researcher and the children may shift. (Kostet, 2021)

In some ways my person and position had some assets in this research context. My own professional background as a teacher is what brought me to research these supplementary schools with a passion and what guided me both through the interviews with the school leaders as with the pupils. While working as a primary school teacher in the past I was always aware of the obstacles that minoritized pupils were confronted with. Especially the outspoken prejudice from teachers in the teachers' room made me insistent about looking for ways to counter these negative narratives. Many of the discourse on minoritized students is deficit oriented (Pica-Smith & Veloria, 2012).

Yet, supplementary schools offer an interesting opportunity to investigate the many resources and opportunities that minoritized communities harbor. My experience as a teacher guided me through the interviews with the school leader because I know what teaching entails and could imagine the challenges they are confronted on a weekly basis. In interviewing the pupils, I found that my background as primary school teacher was helpful in managing my expectations and planning realistically.

For example, regardless of how well I prepared my questions, the children's answers would scatter in all directions. By listening attentively, following their train of thought, and sometimes steering them back to my initial question, I received a richness of information. It also meant that I felt comfortable in talking to the pupils and could ask specific questions about their schools because I know the common organization of their mainstream schools at least which was helpful in guiding my questions and an opportunity to let the children compare one school to the other.

Last, as a white woman, who is part of the majority group in Flanders I am very conscious

of the privilege that I bring to the table. When talking to minoritized people, who are structurally suppressed, there is always a power imbalance and especially when discussing sensitive topics such as racism and exclusion (Swartz, 2011; Vanner, 2015). It is possible that some of the interviewees did not feel free to discuss negative experiences in mainstream Flemish society with me and therefore weighed their words. This outsider perspective (Braun, 2012) was also helpful in a way. It was clear to all participants, children, and adults alike, that I had never attended a supplementary school and that they, therefore, held more knowledge than I did.

Throughout the interviews I noticed that the participants were eager to explain the workings of the supplementary school. In interviewing the children another power imbalance was present, that of me, the adult and them, the child. Inviting the children to decide themselves whether they preferred to come alone or in group was a way of shifting this balance. The children were also left quite free in the ways in which they recounted their experiences.

Though some children were shy at first, most of them warmed quickly and were very talkative. The last imbalance to mention is that of language, for some children Dutch was their first language but for other it wasn't.

The interviews were nonetheless held in Dutch because I do not speak Russian or Arabic. The children were all fluent in Dutch but some of them indicated that they felt they weren't. At the beginning of the interviews, I tried to create a relaxed atmosphere, I brought some cookies and juice for the kids, and we would usually start the conversation with some exchanges about who is who and what had they been doing that day. If children choose to come in small groups, I made sure that everyone in the group said something before the interview started, to break the ice and welcome every child's voice. I sought to be conscious of my privileged position and these imbalances in power in all contact with the participants of the study, but I am also aware of the fact that they were never erased.

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2. How and Why Communities Self-Organize Education: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

Minoritized communities have a long history of self-organizing 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 organizational 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 minoritized communities in self-organizing education which is pertinent for stakeholders of community schools as well for those researching community educational spaces.

Introduction

Minoritized communities across Western societies have a long history of self-organizing education to benefit their youth. There are different types of community-organized 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 minoritized communities to meet their youth's specific educational needs, are a widespread phenomenon. They have significant impact on the educational trajectories of minoritized 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 recognizing the differences in its emanations, or has applied single-case analyses of educational initiatives without acknowledging similarities across cases, with few exceptions (Bridglall et al., 2005; Burman & Miles, 2018; J. S. Lee & Wright, 2014b; Leeman, 2015; Maylor et al., 2013). Specifically, different ways of organizing learning such as full-time schools or after-hours schools have not been brought together, even though they share important characteristics (Musharraf & Nabeel, 2015). The current fragmentation not only hinders knowledge sharing, but 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, organized in many different ways, two shared and crucial characteristics can be discerned: they are a) undertaken by minoritized communities and b) they meet their youths' specific educational needs. These characteristics are crucial as they emphasize 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 organizational 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 minoritized youth (Baldridge et al., 2017; Burman & Miles, 2018). Therefore, we regard community education's objectives through the lens of education's threefold purposes of qualification, socialization and individual development (Biesta, 2009). Acknowledging the rich variety in organizing 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 minoritized communities differ greatly in their educational purposes and their organizational 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 recognizing the richness of learning spaces, we not only acknowledge the resilience and resourcefulness of minoritized communities but also emphasize the importance of community education as a broad societal phenomenon. This will forward the academic discussion and broader understanding of the educational needs of minoritized 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 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 organized by minoritized 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 organizational structures. Traditionally, community education is discussed in 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 includes the broad scope of initiatives such as black supplementary schools and language heritage schools, but also encompasses other educational spaces. For example, communities organize education in more informal ways, such as peer-to-peer homework support, and sometimes they organize educational spaces that are formally recognized 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 organizational 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 organizational differentiation, a comprehensive framework should encompass the diversity in purposes of community education. Mainstream education does not meet every minoritized group's specific needs and community education is a reaction to the gaps experienced in mainstream education (Andrews, 2016; Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002). It either supplements, critiques or substitutes the curricula taught in mainstream schools. We acknowledge, firstly, that communities self-organize education in response to mainstream education while they seek to meet their specific needs. Secondly, we understand community education as a way of educating that goes beyond academic achievement (Baldridge, 2014; Burman & Miles, 2018). Therefore, we conceptualize its purposes in the threefold approach of socialization, individual development and qualification.

We thus define community education as educational initiatives organized by minoritized 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 organizational 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 & Miles, 2018; Gholami, 2017; Gordon et al., 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 organizational 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 & Booth, 2009) in order to gather the wide range of existing research on community education, and synthesized 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, 2010; 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 & 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 rigor 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 2*).

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. While 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 minoritized communities, top-down initiatives were excluded.
2. Initiatives set up for majority pupils: community education exists in support of minoritized youth, therefore initiatives that target majority pupils were excluded.
3. Method: the goal of the review is to extract and categorize 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[4].

[4] 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.

Coding

We coded the articles' description of the cases and results to extract geographic location, community involved, purposes and organization. For coding purposes, we relied on the case description, results and discussion. Organizational characteristics were described in each article and we could therefore straightforwardly categorize 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 categorize them. She suggests 'tagging' different occurrences of community education instead. We followed her lead and added 'tags' of intended purpose-codes inductively, while coding the articles. The tags of purposes were taken as described in the articles (for 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, socialization and individual development (*see Table 2*).

Table 2
Purpose tags grouped in categories

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

Results

Diversity in Organization

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

Table 3
Overview of Organizational 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, community commitment	Alternative to mainstream schooling, public school, state curriculum with community's specific emphasis, teachers with recognized certificates, receive funding

Informal Initiatives

These initiatives have no curriculum and no formal timetables. Often pupils will attend these programs for a variety of reasons. The educational purposes are not necessarily the main purpose, but they are by products. For example, Wei-Ting (2013) describes a music school, organized 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.

After-Hours Initiatives

After-hours initiatives are organized 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 (p. 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 they substitute them. Often using state recognized 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 was 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 emphasizing the community's needs and 'more appropriately considering Black life' (p. 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 et al., 2009; Mirza & Reay, 2000c; Sneddon, 2014b; Strand, 2007). However, community education seems to exist in the margins of mainstream society (Fishman, 2001; J. S. Lee & Wright, 2014b) and the impact of community education on mainstream school achievement has proved difficult and problematic to measure (Maylor et al., 2013d; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015). Therefore, we focus on intended purposes. Understanding the intended purposes of community education is vital because it offers insights in the variety of community education as well as in the variety of educational needs.

The purpose of education is often divided into qualification, socialization and individual development (Biesta, 2009). We acknowledge that communities' efforts to self-organize 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 categorized under qualification, socialization 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 categorized 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 organized in community education can be very concrete such as math classes (J. 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 Noro (1997) describes that one of the reasons to learn Japanese is that these language skills are seen as an advantage for one's future career, though it is not further clarified this seems to imply the possibility of working in or with a Japanese company (Cho et al., 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 (W. Lu, 2013; Nygreen, 2017).

Socialization Purpose

Socialization 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 socialization process into the ethno-cultural minorities' in-group. Ethnic identification is also included in the socialization purpose, interpreting it as integrating children to become part of the ethnic in-group. Community education often emphasizes the perpetuation of culture and the importance of recognizing 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 (F. Ahmed, 2012; Brooks & Ezzani, 2017; Makosa, 2015). Learning heritage languages that are significant either for the pupils' religious education (Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002) or to maintain communication with family members (Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015) is categorized under the socialization purpose too. The socialization purpose in community education might also be translated to other goals such as in-group

socializing (J. I. 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 socialization but differs in its objective. If the goal is group-oriented, we categorize it as socialization. If the purpose is described as being specifically for the benefit of the individual, it is categorized as individual development. Goals as formulated in the case studies are the cultivation of pride (Tereshchenko & 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 & Anthias, 2015; Shirazi, 2019)[5]. In the same vein, some activities that community schools offer counter processes of subtractive schooling, in other words they teach the minoritized 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 & James, 2019; N. W. A. Wong, 2010b). And lastly, 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 socialization (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.

[5] 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.

Types of Community Education: Combining Organization and Purpose

Combining variety of purposes and organizational 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 organizational 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 categorization 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 categorization of different types of community education, but rather as a categorization 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.

Table 4
Distribution of Types and Examples

	Organization		
Purpose-Type	Informal	After-hours	Full-time
Qualification	[*N*=1] **'Madrassa'** **(UK)** **(Davies, 2019)**	[*N*=0]	[*N*=0]
Socialization	[*N*=2]	[*N* =18] **'Texas Dragon Chinese School'** **(US)** **(Wu, Palmer & Field, 2011)**	[*N* =4]
Individual Development	[*N*=0]	[*N*=0]	[*N*=0]
Qualification+ Socialization+ Individual Development	[*N*=0]	[*N* =3]	[*N* =2] **'Iqra Islamic School'** **(UK)** **(Pecenka &Anthias, 2015)**
Qualification+ Socialization	[*N* =1]	[*N* =10] **'Korean & Chinese supplementary education'** **(US)** **(Zhou & Kim, 2006)**	[*N*=0]
Qualification+ Individual Development	[*N* =1]	[*N* =7] **'Black supplementary school'** **(US)** **(Dove, 1993)**	[*N* =1]
Socialization+ Individual Development	[*N* =3]	[*N* =15]	[*N* =8] **'Muslim school'** **(Ireland)** **(Sai, 2018)**
N=76			

To further illustrate, we give a case example of each purpose type with their organizational 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 emphasized 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 (2019, p. 693). Learning and educational betterment was achieved through the Madrassa 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+socialization 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 programs with the aim of heightening academic success) and socialization (the maintenance of heritage language and transmission of cultural traditions and being part of the in-group by identifying with their ethnic identities: p. 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+socialization+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 (p. 443); on the socialization strand, they mention "teaching of religion-specific values and behaviour" (p. 439), and on the strand of individual development the school is described as having a counter-racism purpose (p. 444).

'Texas Dragon Chinese School' (US). As an example of an after-hours socialization 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 socialization strand of intended purpose: reading and writing Mandarin and cultural transmission (p. 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 socialization+individual development purpose-type. The reason parents give for sending their children to the state-funded Muslim school are to be placed in the socialization strand: among others they wanted their youth to learn Islamic traditions and to have a sense of cultural belonging (p. 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 (p. 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: p. 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 (p. 439) and as providing exposure to positive images of Africans (p. 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 organizational 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 minoritized 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 which 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 Chinese schools. Moreover, though 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), socialization was an intended purpose, regardless of organizational type (17 after-hours and one informal occurrence). This might not seem surprising as socialization 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' (S. J. Lee, 1994; Ng et al., 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., 2013d; Zhou & Kim, 2006), the data, by and large, does not reflect this. This might be due to the fact that for those involved in community education, the academic benefits of the socialization purpose 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 state of the art, 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, it would also add insight into community education in different contexts. Communities organizing education in countries where policies are less oriented towards 'multiculturalism' (Alba & Foner, 2014; Triandafyllidou & 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 organized 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 (exception Makosa, 2015; Piqueray et al., 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 emphasized 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.

While 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, either as volunteer, parent or teacher, 50 per cent 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 per cent.

These findings are indicative of the researcher's specific interest and/or personal involvement likely influencing their description of a community education program's purposes. As minoritized communities organize 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 minoritized 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 literature do reflect the diversity of communities organizing education as they illustrate a wide variety of types but they do not reflect it in a proportional way, overrepresenting 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. Though 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 & 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 which focusses on these transitions is urgently required, when seeking to understand the educational experiences of minoritized 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 though 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 categorization which takes into account both organization and purpose-orientation is novel. Therefore, the articles extracted did not necessarily extensively describe both of these aspects, which poses some challenges in categorization. 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 categorization. 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 organization 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 socialization 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 organizational and purpose-oriented level.

Last, 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 acknowledges the various purposes 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 emphasizes how versatile communities are in findings ways to meet their youths' educational needs. The innovative ways in doing so might serve as inspiration. More pressingly, a large part of minoritized 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.

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3. The What and Why of Supplementary Schooling in Flanders: Purposes and Underlying Motives as Perceived by Initiators

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Abstract

Supplementary schooling can play an important role in the educational trajectory of minoritised youth. Yet, our knowledge of the communities' motives for organising education and the purposes the schools pursue remains limited. Existing literature tends to understand supplementary schools either as resisting ongoing inequity in mainstream society or as transmitting the heritage language. We argue that it is valuable to transcend this fragmented view by taking a more comprehensive approach to the diversity of purposes of supplementary schools and by revealing how different purposes might intersect or emerge within the same school.

Methodologically, semi-structured in-depth interviews with initiators of 12 supplementary schools in Flanders took place to learn about the pursued purposes and the motives underlying them. The initiators – who are also the current school leaders– argue to focus on a broad array of purposes, based upon their interpretation of the communities' educational needs.

Rather than the fragmented view often presented in the literature, the initiators show a strong sensitivity to the variety of needs ranging from nurturing pride, over supporting communication between parents and children, to working towards a diploma of the heritage country. Initiators seem deeply invested to support and strengthen youth in navigating the different educational and socio-cultural contexts they are part of. These findings shed light on the variety of educational needs and desires of minoritised communities in continental Europa. They highlight opportunities to tackle enduring inequalities experienced by minoritised youth in mainstream schools.

Introduction

Minoritised communities from various ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds have a long history of organising bottom-up educational initiatives or so-called 'community education' (Wei, 2006). Among the various types of educational initiatives undertaken by minoritized communities, supplementary schools, sometimes also referred to as complementary schools, are the most frequent type. They are organised after the hours of formal, mainstream schooling or at the weekend (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, Martin, et al., 2006). They are particularly interesting to study because they are situated explicitly at the intersection of the mainstream (public) school and the home and community environment (Arthur & Souza, 2020b). A recent review of the literature illustrates that the current understanding of supplementary schools' purposes remains rather narrow either emphasising the resistant character of these school vis a vis mainstream education or its singular focus on transmitting the heritage language (Authors, 2022). Such fragmentation does not do justice to the complex interplay of different purposes found in the literature and is unable to grasp the variety of motives underlying the establishment of these schools. The interplay between supplementary schools' initiators engagement with communities' educational desires and their consideration of mainstream education' challenges is complex. Investigating their perspective on the schools' purposes will broaden our understanding of supplementary schools in general, and of the needs of minoritised communities and how schools

engage with them in particular (Steenwegen et al., 2023).

To deepen our comprehension of the mechanisms at play, an important – but currently missing – step is to systematically study the purposes and underlying motives of these initiatives from the perspective of the initiators. Important in this regard is to recognize the insights from research on the motivation-achievement paradox, that is, the strong educational desires and high aspirations of minoritized youth and their lower performance rates (Mickelson, 1990). The challenges to which supplementary schools respond relate to enduring academic and social inequities in mainstream education. Though the educational aspirations of minoritised youth and their parents are as high (and often higher) as those of majority youth (OECD, 2018), the motivation-achievement paradox shows that this does not necessarily translate into higher achievement (Salikutluk, 2016). Supplementary schools aim to address both the challenges in mainstream schooling and the community's high educational desires when formulating specific purposes (Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002; Simon, 2018).

The schools' purposes, which we define as the concrete goals that the schools seek to reach for their pupils in organising lessons, are assumed to serve the needs of the community. In the academic literature, these purposes range from providing support for students to perform well in mainstream education (Bridglall et al., 2005; Maylor et al., 2013; Strand, 2007) to preserving and/or nurturing the students' heritage language and culture (Francis et al., 2010b; Lytra, 2011) and nourishing pride by offering alternative histories to the mainstream narratives (Andrews, 2014; Mirza & Reay, 2000c). In this paper we aim to fill this gap and go beyond this fragmentation and apply a more comprehensive approach mirroring the threefold categorisation of purposes into qualification, socialisation and individual development that is commonly applied to mainstream education (Biesta, 2009). Investigating not only the purposes but also the motives for pursuing specific purposes which have not been the focus of research yet (exception Simon, 2018), will elaborate our understanding of how supplementary schools respond to the communities' educational desires and needs.

A second gap we aim to fill is that most research into supplementary schooling has looked primarily at single cases and has mostly done so in Anglo-Saxon countries (Authors, 2022). Though many religious and ethnocultural communities in continental Europe self-organise education, research into spaces beyond the UK remains surprisingly scarce (exceptions Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002; Piqueray et al., 2016; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2013). The emphasis on supplementary schools in Anglo-Saxon contexts means that the functioning of these spaces in different settings, especially those characterised by (more) significant achievement gaps such as Flanders, remains to a large extent unaccounted for.

We use semi-structured interviews to analyse the perception of the initiators of supplementary schools regarding the schools' purposes and their underlying motives. This study will examine a variety of cases in Flanders, the semi-autonomous northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. The Flemish public education system is characterised by a significant achievement gap (one of the largest in Europe) between ethnic majority and ethnic minority students; minoritised pupils are disproportionately referred to vocational tracks, underrepresented in higher education and overrepresented in early school leaving rates (Danhier & Jacobs, 2017). Furthermore, for years, Flanders has implemented a strict monolingual education system, wherein pupils are often not allowed to use their heritage language in mainstream public schools, and most schools ban religious symbols, in particular the Islamic headscarf (Agirdag, 2010b; Franken, 2020). This makes the educational situation for minoritised pupils very challenging as they not only face obstacles to perform well academically but also have a lower sense of school belonging and self-worth, despite having a very high achievement motivation (D'hondt et al., 2015). Given that supplementary schools respond to the communities' specific contextualised needs, this challenging context is likely to affect their purposes.

First, we will outline the current state of the literature, arguing that an exploratory and comprehensive approach towards the schools' purposes can further our understanding. Then we will describe the set-up of our data collection. In the results section we report the purposes pursued by the initiators and the motives underlying those purposes. We then conclusively reflect upon the position of supplementary schools in contemporary society and formulate recommendations for future research.

State of the Literature on Supplementary Education

In the current literature on supplementary education, two broad types of purposes can be distinguished. On the one hand, the literature looks at supplementary schools from a relational perspective as spaces of resistance, and the schools' main purpose is understood as resisting racism (Andrews, 2014b). On the other hand, a second body of literature studies supplementary schools as learning spaces serving to maintain the community's language and culture (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, Martin, et al., 2006; Wei, 2006). As a conceptual starting point for our study, we will outline these approaches and argue that by using a comprehensive approach, we allow for a broader understanding of the purposes of supplementary schools.

The earliest descriptions of ethnic minoritised communities organising supplementary schooling go back as far as the time of slavery in the US, when people of African descent would clandestinely set up schools to teach their youth (Franklin, 2002). Education was an act of resistance; literacy was used to defy the system and would bring harsh punishments (Douglas & Peck, 2013). This element of resistance remains an important narrative in supplementary schools, and Black schools specifically, even though its meaning has evolved with the changing circumstances and the specific obstacles, inequalities and opportunities faced by different communities (Dove, 1993; Johnson, 2013; Kifano, 1996). In offering alternative histories and narratives, these schools aim to decentralise the dominant discourses taught in mainstream education (Andrews, 2014b; Mirza & Reay, 2000c) and offer alternative representations of Black and minoritised communities (Howard & James, 2019). Thus, these supplementary schools provide a refuge from racist experiences in dominant society as well as a space where youth familiarise themselves with positive role models often absent from mainstream education (N. A. Wong, 2010).

Through a different lens, scholars look at supplementary schools primarily as spaces in which community languages and cultures are taught (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, Martin, et al., 2006). Their purposes are understood as encouraging a sense of belonging to one's ethnic community by nurturing one's heritage and ethnocultural identity (Szczepek Reed et al., 2020b). These schools are often established not primarily in response to processes in mainstream society but as intrinsically connected to and focused on the heritage community via the preservation of heritage languages and traditions (Lytra, 2011; Simon, 2018). The purposes described include initiating contacts with co-ethnic peers and learning the community's language, history, and traditions. Yet, supplementary schools have a variety of purposes. They seek to encourage pride and offer a safe space free from racism or stigmatisation; they also organise homework support and tutoring as well as language learning, and they are even described as tools for empowering the community as a whole (S. S. Kim & Zhou, 2006). Although there is little cross-referencing between the 'heritage schools' and 'spaces of resistance' strands of literature, the purposes described certainly overlap. A review of community-based educational spaces reveals that the notion of 'resistance' is often inherent to these learning spaces but can also take on a broader meaning (Baldridge et al., 2017). In organising education, these spaces offer opportunities to resist the inequality that is reinforced in mainstream contexts. Even though supplementary schools themselves are not free from reproducing inequality, they are described as successful in offering support and tools that 'help strengthen academic performance, and cultivate strong social, cultural, and political identities' (Baldridge et al., 2017, p. 396).

A Comprehensive Approach to Supplementary Schooling

Conceptualising purposes in community education

The drawback with forementioned focusses of research is that they seem unable to grasp the wide variety of purposes that the schools' initiators set. An educational perspective mirroring the purposes of mainstream education can help to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the different purposes. while addressing the often-implicit assumption that supplementary schools will have an impact on academic outcomes at the individual level. By structuring the purposes under

qualification, socialisation and individual development (Biesta, 2009) and understanding them as flexible and not as mutually exclusive, we can grasp the richness of these learning spaces (Authors, 2022). Examining the existing literature through this lens, we encompass the broad variety of purposes served.

First, regarding qualification purposes, the initiators of supplementary schools often respond to academic inequality in mainstream schools by organising academic encouragement via tutoring and homework support to increase success in mainstream education (Arthur, 2003). Additionally, they prepare pupils for additional certification, either a diploma recognised in the heritage country or a certificate of (heritage) language skills (Ee, 2017), and teach language skills and familiarise the pupils with different cultural settings. This aims to increase the students' intercultural competences, in the hope of broadening their opportunities on the labour market (Francis et al., 2009).

Second, in line with the purposes of socialisation in mainstream schools, which teach pupils to be members of mainstream society, supplementary schools pursue the maintenance of community languages and culture as well as the transmission of values and norms (Lytra, 2011). For instance, heritage language schools teach their community's mother tongue and culture to strengthen a sense of belonging by enabling communication with family members as well as fostering the heritage identity (Li, 2008). These purposes are focused on the ethnocultural group and enhance the feeling of connectedness.

Third, supplementary schools are also focus on the development of the pupils in their individual identity and identification processes. Schools support and/or further encourage the development of a positive heritage identity, a learners' identity and a positive attitude towards education (Archer et al., 2009; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015). They strive to counter negative experiences and offer safe spaces where pupils can develop a sense of pride in their heritage.

This threefold approach focusing on the educational nature of supplementary schools not only recognises the value of both the traditional 'resistance' versus 'heritage' perspectives but also incorporates them into a more comprehensive framework enabling scholars to interpret processes from different perspectives and be more attentive to the learning processes taking place in these schools. This educational framework encompasses 'resistance' to racism but also broadens it to include different purposes with other educational outcomes. Given the significant gap in the research on cases of supplementary schools in different settings characterised by different political contexts with persistent inequality, a broader framework such as this one is needed to review the schools' purposes. However, to fully understand the mechanisms at play, research must also probe deeper and seek to grasp the motives underlying the purposes.

Conceptualising the motives behind community education

As the purposes formulated by the initiators are rooted in their interpretations of the communities' educational desires, it is vital to investigate the motives that underlie them. By looking into why communities choose to set certain goals and not others, an understanding of minoritised communities' educational needs and specific situation in society emerges. However, up until now the motives underlying the described purposes have not received much attention. Simons (2018) offers an analytical perspective on supplementary schools and their motives by conducting interviews with different school leaders. We can broadly distinguish three main thematic categories.

The first motive is to respond to experiences of exclusion, racism or ongoing inequity in mainstream society and offer a space free from feelings of exclusion (Shirazi, 2019). The second is to connect the pupils to their heritage country by enabling communication and safeguarding the survival of the specific cultural character of the ethnic group. Supplementary schools teaching heritage languages are established in light of the risk of assimilation (Lytra & Martin, 2010b; Simon, 2018). Another reason frequently given for maintaining the heritage language is to enable contact with family members in the heritage country. In their research on Chinese schools in the UK, Archer and colleagues (2010) explored

the motives of pupils, parents and teachers for participating in supplementary schooling. Though pupils mostly described their motives as learning the language, parents and teachers described attendance to Chinese schools as an important tool for preserving their heritage identity and being able to build connections within the community, specifically by enabling contact with family members. The third motive relates to bridging the gaps experienced between mainstream schooling and the home culture. Parents and teachers describe bringing school culture closer to home culture as their reason for opting for supplementary schooling (Ahmed, 2012).

A gap is assumed between the school and home culture, and the supplementary schools seek to bridge it by offering a more holistic worldview.

Method

To learn how initiators describe the purposes of the supplementary schools and the motives that underly them, we specifically sought out a variety of communities self-organising education. In an initial phase of explorative fieldwork, we contacted community leaders and different umbrella organisations. Through contacts in the field and a further snowballing effect, we then sampled 12 after-hours supplementary schools in Flanders, the northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. The 12 cases were chosen to build a diverse sample allowing us to study the purposes and motives of schools from a variety of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. A diverse sample of schools enables us to develop the comprehensive view we argued for in our theoretical framework.

The following schools are included in our sample: a Russian, Thai, Chinese, Albanian, Syrian, pan-African, Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Italian schools and two Polish schools (see Table 5 for an overview). The sample was diverse in terms of location, with schools from different cities. Some of the schools were established two years ago while others exist for more than 20 years. Interestingly, in each case the initiators, our respondents, that originally set up the school are still also part of the current management of the school. Overall, the initiators contacted were very welcoming and all, except for one school, agreed to be interviewed. The schools are similar in their approach in that they organise classes after-hours, either in the weekend or on Wednesday afternoon. They all use pre-set timetables and are to a large extent depending on volunteers. Some schools are connected to the heritage country and receive funds from that government. Teachers are sometimes volunteers from the minority community and sometimes are sent from and employed by the heritage country to teach in the supplementary school. In our sample 10 out of 12 schools offer heritage language classes.

Most of the schools offer tutoring and homework support. Some schools organise dance classes, and some teach heritage geography and history. We spoke to the school leaders, who, in all these cases, also initiated those schools. Their role as initiators gives us specific insights into the pressing needs of the community as well as the responses formulated. Table 5 shows elemental characteristics. We use categories for the pupils' count and for how many years ago the schools were established. The initiators stated that the pupils' count varied a lot during Covid and found it hard to give exact numbers. Using the categories gives an indication of the schools' size. We use three categories for establishment too, as it would often take a few years from the first steps initiating the schools to organising the first classes. The categories (0-5 years, 5-10 years, and more than 10 years) give an indication of how established the schools are.

Table 5
Supplementary schools' characteristics

Organising Community	Gender of Initiator/respondent	Date of Establishment	Number of Pupils
Turkish	f	Less than 5 years	Between 20-50
Armenian	m	More than 10 years	Between 50-100
Pan-African	m	Less than 5 years	Between 20-50
Polish	f	Less than 5 years	More than 100
Polish	f	More than 10 years	Between 20-50
Syrian	m	Less than 5 years	More than 100
Chinese	f	More than 10 years	More than 100
Greek	f	More than 10 years	Between 20-50
Italian	m	More than 10 years	More than 100
Russian	f	Between 5 to 10 years	Between 50-100
Albanian	f	Less than 5 years	Less than 20
Thai	f	Between 5 to 10 years	Less than 20

To grasp the initiators' perception of the schools' purposes and their underlying motives, a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions was used (Silverman, 2020). Semi-structured interviews were chosen for their flexibility, and their open nature allows new and rich information to emerge (Yin 2003). Participants can use their own words, which is particularly important when taking an exploratory approach (Savin-Baden & Howell, 2013). The interviewer has an ethnic-majority background, by which all communities could be approached from a similar 'outsider' perspective. Although it is possible that, facing a majority-culture interviewer, the respondents felt the need to filter their answers, we found that this did not keep them from describing negative experiences in Flemish society.

An ethics approval was given by the university ethics committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences prior to contacting the organisations. The interviewees all gave their informed consent before taking part in the interviews as well as their permission to record.
The interviews took place between October 2020 and January 2021. Most were conducted in Dutch and some in English, depending on the preference of the interviewee, and lasted between 35 minutes and 75 minutes. Due to Covid-19-related restrictions, 10 of the 12 interviews were conducted online. To analyse the data, the interviews were transcribed verbatim and then coded using the Nvivo 13 software. To make sense of the data we first categorized the initiators' descriptions on the purposes pursued thematically, based upon our threefold approach discussed in the theoretical section. We distinguished the purposes (1) under qualification if they referred to academic achievement in the mainstream context, (2) under socialisation if the purposes were aimed at learning about the community and (3) under individual development when the purposes were aimed at supporting the individual pupil. For each of these strands we subsequently looked at the different approaches described by the initiators. More specifically, how do they support their pupils academically, socially, and individually.

While the existing literature concerning motives is scarce, we could distinguish three main motives: 'negative experiences in mainstream education', 'connection to heritage country' and 'seeking to bridge experienced gaps between the mainstream and heritage cultures'. Like the coding process of the purposes, we used these broad categories to structure our data in a first phase. Again, for more fine-grained coding, we relied on our data to learn about the specific motives. We derived seven

different subcategories; responding to ‘inequality’ and ‘exclusion’ for the negative experiences made in mainstream education; ‘communication with family members’, ‘facilitating return’ and ‘language preservation’ for connection to the heritage country; and bridging the gaps between ‘parents and children’ and between ‘mainstream and heritage community’. We subsequently looked at how the motives relate to the purposes pursued.

Results

Purposes

For each case, we look at which purposes the initiators put forward as crucial for the school. To understand how they viewed these purposes, the initiators were asked to reflect upon them in their own words. Their descriptions offer insights into the complexity of the purposes.

Qualification

The notion of ‘qualification’ was paramount in the interviews. The initiators saw their supplementary school primarily as a school, where children and young people come to learn, using the terms ‘school’, ‘classes’ and ‘teachers’. Thus, the supplementary schools as described by the initiators mirror mainstream education in terms of both purposes and terminology. Support in achieving mainstream educational success was discussed by the initiators as one of their key purposes. Regarding their understanding of ‘educational success for their pupils’, we found that their main concern was to compensate for learning gaps in mainstream education. They described the pursuit of success along three axes: (1) enhancing overall academic success by closing the achievement gap and improving the pupils’ test scores in mainstream education; (2) supporting the obtention of a heritage country diploma; and (3) increasing future economic opportunities.

Academic support

The initiators strongly emphasised the importance of helping pupils to achieve better test scores in school. To this end, they organise homework support or tutoring programs, as explained in the following example, where the Armenian school set up a team of teachers to teach support classes in Dutch, French and mathematics:

> R: […] When many children are bad at maths – when they are bad at it in their regular Belgian schools – then we have special teachers who can help them.
> I: Ah, yes? And they help…
> R: With the Dutch language, French language, maths… and then the teacher will help them. We have special teachers to help the children.
> I: To tutor?
> R: Yes!
> *(Armenian school)*

The pan-African school described an achievement gap, with pupils with an African heritage consistently underachieving compared to their white peers. The school initiator stressed the school’s purposes as closing that gap by offering homework support:

> R: […] So we try to close that gap. Just by offering homework support, by tutoring. And we tried to tutor online, on Zoom, to close the gap where possible.
> *(Pan-African school)*

The initiator of the Turkish school also argued that enhancing academic success in mainstream education was one of their core tasks. She emphasised the crucial role of parental participation in

the pupils' academic betterment; as a result, the school offers homework support to pupils and the staff regularly discuss the (potential) progress made with the parents. The Turkish school's initiator responded to these challenges by actively involving the parents and teaching them how to support their children.

Heritage country diploma

According to some of the initiators, the purpose was to help pupils obtain a diploma from the heritage country. For the Polish school's initiator, this goal is specifically aimed at easing the return to the heritage country. The Greek school's initiator emphasised the economic value of the diploma, presuming that a recognised diploma conforming to European norms would be an asset on the pupils' resumes:

> R: [...] So and then you also have secondary school and secondary school is actually mainly the preparation of a recognised diploma from the Ministry of Education in connection with the language. [...] which is also recognised by the whole of Europe, that is, for example to get your B1, B2, C1, C2 and so on. So, we actually prepare the students for that. [...] Young people are also encouraged to enrich their CV with a certificate or diploma in language skills and to take the exam.
> *(Greek school)*

Economic opportunity

In addition to academic success, some schools viewed their purpose as improving the pupils' economic opportunities. This can take on different meanings depending on the communities' societal situation. Some initiators stressed the value of a heritage language on the labour market in Belgium or internationally. The language taught was understood as an asset, for instance in the case of the Chinese school.

> I: How do you see the mission of the weekend school? Why is the weekend school so important?
> L: [...] it gives more opportunities. If you later find work in the trading business in Belgium, if you know the Chinese language, if you can write Chinese [...] extra chance to give later good, good career.
> *(Chinese School)*

Similar explanations were given by the Greek and Italian schools. It was explicitly assumed that knowledge of the Greek, Italian and Chinese languages would benefit the pupils in their future professional careers. Interestingly, this point was not made by the other communities.
While the initiator of the pan-African school also saw enhancing the pupils' economic opportunities as a key purpose, his interpretation was very different. He did not describe the acquired knowledge as an asset but rather as a tool for countering the narrative of inequality that the pupils have been exposed to in mainstream society. Economic opportunity is understood as changing the pupils' perception of what they are capable of and which opportunities present themselves to them:

> R: Suppose you don't want to do anything with your diploma after your studies, that's your choice, but it must be your choice. You must be able to make the choice of 'I want to do that job now or I don't want to do it' and it shouldn't be like 'no, society says you have to become a worker so to speak', that you choose, 'no, actually for me personally I'd rather choose [to be] a worker'. So that's why it's really kind of important that we support them so that they themselves have the freedom to make that choice.
> *(Pan-African School)*

The result that he hoped to achieve was that the pupils would look for a job, see plenty of possibilities and not limit themselves to certain jobs. He sought to enhance economic opportunities by changing the pupils' mindsets.

Socialisation

Purposes related to socialisation were often emphasised by the initiators. We identified language learning and learning about the heritage culture as the main purposes.

Language

Various initiators painted 'learning the heritage language' as central to the supplementary school. This can be interpreted from a 'qualification' perspective, as seen above, but also from a 'socialisation' perspective. Learning the language was presented as a gateway for pupils to understand their heritage.

The initiator of the Turkish community school was an exception. She described her school's main purpose as academic betterment, and the school does not offer Turkish language classes but teaches only in Dutch, which opens the classes for pupils of all heritages. This also means that the school seeks volunteers from diverse backgrounds and even discourages the pupils from speaking Turkish. The hope is to enhance the pupils' Dutch-language skills, assuming it will help them in their mainstream schools. Only when an explanation in Turkish would help the pupils understand complex tasks do the teachers speak Turkish.

Cultural Elements

When discussing the importance of teaching the heritage language, several initiators mentioned teaching pupils about the heritage culture and traditions as key purposes. Culture is often taught from an almost outsider perspective as the pupils are taught what being part of the heritage group is supposed to mean. For example, they learn dances and songs that children in the heritage country would not know, as described in the following example:

> A: I can say that maybe the children that follow our school or lessons, from some perspective, [they] know more than the children in Poland. I don't want to say that we push but we put a little bit of pressure on topics, for instance in our school we also have dance lessons, folk dancing, and if you just compare our children, we dance the traditional dance and this music. Children in Poland in some school will never hear it or dance it.
> *(Polish school)*

Learning about cultural heritage is presented with an element of show. The children perform the dances that they have learned for their parents, which often involves the waving of the heritage country's flag.

Individual Development

Individual development was a major purpose for many of the initiators. Distinct from socialisation, this purpose focuses on the pupils as individuals, and initiators aimed to strengthen their identity. The initiators identified two components: nourishing pride and supporting multiple identities. They were conscious of the challenges that the pupils are confronted with when negotiating their heritage identities in mainstream society. The purposes concerned supporting the pupils in balancing these different aspects in the construction of their identity.

Nourishing pride

As the quotes below illustrate, 'nourishing pride' or 'being proud' of what makes the pupils 'different' from the majority in the white Flemish society and education system was often a response aiming to counter negative self-images related to their ethnocultural background. We will return to this when exploring the underlying motives, but it is relevant to show here how nourishing pride is an explicit purpose put forward by several initiators.

> […] we try to show them are special because they can speak two languages, which is not a normal situation. They are special and they don't need to be shy, they don't need to cover their part of Polish.
> *(Polish school)*

In organising events to discuss hair care and the pupils' attitude towards their hair, acknowledging their complex relationship with their visibility and appearance as 'different' from the white majority group in society, the pan-African school hopes to nourish a sense of pride:

> R: I think, um, one of the most successful events that we have organised is the 'Afro' event, where we just – from the hair part – just… Yes, that is part of our identity anyway. Further we want to look at 'what is the impact on our lives?' And then we look at the problems. For example, many young ladies have very negative connotations with their hair, don't like their hair for some reason, are very insecure about their hair, don't know what to do with it.
> I: Uh-hm.
> R: By organising an event like that and giving tips and tricks can 'you can take care of it so, so, so', you kind of give a, um, um, how do you say that? A new power to say of 'ah, okay, if I do this and this my hair is – in quotes – "prettier"'. Trying to give them that, along with 'why don't you like your hair? How come?' and then they get the impression of 'ah well, actually it's not true at all how I think', you renew their self-confidence and I think that's just very important.
> *(Pan-African school)*

Multiple Identities

A second dimension of the notion of individual development that various initiators referred to is constructing a heritage and a Flemish identity that are not mutually exclusive. They emphasised the importance, for the pupils, of knowing their heritage to know themselves. In the following excerpt, the Albanian school initiator argues that pupils must know the 'routes' that they have travelled to continue their life:

> A: What for your origin and so on, what kind of earth did I grow or come from and origin is very important. You have to know your route, admit to yourself where you came from in order to move on in life. And you may also be sad about that… and be proud about that.
> *(Albanian school)*

The initiator's personal experience of never feeling fully accepted as a Belgian made it so important to her that the Albanian school support youth in the construction of their identities. Knowledge of the heritage country was overall understood as crucial to that process by the interviewees.

Motives

For a deeper understanding of why initiators point to the purposes above, the underlying motives must be studied. In our interviews, we took a closer look at the initiators' desires, which underly

the purposes and their need to emphasise some of them. As can be observed in the examples above and in line with the expectations arising from the existing literature (Andrews, 2014b; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002), the purposes described by the initiators are often a response to experiences in mainstream society. We derived three different themes in the motives underlying the various purposes. The first is directly related to mainstream society and responds to the experiences had there. The second centres around the idea of connectedness to the heritage country. The third aims to bridge the gaps perceived by the initiators between the youth and their parents on the one hand, and between the mainstream and heritage culture on the other hand.

We found that similar motives can lead to a variety of purposes and that the same purpose can have different motives as its cause for different communities. The table below shows how the purposes, in the columns, correspond to the most important underlying motives, in the rows. The needs experienced by the initiators are met with different purposes within the same school and across schools. For example, the need to counter inequality is met by formulating purposes individually as well as academically. The desire to bridge the gaps perceived between parents and their children is reflected in all three categorizations of purposes. In other words, in organising supplementary schooling, the initiators found a variety of solutions to the communities' needs and desires. This indicates that solely looking at the purposes is insufficient to fully comprehend the mechanisms at play in supplementary schooling. Furthermore, the table shows that schools serve a variety of purposes, transcending the fragmentation found in the current state of the art.

Table 5
Supplementary schools' characteristics

		Purposes						
		Individual Development		**Socialisation**		**Qualification**		
Motives		Multiple identities	Pride	Cultural elements	Language	Economic opportunity	Diploma	Academic support
Mainstream	Inequality		x			x		x
	Exclusion	x	x		x			
Heritage Country	Return			x	x		x	
	Communication			x	x			
	Preservation	x	x	x	x			
'Bridging'	Parents-children	x		x	x			x
	Heritage-mainstream culture							x

Mainstream society: responding to inequality and exclusion

The initiators explained that one of their motives for establishing the supplementary school was to respond to experiences in mainstream society. Participants carefully chose their words but would sometimes reflect on their personal experiences of exclusion or racism to highlight the importance of the supplementary school or refer to educational inequality and differential treatment based on the pupils' heritage. In the example below, the initiator shares her view on why pupils from immigrant

backgrounds are referred to technical and vocational tracks more often than ethnic-majority children:

> We also notice that there is a very high chance to repeat a year or to be sent on to a different kind of education, but we notice very often that there are children who are sent straight to BSO education [the practical track]. Again, I don't necessarily think there's a distinction in our different types of education, but it's obviously very bad to start putting that stamp on the child right away. Purely because they assume you will do better there. They try to come up with that and play devil's advocate maybe, but we don't see it that way. It's really like standing up for, no there is indeed an authority that stands behind them and certainly believes in them. These children have more to offer.
> *(Turkish school)*

The interviewee chose her words carefully and did not name specific communities. Yet, acknowledging that minoritised pupils are referred to vocational tracks more often than their white peers and that the supplementary school she initiated hosts pupils from a Turkish background almost exclusively and puts the emphasis on academic betterment shows that she is very conscious of the academic challenges that the pupils face. The school responds to inequality by enhancing the pupils' academic opportunities via tutoring and homework support.

In other instances, participants referred to experiences of racism or exclusion in mainstream society – either their own or those of the children in their schools. These experiences were highlighted in the interviews as reasons for initiating the schools, specifically with regards to nourishing pride and the development of multiple identities. In the following example, an interviewee describes the experience of Belgian youth with Moroccan heritage, who feel a sense of exclusion in Belgium as well as when they visit Morocco:

> And when they go to Morocco. They are also Moroccan. They are Moroccan, but they don't speak Arabic or Moroccan languages. Therefore, they too... They really don't feel at home. There and here. Therefore, those children should really learn Dutch and should also learn the [...] mother tongue, also to know... to communicate with his homeland.
> *(Syrian school)*

In this context, learning to speak and write Arabic is understood as combatting a sense of exclusion and as a vehicle to develop multiple identities and even counter feelings of inferiority. The example above also shows that the Syrian school hosts pupils from a variety of backgrounds. Syrian, Moroccan but also Afghan and Sudanese pupils attend the weekly classes. This is not uncommon in the schools in our sample: many supplementary schools host pupils from diverse backgrounds. Although the pupils' personal experiences are different, they seem to be united in their shared needs and desires, to which the school seeks to respond.

The pupils can share experiences, and the initiators also hope to undo feelings of shame and inadequacy by teaching the children to be proud of their heritage. Multilingualism was often mentioned in this context. Specifically, the school initiators explained that the pupils are often confronted with negative stereotypes regarding their heritage language and discouraged from speaking their mother tongue, even at home. Meanwhile, the school initiators themselves often stated their desire for the pupils to be proud of their multilingualism. This tension between the pride of being bilingual and the mainstream schools' rejection of this bilingualism was a recurrent theme throughout the interviews.

Connection to the heritage country

In the interviews, the need for preservation often appeared as a crucial motive for teaching the heritage language. For some initiators, this desire to preserve the heritage language arose from a more general wish to ensure ethnocultural and linguistic continuity; for others, it was rooted in a very specific context

and a history of explicit and state-led marginalisation or suppression in which language conservation is a reaction against the risk of assimilation. Both the Albanian and Armenian communities stressed the importance of learning about the heritage language and culture specifically because of the situation in the heritage country. With reference to the history of war in their heritage countries, keeping the language alive as immigrants in Belgium was understood as a way to show respect for the battles fought to maintain the heritage language. As shown in the following excerpt, the ancestors' fight for the language is used as a motive for the pupils to learn the Albanian language:

> They know that also in history… that also it has to do with history and what our ancestors have done to maintain language. We have huge… a lot of great movies, to see how hard they fought to protect a language. You know very well, not so long ago, very many people did not have possibility of education. A lot of people, even in time of today are illiterate. […] Language is never bad.
> *(Albanian school)*

For other communities, the importance of learning the language was based on more practical considerations. The first-generation immigrants that we interviewed, such as the initiators of the Syrian and the Polish school, linked the reasons for acquiring a good knowledge of the language to the prospect of returning to the heritage country:

> Each person does not guarantee to stay here forever. Or yes… uh, maybe after a few years… nobody knows, if the parents want to return to their homeland. The kids are going to decide that to go with them, some kids won't, but if the kids decide to go with them, they really need to know Arabic.
> *(Syrian school)*

To facilitate a possible return to the heritage country and schooling in the heritage country, a good command of the language is vital. Some supplementary schools, such as the Polish school, even teach the same courses as the heritage country to enable a smooth return.
Furthermore, across communities, initiators stressed the need to speak the heritage language to communicate with family members on social media or when visiting the home country, as in the following example, in which knowledge of the Thai language is deemed a prerequisite for connecting to family in Thailand:

> […] and especially when we go back to Thailand even on holiday, you know...
> And I see all day a lot of my family, no problem, my kids speaks perfect Thai but just know maybe he speaks more Dutch with me. We speak, you know, like in daily life language. When he goes to Thailand, after a few days, he picks it up very quickly. And he could go, when he was baby, he could stay with my sister, he could stay with my parent no problem at all.
> *(Thai school)*

'Bridging' the perceived gaps between mainstream and community cultures

The schools' initiators described their school's function as 'building bridges' and highlighted two components. First, they intend to bridge the gap between the community to which they tailor their education and mainstream society, as in the example below:

> Because our mission is simply: we want to bring Albania, Albanians closer to Belgium.
> *(Albanian school)*

This suggests that the initiators perceive a gap between the heritage community and the mainstream Flemish community, as well as between the generations of the schools' pupils and their parents. The initiators further see themselves as dedicated to bridging those gaps and do so in various ways. They go out and tidy the streets with the pupils to leave a positive impression on the

neighbourhood, they organise classes to discuss the differences in customs and how to handle them or they contact teachers in the Flemish schools to explain a particular home situation.

Several of the interviewees interpreted their role as one of mediation between the values transmitted at home or traditionally within the community and the values prevalent in Flemish society. One of the subjects discussed by the initiators was how to help the pupils to cope with cultural and religious diversity, both on the street and in the mainstream classroom. In other situations, the initiators seek a middle ground between parental expectations and Flemish customs. For example, several interviewees noted that parents tend to find the qualification standards of Flemish schools insufficiently high. Compared to the country of origin the parents find the Flemish schools too easy. According to the initiators, their role is to explain that the Flemish didactics are indeed different but can produce good results.

Second, another 'bridging function' that came to light is that between parents and pupils. The schools' initiators perceived a significant generational gap between pupils and their parents and looked for ways to bridge this gap. Both learning the language and gaining a cultural understanding transcends the purposes described earlier and is understood as pivotal in strengthening the relationship between the parents and children.

In the following example, the Chinese community school's initiator argues that the language is a prerequisite to facilitate communication between parents and children, but cultural knowledge is also deemed important to understand the parents' reasoning:

> If you know Chinese language then you can then better communication with your parents. Then you can understand better your parents' opinion. So good communication and with understanding… and then you can understand more Chinese culture, thinking style, everything. (…)maybe the Chinese parents have different decision but you understand more. *(Chinese school)*

In the following quote from the Polish school, the interviewee describes the importance of learning the Polish language and Polish mathematical jargon to enable parental involvement in schoolwork:

> If they want to get help. They get help from their Polish parents, but they don't understand what the parents say about math or something else. So that terminology they get from [the Polish] school, the parents can reuse it at home when explaining... *(Polish school)*

Lastly, in an example from the Thai school, Thai language skills are understood to enable the children's emotional availability for their parents:

> I also know a lot of people who don't speak Thai to their kids. They speak Dutch, broken Dutch and broken English and in the end, you know, when the kids grow up like 9, 10 years ago they not listen to mama anymore and I feel so sad about that. *(Thai community)*

Discussion

In our problem statement we argued that the current understanding of supplementary schools' purposes is limited and fragmented. We set out to go beyond the fragmentation in the current state of the literature of resistance or heritage language transmission by taking a more comprehensive approach. This enables us to grasp the diversity of ways in which the school leaders formulate purposes and which motives underly these purposes. Our results indicate that the initiators position themselves and their schools at the crossroads between the communities' educational desires, on the one hand, and the challenges that their youth face in mainstream education, on the other hand. They navigate the community's and mainstream society's expectations in versatile ways. A comprehensive approach reveals the variety and complexity of purposes, and the underlying motives shed light on their views of the communities' educational needs as minoritised communities. An educational frame recognizes the educational character of the supplementary schools which aim to mirror mainstream schools, even using the same scripts.

Our analysis paints a more multifaceted picture of these purposes than previously described in the literature. For example, by teaching the language, the supplementary schools pursued a variety of goals to support their youth. Teaching the heritage language can be understood as relating to socialisation. In some schools, such as the Chinese and Greek, however, the knowledge of the heritage language was seen as an asset on the job market and can thus be associated with qualification. For other initiators, such as the one from the Syrian school, knowledge of the language was understood to nourish pride and can thus be connected to individual development. These differences or nuances relate primarily to the specific position of the minorities in broader society. Further research into specific communities and their situations, which the framework of the present paper did not allow, would add greatly to an even more nuanced understanding of the communities' educational needs.

The motives underlying the described purposes are an important gateway to understanding the educational reality of minoritised communities. Differences in motives for learning the language, for example, are not only of importance when seeking to understand the mechanisms underlying supplementary schooling but also likely affect the pupils' and parents' attitudes in mainstream education. Those communities oriented towards a possible return to the heritage country might interact with mainstream education in a different way than communities that see their future in Belgium and want to learn the heritage language to facilitate communication with family members. Communities with a history of suppression and resistance to assimilation are likely to emphasise the importance of speaking their language in different ways. The reasons behind their emigration from the heritage country (e.g. war or economic reasons) affect how the communities relate to the host country (van Hear, 2010) and how they motivate the purposes of the supplementary schools.

Previous literature assumed that supplementary schools respond to the gaps experienced in mainstream education (Andrews, 2014b; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002). Our findings indicate that they not only address these gaps but also exist within and respond to the complex social situation in which they are embedded. Not only are they often located within the mainstream classrooms, which they borrow 'after hours' (Tsolidis & Kostogriz, 2008), but they also continuously negotiate the expectations of mainstream education. The schools sought to formulate responses to negative experiences in mainstream society, the need for connection with the heritage country as well as the urge to successfully 'integrate' in Flemish society. They are resourceful in the ways they respond to the educational needs of contemporary minoritised youth. These findings indicate that to encompass the richness of these spaces, we must go beyond the dichotomy of resistance and preservation found in the existing literature.

Moreover, whereas supplementary schools are often described as places of resistance where the dominant mainstream narratives are displaced (Andrews, 2016; Mirza & Reay, 2000c), the supplementary schools in our sample were reluctant to offer alternative norms. Although they did transmit alternative narratives, they did not seek to replace or displace the mainstream ones but rather add to them. The initiators explained that the supplementary schools reflect on and complement what

the pupils learn in their mainstream schools. For example, the Polish school elaborately discusses the meaning of national holidays in Belgium and Flanders and subsequently complements those histories with Polish history. In their descriptions of the workings of the schools, the interviewees were very careful not to be 'oppositional' to Flemish mainstream culture and repeatedly underlined their desire to be well-functioning members of Flemish society. Even when describing instances of racism, enduring inequality, or exclusion, they did not criticise Flemish society but rather diminished those negative experiences and tried to find ways to respond to them within the supplementary school. The desire was to fit in, even when this means not speaking the heritage language, as was the case with the Turkish school, which discouraged the pupils from speaking Turkish in the supplementary school to support academic success in their mainstream school.

Moreover, as the initiators explicitly shy away from presenting their mission as resistance and rather seem to focus on compensating for the inequality experienced in mainstream society, this could raise new issues. For example, by applying these types of strategies the schools might also inadvertently help to maintain the reproduction of inequality instead of tackling it in the long run (Baldridge et al., 2017). Of course, given the structural nature of these enduring inequalities it is arguably an almost impossible task for these often-voluntary supplementary school initiatives to tackle these challenges. The schools do provide various forms of support to their pupils and such empowering individual pupils might enable betterment for the whole community (Kim & Zhou, 2006). The initiators' reluctance to come across as oppositional should also be understood specifically in the Flemish political context, which has a much more assimilative approach towards minoritised communities than the UK or the US, which have a more multicultural approach. Moreover, the interviews were done by the first author of this paper – a white Flemish native woman – which might also affect the ways initiators frame their answers and might lead them to avoid delving too deep into issues of racism from white Flemish people to minoritised youth.

These findings open avenues for further research. First, research focusing on the workings of the supplementary schools is necessary as it will expand our knowledge of how the purposes are translated into classroom interactions. Having studied the purposes of supplementary schools and the motives underlying them in the current paper, it is crucial to learn how the pupils experience learning in these schools and what they take away from them. Second, our knowledge of the interaction between mainstream and supplementary schools remains limited. Although an estimated 20–25% of minoritised youth attend a supplementary school while growing up ((estimated 20-25% Maylor et al., 2010), we know very little about how the pupils manage to navigate various educational settings. Early research seems to indicate that differential teaching attitudes and expectations affect the perception of these pupils in the mainstream school (McPake & Powney, 1998). Expanding our understanding of how attending supplementary schools relates to behaviour and perception in mainstream schools could offer important insights, which are especially valuable when seeking ways to disrupt ongoing inequality. And third, the initiators describe their efforts as agents for the community in presenting them outwards. This suggests a different way to confront the deficit views the communities find themselves confronted with. Further research could look further into the effects of community education both on the individual pupils and the whole community. How do the pursued purposes affect the pupils in their mainstream schools? And what is the role of the supplementary schools in the strive for equality for the whole community?

Our findings in this study indicate that supplementary schools offer a richness of support to minoritised youth. Yet, they tend to exist at the margins of mainstream society (Fishman, 2001; J. S. Lee & Wright, 2014b), which hinders the use of these spaces as a resource and does not (fully) recognise the meaning and value they have. Expanding our knowledge of supplementary schools can allow us to involve them more commonly in the support of minoritised youths' educational trajectories.

The authors declare that this project was approved by the ethics committee of the social sciences department of the Antwerp University

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4. Minoritized Pupils' Reflections on their Student-Teacher Relationship in Mainstream and Supplementary Schools

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This paper is currently under review.

Abstract

This study addresses the importance of the student-teacher relationship for academic achievement, social adjustment, and overall well-being, specifically focusing on the experiences of students with migration backgrounds. While existing research has acknowledged the negative perceptions of these students in their relationships with teachers, there is a gap in the literature regarding primary school pupils' perspectives and the influence of attending supplementary schools. To fill this gap, we conducted in-depth interviews with 29 minoritized primary school pupils in Flanders who attended both mainstream and supplementary schools.

The study explores the academic and affective dimensions of the student-teacher relationship and investigates the perceptions of the minoritized pupils. The findings highlight the differences and commonalities in the student-teacher relationship experiences across both contexts. Implications of the study include the need to address the low representation of teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds, promote inclusivity in the teaching profession, and provide solutions to improve the relationship between minoritized students and their teachers.

Introduction

The student-teacher relationship has long been recognized as a crucial factor influencing students' academic achievement, social adjustment, and overall well-being (Bosman et al., 2018; Roorda et al., 2011; Suldo et al., 2009). However, existing research has predominantly focused on the general aspects of student-teacher relationship, overlooking the specific experiences of students with migration backgrounds while they often perceive their relationships with teachers as more negative. This low-quality student-teacher relationship may be attributed to the increasing diversity of classrooms juxtaposed with the low representation of teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds (Nouwen & Clycq, 2019). Research in the US indicates that ethnic congruence between students and teachers positively impacts various educational, social, and personal outcomes and the incongruence between teachers' and students' ethnic backgrounds has been posited to adversely impact the student-teacher relationship (Redding, 2019; Thijs et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, several unanswered questions remain in the current context. For instance, the existing literature on student-teacher relationship predominantly focuses on the perspectives of teachers or secondary school students. While secondary school students have several teachers throughout the day, primary school pupils usually spend their school days with one classroom teacher which makes the student-teacher relationship is especially intensive. Yet, there is little research exploring the perspectives of minoritized pupils in primary schools on their student teacher relationship. Furthermore, a significant part of minoritized children (attend supplementary schools in the weekend in addition to their mainstream schools. Supplementary schools are usually organized by volunteers in minoritized communities, they often (not always) teach heritage languages and they mirror mainstream schools in the ways they are structured and make use of curricula and timetables (Simon, 2018; Steenwegen et al., 2022). In these schools the mainstream ethnic hegemony is displaced, and teachers have minoritized backgrounds, like their pupils (Mirza & Reay, 2000a). There has been no research, to

our knowledge, investigating how minoritized pupils perceive the relationship to their teachers while navigating from a mainstream to a community educational school context.

To address these gaps, this study focuses on the views of minoritized primary school pupils in Flanders who attend supplementary schools in their communities in addition to their mainstream schools. In Flanders, the Northern Dutch speaking part of Belgium, a small range of the teachers in mainstream schools has an ethnic minority background (Overheid, 2021) and teachers from majority backgrounds express a lack of preparedness in building strong relationships with students from ethnic minority backgrounds (Benoliel & Berkovich, 2020). Meanwhile, research in Flanders has shown that minoritized students experience the relationship to their teachers more negative overall, which is especially deplorable since a strong student-teacher relationship can limit the effects of stereotype threat on the academic self-concept of students (Nouwen & Clycq, 2019). Simultaneously, almost half of minoritized pupils attend supplementary schooling in which they share their ethnic minority background with their teachers, making it an interesting context from which to study the student teacher relationships in different educational contexts from minoritized children's perspectives.

In our approach we consider both the academic dimension and the affective dimension of the student-teacher relationship. To ensure a comprehensive understanding of this relationship, we consider insights from two different bodies of literature. First, we build on social psychology research on the affective aspects of student-teacher relationships and explore the concepts of emotional bonding and security (Koomen & Jellesma, 2015). Furthermore, we draw on educational research that emphasises academic aspects of student-teacher relationship and focus on the academic support and affirmation that pupils receive from their teachers (Agirdag, van Houtte, et al., 2012; Reddy et al., 2003). Through in-depth interviews with 29 minoritized pupils between the age 9 and 12, attending both mainstream and supplementary schools, the study explores the perceptions of minoritized students regarding supportive aspects of student-teacher relationship and investigates the role their minority background in these relationships. The findings shed light on the commonalities and differences in student-teacher relationship experiences across both contexts. This paper provides an overview of supplementary schooling, clarifies the conceptualization of student-teacher relationship, presents the interview findings from elementary school pupils, and concludes with key insights for further research and recommendations for policymakers.

Student-teacher relationship: the affective and academic dimension

Many studies have found beneficial effects of positive student-teacher relationships on students' educational trajectories. A strong student-teacher relationship benefits pupils' self-esteem (Agirdag, van Houtte, et al., 2012), well-being (Suldo et al., 2009), mental health (Joyce & Early, 2014), goal orientation (Thijs & Fleischmann, 2015), sense of belonging (D'hondt et al., 2015; Gummadam et al., 2016) and overall engagement and achievement (Bosman et al., 2018; Davis, 2003; Klem & Connell, 2004; Roorda et al., 2011). Student-teacher relationship has long been the subject of research in educational and psychological studies, and in the current study, we draw on insights from both bodies of literature. Previous research has highlighted that for minoritized pupils the student-teacher relationship is under stress affectively, with pupils indicating that they feel treated unfairly, and academically, with minoritized pupils achieving less than their majority peers. Therefore, we understand the student-teacher relationship as two-dimensional, with an affective and an academic dimension. Within these two dimensions, we distinguish four features that describe the quality of student-teacher relationship from the students' perspective and that have been shown to be under duress for minoritized pupils: (1) closeness and emotional support; (2) conflict and negative experiences, both related to the affective dimension; and (3) academic support and (4) teacher affirmation, both related to the academic dimension of teacher support.

Affective dimension

Closely aligned with the research in the field of psychology, which examines student-

teacher relationship from the students' perspective (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Charki et al., 2022; Hamre & Pianta, 2006; Koomen & Jellesma, 2015; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2012), we identified two characteristics that are crucial for the affective dimension of student-teacher relationship: closeness and emotional support, and negative experiences and conflict. First, closeness refers to how emotionally available the student perceives the teacher to be. Students with a migration background have lower trust in their teachers than their majority counterparts (McGrath & Van Bergen, 2015). Therefore, we explicitly included emotional support to reflect the student's confidence level in receiving the teacher's emotional support when needed (Ruzek et al., 2016). Negative experiences refer to how the teacher responds to pupils' negative experiences in the school context. Negative experiences also represent the student's concern that the teacher is not emotionally available or responsive. Finally, conflict signifies the ability to overcome conflict in the relationship. In other words, conflicts between pupils and teachers need not negatively impact the relationship (Zee et al., 2017).

Academic dimension

As argued, we include an academic dimension in addition to the affective component. In the academic dimension, we consider two main features: the first is the academic support students receive from their teachers. This comprises all the help they receive in their academic progression. Academic support refers to the way in which the student perceives the teacher as available to offer support in their work. For example, do they perceive the teacher as approachable when they need help completing their tasks? Teacher affirmation, or the way the pupil feels validated as a learner and whether they feel academically challenged by the teacher, also affects student-teacher relationship (Reddy et al., 2003). This component plays into teachers' implicit attitudes that shape their classroom practices (Agirdag, van Houtte, et al., 2012; Denessen et al., 2020, 2022; Thijs et al., 2012). We do not test teachers' implicit attitudes but rely on pupils' perceptions of student-teacher relationship. Examining students' perceptions of their relationship with their teachers in both mainstream and supplementary schools, including an affective and academic dimension, will provide a well-rounded portrayal of which aspects of student-teacher relationship are vital for minoritised pupils.

The specificity of supplementary schooling in relation to mainstream schools

Minoritised communities have a long tradition of organising so-called 'community education' or 'self-organised schooling'. In this way, they meet their youth's educational needs and the educational aspirations and goals of community members, such as the parents of the young people. Community education comes in various formats, from informal learning sessions to full-time substitute schooling (Steenwegen et al., 2022). However, most of these grassroots initiatives take place after regular school hours or on weekends, supplementing what students are taught in their mainstream schools or providing a curriculum unavailable there. The needs they seek to meet are diverse, ranging from academic support in the form of tutoring and learning one's own heritage language and culture to offering a safe space from social stigma and racism ((Baldridge et al., 2017; Burman & Miles, 2018; Mirza & Reay, 2000a).

Two crucial mechanisms drive the establishment of supplementary schools: the high educational expectations often prevalent in minoritised communities and the awareness of parents and key stakeholders that minoritised youth face structural inequalities that hinder their academic progress (Salikutluk, 2016). These schools mostly rely on volunteers for teaching and organising, as well as on the students' parents, who are typically actively involved. Although a large proportion of minoritised youth – 25% of research in the UK (Maylor et al., 2013e) and 45% in Flanders (Coudenys et al., under review) – attend a supplementary school at some point in their educational trajectories, the educational processes that take place in these schools remain somewhat mysterious.

Research on community-organised schools remains limited. Although students tend to have more positive attitudes towards their supplementary schools than their mainstream schools, the reasons for this remain unclear (Strand, 2007). When students in supplementary schools are interviewed, they

indicate that they attend the school because it gives them an opportunity to meet up with peers, because they like to learn about their heritage or because they believe that attendance will support them in their mainstream school's academic trajectories (Francis et al., 2009; Hall, Ozerk, et al., 2002; Martin et al., 2006; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015).

The (un)importance of ethnic matching in student-teacher relations

What makes these spaces particularly interesting in terms of pupils' perceptions of student-teacher relationship is that, unlike teachers in mainstream schools, teachers in supplementary schools usually share a migration or language background with their students. Ethnic incongruence in mainstream schooling is widespread, and research in Flanders has shown that teachers often have negative stereotypes about and lower expectations of ethnic minority pupils (Clycq et al., 2014b). One hypothesis suggests that the gap in the quality of student-teacher relationship between minority and majority students may be due to ethnic incongruence in the relationship (Charki et al., 2022; Spilt et al., 2012). Quantitative studies in mainstream education have found positive effects when teachers' ethnicity matches that of their students (Redding, 2019). However, effects vary across minority groups, with Black students appearing to benefit most from having Black teachers. In contrast, this effect is more modest (or nonexistent) for Latinx students in the United States.

As for the ethnic matching hypothesis, recent research on full-time Islamic schools in the Netherlands found no significant differences in students' perceptions of their relationship with their Islamic background or with teachers from the majority population, when all these teachers worked in an Islamic school. An exploratory approach is appropriate to increase our understanding of which elements of student-teacher relationship are at the core of minority students' perceptions of student-teacher relationship in each context.

Current study

We conducted interviews to explore the perceptions of minoritised primary school students about their student-teacher relationship both in their mainstream school and in their supplementary school. We selected two supplementary schools in Antwerp, an urban and highly diverse city in Flanders, Belgium. The city's diversity is reflected in its student population but not its teachers. Less than 5% of teachers in Flanders have a migration background, and an even smaller percentage have a non-Western background. This situation is quite different from community schools, where all teachers have ethnically diverse backgrounds, as do their students. The two cases we selected are diverse supplementary schools, where the students do not necessarily have the same ethnicity as their teachers. However, they share a migration background and linguistic and cultural commonalities that are not prevalent in mainstream schools.

Russian language school

The Russian language school is an established school in Antwerp founded about 25 years ago. The school has approximately 150 pupils aged between 3 and 14. The students and teachers have various ethnic backgrounds but share the same Russian language heritage. The pupils identify as Ukrainian, Russian, Azerbaijani, Chechen, Belarusian and Uzbekistani. Most teachers are first-generation migrants, while the students are mostly second-generation (with some exceptions). Most of the students and teachers identify as Catholic, and a minority of the students are Muslim. Classes are held every Saturday morning between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. Classes include the Russian language, history, geography, and classes on cultural differences. Volunteers also offer dance lessons, arts and crafts and music classes in the afternoon.

Arabic language school

Syrian refugees first organised the Arabic language in 2015 to help Syrian children keep up

their Arabic language skills to facilitate a return to Syria. However, over time, more and more students from different backgrounds came to the school, and the purpose changed to learning and maintaining the Arabic language. Currently, the school hosts around 150 children. The students are of Syrian, Moroccan, Yemeni and Somalian backgrounds. Half of the students are first-generation migrants who came to Flanders from Syria. The other students are primarily third-generation migrants. Almost all pupils are Muslims, with a few exceptions. The school offers language classes for beginners and more advanced levels, homework support from volunteers and arts and crafts for young children.

Method

We conducted 13 open-ended (group) interviews with a total of 29 pupils. The pupils were free to decide to come to the interview alone or in pairs or in groups of three. The fact that students could decide whether and in which constellation they wanted to participate was essential to ensure that they would feel comfortable. We used open-ended interviews led by a topic list. The topics included academic and affective elements of the relationship to their teachers. Rather than following a strictly structured interview questionnaire we introduced the different thematic topics organically in the conversations while making sure all themes were addressed. Such a flexible approach proved best when working with young children to engage their nuanced perceptions. An exploratory qualitative approach is the most inclusive when working with minoritised pupils with different levels of Dutch language (reading) skills. The students were between 9 and 13 years old, and all attended a regular Flemish elementary school during the week. Some pupils were relatively new to the supplementary school; others had been coming for years. In the interviews, the students were asked about their experiences with and opinion of the teachers in the supplementary and mainstream schools. In addition, the interviewer asked the students various questions about the affective and academic aspects of their relationship with their teachers. The interviews were all conducted by the principal investigator of the study, a Flemish woman with a background as primary school teacher. Confident this affinity with the interviewees age group was supportive of the process and created an interview context wherein children felt at ease to share their thoughts and feelings. The interviews took between 17 and 36 minutes. The interviews were transcribed, translated from Dutch and anonymised. Ethical approval was obtained, and teachers, parents and children were informed about the intent of the study.

Coding tree

For data analysis, we used the thematic analysis codebook (Miles & Haberman, 1994). We constructed our codebook deductively, building on our theoretical framework. We distinguished two affective and two academic features of STR. The students talked about their perceptions of student-teacher relationship in their mainstream Flemish and supplementary heritage schools. While reading and analysing the interviews, we derived different themes within these four codes, which we then added as subcodes inductively.

Affective: The student reflected on their affective relationship with the teacher.
Closeness and emotional support: the student talked about their relationship with the teacher in terms of the security and support provided, including:

- Availability: Do the pupils perceive the teacher as available to them
- Openness: How open is the teacher, is the teacher interested in the pupils' background
- Intervention: Is the teacher quick to intervene when there are disagreements amongst the pupils?

Negative experiences and conflict:
The student recounted negative experiences or conflicts with their teacher.
The student reflected on the way the teacher responded in such situations, including:

- Differentiation: Does the teacher take a nuanced approach towards the students?
- Punishment: Is the teacher quick to use punishment?

- Mistrust: do the pupils perceive the teacher as trustworthy?

  Academic: The student reflected on their academic relationship with their teacher/ relating to their teacher's role of the teacher as a monitor of their academic development.
  Academic support: the student talked about the way the teacher helped them to achieve their goals and tasks (positive/negative).
  Teacher affirmation: the student reflected on the academic expectations their teachers have of them and the feedback they received with the two subcodes: positive and negative

Results

In this section, we analyse pupils' perceptions of the different dimensions and characteristics of STR. First, we show the similarities and differences that students experience in these relationships in the contexts of their mainstream and supplementary schools. The general finding is that the pupils did not clearly distinguish between one context and the other. Rather, they critically reflected on the factors that affected their relationships with the respective teachers in both contexts.

The affective dimension of STR

Overall, the pupils described their relationship with their teachers in detail and could pinpoint the factors they perceived as conducive to a strong connection. In the following paragraphs, we report on students' perceptions and experiences of the affective dimension of their relationships with their teachers. Two themes stood out because they arose in the majority of the observations: closeness and emotional support and negative experiences.

Closeness and emotional support

Regarding perceived closeness and emotional support in STR, we distinguished three aspects important for pupils' experiences: the teacher's availability, the way the teacher intervened or did not intervene in conflict situations and the degree of openness towards students' experiences in the supplementary school.

Teacher availability

In the context of mainstream schools, students often perceive teachers as less available and more 'under pressure'. According to the pupils, there were two main reasons for this limited availability: lack of time and overall class size. The students referred to the teacher's availability in the classroom and others during recess. They described feeling left to their own devices when teachers said, 'Yes, well, you have to solve that on your own'.

Some pupils described how they perceived the teacher as emotionally unavailable because they seemed sad, anxious or angry. On the other hand, the students perceived their teachers' emotional state and even adjusted their behaviour, accordingly, as seen in the following comments:

> *Interviewer:* What about the teacher in your regular (mainstream) school?
> *Pupil:* She is sometimes very sweet when we work hard and when we are calm. But when someone does something wrong, she starts yelling, and then she yells at me and when she yells at me... I really can't stand it. Then I become ... like ... hmmm... I just really don't want to do it anymore.
> *Interviewer:* How do you then feel?
> *Pupil:* Kind of sad. I try not to let the tears come, but part of me is just really sad, and I don't like that.

Although at no point did the students say that they preferred their teachers in one school or the other, when asked, they indicated that their teachers seemed to be more available in the supplementary school. For example, one pupil said of her teachers at the Arabic school, 'When I ask them about something, they just answer straight away. When I have a problem, they help me solve it'. Throughout the interviews, the students repeatedly remarked that the teachers in the supplementary school were more available for them and prepared to help.

Regardless of the school, the emotional availability of teachers was an essential factor in the students' perceptions of emotional support from the teachers. Beyond availability, teachers in the supplementary school seemed more approachable to the pupils. While students in the mainstream school had inhibitions about approaching their teachers for help, they found it easier in the supplementary school. Although the pupils in the examples given saw a connection between the class size and the lack of time, they also indicated that they were unsure about how their mainstream schoolteachers would react.

Openness and interest in ethnic-cultural background

In both school settings, students discussed their experiences with teacher openness or lack thereof. They never explicitly mentioned how important a shared ethnic or cultural background was to their teachers. Still, they appreciated it when teachers expressed an interest in their cultural background. Many students said that the teachers in their mainstream schools did not know much about their experiences at the weekend school. One pupil commented, 'I just never feel like talking about it'. At the same time, the pupils indicated that they appreciated it when teachers in the supplementary school were interested, as they understood this as an open and interested attitude on the part of their teachers. However, students usually preferred not to talk about it because they assumed the teacher would not welcome these comments. This could be because pupils in mainstream schools are frequently not permitted to speak in their native language. One student reported that she is prohibited from speaking Russian with her sister at school: 'Yes, but we are not allowed. We are not allowed to speak any other languages at school'.

There was a tension between the pupils' desire for openness and interest in their cultural background, while at the same time, the mainstream school forbade speaking their language of origin, which is a clear sign of this background.

In the supplementary school, openness was also restricted. The pupils said they avoided discussing certain topics in the supplementary school. In the Russian language school, students described how they would steer clear of sensitive subjects. During the interviews, the Russian military invasion of Ukraine was ubiquitous in the media. The pupils recounted negative experiences of discrimination in their mainstream schools after the war because of their Russian heritage. When asked if they talked about such incidents in the supplementary school, they vehemently denied it, as demonstrated in the following exchange:

> *Interviewer:* Do you share your experiences here?
> *Pupil 3:* Most people here are from Ukraine, at least some.
> So yeah, I don't talk about it.
> *Pupil 2:* Yes, because everyone has their own opinion.
> *Pupil 1:* That is true.
> *Pupil 3:* So, I rather just not talk about it.

In the supplementary school, the emphasis was on shared heritage; students avoided topics that would highlight potential conflicts and possibly lead to disagreements. However, the pupils did not perceive this as a lack of openness on the part of the teachers but rather as a practical necessity to ensure a pleasant day.

Intervening in conflict situations

In the interviews, students perceived the teacher as emotionally supportive when they quickly intervened in socially unpleasant situations. Several pupils noted that in their mainstream schools, they experienced uncomfortable situations because the teacher did not intervene or did not intervene promptly. This occurred less at their community school.

This notion of 'intervening' adds an extra element to the emotional dimension of student-teacher relationship and highlights the importance of a teacher being available and managing conflict situations, social interactions, and thus emotions. When students mentioned this, it was often in situations when they were bullied or witnessed bullying, and there were no teachers to stop it: *'And even when children are like, fighting, even then… I once saw this, and the principal was talking to a mother, and a lot of children were fighting, and she [the principal] just didn't do anything'*. In the classroom, some students felt that their teacher ignored inappropriate behaviour and did not intervene, saying, '*That teacher just always pretends not to hear it. I think that is a bit odd*'.

Although the lack of intervention in the mainstream school seemed to strain the students' assessment of their relationship with their teachers, it neither destroyed nor improved the relationship. The pupils generally understood their teachers and acknowledged that they were under considerable pressure.
In contrast, in the supplementary school, students felt that teachers intervened much more quickly, as illustrated by one pupil: … And here [in the supplementary school], the teacher always sees, and that is why there is less conflict, I think?

The pupils did acknowledge that it seemed to be much easier for the teachers at the community school to prevent such situations because there were differences in organisation and class size, more breaks between classes and fewer students overall.

Negative experiences

After closeness and emotional support, the second main theme of the affective dimension is negative experiences. In the interviews, three main themes emerged that have a negative impact on the affective dimension of student-teacher relationship: making sense of negative experiences in the mainstream school, punishment of pupils and mistrust of teachers.

Making sense of negative experiences through differentiation

The pupils frequently reported fighting or bullying in their mainstream schools, noting that this occurred less in their supplementary schools. As mentioned above, the students reflected that the supplementary school was only once a week and that there was not as much free time for fighting, but they also tried to make sense of this apparent difference. In explaining why there were more fights in their mainstream schools, the students pointed to differences in cultural expectations. The pupils felt that their teachers in the mainstream school were slow to intervene, while teachers in the supplementary school placed more emphasis on social interaction.

They felt these teachers intervened more quickly in unpleasant situations because they had different expectations of the students' behaviour. More specifically, teachers would not allow such behaviour because of their background. For example, in the Arabic school, the students indicated that the teachers were strict about bullying and referred to their Muslim heritage. A pupil shared the following:

> This is an Islamic school, and, in our faith, we are not allowed to call anyone names, so no one will. But in the mainstream school, most of them do. They are not allowed to either, but they do.

Meanwhile, in the Russian-speaking school, the pupils expressed that the children seemed to behave better: According to one pupil,

> It is just like this; all the children in the Russian school are nice. In the Belgian [mainstream school], they look at you, and they say: 'You are just not pretty', and 'Your clothes are ugly'. The teachers, they don't do anything. The principal doesn't either.

In each supplementary school, students described that teachers emphasised how the children should behave. This was a crucial part of the supplementary school curriculum for these pupils. However, when asked where students who did not participate in the supplementary school learned how to behave, one pupil simply shrugged their shoulders as if they had no idea.

Punishment

The pupils reacted very strongly to measures of punishment. This is not surprising: children at this age respond strongly to punishment and even more strongly and positively to rewards. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these pupils' response to punishment directly influenced their assessment of the quality of student-teacher relationship. According to the students, the mainstream schoolteachers used punishment frequently (and quickly) to respond to their behaviour: 'In the [mainstream] school they start yelling straight away, or they give you a note', or '*When we are whispering in the [mainstream] school, and the teacher sees, then she says, "Get out!*" or "*Stand behind your chair!*"'

Significantly, it is not the level of strictness with which the pupils take issue. On the contrary, pupils consistently stated in the interviews that they preferred their teachers to be strict and to take disciplinary action. In their opinion, it was the use of punitive measures that had a negative impact on student-teacher relationship.

The pupils also characterised the teachers in the supplementary school as strict, but they did not get angry as often and did not use as many punishments. Overall, the children were positive about the use of reward systems, which were prevalent in the supplementary schools. For example, the pupil in the following quote compared her supplementary school with the mainstream school: 'They are much nicer here [in the supplementary school], and they explain everything really well, and they do not get angry when you don't understand something. And that is what I like about it here'.

Other pupils described the reward system used in the supplementary school in detail:

> They work with these points. When you do well on a test or something, you get points. And then, at the end of the year, there are these treats on the table, and you can get them with your points.

Of course, such pedagogical tools may be used differently in a more informal setting, such as a supplementary school. However, the immediate affective impact of punishments and rewards on students' assessments of the quality of the student-teacher relationship became clear in the interviews.

Mistrust

Some pupils reported negative experiences, indicating they could not trust their teachers. In both the mainstream and supplementary schools, some pupils witnessed or experienced a student asking the teachers for help. However, when the teachers called on other adults to get involved, the students felt this was a breach of trust. One pupil said that they would not ask their teacher for help in a difficult situation because they were afraid that the teacher would then alert other services:

> *Interviewer:* And the teacher in your [mainstream] school, when you are sad, or you feel like crying. Could you ask her for help?
> *Pupil:* (shaking her head)
> *Interviewer:* No?
> *Pupil:* No, because then they would get CLB [external services] involved and my parents too. I don't like that.

Interviewer: Has that happened before?
Pupil: It happened to one of my friends, which is why I cannot trust the teacher.
Interviewer: You do not trust her? Do you know why she got the CLB involved?
Pupil: Because there was something wrong with my friend. The teachers said they would not tell anyone. But then they got everyone involved. I didn't like that.

Similarly, the notion of trust in student-teacher relationship came up regarding the supplementary school. For example, one pupil explained how they would not approach their teachers in the supplementary school with a problem because they feared it might cause a fuss.

Pupil: When I tell them something here [in the supplementary school] about what is wrong, then they go and get all these people, and I don't like that.
Interviewer: Can you give an example?
Pupil: Once, I was crying, and I told the teacher, and then she got all the other teachers, and I really didn't like it.

These incidents, where teachers took the students' problems seriously and sought help to support them, were perceived by the pupils as a breach of trust. Although they were likely well-intentioned, they ensured that the pupils would no longer approach their teachers with concerns or problems. Even the students who observed this with their friends did not perceive their teachers as trustworthy.

Concerning the affective dimension, we found that the pupils had a nuanced view of what was supportive or disruptive to a strong student-teacher relationship. In the mainstream school, the students noted that the teachers seemed to have less time and attention for them, resulting in fewer interventions, less openness and more punishment. In the supplementary school, significant emphasis was placed on managing the social interactions between the pupils, which the interviewees perceived as conducive to student-teacher relationship.

Academic dimension of the student-teacher relationship

In addition to the affective dimension, the second main dimension of student-teacher relationship is the academic dimension. Here, we distinguish between two features: the quality of academic support and the students' affirmation by teachers. The pupils indicated they felt affirmed by their teachers in both school contexts, as they received many compliments on their work. The teachers encouraged them and expected them to do well academically. Overall, the students seemed to feel less academically supported in the mainstream school, which, as we described above, was related to the lack of availability of teachers.

Academic support

Academic support refers to how teachers help their students academically. Unlike other aspects, our pupils clearly distinguished the academic support they received in the supplementary and mainstream schools. In the mainstream school, several students indicated that they felt uncomfortable asking the teacher for help, as seen below:

Interviewer: And the teacher in [mainstream] school, does she get angry when you don't understand something?
Pupil: Not really angry, but she looks like, 'okay, does anyone else know…' like, she doesn't like it. And then I feel so bad, and I say, 'Why am I so stupid?' and I don't like that.

Another pupil explained that they were afraid to ask their teachers in the mainstream school

for help because they expected them to get angry and start shouting: 'In the [mainstream] school, we are even afraid to ask the teacher because then they always yell and say, "You don't understand anything!" or "You never listen!"'

The pupils felt that the teachers in the mainstream school did not want to help because they had already explained everything. The teachers expected the students to be able to continue working on their own: 'Or they say, "I already explained this", and "Sorry, but you should have listened to my explanation", but then I just did not understand the explanation, and it is not fair'.

The pupils we interviewed did not always perceive their mainstream schoolteachers as academically supportive. In comparison, the supplementary schoolteachers were perceived as available and supportive. In general, pupils felt more supported in the supplementary school, and a key element was the additional help they could count on from their supplementary teachers. As the student in the following example clarified, they were confident that the teachers in the supplementary school would take the time to explain until they understood.

> *Interviewer:* Is it different here in the Arabic [supplementary] school with the teacher?
> *Pupil:* Yes, because here they do explain everything.

Teacher affirmation

Teacher affirmation refers to how students believe their teacher evaluates them and the extent to which they feel academically validated by their teachers. The pupils were very perceptive in the interviews, including about the teachers' implicit attitudes. For example, one pupil mentioned how even though their teacher tried to give them positive feedback, they felt that the teacher was preparing them to repeat the year:

> *Interviewer:* What did the teacher say?
> *Pupil:* 'I want you with me in my class, and I don't want you going to the fourth,' [or] something like that.
> *Interviewer:* Do you like it when she says that?
> *Pupil:* No, (…) If I don't go to the fourth, my parents will be angry.
> *Interviewer:* Because the teacher means you have to repeat, you mean?
> *Pupil:* Yes!

The second finding concerning teacher affirmation is that the pupils perceived the teachers as angry in both contexts. While this made them feel sad or insecure in the mainstream school, it did not seem to affect them emotionally in the supplementary school. Nevertheless, these emotions were often strong, and some children did not hesitate to describe their mainstream schoolteacher as 'hateful' or feeling that their teacher 'hated' them because '*she never helps me and when I ask her, she says to find it out myself, and I really don't like [that]*'.

It is worth mentioning that in both educational contexts, some of the students experienced their teachers as angry and felt that they did not value them. However, it was clear that when this happened in the supplementary school, it did not bother the students as much. They talked about it openly and even laughed about it:

> *Pupil 1:* Here in the Russian [supplementary] school, there is this teacher from literature or something, and when you do something wrong that we learned long ago, she says, 'How can you not know this? Why don't you do this at home? Are you lazy?'
> *Pupil 2:* Oh yes, she is annoying. Like, 'Do you have holes in your heads? Are you dumb?' (laughs out loud)

The disapproval of teachers in the mainstream school appeared to have a much greater impact

according to the perceptions of the pupils. This suggests that the students showed more respect for their mainstream schoolteachers. Possibly, this was because they perceived the supplementary school as less consequential.

Discussion

As highlighted earlier, the student-teacher relationship holds significant importance for the educational development of all students, with even greater implications for pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds (Burchinal et al., 2002; den Brok et al., 2010; Murray et al., 2008). Considering the ongoing debates regarding the significance of ethnic similarity between teachers and students, our study aimed to examine how ethnic minority pupils perceive their relationships with teachers in both mainstream and supplementary schools. In accordance with research that shows that young children do not organize their worlds in ethnic categories (Sedano, 2012), the pupils in our study did not mention ethnicity or cultural background when assessing their relationship with their teachers. Instead, they emphasized emotional support and closeness as crucial aspects of these relationships. However, their reflections revealed notable differences between the two school contexts. In mainstream schools, pupils felt that teachers were less available and less likely to intervene in conflict situations, leading to a less pleasant atmosphere. Additionally, pupils found teachers in mainstream schools less approachable for academic support compared to teachers in supplementary schools.

Our findings also shed light on the pressures faced by teachers in mainstream schools, which affect the affective and academic support they provide to students. Recent studies have investigated the experience of teachers in mainstream schools and the pressure they experience which leads to burnouts and a lack of teachers (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2010). The pupils we interviewed were keenly aware of the time pressure teachers often suffer from and they discussed its impact on the affective and academic support they receive from teachers. These findings indicate that the pressure on teachers in mainstream schools is not only felt by the teachers, but that even young children are aware of it and experience the consequences.

Even though the pupils in our study did not consciously reflect on the teachers' ethnicity, it likely does influence them and when they grow older, they will probably take a different approach toward the ethnic mismatch in their classrooms. Acknowledging the need for a more inclusive and diverse teaching profession, we recognize the importance of short-term solutions to improve the relationship between minoritized students and their teachers. Some pupils expressed appreciation when their mainstream schoolteachers inquired about their cultural heritage, highlighting the importance of recognizing and valuing students' experiences in supplementary schools. However, such instances were rare, possibly due to limited awareness among teachers about the existence and significance of supplementary schools in the educational paths of pupils.

While this study has limitations, such as the absence of detailed background information about the pupils, it underscores the capacity of young minoritized children to reflect on various dimensions and contextual variables of the student-teacher relationship. Rather, we present their perceptions as those of knowledgeable respondents who evaluate the relationship to their teachers in two different educational settings. By exploring the characteristics that minoritized students deem important in their relationships with teachers, this study can enhance teacher awareness and sensitivity to pupils' experiences and reflections, as well as the impact of their own behaviour. Future research can build upon these findings to investigate the impact of relationships developed in supplementary schools on pupils' adjustment in mainstream schools. Overall, this study highlights the voices of young minoritized children, often absent in student-teacher relationship research, and provides valuable insights for improving educational experiences and outcomes.

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5. Minoritized children as active agents constructing school belonging while navigating supplementary and mainstream schools

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Abstract

A sense of school belonging plays a pivotal role in children's overall development and well-being. Research suggests that minoritized pupils have a lower sense of school belonging overall, yet there remains an inconclusive understanding of the association between minoritized background and school belonging. This study investigated school belonging by exploring through the perspectives of minoritized children attending supplementary schools in Belgium. These children navigate both mainstream and supplementary schools, presenting an opportunity to investigate their experiences navigating different educational spaces and how it relates to their sense of belonging. By utilizing a dynamic and contextualized conceptualization of belonging encompassing relationships, space, emotions, and cultural repertoires, this study seeks to capture the nuanced experiences of minoritized pupils. Through in-depth interviews with 29 children between 9 and 12 years old, the research examines how children construct a sense of belonging across educational contexts. We find that children are active agents in the ways that they construct a sense of belonging and that they rely on shared cultural repertoires to achieve this.

Introduction

A strong sense of belonging is known to have numerous benefits for children, including emotional security, stronger relationships with peers and teachers, and the development of a positive identity and stronger sense of agency (Halse, 2018). Research has increasingly focused on the concept of school belonging, which encompasses the extent to which students feel accepted, respected, included, and supported within their school community (Goodenow, 1993). Although the association between ethnicity and race on school belonging remains inconclusive (Allen et al., 2018), scholars argue that ethnic minority groups often experience a less stable sense of belonging that is mainly due to a less supportive environment (Celeste et al., 2019; Cook et al., 2012). Negative experiences such as stereotyping, lower teacher expectations, and social exclusion are believed to contribute to lower levels of belonging reported by ethnic minority students (Umana-Taylor, 2016).

However, several gaps exist in the current literature on school belonging. Firstly, most of the existing research is quantitative, offering limited insights into the complexities of pupils' lived experiences. Secondly, young people are seldom directly asked about their understanding and experiences of belonging. Lastly, the concept of belonging is often studied from a theoretically restricted perspective. To gain a comprehensive understanding of school belonging, it is essential to unpack the concept and consider the lived experiences of minority pupils themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to move beyond static and essentialist notions of belonging and instead define it as dynamic and highly contextualized (Lähdesmäki et al, 2016). This perspective acknowledges that school belonging can be experienced in various ways across different settings, including mainstream schools and supplementary schools, and is influenced by linguistic and cultural practices and interactions within these educational contexts.

In this study, we aim to explore the processes of belonging by examining the perspectives of

minoritized children, who are often overlooked in research on belonging, in two supplementary schools within the Flemish educational landscape in Belgium. The Flemish educational system is known for having one of the largest ethnic gaps in academic achievement and school belonging between minoritized and majority youth in Europe, making it a relevant context for our investigation (Franck & Nicaise, 2015). Many of these pupils navigate both mainstream schools and weekend schools, which focus on cultural heritage, language, and identity formation. Consequently, their experiences of school belonging are expected to be influenced by these two distinct educational spaces, as well as variations in relationships with teachers, peers, and curriculum practices between these spaces. The question we aim to answer is: "How do pupils who attend supplementary schooling in addition to their mainstream school understand and construct a sense of school belonging?". We understand children as active agents that make sense of their complex realities. The perspectives of pupils negotiating different educational contexts will certainly add to our understanding of how pupils experience school belonging (Stoecklin & Fattore, 2018).

To understand the complexities of belonging in different contexts, we build upon previous research (Antonsich, 2010; Kustatscher, 2017; Wood & Black, 2018; Yuval-Davis, 2011) and conceptualize belonging based on three dimensions: relationships, space, and emotions. Additionally, we introduce the notion of cultural repertoires, which refers to the frames of reference related to cultural heritage, histories, and language that individuals utilize to make sense of their environment (Lamont & Small, 2008). Cultural repertoires add another dimension to the notion of space, as the children rely on different repertoires in each school and the schools are each characterized by their own specific and distinct cultural repertoires. This refined theoretical framework enables us to capture the experiences of minoritized pupils across various schools and recognize the nuances in cultural references they employ to construct and define belonging.

In the subsequent sections, we will first introduce the theoretical foundations and characteristics of supplementary schooling. Then, based upon in-depth interviews with children we show how they construct a sense of belonging across educational contexts and how they relate to each other. Finally, we will conclude by embedding our findings in relation to the current state of the art and providing directions for future research and policy recommendations.

Theory

Sense of Belonging in Education

Processes, practices, and theories of belonging have become a subject of interest and examination across multiple disciplines over the past years and have been approached with various theoretical lenses (Halse, 2018). Wright (2015) argued that the concept of belonging is often considered self-explanatory, yet, as researchers from different fields have investigated belonging, divergent interpretations of belonging are found in literature. As such, belonging can be considered 'a puzzling term' (S. Wright, 2015, p. 391). Within the field of educational psychology, substantive research has investigated students' sense of school belonging and shown the positive impact on students' well-being and various (academic) outcomes (for an overview, see Allen, Kern, Vella-Brodrick, Hattie, & Waters, 2018; Korpershoek, Canrinus, Fokkens-Bruinsma, & de Boer, 2020). Nonetheless, these studies often fail to grasp the underlying mechanisms of how pupils and students experience belonging, and how this can differ across spaces and in relation to different people.

Within this line of reasoning Anthias (2006) offers a helpful definition of belonging and argues that 'to belong is to be accepted as part of a community, to feel safe within it and to have a stake in the future of such a community of membership. To belong is to share values, networks, and practices' (p. 21). Belonging thus involves emotions, relationships, and attachments to place, but also considers people's complex positionalities in terms of ethnicity, social class, age and gender (Yuval-Davis, 2011). To belong is therefore an interplay between processes of self-identification (with people and places)

and as well as an ascribed or 'being perceived' by others as belonging to the group (Healy, 2020). To account for the abovementioned complexity and nuance inherent in the concept of belonging, we build on recent literature to distinguish three relevant dimensions of belonging for young children in schools: relations, space, and emotions (Wastell & Degotardi, 2017; Wood & Black, 2018).

In the first place, belonging is highly dependent on the relations between (groups of) people (Antonsich, 2010). Belonging arises through connectedness. It is the crossroad between the self and the social that 'define[s] and configure[s] what it means to belong (and not belong)' (S. Wright, 2015, p. 393). In schools, relationships between the children and their teachers, as well as peer relations, are relevant in fostering student's sense of belonging (DeNicolo et al., 2017). Key in this respect is not solely to have relations with other people such as teachers and peers, but also to be respected and be accepted by these 'others' (Osterman, 2000). Some studies focus on the role of 'peer acceptance' as fundamental in supporting belonging (Osterman, 2000), while for others the notion of friendship as such is key in nurturing belonging as it creates a "secure base" that helps children to cope with challenges they face at school (Hamm and Faircloth, 2005). Relations with others, and with peers and teachers in schools, help young people deal with feelings of alienation, and a lack of membership in a bigger community.

The social dimension of belonging is complemented by other research that highlights individuals' attachment to specific locations or spaces, also known as 'place-belonging' (Antonsich, 2010). Particularly scholars in the field of human geography and migration studies have conceptualized belonging as a deeply personal experience of 'being at home'. The notion of home is a metaphor for spaces characterized by attachment, familiarity, comfort, and a sense of security that shapes a sense of belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Lähdesmäki et al., 2016). Moreover, one can experience a sense of belonging to multiple spaces at once (Kernan, 2010). In this paper we understand the two schools – children's mainstream and supplementary school - as different places but more importantly as different spaces with different cultural repertoires, peers, and connections. The pupils' mainstream and supplementary schools are not 'solely' a concrete location but also a more abstract space wherein children share languages, images, or food.

Lastly, belonging is deeply entrenched with emotion. In recent years, scholars have added significantly to the theoretical field of belonging by accentuating the role that emotions play in young people's experiences and everyday practices, in their relationships and how they look at the world (Haavind et al., 2015; Kustatscher, 2017; Zembylas, 2011). Empirical research into schools found that power dynamics which create hierarchies and boundaries between children and/or teachers determine whether the child is positioned as the 'other' or whether the child 'fits in' when complying with existing dominant practices. Children express feelings of insecurity, embarrassment, or conversely feel strengthened when their emotions are acknowledged and accepted by their peers. How children experience these different emotions affects 'how regimes of inclusion and exclusion' are created (Di Gregorio & Merolli, 2016, p. 934; Kustatscher, 2017; Walton, 2018). Belonging is therefore understood, also, as a feeling. One that is implicated and entangled in historical and sociocultural conditions that involve power relations and decisions about who belongs and who does not, as well as processes of recognition (S. Ahmed, 2014; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Recognition is strongly connected to shared cultural repertoires, and presumably shared repertoires might lead to a stronger sense of belonging.

Cultural repertoires

The studies on belonging discussed above show that belonging is indeed a complex notion, and that belonging emerges in relations with other people embedded in spaces wherein people learn about the so-called 'cultural stuff' and share feelings, practices, and knowledge (Eriksen & Jakoubek, 2018). Indeed, it is important to acknowledge that belonging not simply emerges out of thin air but is constructed in interaction with people through sharing aspects of cultural life such as language, etiquette, musical preferences, or food habits. This brings us to the notion of cultural repertoires which we believe is relevant to incorporate into studies on belonging. Cultural repertoires are frames of reference individuals use to make sense of everyday life but also to make connections with other

people, and to position themselves vis à vis others by creating and imagining 'group membership' (Lamont & Small, 2008). Moreover, individuals are socialized into these cultural repertoires and share meanings with each other using the same language, or through similar stories about one's migration background or broader ethno-cultural histories. A key factor in these socialization processes is given to schools, their curriculum, and its enactment in everyday classrooms (Lamont et al., 2016). Interestingly, in our research we focus on young pupils navigating two school contexts with differences in the curriculum that is taught, and in the interactions that occur between pupils and their teachers and peers. We understand these two educational contexts are two distinct spaces with their own cultural repertoires and the pupils are active agents navigating from one space to the next. Interviewing the pupils enables us to study if belonging differs for these minoritized pupils from one space with specific cultural repertoires to the next.

Supplementary schooling

A large part of children and youngsters with a migration background attend a form a supplementary schooling at a certain time (25 percent in the UK, 45 percent in Flanders (Maylor et al., 2013). These schools, which are organized by volunteers and usually take place during the weekends, are an important aspect of minoritized pupils' educational trajectories, but surprisingly little is known about their experiences in these spaces. Considering the role of context and, especially that of bilingual spaces (Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022; Scutaru, 2021) in which minoritized children's heritage backgrounds are acknowledged and shared, a closer look at these educational spaces, organized by minoritized communities is warranted.

To investigate the experience of young minoritized pupils regarding their sense of belonging, supplementary schools offer an interesting research opportunity. Students with a migration background feel less part of the school than their majority peers (D'hondt et al., 2015) and some research seems to suggest that pupils might have a higher sense of belonging in their supplementary schools. There has been almost no research into belonging in supplementary schools, yet one study has shown that Japanese supplementary schools can foster a sense of belonging for Japanese origin students that feel no or a very limited sense of belonging to their mainstream schools (Kayama & Yamakawa, 2020). Research into belonging in mainstream school offers some clues as to why supplementary schools might offer a higher sense of belonging for minoritized pupils.

First, minority students adapt better when there are more children of migration background in the school (Demanet et al., 2016). Second, in schools where the curriculum is more multiculturally focused, as it inherently is in supplementary schooling, students with migration background feel more to belong (Celeste et al., 2019). And third, monolingual bias and assimilationist practices such as the ban on headscarves in the majority of Flemish schools, prevalent in Flemish mainstream schools (Pulinx et al., 2017) , negatively affect the feelings of belonging of ethnic minority youth (Der Wildt et al., 2017).

Supplementary schools offer a counterweight from which to explore the pupils' sense of belonging as the monolingual bias and the majority-minority imbalance are displaced in these spaces (Margherio et al., 2020; Reay & Mirza, 1997). This makes them interesting spaces to dissect how minoritized children experience sense of belonging in both their mainstream and supplementary school context.

Method

Case selection

Two supplementary schools were approached after an initial explorative research phase to investigate the schools' main aims. The selected schools explicitly understood nurturing a sense of belonging as part of their pedagogical project. Furthermore, the two schools have diverse characters,

catering to pupils from various ethnic backgrounds, emphasizing the school as an inclusive setting. Both schools are situated in the superdiverse city of Antwerp and are relatively large schools hosting about 150 pupils each. The schools teach heritage language classes in Russian and Arabic respectively. The Russian school hosts pupils from Ukrainian, Belarusian, Chechen descent. In the Arabic schools there are Syrian, Moroccan, and Sudanese descent. The schools, contrary to Flemish mainstream schools, have a bilingual focus and their goal is to nurture pupils' multiple identities.

Methodology

We conducted thirteen semi-structured (group) interviews with 29 students in total in their supplementary school. Parents, teachers, and children were informed about the subject of the study and were asked for their permission for the research to take place. The children were asked at the beginning of the interview if they gave their consent to record the interview. The pupils were free to decide whether they came to the interview alone, or together. Most of the students came in pairs, some came alone and sometimes three students came together. To ensure that the students would feel most comfortable, they could decide themselves whether or not to take part and in which constellation. Open ended interviews are best suited for explorative approach which includes the students' nuanced perceptions. In working with minoritized pupils who have varying Dutch (reading) skills, an explorative qualitative approach is the most inclusive.

The students were aged between 9 and 13 and all went to a regular Flemish elementary school throughout the week. Some students were relatively new to the supplementary school and others had been coming for years. The pupils also represented a diverse group in matters of migration history. There were pupils in the schools were third generation and others who migrated themselves a few years ago. In the interviews the students were asked about their experience and their perception of belongingness in each school.

The interviewer cued the children with questions relating to a spatial, relational, and emotional sense of belonging. Instead of following a struct guideline the interviews followed a topic list which left more room for the children to answer freely. The topics that were discussed included comparison of the two schools as distinct spaces, their connection to peers in each school, their feelings with regards to each school. The distinctions between the schools that the pupils brought up guided the trajectory of the interview. The interviews were transcribed, translated from Dutch to English, and anonymized (we use fictitious names further on).

Researcher positionality

Interviewing children, and minoritized children specifically, poses some ethical challenges (Kostet, 2021; Morrison, 2013), which we sought to acknowledge and respond to giving the children as much agency as possible. They were free to decide if they would participate, if they would come alone or in a group, and their experiences were always taken seriously. The Interviewer, a Flemish woman, has a background as a primary school teacher, and we are confident this affinity with the interviewees age group was supportive of the process and created an interview context wherein children felt at ease to share their thoughts and feelings.

Coding

For the data analysis we used reflexive thematic analysis (Braun, 2012; Byrne, 2022). In the first phase of familiarization, we immersed ourselves in the data while keeping the research question in mind. Each researcher then generated codes inductively after which these codes were compared and refined. Subsequently, we created candidate themes by clustering codes of similar meaning. Focusing on the central concept of belongingness we then reevaluated the themes and defined them, adding

both subthemes and overarching themes. For the overarching themes we relied on the threefold framework of belongingness differentiating spatial, emotional, and relational sense of belonging. Within the theme of spatial sense of belonging we included the pupils' descriptions of the class climate and the class organization. For the theme of relational sense of belonging we included the relationships to their peers, both friendships as overall feelings of connection.

For the theme of emotional sense of belonging we included those instances where the pupils explicitly described how they felt at certain instances. This included both negative and positive experiences. Some of the codes and subthemes were related to more than one overarching theme. In the results section we reflect further on this nuanced interwovenness. To expand our understanding of how these themes interrelate within the different spaces we used the notion of cultural repertoires.

Findings

We present our results based on the framework distinguishing relational, spatial, and emotional sense of belonging. Together they give a well-rounded sense of the pupils' experiences navigating two school contexts, different spaces in matters of cultural repertoires. The analysis shows which aspects of their cultural repertoires play a role in fostering belonging.

Relational sense of belonging

The relational aspect of sense of belonging refers to the pupils' attitudes towards others and the relationships they build. Throughout the interviews the pupils strongly indicate that they gain a sense of belonging through their friendships and a sense of sameness.
When children were asked about their experience in the weekend school, they mention a feeling of being welcomed in the school:

> *Interviewer:* And then when you think about the Arabic school here, about the class that's in here, is it different?
> *Ezra:* Yes, I always feel so welcome.
> *Interviewer:* Here you always feel welcome? In a different way than the Dutch school?
> *Ezra:* Yes, when I just came the first day it was a little hard to make a friend, but the second day it was easy, and I had friends quickly.
> (Ezra, Arabic school)

As Ezra's citation above shows, in the children's experience sense of belonging and friendships are intertwined. Throughout the interviews when the children are asked what it means to them to be part of the group, they answer with their experience of making friends. One pupil even says she feels like the friends she made in the supplementary school feel "*like they are my sisters*".

Under the arche of the relational aspects of belonging we found that the pupils look for a sense of 'sameness' in their friendships and thus also in how they experience belonging. Such a desire for homophily amongst peers is not surprising but it is interesting to explore how the pupils construct such a sense of sameness amongst their friends in the weekend and mainstream school respectively. Even when the supplementary schools are, in fact, diverse in terms of heritage country and religion, the pupils construct a 'space' in which sameness is emerges.

> *Interviewer:* So, is it easy here to make friends?
> *Abdou & Chemsa & Erin:* Yes.
> *Interviewer:* Yes, all three of you say. Why is that? Why is it easy to make friends?
> *Erin:* Because we all speak the same language and the same religion.

Abdou: And we are almost all from the same countries.
(Abdou & Chemsa & Erin, Arabic school)

In their mainstream school some children described that they felt excluded or sometimes even bullied. When they were asked about what made their experiences different in the mainstream school, they relied on differences between them and most of their peers. Here we note that they relate themselves to another minoritized group, who they perceive as the majority.

Interviewer: I do think it's important that you say that that you feel less of a sense of belonging there than you do here. (...) Can you think a little bit more about what exactly makes the difference? (...)
Artur: Yes, a different feeling, uh faith.
Interviewer: Faith? Can you say anything more about that?
Artur: Sometimes we were with a lot of Moroccans in the class, and we, the only Christians.
Ben: Yes, so the only Christians, and then when something happens to one, for example Moroccan, they all get mad at you like that.
(Artur and Ben, Russian school)

Throughout the citations it becomes clear that sharing elements from one's cultural repertoires such as language, religion, food and media is key to create belonging. They are imbued with emotion, even though our respondents cannot necessarily explain these emotions that clearly.

Mikal: I can't explain it … But they (In the Mainstream school) watch other things and they talk about other things.
Pjotr&Mikal: Yes.
Toni: For example, some Russian (laughs) cartoons that we know from our childhood, for example, then they don't know what I'm talking about then and here, they do.
Pjotr: Yes.
Interviewer: And is that a nice feeling?
Toni: Yes (laughs).
(Pjotr, Mikal and Toni, Russian school)

Other children talk about the love for foods they share. They talk about how the children and teachers in the mainstream school respond with surprise when they discuss their favorite foods. In their tone the children suggest that they felt rejected by their classmates in those moments. That feeling of rejection emphasized the importance of shared registers in the supplementary school.

In their search for 'sameness' the children were also strategic. Both supplementary schools studied cater to diverse pupils, sharing the same language though not always ethnicity. At the time of the interviews the war between Ukraine and Russia was prevalent in all media, which played a role in the interviews conducted in the Russian school. The pupils clearly indicated that they found it difficult when they were seen as Russian in their mainstream schools, emphasizing that they came from either Chechen or Kazakhstan, within the weekend school however they did not want to make these distinctions. Rather, they shied away from talking about the political situation as it would mark their differences. Similarly, sameness was even constructed when it might be factually absent. For example, the children in the Arabic school talked about their shared Islamic background as constructive to friend making.

When the interviewer pointed out that many of the children attending the school were Christian, they found that unimportant. Even the children who were Christian and attended the weekend school were understood as Muslim, even when they identified as Christian. The shared repertoires as understood by the pupils lay more in the shared experience of attending the supplementary school than in the factual sharing of the same religion. This brings us to the notion of spatial sense of belonging in

which the supplementary school is a space in which cultural registers are perceived as shared.

Spatial sense of belonging

To feel a sense of belonging, the pupils in the interviews searched for a sense of sameness which they understood as the basis of their friendships. This sense of sameness is related to shared cultural repertoires which they connect to the supplementary school as a space of shared sameness. By navigating two different schools, the pupils we interviewed have a unique vantage point to reflect on belonging in different educational spaces. These spaces are both actual physical spaces, often located in different areas and having a different timetable and curriculum. At the same time their mainstream and weekend school are also symbolic spaces wherein pupils' cultural heritage, language and religious and ethnic identity occupy a different position.

The comparison from one school to the other arose naturally throughout the interviews and the pupils indicate that they experience differences in their sense of belonging in each school. Some children throughout the interviews indicated to have a stronger sense of belonging in the supplementary school. Key in this respect was the feeling of togetherness in this space, which was mainly achieved through language and shared cultural repertoires. Togetherness is experienced through the idea of being one group, instead of being more separated in different (ethnic) groups in their mainstream school.

The pupils explain that their feeling to belong and feeling 'together' was strengthened by shared language and religion. The children refer to their shared religious background, which is different from that of the majority in the mainstream school to explain why it felt easier to belong in the weekend school:

> *Yasmin:* this is an Islamic school, then in our religion we are not allowed to scold each other, so then no one will do that here. But in the Dutch school then most of them do. Even though it is not allowed by their religion, they do.

In this example, in which Yasmin describes the supplementary school as an Islamic school whereas other children describe it as an Arabic language school, we take how the children construct belonging. They use their agency by emphasizing the character of the school in which they recognize themselves most strongly. The children make these schools a space of shared cultural registers in which they construct their sense of belonging, in relation to the other school.
On the other hand, for some children belonging came easier to them in the mainstream school. They refer to their heritage language skills as an obstacle in their sense of belonging at the weekend school.

> *Sahar:* At the Dutch (Flemish mainstream) school I have more friends than in the Arabic school. But I do have many friends here.
> *Interviewer:* And for you?
> *Marie:* Kind of the same, but I do find the Dutch school better to go to, because I have more friends there and if I have to read, I'm not such a slow reader then I can just go and read fast and stuff.
> *Interviewer:* And here it's a bit slow?
> *Marie:* And then I'm like "Okay, come on, read faster," and stuff. I don't like that very much.
> (Marie and Sahar, Arabic school)

For Emma too, her lack of proficiency in the Russian language hinders her sense of belonging at the weekend school. Even more, she suggests a hierarchy in which the children learning Russian are categorized as lower by their peers who speak Russian (fluently) at home. This mirrors the situation in the mainstream school in which children who have a first language, different from Dutch, are confronted with both academic and social challenges. In each context, language competency is central to defining

one's place in the social hierarchy.

> *Emma:* Because here if you can't speak Russian very well then, you're automatically lower than the rest, because some kids here can't speak Dutch as well but if you've been speaking Dutch your whole life and suddenly you go to another school at the weekend then it's like wow and you don't belong.
> (Emma, Russian school)

The notion of space and language were intertwined from the pupils' perspectives. They understood the mainstream school as a 'Dutch' space and the supplementary school as a 'heritage language' space. Language to them is an umbrella concept through which the other cultural repertoires are experienced. For the pupils, proficiency in a language is connected to their sense of belonging.

Overall, the children's experience of belonging in each context is associated with a sense of feeling welcomed, with their language proficiencies and cultural repertoires. For some children this came easily in the weekend school. For others, their lack of proficiency in the heritage language meant that it was easier for them to feel to belong in the mainstream school. Overall, the fact that the children had access to these two spaces gave them an opening to solidify a sense of belonging in comparison to the other space.

Emotional sense of belonging

In this section, we seek to capture the emotional side of belonging as it is experienced by the pupils. We include the reflections on their emotions in recounting different experiences. We found that the emotional experience of belonging cannot be detached from the dominant language in each school. Overall, throughout the interviews the children felt most at home, where they felt fluent in the dominant language. Language and emotion were interwoven from the children's perspective. Furthermore, not only does their fluency in either language affect their sense of belonging, the way in which they evaluate their fluency is also affected by how much they feel to belong as is illustrated in the following quote, which is taken from an interview conducted fully in Dutch:

> *Interviewer:* And in Dutch (Flemish mainstream) school, do you feel like you really belong?
> *Yunes:* No.
> *Interviewer:* Why not?
> *Yunes:* I can't speak Dutch.
> (Yunes, Arabic school)

In other words, not speaking the language as fluently gives them the feeling that they do not belong. Simultaneously, when they feel they do not belong they point towards their lack of language proficiency to make sense of it, even when they, in reality, speak the language fluently. The feeling of belonging is experienced by the pupils in juxtaposition to an experience of exclusion. Feelings of exclusion and lack of language proficiency seem to be deeply intertwined. For example, one pupil recounts how she felt not to belong in the supplementary school because of her lack of language proficiency.

> *Interviewer:* Do you find it easy, here, to make friends at the Arabic school? (...)
> *Riad:* I don't find it easy; I want to talk to them and I can speak a little Arabic but I talk to them in Dutch sometimes and then: 'Talk Arabic, talk Arabic. And just talk that language otherwise I'm not your friend.'
> (Riad, Arabic school)

The above example illustrates that feelings of differentness and sameness are negotiated and generate inclusion, or conversely exclusion. Being fluent in the dominant language, and the shared cultural repertoires that are connected to it, offer a sense of ease and comfort which is beneficial to making friends.

Thus, the pupils tend to connect the experience of 'sameness' to the language they speak and the religion they adhere to. To them, belonging is related to feeling as if they are the same as their peers and language is a strong indicator for that. Language is instrumental for how and when they feel to belong.

Another student from the Arabic school describes feeling normal when other peers speak the same language as him.

> *Interviewer:* And then when you think about the Arab class here, do you feel like you really belong well?
> *Yunes:* Yes.
> *Interviewer:* So, what is it like when you belong?
> *Yunes:* So normal, just like all the other kids.
> *Interviewer:* Then you're just like all the other kids? And does that make you feel nice? Because then how is it that you are just like all the other children?
> *Yunes:* Because I also speak Arabic, and I can communicate.
> (Yunes, Arabic school)

These examples indicate that feeling at 'home' or feeling out of place are associated with language proficiency. But also, that pupils will construct a sense of their own language proficiency in relation to how much they feel to belong.

The supplementary schools nourish heritage language and tend to have an outspoken bilingual policy, even though the children indicated that they felt pressed to speak the heritage language. This is in stark contrast to their experiences in the mainstream Flemish school which are often strictly monolingual. One pupil describes her experiences using heritage language in school:

> *Xenia:* With me, that one Ukrainian girl came to school a long time ago. Like three years, but she still can't speak Dutch.
> *Interviewer:* And do you sometimes talk Russian with her or not?
> *Xenia:* Yes, but we're not allowed to. We are not allowed to speak any other language at school.
> *Interviewer:* What do you think about that?
> *Xenia:* I think that's a little weird. I'm not allowed to talk Russian with my sister sometimes. I talk Russian with her normally.
> (Xenia, Russian school)

Throughout the interviews, the pupils' sense of school belonging is interwoven with their heritage language and ethnic identity. If mainstream schools barre students from speaking their heritage languages this affects their sense of belongingness as it emphasizes differences, contrary to the sameness that the pupils themselves look for.

Discussion

The importance of this study lies in its exploration of school belonging from the perspective of children with migration backgrounds, a viewpoint often overlooked in previous research. It recognizes that minoritized youth tend to have a lower sense of belonging in the mainstream school compared to their majority peers (Franck & Nicaise, 2015), and aims to unravel how these youth construct their sense of school belonging. To achieve this, the study takes advantage of the fact that many minoritized youth not only attend mainstream day-to-day schooling but also participate in supplementary schooling on weekends (Author, 2022). This unique circumstance provides an interesting vantage point for studying how they understand and construct their sense of belonging.

The study acknowledges the contextual and layered nature of belonging and interprets school belonging from relational, spatial, and emotional perspectives (Antonsich, 2010; Kustatscher,

2017; Wood & Black, 2018; Yuval-Davis, 2011). From a relational perspective, the study revealed that the pupils perceived a strong connection between their friendships and their sense of belonging. They constructed belonging based on a homophilic tendency, seeking similarities when making friends (Iqbal et al., 2017; McPherson et al., 2001). This tendency was also evident in their construction of belonging, as they emphasized their similarities to explain why most of the pupils felt a greater sense of belonging in the supplementary school. Additionally, the study found that shared cultural repertoires played a decisive role in the pupils' sense of school belonging. From a spatial perspective, the study found that pupils naturally compared their experiences in the mainstream and supplementary schools, which differ in terms of organization, curriculum, and symbolic spaces that value their cultural backgrounds.

The pupils identified shared cultural repertoires in the supplementary school as a foundation of sameness on which they constructed their sense of belonging. In their search for sameness they talk about language, media, and food but they hardly mention ethnicity. This is in line with other research showing that you children do not understand the world in different boxes of ethnicity (Sedano, 2012). Regarding the emotional perspective, the feeling of belonging in each space was inseparable from how capable they felt in speaking the prevalent language of that space. Simultaneously, based on how strong the pupils felt that they belonged, they evaluated their language proficiency. In other words, in the space where they strongly felt to belong, they evaluate themselves a proficient. Contrary, in the space where they do not feel to belong as strongly, they describe themselves as inproficient even when they are fluent in the language.

Our findings highlight the importance of language and linguistic proficiency for the pupils. They felt a sense of belonging in environments where they spoke the dominant language fluently, and language played a significant role in facilitating friendships or causing experiences of exclusion. Interestingly, we found that the pupils not only feel a sense of belonging in one space based on an experience of sameness but, they construct this feeling of sameness on which to build their sense of belonging. The pupils acknowledged the importance of shared cultural repertoires to make them feel to belong, but even when those repertoires were not there, they would disregard differences for the benefit of a perceived sense of sameness. In the supplementary school specifically, they ignored differences in religion and ethnicity, even when these distinctions are currently very prevalent as between Ukrainians and Russians. Remarkably, this seemed to only happen in the context of the supplementary schooling. In the context of the mainstream school, the pupils were aware of how they differ from the other peers in terms of cultural repertoires. This possibly can be explained by >>>. Foregoing this diversity to construct a narrative of shared cultural repertoires enables the children to create a sense of belonging.

The findings of this study carry important implications. The study emphasizes that children, despite their young age, actively participate in constructing their sense of belonging. They navigate different educational contexts and critically compare them to assess the aspects that contribute to their sense of belonging. Therefore, when aiming to enhance pupils' sense of belonging, particularly among minoritized pupils, it is essential to involve these children as active participants in the process. In interviewing these children, we come to two important implications.

Firstly, the interweaving of language and sense of belonging, suggests that monolingual policies and the banning of heritage languages, as observed in some contexts like Flanders (Author, 2017; Pulinx et al., 2017)can have a negative impact on pupils' sense of school belonging. Recognizing the significance of school belonging for various academic and affective aspects, it is crucial to reconsider such practices. Emphasizing the sameness in speaking a shared (second) language, however, may positively affect the pupils' sense of belonging. And secondly, pupils actively work at constructing a narrative of sameness to achieve a sense of belonging. More research should investigate how such narratives can be nurtured. Whilst acknowledging and welcoming minoritized pupils' cultural repertoires in mainstream schools and added emphasis on the registers that pupils share within the diversity of their mainstream classrooms could enhance the sense of belonging of all pupils.

In conclusion, this study addresses the gap in research by examining school belonging from the perspective of children with migration backgrounds by using a framework which understands

belonging from a spatial, emotional, and relational dimension. Exploring the children's construction of belonging has expanded our understanding of the concept and the three-dimensional framework proved helpful. There are some limitations to this study. First, the pupils were interviewed in their supplementary school setting. Interviews undertaken in the mainstream school might lead to differences in their descriptions of belonging in each space. Second, young children do not yet organize their worlds in categories of ethnic groups, therefore they might lean strongly on cultural repertoires which are more concrete. Further research would benefit from following the pupils across spaces and time, as children's sense of belonging changes on their way to adulthood (Scutaru, 2021).

The findings underscore the significance of language, the impact of shared cultural repertoires, and the agency of children in shaping their sense of belonging. Supplementary schools, though they are not utopic spaces in which all goes well, do seem to offer a space of shared cultural repertoires which benefits the sense of belonging of minoritized pupils.

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6. Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

This research project aims to provide a deeper understanding of the role of supplementary schooling in the lives of minoritized youth in Flanders. Given that this is a relatively new academic field and the current state of the art of quite fragmented (Bridglall et al., 2005; Burman & Miles, 2018) we had a more encompassing research project in mind and set up a series of studies that go from a more general and/or broader perspective grasping the institutional level to a more individual level approach. To achieve this, we first did a review study of the research on community schooling which enabled us in a next step to set up a qualitative multimethod approach, allowing us to explore the purposes of these schools and delve into the motives of the schools' initiators for organization.

We have then shifted our focus on the experiences and perspectives of students attending supplementary schools in addition to their mainstream Flemish schools. In this chapter, we will begin by emphasizing the importance of conducting exploratory research on supplementary schools that we understand as *educational spaces organized by minoritized communities after the hours of mainstream education*. We will highlight the valuable role that these schools play within their respective communities. Subsequently, we will present a summary of the research findings for each of our research questions. This will be followed by a general discussion, where we will analyze and interpret the results in a broader context.

Subsequently, we will discuss the implications of these findings for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners, providing valuable insights for their respective fields. Lastly, we will acknowledge the limitations of our study and outline potential avenues for future research. By doing so, we aim to encourage further exploration and investigation in this area, ensuring a continued advancement in our understanding of the role of supplementary schooling for minoritized youth.

Research aims and main findings

Supplementary school are sites of significant importance in the educational pathway of minoritized youth. This research project aimed to explore how supplementary schools affect pupils' educational experiences. In the following section we return to the research questions as we formulated them in the introduction and summarize our main findings from each chapter.

RQ1. Bringing together the research on community education, what can we derive?

By conducting an extensive review of the existing literature, which included peer reviewed papers empirically describing cases of community organized education[6], we have synthesized a comprehensive framework that encompasses the diverse types of community education. Our analysis of the objectives pursued by these initiatives has revealed commonalities that transcend organizational differences. We found that from an organizational perspective we can distinguish three forms of educational spaces. First, spaces that are organized informally. These spaces happen more haphazardly and are dependent on contacts in the children's own social circle. The second, and most frequently organized type of community education are the after-hours educational spaces. These schools are usually organized in the weekend and rely on volunteers. They have a curriculum and a preset timetable (Bocale, 2023; Hancock, 2012; Lan Curdt-Christiansen & Hancock, 2014; Lytra & Martin, 2010a; Wei, 2006). Many of the after-hours school, though not all, teach heritage language and culture classes. And last, full-time instances of community organized education, do not supplement but rather replace the mainstream schools. In terms of purpose orientation, we found that spaces can be differentiated based on their main emphasis which can be qualification, socialization, or individual development. These

[6] *For the search words and searched Databases as well as a step-to-step guide of the systematic review we refer to table 1 in the first empirical chapter.*

are not mutually exclusive, and we found that many of the schools take up a socialization function. This variety in both organization and purpose orientation signifies that minoritized communities exhibit innovation and flexibility in addressing educational needs, whether through informal, after-hours, or full-time approaches of organization. This finding provides a compelling rationale for adopting a shared framework, such as the one presented in this study, to examine educational initiatives within minoritized communities (Bridglall et al., 2005; Burman & Miles, 2018). By utilizing this framework, we can eliminate blind spots and refine our understanding of community education.

RQ2. How do initiators of supplementary schools in Flanders describe the purposes and motivations of their schools?

After having distinguished three forms of community education in terms of organization, we focused our attention on after-hours schooling, or supplementary schooling. These schools usually take place in the weekend and are specifically interesting to study as the pupils follow these classes in addition to their mainstream schools. Research into supplementary schools remains limited and focuses to a large extent on Anglo-Saxon countries such as the UK and the US. In Flanders, there has been some research into Polish schools and Chinese schools (Piqueray et al., 2016; Sun & Braeye, 2013), yet, acknowledging that the achievement gap among majority and minority youth in Flanders continues to be one of the largest in Europe (Franck & Nicaise, 2015) and that almost half of the pupils with a migration background attend supplementary schooling at a certain time (Coudenys et al, under review), more research is needed to understand what roles these schools play in the lives of minoritized youth. In this dissertation we did this by mainly studying the goals of these schools and the resources they make available to youth. These schools do not only generate resources through the development of a school curriculum, but also, they make a range of resources accessible to a broader group of individuals beyond just enrolled students (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Supplementary schools serve as spaces where abundant resources are present, various actors establish relationships, and participants strive for "success" within mainstream society, defined in diverse ways. These schools act as intermediaries, translating community resources into functional resources, and enabling community members to access different forms of capital (Steenwegen & Clycq, 2023).

School initiators not only support parents and children in achieving community-level objectives, such as language proficiency, cultural heritage understanding, and the cultivation of pride and self-confidence, but also prioritize the bridging of differences and connection with outgroup individuals and institutions as fundamental aspects of their work (Andrews, 2014; Francis et al., 2010a; Gaiser & Hughes, 2015; Gerrard, 2013; Rose, 2013; Strand, 2007; Walters, 2011). However, this does not imply that tensions do not exist within these schools or that they should be idealized as harmonious spaces where all members coexist blissfully due to shared language and cultural understanding. Supplementary schools strive to create spaces where these tensions can be addressed, and inequalities challenged—sometimes even explicitly resisted—by empowering community members and providing opportunities for self-development and skill expansion (Khachikian, 2019; Lee & Zhou, 2017; Lu, 2013). Simultaneously, initiators demonstrate an awareness of ingroup tensions and endeavor to bridge them within the context of their schools by openly acknowledging and directly confronting the individuals and social groups involved.

As we argued above that an empirical exploration of a variety of supplementary schools remained lacking, we have sought to close that gap by interviewing the initiators of twelve different supplementary schools in Flanders. Our analysis has provided a more nuanced understanding of the purposes and motives described by initiators of supplementary schools in Flanders. In terms of purpose-orientation, we found that when it comes to qualification the initiators hoped to support them academically in their mainstream schooling, to help them maintain a diploma from the heritage country and, to – in the end – provide better economic opportunities for their youth. In the socialization-orientation the initiators hoped to teach their pupils about their heritage language and various cultural elements such as cultural traditions and dances as well as geography and history. Last, in terms of individual development they aimed to support the children's development of multiple identities and to nurture a sense of pride.

The motives underlying these purposes shed some light on the versatility and creativity of the initiators to meet various educational needs. We distinguished three thematic groups of motives, the first related to experiences in mainstream education and more specifically to experience of exclusion or inequality. The second related to connection to the heritage country in enabling communication with family members but also in facilitating a possible return. The last main motive the initiators sought to bridge the gaps they perceived between parents and children on the one hand and between their community and Flemish society on the other.

The underlying motives behind these purposes are crucial for comprehending the educational reality of minoritized communities. Variances in motives for learning the heritage language, for instance, not only shed light on the mechanisms driving supplementary schooling but also likely impact the attitudes of students and parents towards mainstream education. Communities oriented towards a potential return to their heritage country may interact with mainstream education differently from those who envision their future in Belgium and seek to learn the heritage language for improved communication with family members. Communities with a history of suppression and resistance to assimilation, such as the Armenian and the Albanian in our fieldwork, are also likely to emphasize the importance of preserving their language in distinct ways. The reasons behind their emigration, such as war or economic factors, influence their relationship with the host country and shape the motivations behind the purposes of supplementary schools.

Contrary to previous literature (Andrews, 2014; Hall, Özerk, et al., 2002) , which primarily assumed that supplementary schools addressed gaps in mainstream education, our findings reveal that these schools not only fill these gaps but also exist within and respond to the complex social context in which they are embedded. They are often situated within mainstream classrooms, borrowed "after hours," and continuously negotiate the expectations of mainstream education in terms of supporting the mainstream curriculum. The schools aim to address negative experiences in mainstream society, maintain connections with the heritage country, and achieve successful integration into Flemish society. They exhibit resourcefulness in meeting the educational needs of minoritized youth. These findings should be understood in the Flemish context which is rather assimilationist and structurally unequal in terms of educational outcomes (Pulinx et al., 2017).
The needs they meet are specific to the community and very with each community's experience as well as how long they have been in Flanders. Recent immigrants have different needs in matters of navigating society than third or fourth generations do. First generation migrants for example have more needs in terms of translation, which many of the schools offer through volunteers recruited in the community. The focus of the communities that had a longer history in Flanders were more specific with the Italian and Greek community emphasizing the advantages of speaking another language, the Turkish community focus on homework support and the Chinese community on bridging differences between parents and children through language acquisition. More research comparing community schools in the same context as well as research comparing schools across contexts would highlight how each context affects the different communities' needs (Burman & Miles, 2018).

RQ3. How do minoritized pupils, who attend supplementary schools in addition to their mainstream Flemish schools, perceive the relationship to their teachers in each school?

Building upon the previous studies, we aimed to advance our shared understanding of supplementary schooling by focusing on the experiences of the youth attending these schools. Considering that many of the supplementary schools have a socialization orientation, we set out to explore the pupils' views on these socialization processes. The perspectives of primary school pupils, who are most likely to attend weekend schooling, are often represented in the literature. Within this chapter we have sought to bring their experiences to the foreground. Socialization occurs to a large extent through social contacts and in an educational context the teacher tends to be the catalysator of these processes (Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Moore, 2013; Regnerus, 2000; Sigel, 1970; Zhang et al., 2018). Therefore, the student-teacher relationship, which is often under pressure for minoritized youth in mainstream Flemish schools (D'Hondt et al., 2016; Nouwen & Clycq, 2019), was the subject of this empirical research chapter.

By examining student-teacher relationships in two distinct settings – one characterized by ethnic congruence (Charki et al., 2022; Thijs et al., 2012) between students and teachers, the supplementary schools, catering to pupils with a shared ethnocultural background with a curriculum focused on ethno-cultural identity taught by teachers with a similar heritage background, and the other where this is not prevalent (mainstream schools with predominantly Flemish-White teachers) – we conducted in depth interviews with children to investigate which elements of the relationship were prevalent in the pupils' own experience. Surprisingly, contrary to expectations based on prior research(Carr & Klassen, 1997; Koomen & Jellesma, 2015; Magaldi et al., 2018; Murray et al., 2008), we discovered that the pupils in our study did not mention ethnicity or cultural background when evaluating their relationships with teachers.
Furthermore, we found that even young children could identify various aspects of the student-teacher relationship that held importance for them, rather than perceiving clear contextual differences between their two schools. The children emphasized the significance of emotional support and closeness as key qualities in their relationships with (Koomen & Jellesma, 2015) Notably, the pupils we interviewed indicated that teachers seemed less accessible in the mainstream school, which had an impact on both pupils' emotional and academic assessment of the relationship. The pupils felt that teachers in mainstream schools were less likely to intervene in conflict situations, leading to an overall less pleasant atmosphere. In terms of academic support, pupils also differentiated between the two contexts, with teachers in mainstream schools being less approachable when seeking help. In contrast, teachers in supplementary schools were more readily available to provide assistance (Reddy et al., 2003; Ruzek et al., 2016).

The children also astutely acknowledged that organizational differences could contribute to the lack of availability of teachers in the mainstream school. They recognized that factors such as class size and overall workload influenced teachers' behavior more than their willingness to help. Despite these differences, the students expressed appreciation for their teachers in both contexts. They particularly valued instances when their mainstream schoolteachers showed an interest in what they had learned at the supplementary school. However, research (Coudenys et al, 2023) indicates that most teachers are unaware of the existence of supplementary schools, despite a significant percentage of students from minority backgrounds attending them at some point. Several of the students we interviewed shared this experience. Nonetheless, the students felt supported when they discussed instances of mainstream teachers showing curiosity about their cultural backgrounds and experiences in the supplementary schools, this occurred both in the Russian and Arabic language school. Pupils in both schools indicate however that they preferred not to mention their supplementary schools in the mainstream school because they felt it was very separate and the teachers would not be interested. Interestingly, even though supplementary schools are community specific and they respond to the needs in their communities, which experience various challenges in Flemish society, we found that both when talking to the initiators and to the children attending the schools that their experiences were very similar. The pupils we talked to in each school gave similar accounts on how they perceived the relationship to their teachers in each school. Further research into these mechanics could lay bare more detail. For example, the children interdependently describe moments in which they felt the mainstream schoolteacher to be unavailable. In the paper we chose not to delve too deep into the differences between the two schools in our sample. We were reluctant to do so because it might make the schools into an exemplary Russian and an exemplary Arabic heritage language school, whereas we believe it is very likely that other schools teaching Russian or Arabic are very different and do not necessarily share the same traits. For that reason, we focused on the pupils' experience of attending a supplementary school in addition to their mainstream school without unraveling all the specificities of that community school. Further research could certainly take an in-depth approach into different schools from the same ethno-cultural background to untangle the different processes at play.

RQ4. How do the pupils attending supplementary schools construct a sense of school belonging?

The third study brought to light some interesting venues for further research. Specifically, the notion of belonging seemed to implicitly play a significant role in the children's narratives. In the fourth

study and with the final research question we aim to explore how students attending supplementary schools construct their sense of belonging within these educational spaces.

Studies indicate that minoritized youth have a lower sense of belonging compared to their majority peers (Allen et al., 2018; Franck & Nicaise, 2015; Yuval-Davis, 2011). However existing research on school belonging often overlooks the perspectives of children with a migration background (Halse, 2018; Kustatscher, 2017). To better understand how minoritized youth construct a sense of school belonging, we can leverage the fact that these youth not only attend mainstream day-to-day schooling but also participate in supplementary community schooling on weekends. This unique circumstance provides an interesting vantage point from which to explore their experiences of belonging. These pupils navigate both a mainstream school which are often more assimilationist with a monolingual bias, and a supplementary school where their heritage background and language are recognized, nurtured, and shared (Creese et al., 2011; Hall et al., 2002; Simon, 2018). Considering the contextual and multifaceted nature of belonging, we interpret school belonging from spatial, relational, and emotional perspectives (Wood & Black, 2018) This approach acknowledges that the children's sense of belonging is attached to each space, and it leaves room for the different dimensions of their interpretation.

From a spatial perspective, the pupils naturally compare the two educational contexts. The mainstream and supplementary schools differ in terms of organization, curriculum, time, and also as a symbolic 'ethno-cultural' spaces that determine how the children's backgrounds are valued. The space is connected to specific cultural repertoires associated with each space. The pupils highlight their shared cultural repertoires (Lamont & Small, 2008) in the supplementary school, which serve as a foundation of sameness upon which they construct a sense of belonging. Similarly, from a relational perspective, the pupils perceive a sense of belonging as intertwined with their friendships (Goodenow, 1993; McDonnell, 2016). The notion of having friends and feeling a sense of belonging are closely intertwined. Reflecting the homophilic tendency in forming friendships (McPherson et al., 2001; Stark et al., 2015; Stark & Flache, 2012), the pupils exhibit a similar tendency in constructing a sense of belonging. They emphasize their similarities to explain why they feel a stronger sense of belonging in the supplementary school. At times, they overlook the diverse character of the supplementary school and instead focus on an imagined shared religion which they "feel" to be true even if it may not be entirely accurate as such de facto constructing a sense of belonging. While in the previous chapter on student-teacher relationships in supplementary and mainstream schools did not find shared ethnic background to be decisive for the pupils' evaluation of relationships, we found that shared cultural repertoires play a crucial role in their sense of school belonging. Furthermore, the role of teachers is negligible in the children's perception of belonging.

Regarding the emotional perspective on belonging, language and linguistic proficiency emerged as crucial factors for the interviewed pupils (Van Der Wildt et al., 2017). They felt a sense of belonging in environments where they spoke the dominant language fluently. Language was also perceived as instrumental, either facilitating the formation of friendships or contributing to experiences of exclusion. Overall, the children's sense of belonging was intertwined with having friends, aligning with previous research. Conversely, in spaces where they felt excluded, they expressed a lack of belonging. This is particularly significant in a context where heritage languages are often discouraged in mainstream schools (Agirdag, 2010a; Pulinx et al., 2017).

On a more critical note, sense of school belonging is uniformly understood as supportive for children's wellbeing and social adaptation. For the children in our interviews however, belonging was equated with making friends. For these young pupils, the difference between 'having friends' and 'feeling to belong' seems to be only theoretical in nature. This corresponds with other research into students' experiences on belonging (McDonnell, 2016)This raises questions about the place of 'belongingness' when researching young children's experiences. Further research could look deeper into the complexities of the notion of 'belonging' and its interrelationship with friendships. Furthermore, acknowledging the importance of 'space' in constructing belonging in, both as a concrete place and as a more abstract space (Conteh & Brock, 2011; Wood & Black, 2018) it would be worthwhile to add more in-depth interviews with the children on their sense of school belonging in the mainstream schools as well.

Theoretical implications

This collection of studies on community education yields important theoretical implications for our understanding of educational practices and experiences. These studies challenge prevailing narratives on minoritized children's educational pathways and shed light on the resourcefulness and agency of minoritized communities in shaping their educational contexts (Fine et al., 2000; Rose, 2013; Ryan et al., 2008).

The systematic literature review on community education highlights the diversity of educational initiatives within minoritized communities and provides a conceptual framework for understanding their organizational forms and objectives. This framework enriches our understanding of community education and emphasizes the need to recognize and value the knowledge and practices of minoritized communities. It challenges the notion of mainstream educational systems as the only educational path in pupils' lives and underscores the importance of acknowledging the agency of minoritized communities in self-organizing education (Esteban-Guitart, 2021; Gonzales et al., 1995; Ngo, 2017; Valenzuela, 2005; Wei, 2014).

The research on supplementary schooling in Flanders reveals the varied motives and purposes underlying these schools. By going beyond fragmented views that focus solely on resistance or heritage language transmission, this study illuminates the comprehensive range of purposes pursued by supplementary schools. It emphasizes the complex needs and desires of minoritized communities and highlights opportunities to address enduring inequalities experienced by minoritized youth in mainstream schools. The findings call for a more comprehensive approach that recognizes and supports the agency of minoritized communities in shaping educational spaces (Farruggio, 2009; Lytra, 2011; Mary & Young, 2018)

The investigation into the student-pupil relationship in mainstream and supplementary schools challenges the assumption that ethnic incongruence is a crucial determinant of this relationship for minoritized pupils (Charki et al., 2022; Thijs et al., 2012). The findings suggest that factors such as class size and teacher availability play a more significant role in shaping the relationship (Blatchford et al., 2003; Rouse, 2005). This highlights the importance of considering contextual factors and individual experiences when examining student-teacher relationships. The study emphasizes the need to move beyond ethnic congruence and underscores the significance of diverse factors in fostering positive relationships between teachers and minoritized pupils, such as openness and curiosity.

The study on the construction of a sense of belonging among minoritized pupils emphasizes the dynamic and contextual nature of belonging (Gummadam et al., 2016; Halse, 2018; Vaccaro & Newman, 2016). By adopting a framework that considers spatial, emotional, and relational perspectives(Halse, 2018; Wood & Black, 2018), the study expands our understanding beyond static notions. It incorporates the perspectives of the pupils themselves, filling the gap in engagement with young people's viewpoints. The findings underscore the significance of belonging for minoritized youth and its impact on their emotional security, relationships, and identity formation.(Halse, 2018)(Halse, 2018)

Summarizing we can highlight the following implications:

- The studies emphasize the resourcefulness and agency of minoritized communities in self-organizing education to meet their diverse educational needs.
- Community education encompasses various organizational forms and objectives, highlighting the need for a conceptual framework to map this diversity.
- Supplementary schools seek to play a crucial role in the educational trajectory of minoritized youth, with varied motives and purposes underlying their establishment.
- The student-teacher relationship is crucial for minoritized pupils' social adjustment, wellbeing, and academic achievement, and factors beyond ethnic

incongruence impact this relationship from the perspective of minoritized pupils.
- Belonging is essential for minoritized pupils, but they often experience lower levels of school belonging. An investigation into their perceptions and experiences is crucial to address this issue as it provides some helpful cues practitioners.
- The studies challenge prevailing narratives, provide nuanced perspectives, and call for a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of educating minoritized students and value the resources of their communities.
- Collectively, these studies challenge existing narratives, deepen our understanding of educational practices within minoritized communities, and highlight the importance of recognizing and valuing the agency of these communities in shaping educational spaces.

Reflections

As we mentioned earlier, a significant number of minoritized children and youth attend supplementary schools at some point in their educational journey (Coudenys et al, 2023). This attendance is likely to impact their educational pathways, as these schools often resemble regular schools in terms of their organizational structure and terminology. However, it's worth noting that research into the complexities of these supplementary schools remains limited (Burman & Miles, 2018; Gholami, 2017). Much of the existing research in this area has predominantly focused on language learning (Creese et al., 2011; Lytra & Martin, 2010a; Martin et al., 2006; Rosowsky, 2013; Szczepek Reed et al., 2020a) with limited attention given to the processes of socialization (Ahmed, F., 2012; Moore, 2013)

Within our project, we aimed to contribute to this body of work by adopting an explorative approach. We began by conducting a comprehensive review of the existing literature and subsequently proceeded to empirical research through in-depth qualitative investigations within the Flemish context. This endeavor posed several challenges. Our goal was not solely to examine supplementary schools; rather, we aimed to bring them together under a theoretical framework that recognizes them as various manifestations of the same phenomenon. This approach required us to draw from diverse disciplines and consider community-based educational spaces, heritage language schools, and religious full-time schools. The advantage of this comprehensive approach is that it highlights the diversity of educational spaces organized by minoritized communities in superdiverse societies. Consequently, it may encourage researchers to adopt a more holistic perspective when describing these spaces, thereby acknowledging their inherent richness (Mirza & Reay, 2000b).

However, it is important to acknowledge that this approach may overlook the nuanced differences among these schools and fail to account for the specificities of each community and their local contexts. There is a risk of oversimplifying each community school's characteristics. Nonetheless, we believe that theoretically bringing together these diverse bodies of work can enhance our understanding of the educational needs of minoritized communities and the many resources they possess.

From this broad theoretical perspective, we transitioned to an empirical approach within the Flemish context, which had limited prior research on community-organized schooling (Piqueray et al., 2016; Sun & Braeye, 2013).This region is characterized by significant educational inequality (Franck & Nicaise, 2015). In this phase, we began with an overview of different supplementary schools organized by various communities. We conducted interviews with 12 supplementary school initiators to gain insights into the needs they aimed to address and their objectives. While this overview provided valuable insights, it also risked oversimplifying the specific characteristics of each school and the diverse experiences of communities in Flanders. It may not fully consider the unique challenges faced by newly arrived Syrian communities compared to established third or fourth-generation Greek communities.

Moreover, grouping different communities together offers a wealth of information about the goals initiators hope to achieve but may inadvertently present each community school as a prototype. In reality, Thai supplementary schools in Flanders, for example, may have significantly different needs, motivations, and responses. However, the structure of an empirical paper may not always accommodate these nuanced differences.

Our explorative research generated a vast amount of information, some of which was expected, while some findings were surprising. It felt as though we were only scratching the surface, leaving us eager for more. In our second and third empirical studies, we delved deeper into the experiences of the children attending these schools, providing valuable perspectives that are often overlooked in research (Kostet, 2021). When discussing the relationships between the children and their teachers, we found that the children offered detailed and nuanced insights. While our findings may offer some guidance for teachers in improving their relationships with minoritized students, we also encountered challenges.
Similar to our approach when interviewing initiators of different schools, we aimed to avoid portraying the schools in our sample as prototypes of Arabic and Russian language schools, respectively. There were discernible differences between these schools but attributing them solely to cultural backgrounds or other factors proved difficult. Additionally, we chose not to delve into individual pupils' characteristics for several reasons. Firstly, we relied on the pupils' own descriptions, which sometimes proved challenging, as young children were not always accustomed to discussing their backgrounds. Secondly, the diversity of the schools meant that students likely had varied experiences. For instance, a young Muslim girl from Kazakhstan wearing a headscarf in the Russian heritage language school may have had a different experience from a boy with roots in Ukraine. Acknowledging these individual differences within the confines of an empirical paper presented a challenge.

In a research project, making choices is inevitable. Our explorative, qualitative research provided us with a wealth of information, and we had to select certain aspects to focus on while leaving others aside. This structured approach, where we pose and respond to research questions, necessitates simplification of the complex reality.

Similarly, in our final empirical paper, we examined how students constructed their sense of belonging in different contexts. "Sense of belonging" is a rather abstract concept, so we approached it from three perspectives: spatial, emotional, and relational (Wood & Black, 2018). Translating these abstract concepts into the concrete experiences of the pupils, and vice versa, presented a challenge. During interviews, students often expressed that their ability to make friends was crucial to feeling a sense of belonging. Balancing their perspective while maintaining a multidimensional understanding of "belonging" proved challenging.

In essence, our explorative approach is akin to an appetizer in a three-course meal; it ignites curiosity and leaves one yearning for more. As other researchers have argued, supplementary schools are rich in unexplored research avenues (Burman & Miles, 2018; Gordon et al., 2005; Maylor et al., 2013e; Shirazi, 2014). We have illuminated a corner of the tapestry, shedding light on the experiences of pupils attending supplementary schools in Flanders and the socialization processes occurring within them. However, many aspects remain unexplained. Future in-depth qualitative research should investigate the experiences of students in various schools, their interactions with mainstream schools, and the perspectives of parents, teachers, and mainstream school educators. In our view, this project underscores the importance of approaching these schools with an open and inquisitive attitude, with the hope that it will spark your curiosity for further exploration.

Limitations

In addition to the specific limitations which we discussed in each empirical chapter, there are some general limitations to this research project that should be taken into consideration.

First, during the phase in which fieldwork was planned for the second study the covid-19 pandemic

and ensuing lockdowns provided important challenges in conducting qualitative research (Pocock et al., 2021; Torrentira, 2020). As most of the supplementary schools were closed for long stretches of time, participant observations and ethnographic field work were not practically feasible. To ensure the progression of the research project, we therefore narrowed our focus to interviews with the initiators during this period. Due to travel restrictions and social distancing measures most of the interviews took place online. Though this did provide both the participants and the researcher with more flexibility, it also limited the opportunity to provide 'thick' descriptions of the workings of the schools (Denham & Onwuegbuzie, 2013). It is possible that the pandemic might have changed the participants perspectives as it altered their experiences. However, it also proved the flexibility of the initiators in responding to their communities' needs as they described how they actively coped with worries and questions concerning the pandemic.

Another limitation is that regarding our positionality as a White researcher in minoritized, contested spaces, or spaces that have been the subject of disagreement as supplementary schools repeatedly have been (Britton, 2020; Chadderton, 2012; Swartz, 2011; Vanner, 2015). These limitations arise from the inherent power dynamics vice versa interviewer and interviewee, and potential implicit biases that can influence the research process and outcomes. To confront our own implicit prejudices, we have tried to critically self-reflect, and have continuously examined our own biases in conversations with supervisors and colleagues. Notwithstanding these strategies to address this bias, difficulties remain. we are aware that there were some challenges in building trust and rapport with participants, especially when discussing experiences of racism of inequality in Flemish society. Throughout the interviews, we have tried to actively listen to participants, including the children as participants, a group of participants that is incredibly value but also challenging to interview, valuing their perspectives, and acknowledging their expertise. There is a risk of unintentionally misrepresenting the experiences and perspectives of the participants. We have sought to be conscious of our positionality and in how it limits us from fully understanding the experience of minoritized groups. The communities we visited have always welcomed us warmly and were very open in discussing their supplementary schools. We have tried to do their trust justice by telling the alternative narrative of community education in every way that we can.

Another limitation lies in the methodological approach. Though an explorative approach is best suited to investigate these relatively unknown educational spaces, more in-depth research to better understand the complexities at play is certainly wanted for. We found that the schools are flexible and adaptive in the ways they function and therefore other sites in different contexts are likely to have different purposes, motives, and mechanisms (Steenwegen & Clycq, 2023). Furthermore, the principal researcher of the project was the interviewer as well the data analyst, not providing much opportunity for triangulation. From a constructivist perspective, we understand that all stakeholders in the supplementary schools give their own meaning to the processes that take place there and we have sought to reflect that. Research methods which ethnographically study the workings of the schools over a longer period of time, would add more nuance to our rendering of supplementary schools in Flanders and the interplay with Flemish society. Future research could probe further into how the experiences of the pupils affect them in their mainstream schools as well as in which ways parents feel supported by the schools and the school's networks (McPake & Powney, 1998)

Lastly, it is important to note that in these studies we have focused on specific communities, and these findings are not necessarily true for other contexts or populations. It is necessary to consider the economic, cultural, social, and educational variations across different regions and communities, as well as the variations in attitudes from the majority towards different minority groups, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of education within minoritized communities.

These limitations serve as important points to consider when interpreting the findings and drawing implications. They also highlight the need for further research to address these limitations and broaden our understanding of education within minoritized communities.

Recommendations

Avenues for future research

The findings and recommendations from these four empirical chapters provide valuable insights and suggest several compelling avenues for future research in the field of education and sociology. First, to advance the field, future research should rely on a shared theoretical background to comprehensively describe and analyze cases of community education and accumulate insights in this topic (Baldridge et al., 2017; Bridglall et al., 2005). We believe that the framework we offered in the first study is well suited for this purpose. This will facilitate a deeper understanding of the diverse forms, objectives, and impacts of community education initiatives. It is important to consider the different organizational forms and purposes of community education when assessing their impact, recognizing that different types of initiatives may have varying goals and outcomes.

Second, further research is needed to explore the dynamics and experiences within supplementary schools. Understanding how the purposes of these schools are translated into classroom interactions and the impact on student learning outcomes can provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of these alternative educational settings. Additionally, investigating how students perceive and navigate multiple educational settings, such as mainstream and supplementary schools, can shed light on the challenges and opportunities they encounter in their educational trajectories.

Another, and third, important area for future research is the examination of community education's impact on individual students. Exploring the effects of community education initiatives on students' experiences in mainstream schools and their academic, social, and individual outcomes can provide insights into the role these initiatives play in addressing educational inequalities. More research is needed to understand how pupils navigate attending two culturally different educational contexts. Using qualitative methods that include fieldwork in both the mainstream school and the supplementary school would add to our understanding of how pupils negotiate the different schools and how they can benefit from it. There is a need for more extensive research to comprehensively grasp how students and pupils navigate the complex terrain of attending two culturally distinct educational contexts. Employing qualitative research methods, which involve immersive fieldwork in both the mainstream school and the supplementary school, can significantly enhance our understanding of how students negotiate the challenges and opportunities presented by these diverse educational environments. Such research can shed light on the ways in which students benefit from this dual educational experience and how it shapes their educational trajectories.

Fourth, research focusing on the student-teacher relationship is also essential given the often-problematic experience of minoritized pupils in this relationship and the positive effects that a good relationship can have (Nouwen & Clycq, 2019) . Future studies can build upon the findings of existing research to investigate the impact of relationships formed in supplementary schools on students' adjustment and performance in mainstream schools. By exploring the complexities of the student-teacher relationship in diverse educational contexts, researchers can inform the development of inclusive and supportive teaching practices.

Fifth, further exploration of how children construct a sense of belonging is warranted. Investigating the intersection between language, belonging, and academic and affective aspects of schooling can provide insights into the impact of language policies on students' sense of belonging. Additionally, recognizing children as active agents in their constructions of belonging and involving them in the process of enhancing their sense of belonging can contribute to more inclusive and empowering educational environments.

And last, to advance our understanding of how supplementary schooling can disrupt ongoing social inequalities, it is essential to employ innovative research methods. One promising approach is to embrace participant action research designs that investigate the potential positive impacts of collaborations between supplementary and mainstream schools on student-teacher relationships and the sense of belonging among all pupils (Ataöv & Haider, 2006; Shamrova & Cummings, 2017; van Bijleveld et al., 2021) By actively involving mainstream schoolteachers, supplementary schoolteachers,

initiators, and the students themselves in such collaborations, we can unlock intriguing avenues of exploration.

In this context, a project might involve an exchange between a mainstream and a supplementary classroom. Within the mainstream school, all students could collectively formulate research questions related to what they would like to learn, particularly from their classmates attending supplementary schools. These collaborative initiatives hold the potential to authentically capture the complexities of students' experiences while also exploring practical ways to tap into their expertise.

Such an approach not only contributes to our knowledge of the educational journeys of minoritized children but also paves the way for the formulation of policy recommendations. It fosters a dynamic partnership that engages key stakeholders, thereby offering a holistic perspective on how supplementary schooling can make a difference.

Recommendations for policymakers and practitioners

These in-depth qualitative studies into supplementary schooling in Flanders bring some valuable insights for practitioners and policymakers in Flanders and beyond. We highlight five recommendations that can be applied to educational practices.

Recognize the Versatility of Community Education

Not many teachers are familiar with community education or supplementary schooling in Flanders. By getting better acquainted with such educational spaces, teachers' attitude towards minoritized communities can be positively impacted, they can use their knowledge of these spaces to connect to their minoritized students and more knowledge of community schools can counter (implicit) deficit views of ethnic minorities. Practitioners can then acknowledge the value of community education initiatives in meeting the diverse educational needs of minoritized youth. They may find inspiration from the innovative approaches employed by these initiatives and explore opportunities for collaboration and resource-sharing between mainstream schools and community schools.

Foster Collaboration with Supplementary Schools

Practitioners need to be aware that a significant number of minoritized youth attend supplementary schools alongside mainstream schools. It is crucial to bridge the gap between these two educational spaces by having teachers gain insight into the purposes and support systems provided by supplementary schools. This knowledge can facilitate collaboration, allowing practitioners to tap into the resources and experiences offered by supplementary schools to better support the educational trajectories of minoritized youth. Throughout the interviews initiators of supplementary schooling indicated that they wished for more communication and collaboration with the pupils' mainstream schools but found it difficult to establish a lasting contact. If teachers are more aware of the resources available in the supplementary school and their frequent occurrence, they are more likely to maintain durable contacts with the supplementary schoolteachers, for the benefit of the pupils. The practitioners in the supplementary schools can recognize their students as active agents in their educational experience and it that way encourage greater collaboration between these two educational settings. These students, who navigate both contexts, are best equipped to determine how to establish meaningful connections between the two.

Embrace Multilingualism and Sense of Belonging

Language and a sense of belonging are deeply interconnected for minoritized youth. Practitioners should recognize the importance of multilingualism in fostering a positive sense of school belonging. Policies that restrict or penalize the use of heritage languages can negatively impact students' sense of belonging. It is crucial to create inclusive language policies that value and support the

linguistic diversity of students, promoting a positive and inclusive school environment. Simultaneously, the schools can celebrate the pupils' multilingualism by offering a space in which they can freely translanguage and use their multiple language in a positive way.

Empower Pupils as Active Participants

Pupils, even at a young age, play an active role in constructing their sense of belonging. Practitioners, in each school setting, should actively involve students, in the process of enhancing their sense of belonging. By valuing their perspectives and experiences, practitioners can create a collaborative and inclusive learning environment that respects students' agency and empowers them to shape their educational journey.

Enhance the Student-Teacher Relationship

The student-teacher relationship is significant for all students and students with an ethnic minority background benefit from a strong relationship to a great extent. Policy makers in the mainstream context should strive to increase the ethno-cultural diversity among teachers to better represent the student population. In the short term, teachers can enhance their understanding of students' experiences and perspectives by being attentive and aware of the pupils' ethno-cultural background and their experiences. Children indicate that when teachers take an interest in their experience at the supplementary school that this positively impacts their relationship to them. An open attitude and curiosity can help to foster positive relationships and support the educational development of minoritized students. The teachers in the supplementary schools can likewise inquire about the pupils' experiences in the mainstream schools to open the figurative doors between the two educational spaces.

By implementing these recommendations, and first and foremost by ensuring that teachers are more aware of the existence of supplementary schooling and what takes place in these pivotal spaces, practitioners can promote inclusive and supportive educational environments, ensuring the well-being and academic success of minoritized youth in diverse educational settings.

An epilogue

We started this dissertation with a personal background story on our experiences during a research stay in Montreal, and we would like to end in the same way.

Coming to Montreal as a family for a few months has been quite the adventure. We traveled, we tried new foods, we shared our day-to-day experiences, we explored the city, we lay in the sun, we went on hikes, we went to the beach, we drank cocktails and regional wine, we learned magic tricks, we went ice fishing, we ate moose. This research stay has been an amazing opportunity with new friends, new interests, new insights and, also, quite some new challenges. Not only in the preparations beforehand, the Kafkaesque task of finding schools, housing, and hospital insurance. Not only finding a way to safely bring the dog, even in freezing winter temperatures. Not only in getting acquainted with the inhospitable climate of Quebec in a never-ending winter. Not only in dusting off our French language skills. The true challenge lied in experiencing the life of a migrant. Albeit temporarily, albeit with all privilege, albeit without financial concerns, albeit with a safety net of some friends, albeit knowing we would go home soon, being a migrant temporarily has been the best possible exercise in empathy.

These experiences taught me that being a migrant means that support networks are important. These are our experiences, with all our privileges, without being confronted with racism, without having experienced the trauma of fleeing or being uprooted. To conclude this dissertation, I will share some of these experiences which taught me empathy.

Our five-year-old peeing his pants in school because he does not have the French words to ask how to go to the toilet.

The realization that our almost two-year-old, even after such a brief period, does not have a recollection of who her grandparents are.

Our children with socks in their walking shoes while it is 35 degrees out because we could not figure out where to go for children's sandals (the mall apparently…).

Sitting behind our computer, working, while our father and brother attend our grandmother's funeral.

Being the only parents who didn't put sunscreen in our son's backpack because we didn't know it was expected as teachers apply sunscreen in Dutch schools.

Not knowing who to contact, the hospital or a doctor, after our son made a nasty fall and we were afraid he broke his eye socket (we video-called a friend in the Netherlands, who is a doctor).

Our thirteen-year-old who is bored in school and who is taught the courses he had when he was nine, because he does not speak French. For him it is three months in a 'classe d'acceuil' after which he will go back. His classmates in Montreal will stay in the same class for two years, some of them 16 already.

Always kissing people on the wrong cheek first which makes me feel awkward and makes for some very clumsy encounters.

Our five-year-old screaming in the playground because he does not understand what others tell or ask him. His behavior erratic at times because he finds that is the only way for him to express himself.

Our thirteen-year-old waiting at the beach for two hours in vain for his new friends. They did not manage to meet up successfully because they did not have a shared language to understand each other.

Me, video calling my best friend and her baby every morning after missing the birth of her daughter.

Me, crying in the supermarket, because I can't find the soy yoghurt and I don't know how to cook with ingredients that are all different.

Me, meeting up with other PhD students from Belgium, sharing our experiences. Talking Dutch. Comparing Flanders to Quebec.

Us, watching animation films in Dutch together.

Us, a home away from home.

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7. Appendix

Interview guidelines initiators study 2

Interviewleidraad Community School Initiators

Introductie interview

Goeiedag. In de eerste plaats wil ik u bedanken om met mij in gesprek te gaan in het kader van mijn onderzoek. Het doel van dit gesprek is om uw **mening** te horen over bepaalde zaken op de school. Ik heb hiervoor enkele vragen voorbereid. Ik schat dat het gesprek ongeveer een uur zal duren.

Ik wil nog een keer zeggen dat u **geen verkeerde antwoorden** kan geven, het is vooral belangrijk dat u gewoon zegt wat u zelf denkt. U mag daarbij alles zeggen wat in u opkomt. Centraal in dit interview staan dus uw beleving en perceptie. Wanneer iets niet volledig duidelijk is voor mij zal ik om nog wat verduidelijking vragen.

Wat hier gezegd wordt ga ik **strikt vertrouwelijk en anoniem** behandelen. Dit wil zeggen dat ik niets ga doorvertellen en dat ik bij de bespreking van mijn resultaten schuilnamen zal gebruiken.

Concreet ga ik eerst met u een korte *vragenlijst* overlopen en daarna gaan we over naar de open vragen.

Ik zou wel graag het gesprek **opnemen**, zodat ik er achteraf nog eens naar kan luisteren en zo beter uw mening kan bestuderen. Is dit in orde voor jou?

Hebt u nog andere **vragen of bedenkingen** voordat we van start gaan?

	Richttijd
Achtergrondvragen – building rapport	**7’**
Achtergrondvragen	
Opzet Weekenschool	**5’**
- Kunt u een doorsnee lesdag beschrijven? - Hebben jullie binnen het team veel contact over de leerlingen? - Op welke manier plannen jullie binnen het team?	
Doelen/curriculum Weekenschool	**10’**
Algemeen - Wat is volgens u de bedoeling van de weekendschool? - Waarom is dat belangrijk? - Wat onderneemt u om dit te bereiken? En met wie?	
Curriculum - Hoe bepalen jullie wat er geleerd wordt? - Praten jullie binnen het team over deze doelen? - Hoe zetten jullie dat concreet om? - Op welke manier evalueren jullie?	

	Richttijd
Leerkracht-leerling relatie	**10’**
- Hoe zou u de leerkrachten beschrijven die hier werken? - Hoe ziet de samenstelling van jullie team eruit? - Hoe werven jullie leerkrachten? - Welke expertise zoeken jullie bij het werven van leerkrachten? Wat vinden jullie daarin belangrijk? - Hoe ziet u de rol van de leerkrachten op uw school? - Hoe ziet u de verhouding tussen de leerkrachten onderling? - Hoe is de verhouding tussen de leerkrachten en leerlingen? - Ervaart u de relatie tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten positief? Hoezo? Hoe ziet u dat? - Kunt u de omgang tussen leerlingen en leerkracht beschrijven? Denkt u dan aan een concreet voorbeeld?	
Leerling	**10’**
• Wat hoopt u dat de leerlingen leren op de weekendschool? • Waarom vindt u dat belangrijk? • Hoe werkt u eraan om dat te bereiken? • Denkt u dat kinderen graag naar de weekendschool komen? Waarom wel/niet? • Wat hoopt u dat de kinderen van de weekendschool meenemen naar hun reguliere school?	
Verhouding MS-school	**5’**
• Wat vertellen leerlingen over hun reguliere school? • Hebben julllie ook contact met de leerkrachten op de reguliere school? • Welk beeld heeft u van de reguliere scholen? • Hoe verhoudt de weekendschool zich tot de reguliere school? • Zou u graag iets veranderd zien aan die verhouding?	
Toekomst en Uitdagingen	**5’**
• Wat zijn mogelijke uitdagingen voor de weekendschool? • Op welke manier wordt u daarmee geconfronteerd? • Hoe ziet u de weekendschool verder evolueren in de toekomst?	

	Richttijd
Slotvragen	**3’**
Met dit interview heb ik geprobeerd te achterhalen hoe de school is opgericht, wat de school probeert te bereiken, hoe de verhouding met de reguliere school en wat mogelijke uitdagingen zijn. Wilt u daar nog iets aan toevoegen? Of wilt u nog iets anders kwijt?	
Afronding	

Interviewleidraad Community School Initiators

Introductie interview

Goeiedag. In de eerste plaats wil ik u bedanken om met mij in gesprek te gaan in het kader van mijn onderzoek. Het doel van dit gesprek is om uw **mening** te horen over bepaalde zaken op de school. Ik heb hiervoor enkele vragen voorbereid. Ik schat dat het gesprek ongeveer een uur zal duren.

Ik wil nog een keer zeggen dat u **geen verkeerde antwoorden** kan geven, het is vooral belangrijk dat u gewoon zegt wat u zelf denkt. U mag daarbij alles zeggen wat in u opkomt. Centraal in dit interview staan dus uw beleving en perceptie. Wanneer iets niet volledig duidelijk is voor mij zal ik om nog wat verduidelijking vragen.

Wat hier gezegd wordt ga ik **strikt vertrouwelijk en anoniem** behandelen. Dit wil zeggen dat ik niets ga doorvertellen en dat ik bij de bespreking van mijn resultaten schuilnamen zal gebruiken.

Concreet ga ik eerst met u een korte *vragenlijst* overlopen en daarna gaan we over naar de open vragen.

Ik zou wel graag het gesprek **opnemen**, zodat ik er achteraf nog eens naar kan luisteren en zo beter uw mening kan bestuderen. Is dit in orde voor jou?

Hebt u nog andere **vragen of bedenkingen** voordat we van start gaan?

	Richttijd
Achtergrondvragen – building rapport	**7’**
Om wat zicht te krijgen over uw rol hier in deze school, zou u kunnen vertellen hoe u hier ben terecht gekomen, wat uw functie is binnen deze school en wat u hiernaast nog doet? *Hoe bent u op de school terecht gekomen ?* *Wat is uw functie binnen de school ?* *Hoelang bent u al betrokken bij de school ?* *Zitten uw kinderen op de school ?* *Hebt u eerder ook al gewerkt als leerkracht/directie?* *Waarom wilde u graag betrokken zijn bij de school ?*	
Opzet Weekenschool	**5’**
- Kunt u een doorsnee lesdag beschrijven? - Hebben jullie binnen het team veel contact over de leerlingen? - Op welke manier plannen jullie binnen het team?	
Doelen/curriculum Weekenschool	**10’**
Algemeen - Wat is volgens u de bedoeling van de weekendschool? - Waarom is dat belangrijk? - Wat onderneemt u om dit te bereiken? En met wie? Curriculum - Hoe bepalen jullie wat er geleerd wordt? - Praten jullie binnen het team over deze doelen? - Hoe zetten jullie dat concreet om? - Op welke manier evalueren jullie?	

	Richttijd
Leerkracht-leerling relatie	**10’**
- Hoe zou u de leerkrachten beschrijven die hier werken? - Hoe ziet de samenstelling van jullie team eruit? - Hoe werven jullie leerkrachten? - Welke expertise zoeken jullie bij het werven van leerkrachten? Wat vinden jullie daarin belangrijk? - Hoe ziet u de rol van de leerkrachten op uw school? - Hoe ziet u de verhouding tussen de leerkrachten onderling? - Hoe is de verhouding tussen de leerkrachten en leerlingen? - Ervaart u de relatie tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten positief? Hoezo? Hoe ziet u dat? - Kunt u de omgang tussen leerlingen en leerkracht beschrijven? Denkt u dan aan een concreet voorbeeld?	
Leerling	**10’**
• Wat hoopt u dat de leerlingen leren op de weekendschool? • Waarom vindt u dat belangrijk? • Hoe werkt u eraan om dat te bereiken? • Denkt u dat kinderen graag naar de weekendschool komen? Waarom wel/niet? • Wat hoopt u dat de kinderen van de weekendschool meenemen naar hun reguliere school?	
Verhouding MS-school	**5’**
• Wat vertellen leerlingen over hun reguliere school? • Hebben julllie ook contact met de leerkrachten op de reguliere school? • Welk beeld heeft u van de reguliere scholen? • Hoe verhoudt de weekendschool zich tot de reguliere school? • Zou u graag iets veranderd zien aan die verhouding?	
Toekomst en Uitdagingen	**5’**
• Wat zijn mogelijke uitdagingen voor de weekendschool? • Op welke manier wordt u daarmee geconfronteerd? • Hoe ziet u de weekendschool verder evolueren in de toekomst?	

	Richttijd
Slotvragen	**3’**
Met dit interview heb ik geprobeerd te achterhalen hoe de school is opgericht, wat de school probeert te bereiken, hoe de verhouding met de reguliere school en wat mogelijke uitdagingen zijn. Wilt u daar nog iets aan toevoegen? Of wilt u nog iets anders kwijt?	
Afronding	

Background information pupils

Achtergrondinformatie deelnemende leerlingen aan het onderzoek naar de effecten van de weekendschool welzijn en academisch zelfvertrouwen van leerlingen.

Naam: .....

Zelfgekozen naam: .....

Respondentennummer (door onderzoeker in te vullen): .....

.....

School en leerjaar: .....

Geslacht: meisje/jongen/ander

Geboortedatum: ..... /..... / .....

Hoelang kom je al naar de weekendschool?

.....

Waarom kom je naar de weekendschool?

.....

.....

.....

.....

In welke klas zit je in de weekendschool?

.....

Kom je graag naar de weekendschool? Waarom wel/niet?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Vul de nationaliteit (de nationaliteit vind je terug op een identiteitskaart) in van de volgende personen:

Personen	Nationaliteit
Jijzelf	
Jouw moeder	
Jouw vader	

Vul het geboorteland (het land waar men geboren is) in van de volgende personen:

Personen	Geboorteland
Jijzelf	
Jouw moeder	
Jouw vader	
Jouw grootmoeder *(de moeder van jouw moeder)*	
Jouw grootvader *(de vader van jouw moeder)*	
Jouw grootmoeder *(de moeder van jouw vader)*	
Jouw grootvader *(de vader van jouw vader)*	

Welke taal of talen spreken julllie thuis? .....

.....

Wat is jouw religie?

- ☐ Katholiek
- ☐ Protestant
- ☐ Moslim
- ☐ Joods
- ☐ Niet-religieus
- ☐ Andere: .....

Letter to the parents

Julia Steenwegen
PhD onderzoeker
Onderwijswetenschappen

Stadscampus
Sint Jacobstraat 2
20000 Antwerpen

Julia.steenwegen@uantwerpen.be
Kies een item +32 0 000 00 00
Kies een item +32 0 000 00 00
Kies een item +32 0 000 00 00

xw – gebouw + lokaal – Kies retouradres
Aan de ouders

DATUM
Juni 2022

ONDERWERP
Onderzoek Weekendschool

Beste Ouders,

Mijn naam is *Julia Steenwegen*, de hoofdonderzoeker binnen een doctoraatsproject dat tracht meer inzicht te krijgen in hoe leerlingen die in het weekend onderwijs volgen en taallessen krijgen. Om informatie te verzamelen voor het onderzoek zou ik graag uw kind **interviewen** over hun ervaringen aan de weekendschool. Het gaat om een kort gesprek waarin we het hebben over wat ze leren, hoe ze de relatie met hun leerkrachten zien en hoe deelname aan de weekendschool hen persoonlijk ondersteunt.

Zoals u kan lezen in het bijgevoegde formulier wordt alle informatie die ik in het kader van dit onderzoek verzamel, **anoniem** en **vertrouwelijk** verwerkt. Er **worden dus geen namen gebruikt, ook niet van de school**, en de informatie wordt enkel gebruikt voor **wetenschappelijke doeleinden**. Enkel de hoofdonderzoeker van het project zal dus de namen en de daarbij horende gegevens/resultaten met elkaar kunnen linken.

Deelname aan het onderzoek is ook volledig **vrijwillig**, daarom willen we naast de leerlingen, leerkrachten en de directie ook u op de hoogte brengen van dit onderzoek. Ik hoop dan ook dat u het toelaat dat uw zoon/dochter mag deelnemen aan het onderzoek. Als u **NIET** wenst dat uw kind deelneemt aan het onderzoek, vul dan alsjeblieft de informatiestrook onderaan in. ***Als ermee akkoord gaat dat uw kind deelneemt*** is de toestemming van de school en van uw kind voldoende.

Als u nog vragen of opmerkingen heeft kan u mij altijd contacteren via volgende gegevens: ***Julia.Steenwegen@uantwerpen.be*** of telefonisch op +31 640 590 586

Ik, ondertekende, ……

ouder van ……, geef **GEEN** toestemming voor

participatie aan het doctoraatsproject van ***Julia Steenwegen*** van de Universiteit Antwerpen.

Information for participants

Formulier met informatie

Informatieformulier doctoraatsproject “Ervaring van leerlingen die deelnemen aan de weekendschool”

We zouden graag de leerlingen (en de ouders van de leerlingen) van de weekendschool uitnodigen voor deelname aan een onderzoek. Via dit informatieformulier zouden we u graag wat meer uitleg aanbieden.

Wie zijn we? Onderzoekers van de Universiteit van Antwerpen.

Dit onderzoeksproject wordt uitgevoerd door Julia Steenwegen van de Universiteit Antwerpen (vakgroep EduBROn). De begeleiders van de uitvoerende onderzoeker zijn prof. dr. Noel Clycq en prof. dr. Jan Vanhoof. Voor meer informatie over de uitvoerende onderzoeker: *https://www.uantwerpen.be/nl/personeel/julia-steenwegen/*

Wat doen we? Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van de weekendschool de ontwikkeling van de leerlingen.

Het doctoraatsproject probeert inzicht te verwerven de functies van de weekendschool en de ervaringen van de leerlingen die deelnemen. Hierbij gaan we dieper in op de relatie tot de leerkrachten en hoe de leerlingen hun identiteit vormen.

Wat wordt gevraagd?
De onderzoeker zou graag korte interviews uitvoeren met de leerlingen.

De onderzoeker zou graag enkele dagen samen met de leerlingen en de leerkrachten op school **aanwezig zijn** (in het weekend, tijdens de lesdagen). De aanwezigheid van de onderzoeker mag in principe **geen invloed hebben op het klasgebeuren en het lessenpakket**. De onderzoeker kan gezien worden als een neutraal persoon. De betrokken leerlingen zullen ook worden gevraagd om een **gesprek** te hebben met de onderzoeker.

Belangrijk! Al de gegevens worden anoniem verwerkt. Niemand zal uit de resultaten kunnen afleiden vanwaar ze komen. De identiteit van de school, de directie, de leerkrachten en de leerlingen worden beschermd en de gegevens worden **vertrouwelijk** behandeld. De informatie die verzameld wordt, zal worden opgeslagen in een databank waar enkel de onderzoekers toegang tot hebben. De informatie zal enkel worden gebruikt voor wetenschappelijke doeleinden.

Deelname aan het onderzoek is ook volledig **vrijwillig**, en elke deelnemer behoudt het recht om zijn/haar persoonsgegevens in te kijken alsook aan te passen. Elke deelnemer mag ook de resultaten opvragen van het onderzoek en kan zijn of haar deelname op elk moment beeindigen.

Indien je graag meer **informatie** wil of je hebt **vragen** over het doctoraatsproject, kan je de hoofdonderzoeker bereiken aan de hand van volgende **contactgegevens**:

Julia Steenwegen:

julia.steenwegen@uantwerpen.be
03 2659677
of 0031640590586 (whatsapp)

Approval children participants

Document 3b: Toestemmingsformulier leerlingen

Onderzoek:
doctoraatsonderzoek Julia Steenwegen

Verantwoordelijke onderzoeker:
Julia Steenwegen (Universiteit Antwerpen, onderzoeksgroep EduBROn)

Begeleiders:
prof. dr. Noel Clycq (UA, onderzoeksgroep EduBROn) en
prof. dr. Jan Vanhoof (UA, onderzoeksgroep EduBROn),

In te vullen:

Ik weet waarover dit onderzoek gaat. Ze hebben me verteld hoe het onderzoek zal verlopen. Ik weet dat de mijn naam geheim blijft en wat ik zeg niet kan worden doorverteld. Ik kan altijd navragen wat er gebeurt met mijn antwoorden. Ik heb al mijn vragen kunnen stellen aan de onderzoeker.

Ik kies er voor om mee te doen aan het onderzoek. Ik mag er altijd voor kiezen om niet meer mee te werken.

Naam deelnemer: .....

Datum: .....

Handtekening deelnemer:

In te vullen door de uitvoerende onderzoeker:

Ik zal al de vragen die gesteld worden zo goed mogelijk beantwoorden. De leerling mag op elk moment ervoor kiezen om niet meer mee te werken.

Naam onderzoeker: **Julia Steenwegen**

Datum: .....

Handtekening onderzoeker:

Approval parents

Document 3a: Toestemming ouders/voogden

Beste ouder(s) en/of voogd,

Mijn naam is ***Julia Steenwegen***, de hoofdonderzoeker binnen een doctoraatsproject dat tracht meer informatie te verzamelen over de weekendschool het welzijn en academisch zelfvertrouwen van kinderen met migratieachtergrond beinvloed (zie bijgevoegd formulier voor meer gedetailleerde informatie). Om informatie te vergaren zou ik graag gedurende een periode van enkele weken meekijken in de klas van uw kind. Tijdens de observaties zal ik mij neutraal en geheel op de achtergrond opstellen. Mijn taak zal er in bestaan om vanachter in de klas plaats te nemen en nota's te nemen. **Het klasgebeuren wordt niet verstoord**. Voor het onderzoek is het immers essentieel dat de activiteiten binnen de school zo gewoon als mogelijk kunnen plaatsvinden. Daarnaast zal uw kind zal ook kunnen worden uitgenodigd voor een **gesprek** met de onderzoeker.

Zoals u kan lezen in het bijgevoegde formulier wordt alle informatie **anoniem** en **vertrouwelijk** verwerkt. Er **worden dus geen enkele namen gebruikt, ook niet van de school zelf**, en de informatie wordt enkel gebruikt voor **wetenschappelijke doeleinden**.

Deelname aan het onderzoek is ook volledig **vrijwillig**, daarom willen we naast de leerlingen, leerkrachten en de directie zelf ook jullie op de hoogte brengen van de activiteiten. Ik hoop dan ook dat u het toelaat dat uw zoon/dochter mag deelnemen aan het onderzoek. Indien u NIET wenst dat uw kind deelneemt aan het onderzoek, vul dan alsjeblieft de informatiestrook onderaan in. Indien u geen problemen heeft dat uw kind deelneemt is de toestemming van de school en van uw kind voldoende.

Indien u nog vragen of opmerkingen heeft kan u de hoofdonderzoeker altijd contacteren via volgende gegevens: *[E-mail adres en telefoonnummer(s) uitvoerende onderzoeker].*

Ik, ondertekende, ……

ouder van ……, geef **GEEN** toestemming voor participatie binnen het doctoraatsproject van [naam uitvoerende onderzoeker] van de Universiteit Antwerpen.

Approval Participants (adults)

Document 3c: Deelnameformulier leerkachten en directie

Onderzoek:
doctoraatsonderzoek Julia Steenwegen

Verantwoordelijke onderzoeker:
Julia Steenwegen (Universiteit Antwerpen, onderzoeksgroep EduBROn)

Begeleiders:
prof. dr. Noel Clycq (UA, onderzoeksgroep EduBROn) en
prof. dr. Jan Vanhoof (UA, onderzoeksgroep EduBROn),

In te vullen door de deelnemer:

Ik verklaar op een voor mij duidelijke wijze te zijn ingelicht over de aard, methode en het doel van het onderzoek (zie bijgevoegd informatieformulier). Ik weet dat de gegevens en resultaten van het onderzoek alleen anoniem en vertrouwelijk aan derden bekend gemaakt zullen worden. De gegevens zullen enkel gebruikt worden voor wetenschappelijke doeleinden. Ik weet dat ik telkens inzage kan vragen aan de onderzoeker betreffende mijn persoonsgegevens. Ik bezit het recht om de resultaten van het onderzoek op te vragen bij de onderzoeker. Al mijn vragen zijn naar tevredenheid beantwoord.

Ik stem geheel vrijwillig in met deelname aan dit onderzoek. Ik behoud me daarbij het recht om op elk moment mijn deelname aan het onderzoek te beëindigen.

Naam deelnemer: .....

Datum: .....

Handtekening deelnemer:

In te vullen door de uitvoerende onderzoeker:

Ik heb een mondelinge en/of schriftelijke toelichting gegeven over het onderzoek. Ik zal resterende vragen over het onderzoek naar vermogen beantwoorden. De deelnemer zal van een eventuele voortijdige beëindiging van deelname aan dit onderzoek geen nadelige gevolgen ondervinden.

Naam onderzoeker: .....

Datum: .....

Handtekening onderzoeker: