

**PORTUGUESE STUDENTS IN LONDON
SCHOOLS: Patterns of participation in
community language classes and patterns
of educational achievement**

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Abstract

This study investigates the academic achievement of Portuguese students in the London borough of Lambeth according to their attendance or non-attendance at Portuguese classes.

The following questions are addressed:

1 – Why do parents make the commitment of taking their children to Portuguese classes?

2 – What differences can we find, in terms of academic results, between Portuguese students attending mother tongue classes and those not attending?

3 – What factors can be identified that contribute to students' choices to attend?

The study combines both quantitative and qualitative methodologies within an ethnographic approach. Data were collected from a larger sample for quantitative analysis (a total of 166 students in years 2, 6, 9 and 11) and a smaller sample (28 students in years 6, 9 and 11) for the ethnographic in-depth analysis.

The statistical analysis of the quantitative data collected (in the form of SATs results) indicated significant differences between the end of key stage results attained by the two groups. Students attending mother tongue classes tended to achieve significantly higher results than those not attending.

The data obtained in ethnographic interviews with these participants:

a) contribute to a characterisation of the Portuguese community in Lambeth, allowing the recognition of issues that affect its members' inclusion in society and

b) explore students' and parental views on mother tongue classes and factors affecting their decision to attend or not Portuguese classes. The intention of returning to Portugal, albeit in a distant future, coupled with a dissatisfactory view of the parents' own education were found to be critical determinants for attendance.

Issues of school inclusion are also considered and the problem of Portuguese students 'drop-out' during compulsory education is investigated

through interviews. Social and educational factors leading to students' disaffection are identified.

The results obtained in this study indicate that the attendance at Portuguese classes and the parental involvement it requires benefits both individuals and families in terms of social capital, expectations and relationships. They also lend support to existing theories on the development of bilingual children and highlight the need for continued development of the child's linguistic skills and for cognitive and academic development in their mother tongue.

Table of Contents

(A sub-index is provided at the beginning of each chapter)

	Page No.
Title Page	1
Abstract	2
Table of Contents	4
List of Figures	7
List of Graphs	9
List of Tables	9
Acknowledgements	10
Part I - Context	11
Introduction	13
Chapter 1 - Migrations and Migrants, the Local Area, Schools and the Students	23
1.1 Introduction	24
1.2 Summary of Portuguese migratory movements	25
1.3 Portuguese mother tongue classes in the UK	29
1.4 The local area: Stockwell, Lambeth	32
1.5 The schools and the study sample	34
1.6 Summary	48
Part II – Theoretical Perspectives	49
Chapter 2 - Social Inclusion and School Inclusion	50
2.1 Introduction	51
2.2 Social mobility and social capital	51
2.3 School disaffection	58
2.4 Ethnic minorities and racism	65
2.5 School inclusion and social inclusion	73
2.6 Summary	76
Chapter 3 - Bilingualism and Bilingual Education	78
3.1 Introduction	79
3.2 Developmental models	79
3.3 Bilingual students in the UK	90
3.4 Bilingual students in the mainstream classroom	100
3.5 In conclusion	105

Chapter 4 - Methodology	106
4.1 Introduction and overview of chapter	107
4.2 A combination of approaches	108
4.3 This research study	116
4.4 Ethical considerations	138
4.5 Summary	141
Part III – Analytic Perspectives	142
Introduction	143
Chapter 5 – Portuguese Students Abandoning the System	144
5.1 Introduction	145
5.2 Finding the students	146
5.3 The students' stories	149
5.4 Issues arising from the above	161
5.5 Reflecting on the findings	168
5.6 Summary	170
Chapter 6 – Statistical Analysis of End of Key Stage Assessment Data	171
6.1 Introduction	172
6.2 Effect of attendance at mother tongue classes	175
6.3 Effect of length of residence: Children born in the UK, School entry and length of school attendance	206
6.4 Attendance at mother tongue classes	222
6.5 Main points arising from this chapter	227
Analysis of the data collected in the interviews:	
Introduction and description of the group	231
Chapter 7 – Portrait of a Community	234
7.1 Introduction	235
7.2 Area of origin	236
7.3 Reason for migration	239
7.4 Form of migration	244
7.5 Accommodation	248
7.6 First impressions	252
7.7 Obtaining employment	255
7.8 Summary	259

Chapter 8 – View of Mother Tongue Classes	260
8.1 Introduction	261
8.2 Opinion of mother tongue classes: Children attending	261
8.3 What do you learn in Portuguese classes?	268
8.4 Opinion of mother tongue classes: Children not attending	272
8.5 Critical comments about mother tongue classes	274
8.6 Appropriate age to start learning Portuguese at school	279
8.7 Role of mother tongue in the mainstream classroom	281
8.8 Summary	288
Chapter 9 – Factors Affecting Parental Decisions with Regard to Mother Tongue Classes	289
9.1 Introduction	290
9.2 Going back to Portugal	290
9.3 Parental view of own education: Interaction with period of residence in the UK	295
9.4 Summary	308
Chapter 10 – Discussion of the results	309
10.1 Introduction and overview of chapter	310
10.2 Differences, in terms of academic results, between students attending mother tongue classes and those not attending	311
10.3 Factors contributing to choice of attendance and, therefore, to differences between the groups	315
10.4 In conclusion	322
Part IV – Conclusion	324
Chapter 11 – Conclusion	325
Bibliography	330
Appendices	349
Appendix 1 – Statistical analysis: Key Stage 1	350
Appendix 2 – Statistical analysis: Key Stage 2	361
Appendix 3 – Statistical analysis: Key Stage 3	379
Appendix 4 – Statistical analysis: Key Stage 4	390
Appendix 5 – Letters sent to schools and to parents	402
Appendix 6 – Questions prepared as starting points in the interviews	408
Appendix 7 – National Curriculum Key Stages	412

List of Figures

Figure I.1 - Cummins' two-dimensional model of language proficiency	19
(This illustration also appears as Figure 3.2 – Cummins' framework: Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in language tasks and activities on page 84)	
Figure I.2 - Representation of the categories of assessment	21
Figure 1.1 - Portuguese speaking students in Lambeth since 1992	36
Figure 1.2 - Portuguese speaking students per Key Stage in Lambeth in 1998	36
Figure 1.3 - Portuguese gender and number distribution in the sample	37
Figure 1.4 - Children born in the UK / Abroad	38
Figure 1.5 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 1	39
Figure 1.6 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 2	39
Figure 1.7 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 3	40
Figure 1.8 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 4	41
Figure 1.9 - Proportion of Portuguese students taken off the school roll	42
Figure 1.10 - Length of school attendance in the UK/students taken off the school roll	42
Figure 1.11- Portuguese students attending LCP classes	47
Figure 3.1 – The “dual iceberg” Representation of Bilingual Proficiency	80
Figure 3.2 – Cummins' framework: Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in language tasks and activities	84
Figure 3.3 – Thomas & Collier's prism model of language acquisition for school	85
Figure 3.4 – Moore's models of partial inclusion (undeveloped and developed)	101
Figure 4.1 - Graphic representation of study sample structure	119
Figure 4.2 – Number of children in the sample	123
Figure 5.1– Students taken off the school roll	146
Figure 5.2– Number of students on- and off-roll per school	147
Figure 5.3– Period of residence in the UK of students (off-roll) in KS4 (as indicated by school admissions).	148
Figure 6.1 - Number of students in sample	174
Figure 6.2 - Number of students per level achieved in Reading Test (KS1)	175
Figure 6.3- Number of students per level achieved in Writing Test (KS1)	176
Figure 6.4 - Number of students per level achieved in Maths Test (KS1)	177
Figure 6.5 – KS1 - Comparison with borough and national averages	179
Figure 6.6 - Number of students per level achieved in the Reading Test (KS2)	184
Figure 6.7 - Number of students per level achieved in the Writing Test (KS2)	185

Figure 6.8- Number of students per level achieved in the English Test (KS2)	186
Figure 6.9 - Number of students per level achieved in the Maths Test (KS2)	187
Figure 6.10 - Number of students per level achieved in the Science Test (KS2)	187
Figure 6.11 – KS2 - Comparison with borough and national averages	188
Figure 6.12 - Levels achieved in the English Test (KS3)	192
Figure 6.13 - Levels achieved in the Maths Test (KS3)	193
Figure 6.14 - Levels achieved in the Science Test (KS3)	194
Figure 6.15 – KS3 - Comparison with borough and national averages	195
Figure 6.16 – Subject preference of students taking GCSE Exam (KS4)	199
Figure 6.17 – Grades achieved at GCSE exam (KS4)	201
Figure 6.18 - Number of GCSEs obtained A*-G	202
Figure 6.19 - Number of GCSEs obtained A*-C	203
Figure 6.20 - KS4 - Comparison with borough and national averages	203
Figure 6.21 - Entry to UK - Reading Test (KS1)	207
Figure 6.22- Entry to UK - Writing Test (KS1)	207
Figure 6.23- Entry to UK - Maths Test (KS1)	208
Figure 6.24 - Entry to UK – Reading Test (KS2)	209
Figure 6.25 - Entry to UK – Writing Test (KS2)	210
Figure 6.26 - Entry to UK – English Test (KS2)	210
Figure 6.27 - Entry to UK – Maths Test (KS2)	211
Figure 6.28 - Entry to UK – Science Test (KS2)	211
Figure 6.29 - Entry UK/Secondary School (KS3) – English	214
Figure 6.30 - Entry UK/Secondary School (KS3) - Maths	214
Figure 6.31 - Entry UK/Secondary School (KS3) - Science	215
Figure 6.32 - Number of GCSEs A*-G obtained according to Entry UK/School	217
Figure 6.33 - Number of GCSEs A*-C obtained according to Entry UK/School	218
Figure 6.34 - Attendance at Mother Tongue Classes (KS1)	222
Figure 6.35 - Attendance at Mother Tongue Classes (KS2)	223
Figure 6.36 - Attendance at Mother Tongue Classes (KS3)	224
Figure 6.37 - Attendance at Mother Tongue Classes (KS4)	225
Figure 7.1 – Factor interaction	235
Figure 10.1 - Likely effect of attendance at Portuguese classes on families' social capital	320

List of Graphs

Graph 6.1 - Mean Rank (KS1)	181
Graph 6.2 - Mean Rank (KS2)	190
Graph 6.3 - Mean Rank (KS3)	196
Graph 6.4 - Entry to School (2 Groups) (KS2)	212
Graph 6.5 - Mean rank - Entry to School (KS4)	220
Graph 6.6 - Mean rank - Born UK/Entry to School (KS4)	220

List of Tables

Table 1.1 - Schools taking part in the study	35
Table 1.2 - SATs Results for Key Stages 1 & 2 – 1998	43
Table 1.3 - London Borough of Lambeth: Standard Attainment Tests' Results 1999	45
Table 4.1 - Schools and Number of Portuguese Speaking Students	122
Table 5.1 – Students Interviewed – Summary of Details	150
Table 6.1 - Mann-Whitney Test: Ranks (KS1)	180
Table 6.2 - Mann-Whitney Test: Test statistics (KS1)	182
Table 6.3 - Mean Rank and Test Statistics - Mother Tongue classes (KS3)	196
Table 6.4 - Core Subjects vs. Entry to UK/Sec. School (KS3) – Levels of Exact Significance	216
Table III-1 - Students' names and groups	232
Table 9.1– Groups of students according to length of residence	296

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To Micaela.

Part I - Context

Introduction	13
Chapter 1 - Migrations and Migrants, the Local Area, Schools and the Students	23

"Cultura - pois que é cultura? Um território quase ilimitado, abrangendo a escola, a oficina, o centro recreativo, o meio familiar, a rua, numa palavra: o quotidiano. Ilimitado e ao mesmo tempo peculiaríssimo nos seus mecanismos, expressões, susceptibilidades."

'Culture - what then is culture? An almost unlimited territory, encompassing the school, workshop, recreation centre, family environment, street, in a word: the quotidian. Limitless and at the same time most particular in its mechanisms, expressions, susceptibilities.'

Fernando Namora (1977)

Introduction

I came to live in London in 1985. I had already met some Portuguese people living here. They belonged to a circle of friends and had come to live in England many years before. A few had come because they had problems with the dictatorship that ruled in Portugal until 1974 and had been forced to leave the country either for political reasons or to escape conscription into the colonial war in Africa. Most, however, were economic migrants who had come to try and find a better way of life. They would regularly go to their hometown on holidays, and as a rule, had a house in Portugal, which they either were still paying for or had acquired after they had come to live here. They belonged to a Portuguese association and would regularly get together to celebrate notable dates of the Portuguese calendar on events organised by the Club.

In the first year I felt "almost" accepted into the group. Although everyone was kind and tried to make me feel welcome, I was still not a fully accepted member. They had a lot in common that tied them together and which I, having recently arrived, did not share. Further, many of my new friends belonged to a generation older than mine and had children born and schooled in this country. Some of these were of an age closer to mine but they were the ones that more openly made me feel a stranger. They could not find anything of interest in Portugal. They abhorred the type of music that their parents enjoyed and were not in touch with the more modern Portuguese music. Also, they had difficulty maintaining a conversation in Portuguese. They did not have difficulty understanding me but avoided speaking in Portuguese and I did not feel comfortable talking to them in English.

I began teaching Portuguese in London in 1986. To become a teacher in a language class organised by the consulate, it is necessary to apply nationally. My application having been successful, I was requested to attend a one-week preparation seminar in Lisbon. This seminar was organised by the Ministry of Education in order to inform the teachers of the educational characteristics of the areas where we (myself and a few dozen more) were to start working. I was

given examples of study topics, went on educational visits, received a substantial amount of information on the bureaucratic aspects, on how the rules and regulations also applied abroad.

In the seminar, I was told to expect to find children who could either speak Portuguese as a 'native speaker' or who could not speak Portuguese at all. For the latter, Portuguese would be a foreign language. At no stage was I informed of the main differences between the school systems or what my role within the school would be, let alone the more mundane details of day-to-day school life that turned out to be completely different from those I had previously experienced. It was only when I was "on the ground" that I realised the information given was not the most relevant. The practical information we were not told, we had to learn it the hard way.

My colleagues described a school population with very different characteristics from what had previously been described. Some children could speak Portuguese very well, others could understand very well, but could not use the language to communicate, most completely mixed the two languages, whilst a tiny minority could not understand or express themselves in Portuguese. Books and other materials used in the Portuguese classes were (and, mostly, still are) brought from Portugal. Little consideration was given to the relevance of their content to the children who were going to use them. There was, at that time, no established curriculum for the classes abroad, even though there had been a Portuguese national curriculum in use for several decades. Classes were grouped vertically. In each class, there were children encompassing the whole scope of language ability and of different age groups.

Many of my colleagues complained they had to work with groups of children, around dinner tables and in the hall. I was lucky enough to be able to use the library. None of us, not even those who used classrooms, had the possibility of displaying children's work. Like my Portuguese colleagues, I felt the gulf between us and the English classroom teachers. It was as if the "4 o'clock watershed" made me invisible. Most English teachers had no idea what

was going on, what we were doing, how we were working. Some did not know that the children were taking part in evening classes in that same school. Many were quite concerned that the children were overworked which could be detrimental to their progress, therefore suggesting to the parents that they should avoid sending their children to evening classes. It was also common for parents to be advised to speak only in English at home. As time went by, parents felt more at ease talking to me and would sometimes ask, especially those with younger children, whether I thought speaking Portuguese at home would actually hinder their development.

Although the difficulties that we, Portuguese teachers, felt when working in English schools were aspects that could be improved with training and lots of effort and imagination, the children's prospective school career was, indeed, cause for concern. They were expected to follow through the 9 years of Portuguese schooling independently of their starting age. Progression to higher levels was dependent upon language and content assessment. For those children who had not started at age 7, or those whose language competency was not the teacher's idea of appropriate, progression was a slow climb as they frequently had to repeat the academic year. It was possible for a student to reach year 6 at the age of 15. For many, the goal of obtaining the, then, O'Level Portuguese was a distant target, separated from them by years of boredom in mother tongue classes that seemed to drain their last drop of energy at the end of the day. Yet, for others, there seemed to be an excitement about learning Portuguese, especially when it came to historical figures or golden events in Portugal's history, more so if they happened to have been mentioned in the English classroom, such as Ferdinand Magellan¹ or Vasco da Gama.

Some of the children, especially the younger ones, felt quite happy at going to Portuguese classes. They seemed to enjoy having an extra opportunity to be with their friends and, during the day, in the playground, would sometimes boast to their English-speaking colleagues of being able to speak two languages. The older ones, on the other hand, complained of being picked on at

¹ Fernão de Magalhães is the Portuguese name.

school for speaking Portuguese and, according to their parents, would often refuse to speak Portuguese at home. They would then criticise and mock their parents' poor English skills.

For the parents, involvement in school life was not easy either. Although, as a rule, their working hours clashed with those of the mother tongue classes, they always arranged a way to take their children to the Portuguese classes and to collect them. They would make arrangements with other members of the family, contact people who lived in the same area or, if nothing else worked, change their working hours. This hardship was reflected in the children's lives. On one occasion, I asked my students to write a short piece of work on what they would do if they could change the world. I remember that one of the best students, Sérgio, a very quiet boy who never missed a class, wrote that he would change his parents' working hours. When I asked him to elaborate, he explained that his mother worked the morning shift, the father worked the evening shift. The three of them only got together for a couple of hours on Saturdays. There was also Mark. A bright student, he left school the year he turned 16. Like Mark, there were many other students who did not seem to have the ambition of going on to further education, nor did they plan to go back to Portugal. They saw their future as doing the same type of jobs as their parents and their elder siblings. Yet, for years, they attended classes regularly and put their time and effort into extra schooling.

So could we justify mother tongue² classes? Was it just the extra qualification, the O' Level, the GCSE? Although it is true that more Portuguese

² According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), the definition of mother tongue should combine the criteria of origin (the language in which one established one's first lasting communication relationship) and internal identification (the language one identifies with). It should not be taken "as a conglomerate of stable unchanging features, but rather as a group of processes, in which continual change is possible (and often likely). These changes should be regarded as a source of enrichment rather than as a threat, as long as they are not forced upon speakers in a negative way from the outside, but reflect at least some kind of free choice on the part of the individual" (p19-20).

More recently, Martin-Jones and Bhatt (1998) refer to Rampton's (1995) distinction between 'expertise' (proficiency) and 'allegiance': 'inheritance (allegiance to the language[s] of one's cultural inheritance) and 'affiliation' (allegiance to one or more languages).

Throughout this study, I use 'mother tongue' to refer to a first language other than English and the assumption is that this language is used in the home and in the community (see Leung, 1996). A bilingual child possesses communicative skills in a mother tongue (or more than one) from which a variety of bilingual skills can be developed, including biliteracy (Hakuta, 1990).

children are taking further education, they do not have to attend Portuguese classes in order to enrol for the exam. What made these students and their parents pursue mother tongue classes for such long periods of time? The parents talked openly of going back, of retiring and returning to Portugal, but "not this young people. Their life is here." Nevertheless, they showed great interest in their children's academic results in the Portuguese classes and regularly inquired as to how they were doing.

The difficulties I had encountered teaching mother tongue classes prompted me, in the year I started working in London, to enrol in a course for community teachers³. This was my first contact with theories and ideas on the subject. I began to see that my students were not "deficient" Portuguese speakers but rather speakers of an organised sub-system of Portuguese. It wasn't that they could not speak Portuguese. Their "Portuguese" incorporated some English.

On the one hand, the course helped me to make Portuguese mother tongue classes more relevant to those involved. On the other, it created a desire to know more about bilingualism and about these children. As I continued working and reading on the subject, other questions began to form. How would the mother tongue classes affect the children's work in the English classroom? Would they help, give them extra skills or would they simply create more work?

I could not find studies that shed some light on this issue. The studies published seemed to refer either to the benefits of bilingualism without specifying whether these children attended mother tongue classes or not, and in what conditions, or to refer to situations where there was bilingual education during the normal school day. Nor could I find studies that addressed the issue of how Portuguese children viewed themselves or why some of them, gradually, as they became teenagers, seemed to want to lose contact with the Portuguese language. Whichever way I turned, there seemed to be more questions than answers.

The issue of the Portuguese variety spoken by the Portuguese community in London was also a point of interest. Over the years, distinctive ways of speaking have emerged within Portuguese speaking communities abroad. It results from the 'linguistic mixing' of two different languages, Portuguese and that of the host country. In communities living in English-speaking countries, this type of language, known as 'Portinglês', involves frequent borrowing and adapting of words and expressions from English into the discourse, instead of using Portuguese words and expressions with equivalent meaning. Although incomprehensible to someone foreign to the community, it is extremely well-used by its members, even by those who have a very poor knowledge of English (Mayone-Dias 1986, Keating 1990).

How would this language variety be used by children born in this country? Would it be reflected in the children's spoken English and, if so, in what ways?

As I continued my studies further, I read work by Cummins (1984) and was particularly interested in his proposal of a framework for analysing communicative activities. Cummins describes this framework⁴ as a conceptualisation of language proficiency along two continua:

³ The Royal Society of Arts, London. Diploma in the Teaching of Community Languages (applied to the teaching of Portuguese).

⁴ This illustration also appears as Figure 3.2 – Cummins' framework: Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in language tasks and activities on page 84.

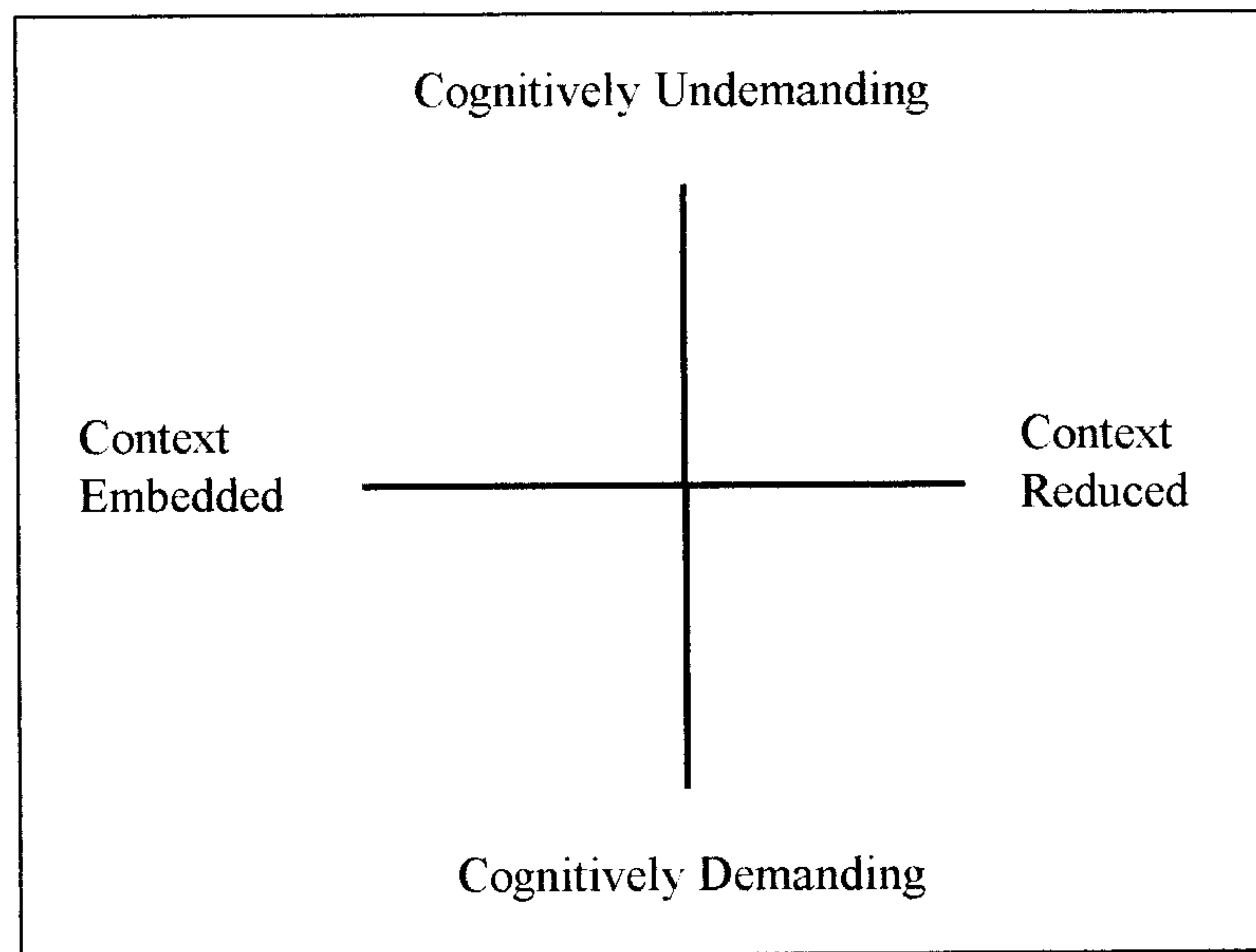


Figure I-1 - Cummins' two-dimensional model of language proficiency

The context continuum relates to the range of contextual support available for expressing or receiving meaning. The extremes of this continuum are distinguished by the fact that in context-embedded communication participants can actively negotiate meaning and the language is supported by a wide range of meaningful paralinguistic and situational cues; context-reduced communication, on the other hand, relies primarily on linguistic cues to meaning and thus successful interpretation of the message depends heavily on knowledge of the language itself. In general, context-embedded communication is more typical of the everyday world outside the classroom, whereas many of the linguistic demands of the classroom reflect communicative activities which are closer to the context-reduced end of the continuum.

I decided to investigate how this theoretical framework could be used to assess the oral language competence of a small sample of Portuguese children born in this country⁵. My objective in this study was to try and create a yardstick

⁵ A sample of 11 children was selected:

- a) born in the UK in the years 1984 or 1985 (7yr olds);
- b) attending Portuguese classes for the first time during that school year;
- c) of Portuguese parents only.

to compare the children's competence in both their languages as well as understanding how the children used the 'Portinglês' (Barradas, 1993).

I wanted to assess the level of each child's language on a school-like task. Therefore, it was necessary to create two different tasks, although trying to keep both at the cognitively demanding end of the continuum: one context-embedded, the other context-reduced. A total of four activities were necessary, as each had to have an equivalent in Portuguese and in English.

The activities chosen to elicit the language samples were, for each language, a picture storybook and a jigsaw guessing game⁶. The picture books, with no visible words, referred to activities familiar to all children: getting up in the morning and going to bed at night. The two jigsaws were of scenes unfamiliar to the children. The children were asked, in the first case, to tell the story and, in the second, to try and predict from the parts of the jigsaw what the whole picture would be. The latter activity had the form of a game.

After transcription, the language samples were analysed according to three main categories: code-mixing, pragmatic criteria and syntax difficulties (Barradas, 1996). These were used to compare differences between the two languages, between activities and error categories.

The elements in these comparisons could be visualised as shown below:

⁶ Although the procedure was the same in each language for the corresponding activity, the activities were presented in each case by a native speaker of the language.

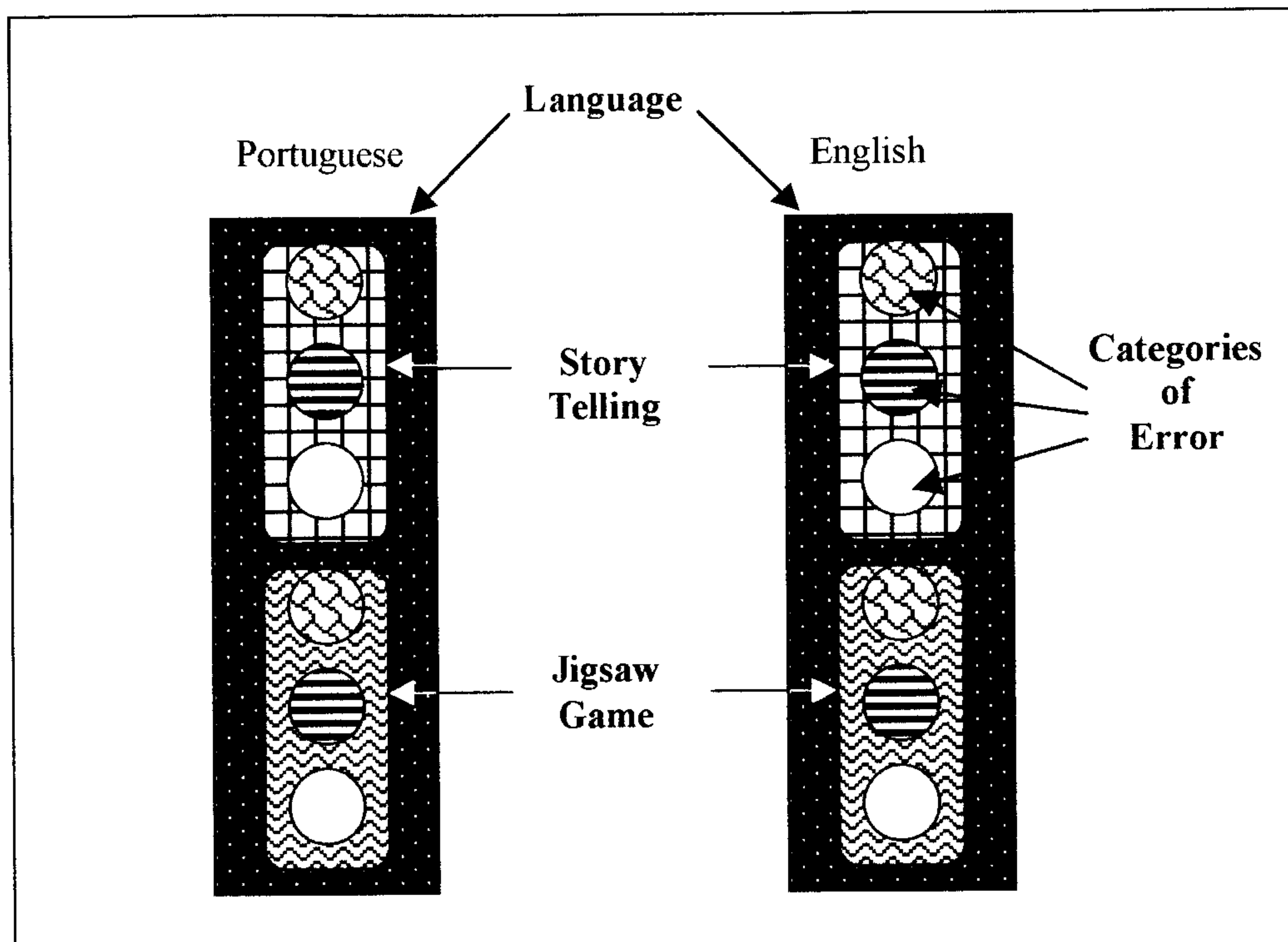


Figure I-2 - Representation of the categories of assessment

Overall, the results showed no significant difference between the children's proficiency in the two languages. This would seem to indicate that, by age 7, these children had attained a balanced level of bilingualism in their use of Portuguese and English.

However, analysis of the error scores obtained in the activities seemed to indicate a different picture. The patterns of error not only changed according to the activity but also according to the language. Different contexts were associated with different languages and, for each language, different activities elicited different types of error. Thus, the story telling activity, about a situation that would occur almost exclusively in a Portuguese home-related situation, elicited more code-type errors.

On the other hand, the jigsaw predicting game, a type of activity requiring predicting, hypothesising and adjusting to new information, more likely to be

encountered at school, elicited fewer language errors in English than any of the other 3 activities.

It was clear that, even at an early age, the effects of schooling could be distinguished in the children's use of language. However, this was a small sample and, furthermore, these children were in their first year of mother tongue classes. I still had no information on whether mother tongue classes could affect their results in the English school and there was no information on the children of Portuguese origin who were not attending Portuguese classes. Would their school performance be any different? Were there any benefits for those that attended mother tongue classes when compared to those not attending? Given that attendance at the Portuguese classes is not considered when sitting for mainstream exams, why did the parents make the effort of taking them to the Portuguese lessons year upon year? These questions led me to continue investigating and trying to find out more about the Portuguese community in London.

Chapter 1 - Migrations and Migrants, the Local Area, Schools and the Students

CHAPTER 1 - MIGRATIONS AND MIGRANTS, THE LOCAL AREA, SCHOOLS AND THE STUDENTS	23
1.1 Introduction	24
1.2 Summary of Portuguese migratory movements	25
1.3 Portuguese mother tongue classes in the UK	29
1.4 The local area: Stockwell, Lambeth	32
1.5 The schools and the study sample	34
1.5.1 Portuguese speaking children in Lambeth schools	35
1.5.2 Demographic characteristics of the students in the sample	37
1.5.3 Length of school attendance in the UK	38
1.5.4 Students taken off-roll	41
1.5.5 Academic achievement of Portuguese students	43
1.5.6 Mother tongue maintenance	46
1.6 Summary	48

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the Portuguese community in London. It starts from the wider perspective of an historical account of Portuguese migrations and focuses on the local community to be studied.

The education of Portuguese children will be considered through two perspectives, mainstream education and the teaching of mother tongue in complementary classes. Initially, the two forms of education and how their interaction could affect the children's academic performance at different points in their school career were the main factors to be considered in this study. However, during the sample gathering procedures, important and hitherto unidentified issues concerning the Portuguese students came to light. These issues are the low academic attainment and high rate of school disaffection amongst children of the Portuguese community.

In this chapter, I will characterise the population to be studied. Thus, in describing the schools and the study sample, I will show the movement of Portuguese students in the borough as well as the demographic characteristics and length of school attendance at the students in the sample. Data on mother tongue maintenance, as shown through attendance at Portuguese classes, will also be presented.

Although the study itself will be described in detail in Chapter 4, here I will show how the issues referred to above came to be investigated and how the data collected, in turn, has led to the following questions being raised:

How to explain the high proportion of Portuguese students taken off-roll?

What factors are at play in their apparent disaffection?

Why the consistently low achievement of Portuguese students across Key Stages?

1.2 Summary of Portuguese migratory movements

Although there are few studies regarding Portuguese migratory movements, it is acknowledged that the 15th century marks the beginning of Portuguese settlements abroad. Thus, it has been established that, in the beginning of the 16th century, fifteen per cent of Portuguese citizens were either in commercial or in military bases outside the kingdom. The need to occupy newly conquered territories, forced a large number of work force to leave Portugal, firstly to the North of Africa and, in the centuries that ensued, to the uninhabited Atlantic Islands, to key-points in Africa, to India and to Brazil (Rocha-Trindade, 1982, p.4).

A well-established migratory movement in Portugal can also be identified from the middle of the 19th century, firstly to the American continent, especially Brazil, and later, in the 20th century, to the Portuguese African ex-colonies. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the official numbers indicated that an average of 20 000 people left the country each year. By 1910, migrant economies accounted for over 25% of the total national revenue (Oliveira Marques, 1977; p.34-35).

Although the Portuguese political conjuncture, from the 1930's onwards, meant that, according to official data, the number of people legally leaving the country had diminished, emigration (legal and illegal) continued. During the 1960's, it is estimated that around 1 million people left Portugal not only for the African colonies but, this time, also for host countries in Europe (mainly France and Germany) as well as for the United States and Canada. Officially, the restrictions to migratory movements outside the colonies were many¹ (illegal emigrants could be punished with up to two years imprisonment) and this

¹ A passport for emigration was only granted upon the fulfilment of conditions that included:

- Being in good health;
 - Being up to date with regard to military and fiscal duties;
 - Having approval from a line manager in the case of civil servants;
 - Obtaining a certificate of good citizenship;
 - Having completed basic schooling (at a time when 40% of the countryside population was illiterate)
- and:

created much human suffering. To discourage people from leaving, the authorities also disapproved of children leaving the country which, in many cases, separated families. However, the illegal migratory movement continued and, in 1969, it was estimated that over 90% of the entries into France were irregular (Poinard & Roux, 1977, p.37-39).

The majority of those who left the country did so for economic reasons. They accepted hard and unqualified work and lived in poor housing conditions but received a wage that was far superior to what they would be receiving in Portugal. Others did it to avoid conscription into the military service and colonial war in Africa; yet, others, were politically against the regime and felt their lives threatened. A smaller number were professional people who were trying to maintain their quality of life (Rocha-Trindade, 1982, p.11). The bulk of migrants, however, could be described as poor people, of low socioeconomic background and often illiterate. The typical Portuguese migrant could be characterised as being male, single, of working age and of low academic qualifications (Rocha-Trindade and Arroiteia, 1986, p.20).

After the revolution of 1974, that brought to Portugal a democratic system, the Portuguese regulations regarding migratory movements changed. People continued to migrate, however, in numbers much lower than those during the exodus of the 1960's. In the case of the United Kingdom, the number of Portuguese migrants was considerably smaller than in other European countries. In 1975, the Portuguese community in London was estimated to be at around 4,000 people while in France the estimate was 430,000 (SOPEMI Report, 1976). Nevertheless, Reid et al (1985) estimate the Portuguese community to number around 30,000 in 1981 and refer to the 1981 Census as identifying nearly 16,000 Portuguese-born in England. In 1997, official estimates put the number of Portuguese people living in the United Kingdom at around 60,000 (Garcia et al, 1998, pXXIVc). In 1999, there were nearly 70,000 Portuguese people in the UK according to numbers from the Portuguese consulate. This, however, does not reflect the true size of the community today,

• Not belonging to certain occupational groups (such as farmers or bricklayers). (Poinard & Roux, 1977,

which is estimated to be in excess of 200,000 people, with 500 new arrivals on average each month.

In Portugal, each family had someone who had left to work abroad. Everyone knew someone who had migrated. Many of those that migrated left behind the promise that they would send a letter to call for others as soon as they themselves had settled and found a job vacancy. Many families moved abroad in this manner. Sometimes, people would sell everything they had or borrow from friends and family to pay for the fare. In many cases, the husband or the wife would go first, to fill in a vacancy, then as soon as s/he found another job, sent for the partner to come as well². Later, when both had secured their jobs or occupations, they would send for their children, left behind with grandparents or other family members, finally, reuniting the family.

Thus, migrants depended greatly on their immediate family members to make possible their change of life. These networks of mutual help based upon family or community relationships, where small social groups exchange goods and services on a non-mercantile basis are, according to Sousa Santos (1995, p.64) part of the characteristics of a providence-society that defines the Portuguese case. Sousa Santos characterises Portuguese civil society as a strong society-providence, offsetting, in part, the deficiencies of the state-providence, a society informally organised according to traditional models of social solidarity.

Nevertheless, for those who had stayed behind, the advantages of migration were quite visible. They could see how well their compatriots were doing in life. Most of them could buy their own home and, not many years after leaving to work abroad, they could afford electric appliances for their homes and other conveniences. They had nice cars, they dressed well and they could afford more than the bare essential for day-to-day living. From their point of

p.37-39.)

² According to official data, the first waves of migrants were predominantly men. During the 1950's, men constituted 60% of the migrant population.

view, migrants could not only afford luxury, but they also did not need the support of the community any more.

Gradually, people in Portugal would forget the difficulties the migrants had suffered and that had made them leave their home land or whatever problems their fellow citizens had to face in the host country. It was common knowledge that migrants had to do menial jobs, work long hours, work at hours when most people would refuse to work, live in bad accommodation but, slowly, even that was given a one-sided view by those who had stayed in Portugal.

For those who could not afford luxury items, the migrants' display of wealth created an ill-feeling, a feeling of envy, maybe contempt. After all, in spite of the fashionable clothes, the cars, migrants still had to do jobs as menial or lower in status than they did. Worse than that, in the summer, when the migrants would come on holidays to visit their families, the cost of basic food items soared. Those who had been living abroad would not even notice the price difference as they had the purchasing power but, for those who lived there all year round, the price increases were steep.

Other changes could also be noticed in Portugal. The houses built by migrants did not fit the traditional building style. Some of them had nothing to do with the region. You could find German style houses in rural parts of Portugal. Houses built by migrants were, derogatorily, called "à la maison" style. Migrants would mix, in the middle of a conversation, words in a foreign language, words like "vacances" or "voiture", that most people knew the meaning of but couldn't figure out the reason for their use in a Portuguese conversation. The migrants spoke to their children in a foreign language. Their children could not speak Portuguese and talk to their grandparents.

1.3 Portuguese mother tongue classes in the UK

The first Portuguese classes for the children of migrant workers in the London area started in the late Sixties. The classes were organised by two migrants' Associations. The teachers were contacted by these Associations and were either paid with the funds obtained from the membership fees or by the parents directly. The classes took place in the Clubs' facilities, in a communal room. Only in the Seventies did a local education authority allow the unpaid use of a school classroom. There are no written records of these classes and it is, thus, difficult to establish exactly when they started.

The economic and political situation after the Revolution of 1974 forced the Portuguese government to recognise the needs of the workers abroad. Their input of foreign currency into the country was important for the economy and those that had left the country illegally or were against the previous regime could finally reclaim their civic rights. In 1976, ministerial dispatch no. 154-76 approved the provisional statute for the Portuguese teachers abroad. This was replaced by a definitive one on the 28 of December 1979³. The government, thus, created language classes for migrant children organised and paid for by the Portuguese State. The right of Portuguese communities abroad to have mother tongue classes for their children was enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution in 1976⁴.

Like the initial legislative document (Decree-Law 519-E-79), now revoked, the present legislation regulating the teaching of Portuguese abroad⁵ establishes a working week of 35 hours, of which 22 are to be of contact time with the students. The contact-time component of the week includes LCP classes (Cursos de Língua e Cultura Portuguesa - Courses of Portuguese Language and Culture); literacy programmes for youths and adults and continuing education; support to pupils studying Portuguese on distance

³ Decree-Law no. 519-E-79 of 28th December, Lisbon.

⁴ Constituição da República Portuguesa, Article 74, 1976, (revised in 1982/1989), Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa. See also Law no. 74/77 of 28th September.

⁵ Decree-Law no. 13/98 of 24th January, Lisbon.

learning courses or for those sitting for Portuguese language exams; support to help the integration in school of pupils recently arrived from Portugal; participation in activities designed to divulge the Portuguese culture and language. The non-contact-time component includes lesson preparation, assessment, training and pedagogical or administrative meetings as well as the development of activities to link with the sociocultural environment of the schools where the classes take place, i.e. with parents and their associations.

Nevertheless, despite all these regulations, there has never been a visible involvement of Portuguese teachers with the community. In a way, the same legislation that imposes involvement with the community discourages that involvement from really happening. This legislation establishes a fixed-term contractual period⁶ for teachers who will be coming from Portugal and who will have little or no knowledge of the community and no stimulus to get involved. Thus, activities directly related to LCP classes are maintained (information to parents regarding these classes, GCSE & A' Level exams, etc), while those that would involve teacher initiative in creating new activities, identifying and responding to the communities needs are non-existent. This is the case of adult literacy classes, pre-school education and others.

Although the community has asked for teachers from their own local community (Luta Comum, 1977; Tomé and Carreira, 1994), the Portuguese Ministry defends the idea of maintaining quality through regularly bringing in new teachers from Portugal. Nevertheless, only in the 1998 legislation have the Portuguese authorities contemplated the possibility of recruiting teachers with foreign (non-Portuguese) qualifications who have a native-like command of Portuguese. In England, no Portuguese speaking English qualified teacher has applied for the post. There was no knowledge of anyone from the Portuguese community having so far been able to qualify for these jobs.

⁶ Until 1998, teachers had to re-apply for this post every 2 years. An exception to this was 1993 when teachers were allowed to re-apply for a 3-year period. Since 1998, teachers can apply for a 4-year period on 2 consecutive occasions, after which they must return to Portugal.

The LCP classes (Cursos de Língua e Cultura Portuguesa - Courses of Portuguese Language and Culture) organised by the Portuguese Ministry of Education through the Portuguese Consulate take place in hired classrooms in mainstream schools. Although ideally the classes would take place in those schools attended by a larger number of Portuguese students who is not always possible as the schools' governing bodies, for several reasons, are often not in favour of having evening classes in their premises.

There is, since 1994, a new curriculum (Programa de Língua e Cultura Portuguesas) for the LCP classes for years 1 to 5, substituting the previous curriculum that covered years 1 to 6. This curriculum covers areas such as language functions, grammar, Portuguese history and topics such as nature, mass media, transport and housing. If the older curriculum sinned for being too bulky and for lacking topics relevant to the children, the new curriculum, on the other hand, appears eclectic and does not show a smooth progression from the initial levels in the first year (when it prescribes all work should be oral) to year 5 (when it requires a good knowledge of grammar).

The classes vary between a total of three and five hours weekly, depending on the number of students per group and their level of schooling. They start at 4 o'clock or just before and usually finish at 8pm. The minimum number of students required to create a course is 15 children per level. The system follows the Portuguese educational system with classes from level 1 to 9, from age 6 to 16, although those who wish it can also attend A' Level Portuguese courses organised as part of the LCP classes. Many students also sit for their GCSE Portuguese before the last year of their secondary schooling. In 1998, according to the Midland Examining Group which was, at the time, the Examination Board offering Portuguese exams, there were 506 candidates for Portuguese GCSE and 126 candidates for Advanced Level (A'Level) Portuguese.

In 1979 it was estimated that there were approximately 700 children enrolled in Portuguese classes and, in 1981, the Adult Language Use Survey

(Reid et al, 1985) found that only 36% of children of Portuguese origin (from a sample of 94) were attending mother tongue classes. In the school year of 1997/98, the number of students attending LCP courses was 1932 in classes taking place at 29⁷ Primary and Secondary schools.

1.4 The local area: Stockwell, Lambeth

Stockwell is a place of some antiquity and many historical connections. The A23 (Brixton Road and Brixton Hill) started as a roman road and the name Stockwell can be traced back to 1197. At the time of the Survey for the Domesday Book the lands were known as the Manor of South Lambeth (Brixton Free Press Almanac, 1890). Over the centuries, the Manor passed through many different families. In 1802, Stockwell Manor was auctioned off in smaller lots, opening a new area for development. During the 1840's an upmarket residential suburb was laid out in part of the area. This was aimed at those who could afford their own carriage and horses. Soon after, in 1862, the London, Chatham and Dover railway sliced through the area. The railway provided ordinary working people with the option of working in central London while living on the edge of the town. The remaining fields were soon covered with houses and terraces. In 1876, despite protests, even the village green was built over. When horse-bus and tram services followed they reinforced the trend and by the turn of the century, the present street pattern was largely complete (Brixton Village, 1993).

Although there has been a relatively sizeable community of Portuguese people living in London since the 1960s, there are hardly any English publications before the 1980s that make reference to them. In day-to-day life, Portuguese was wrongly mistaken as Spanish and Portugal thought of as a province of Spain. Even in television, the weatherman would make the same mistake. In 1982, in an article on the Portuguese community, the magazine *City Limits* highlighted the hard life of the Portuguese migrants and the bad

⁷ This number includes schools in the London area, Berkshire, Dorset, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex and

conditions in which many of them lived. It identified the two main concentrations as being in North Kensington (Ladbroke Grove/Portobello) and Lambeth (Stockwell). The article also mentioned how these two groups saw themselves as separate by distance and by opposing political links as represented by their community organisations. In fact, the community in North Kensington, through Centro 25 de Abril, was able to campaign and to secure from the Portuguese and British Governments an agreement giving pension, health and social security rights to migrant workers. It was also from West London that another group of migrants published occasionally the newspaper *Luta Comum* (Our Common Struggle), where issues pertinent to the community's interests and not always welcome by the authorities were raised.

Today, Lambeth and North Kensington are still the two main areas for the Portuguese community and, in 1996, Stockwell Road was described in a local publication as 'as close to Portugal as a Travelcard can get you' (Minns, 1996) and these, therefore, would be the areas where one would find more representative samples of the community. Given that, to date, I have been teaching LCP courses in Ladbroke Grove for nearly 5 years and I have also worked as a LCP teacher in other nearby areas, Stockwell constituted an established Portuguese community where I would not be known for my role as a teacher.

Although there is not an exact figure for the number of Portuguese people living in the Lambeth area, a recent study of health needs amongst Portuguese speakers in North Lambeth (Figueiroa 2000) estimated there to be between nine and fourteen thousand⁸ Portuguese people living in the Stockwell area. This number represents between 13 and 21 percent of the total population and a six to nine-fold increase since 1991 when the census identified just 1507 Portuguese residents across the whole of Lambeth.

Jersey.

⁸ Figueiroa used GP [General Practitioner, Doctor] registration figures for 1999 and allowed for up to 60 percent non-registration.

An initial socio-cultural identification of the characteristics of Portuguese community in this area of London (Nogueira and Porteous 2003) highlighted some of the social problems felt by the residents: “eight of the nine residents we spoke to expressed concerns about their personal safety in the area, and one had been the victim of a violent assault. Thus, although fear of crime and actual victimisation may not be specific to Portuguese people, they certainly share the general concerns of all local residents. These are undoubtedly rational fears. According to the Stockwell Community Initiative Programme (2000), “the area has the second highest number of street crimes in London” and race related hate crime increased by 600 percent between 1997/98 and 1999/2000.” (p. 21).

According to the Lambeth Crime Prevention Trust (2003), Lambeth is socially and culturally one of the most diverse communities in Great Britain as 34% of its population is from ethnic minorities. It has the highest proportion of Black Caribbean residents of any London borough and the third highest for Black Africans. Some 145 languages are spoken in the borough with Portuguese and Yoruba being the two main languages spoken after English. It is also recognised as an area of great social and economic difficulties. In terms of measures of deprivation, Lambeth has 3 wards in the top 10% most deprived wards in England and 16% (almost three quarters of all wards) in the top 20% (LCPT 2003).

1.5 The schools and the study sample

The schools chosen were those that, from the lists of children attending LCP classes in past years, were most frequently mentioned. They were 5 Primary schools (including 2 Infant and 2 Junior schools) and 5 Secondary schools (4 in the Borough of Lambeth, and 1 in the Borough of Kensington and Chelsea that has a high intake of pupils from Lambeth). As many Portuguese parents choose to send their children to religious denomination (Roman Catholic – R.C. or Church of England – C.E.) schools this had to be taken into account as well as the preference for single-sex girl schools. Table 1.1, below,

lists the schools taking part in the study⁹. Some of these students arrived whilst others left the school during the school year when the data were collected.

Schools participating in the study	
<i>Years 2 (KS1) and 6 (KS2)</i>	<i>Years 9 (KS3) and 11 (KS4)</i>
Apple Field Infant School ----- Apple Field Junior School	All Saints Secondary School (R.C. Mixed)
Vermont Infant School ----- Vermont Junior School	Green Valley Secondary (LEA Mixed)
Our Lady of Lourdes R.C. Primary School	Shakespeare Secondary School (LEA Mixed)
St. Michael's R.C. Primary School	St. Vincent's Secondary School (R.C. Girls)
St Peter's C.E. Primary School	Victoria Secondary School (C.E. Mixed)

Table 1.1 - Schools taking part in the study

1.5.1 Portuguese speaking children in Lambeth schools

It is difficult to give a true idea of the growing number of Portuguese speaking children in Lambeth. Before 1991, the number of languages represented in the London area was presented as a whole as ILEA figures. Since then, numbers of Portuguese speakers in Lambeth schools have grown steadily from 266 in 1991 to 794 in 1997 and 1083 in 1998, making Portuguese the language with the second largest number of speakers.

⁹ All names used throughout this study are pseudonyms.

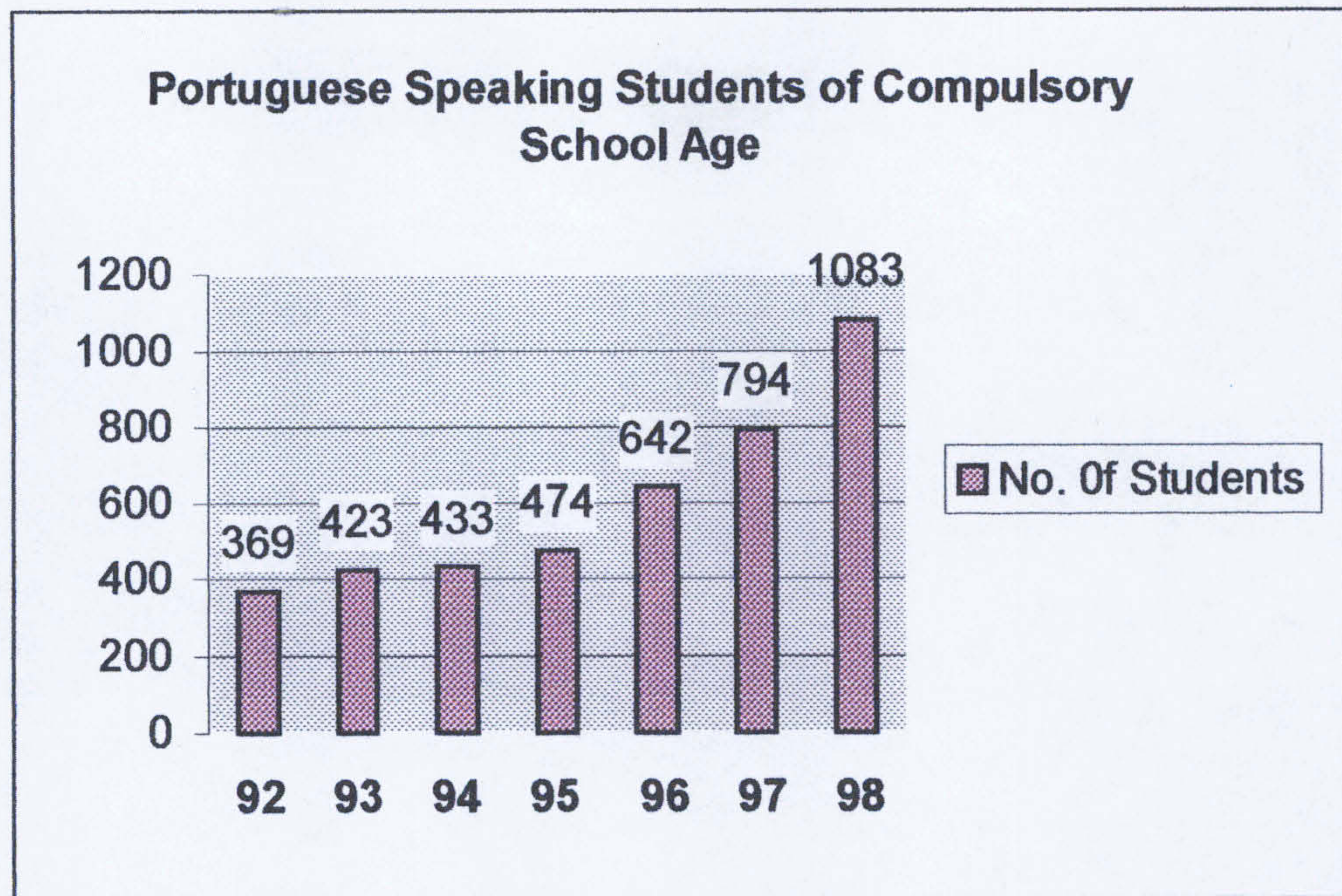


Figure 1.1 - Portuguese speaking students in Lambeth since 1992

Given that only in 1997 has the local authority started to make a breakdown of other language speakers per key stage according to their minority, this data cannot show population movement. Until 1997, children of Portuguese families would appear in statistics as 'White Other'.

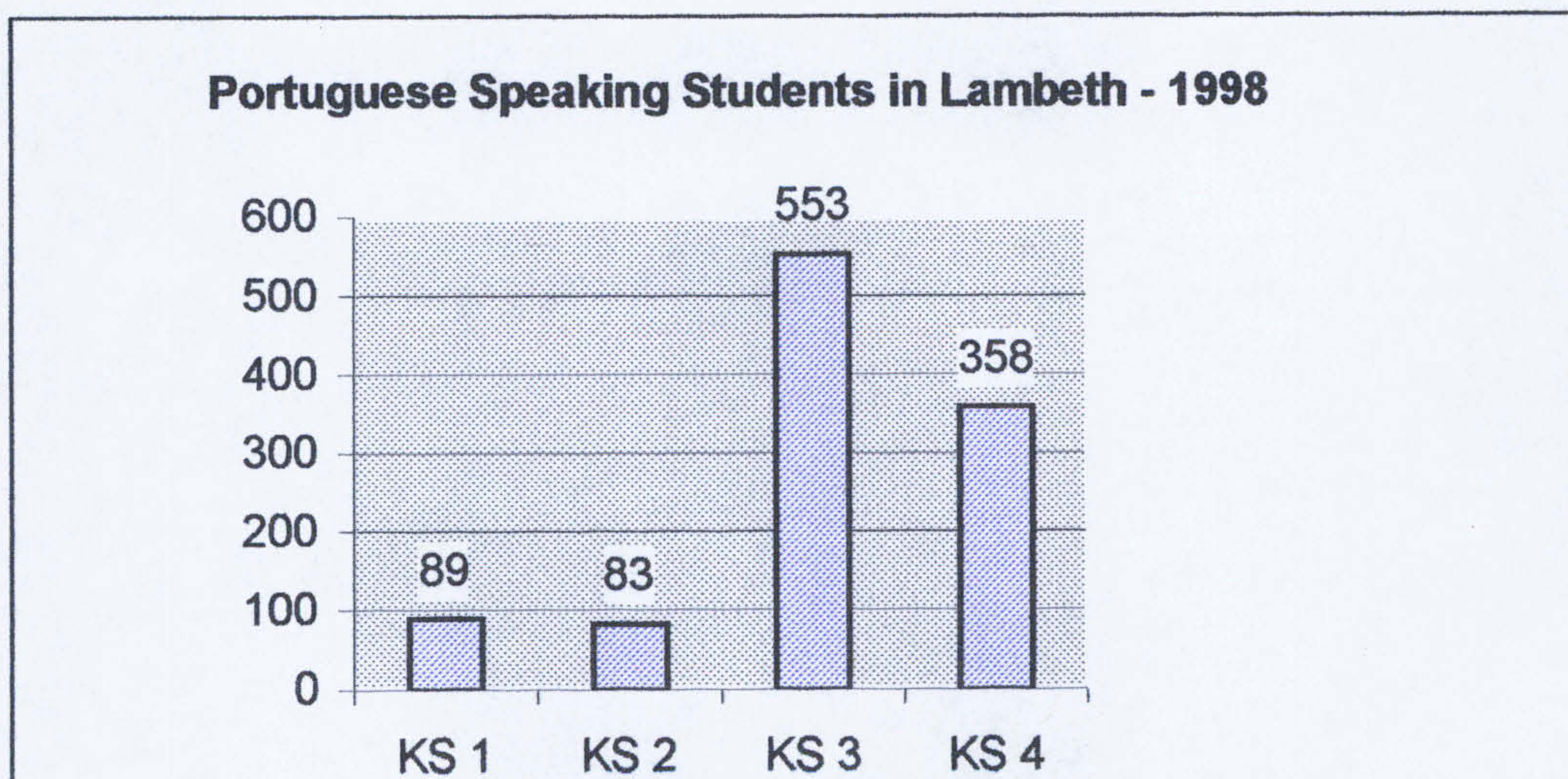


Figure 1.2 - Portuguese speaking students per Key Stage in Lambeth in 1998

1.5.2 Demographic characteristics of the students in the sample

Although anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that there is a tendency for the Portuguese speaking school population to increase mainly in the Primary years, this would not appear to be confirmed by the numbers of Portuguese children attending compulsory education as can be seen in Figure 1.2 above, nor is it confirmed by the data collected from the schools taking the part in this study. The distribution of the children in the sample seems to reflect that of the general Portuguese school population in the borough. Figure 1.3 combines this information with gender distribution in the sample.

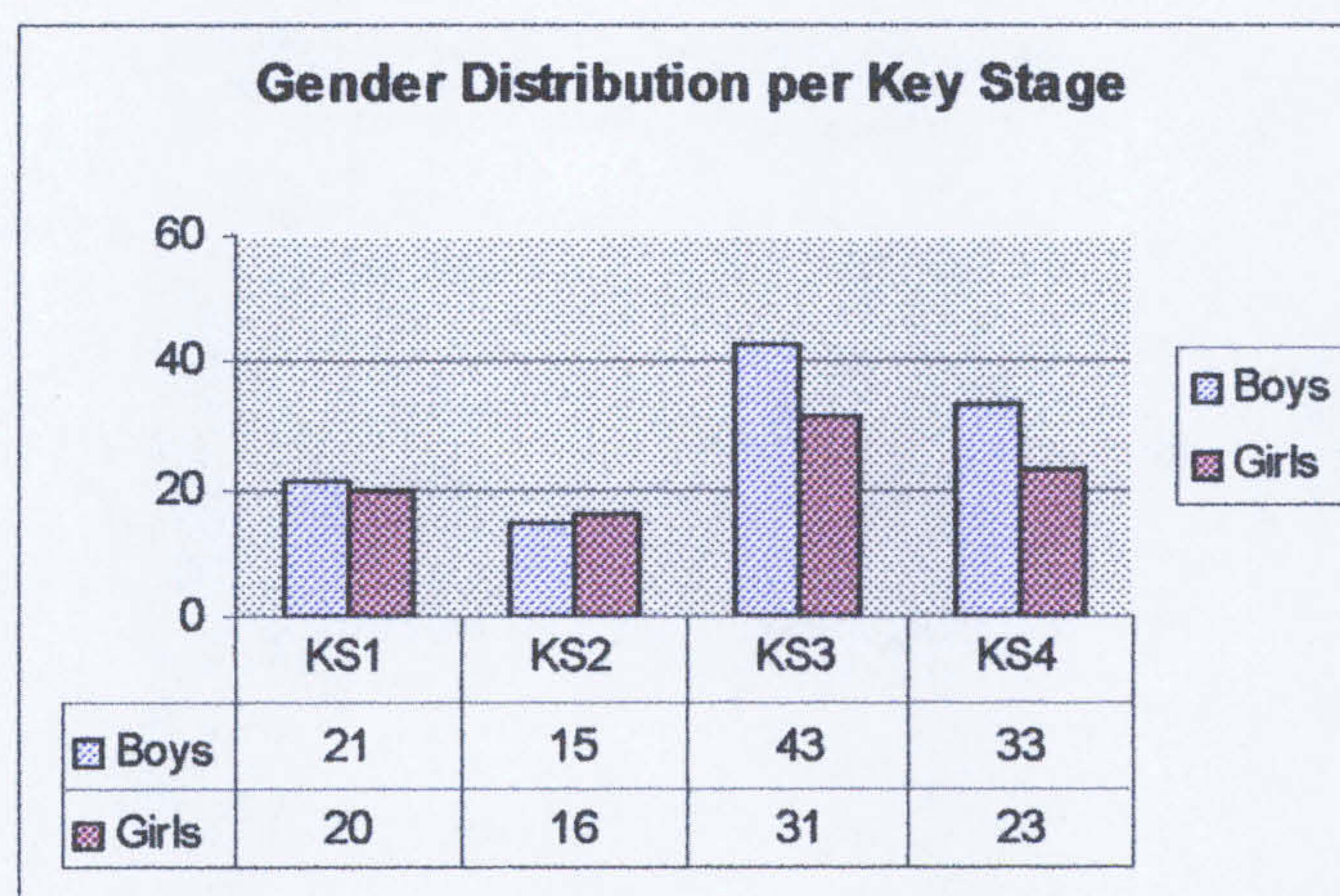


Figure 1.3 - Portuguese Gender and number distribution in the sample

The number of children born in this country (48) is still rather reduced in comparison to those coming from Portugal (154). There also seems to be a preference for catholic schools, amongst the children who were born in England. In Key Stages 1 and 2, of the 24 children born in this country, 11 alone attend the same catholic school.

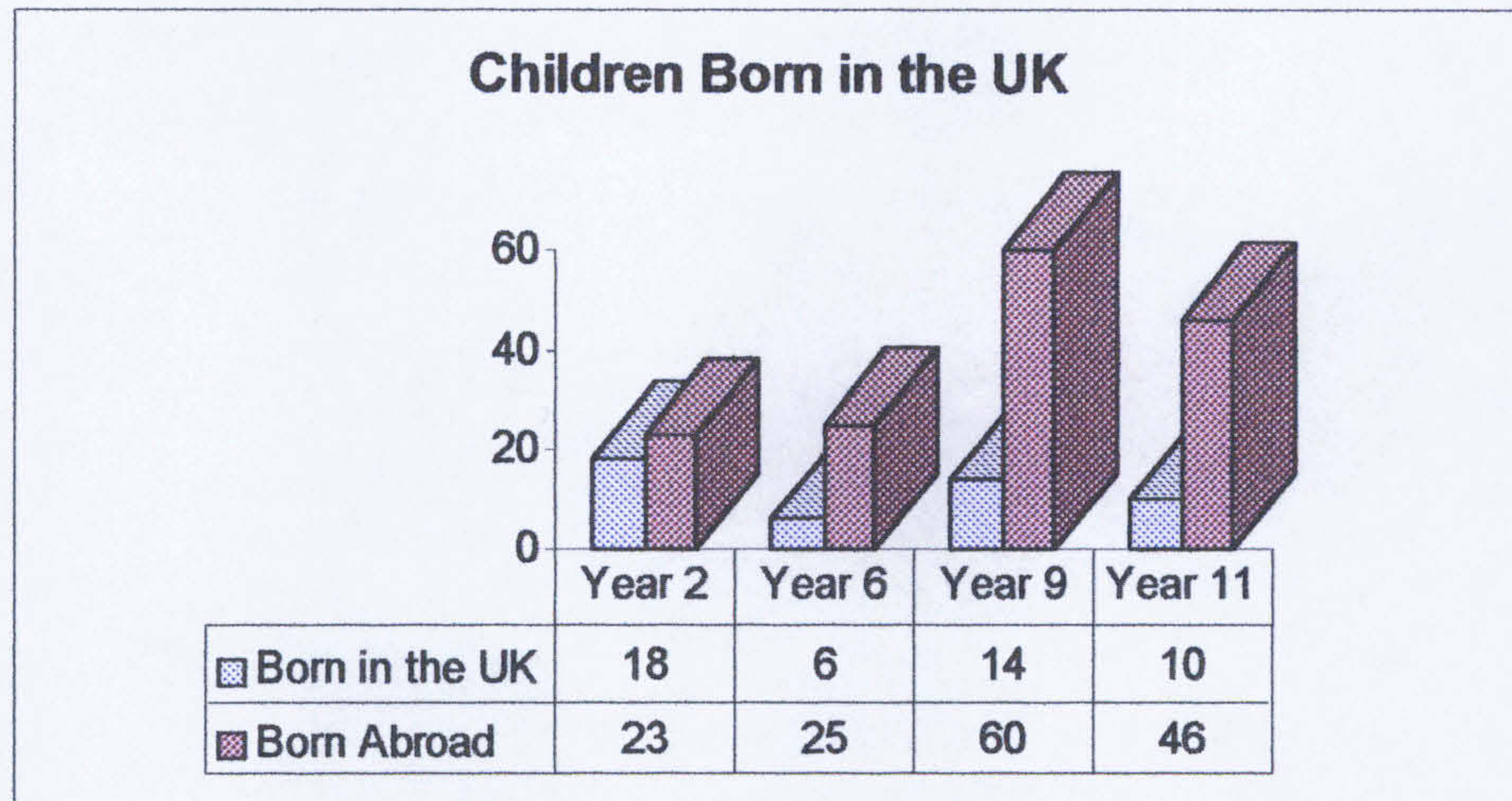


Figure 1.4 - Children born in the UK / Abroad

1.5.3 Length of school attendance in the UK

Although most students have attended the full number of years that correspond to each key stage, new arrivals can be seen throughout the four Key Stages¹⁰.

In Key Stage 1, Figure 1.5, children attending since Reception class, the majority, are in school for 3 school years. Nevertheless, those arriving in year 1 or later, when they would have been starting school in Portugal, at age 6, still constitute a reasonable number, 13 out of 41.

¹⁰ See Appendix 7 for details of the National Curriculum Key Stages.

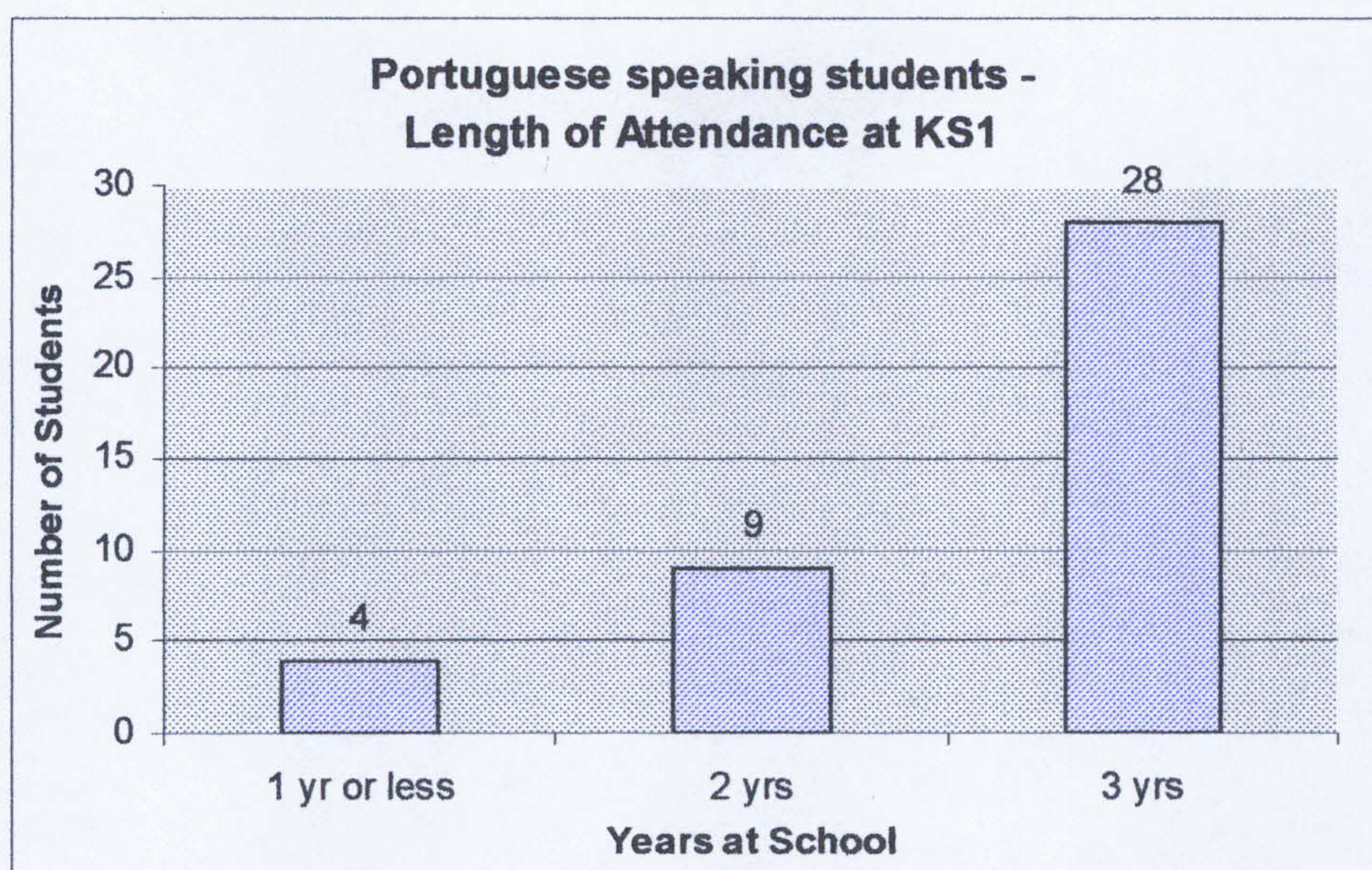


Figure 1.5 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 1

In Key Stage 2, although the percentage of students who enrolled at school during the course of this key stage (26%) is smaller than the equivalent in Key Stage 1 (32%), it should be taken into account that some of the students who have attended the full 4 years of KS2 may have arrived during KS1. As these numbers were not available for all students, they could not have been included in the chart depicted in figure 6, below. Students who had arrived during KS1 would, nevertheless, still be at a disadvantage when compared to their colleagues who had attended school since Reception class.

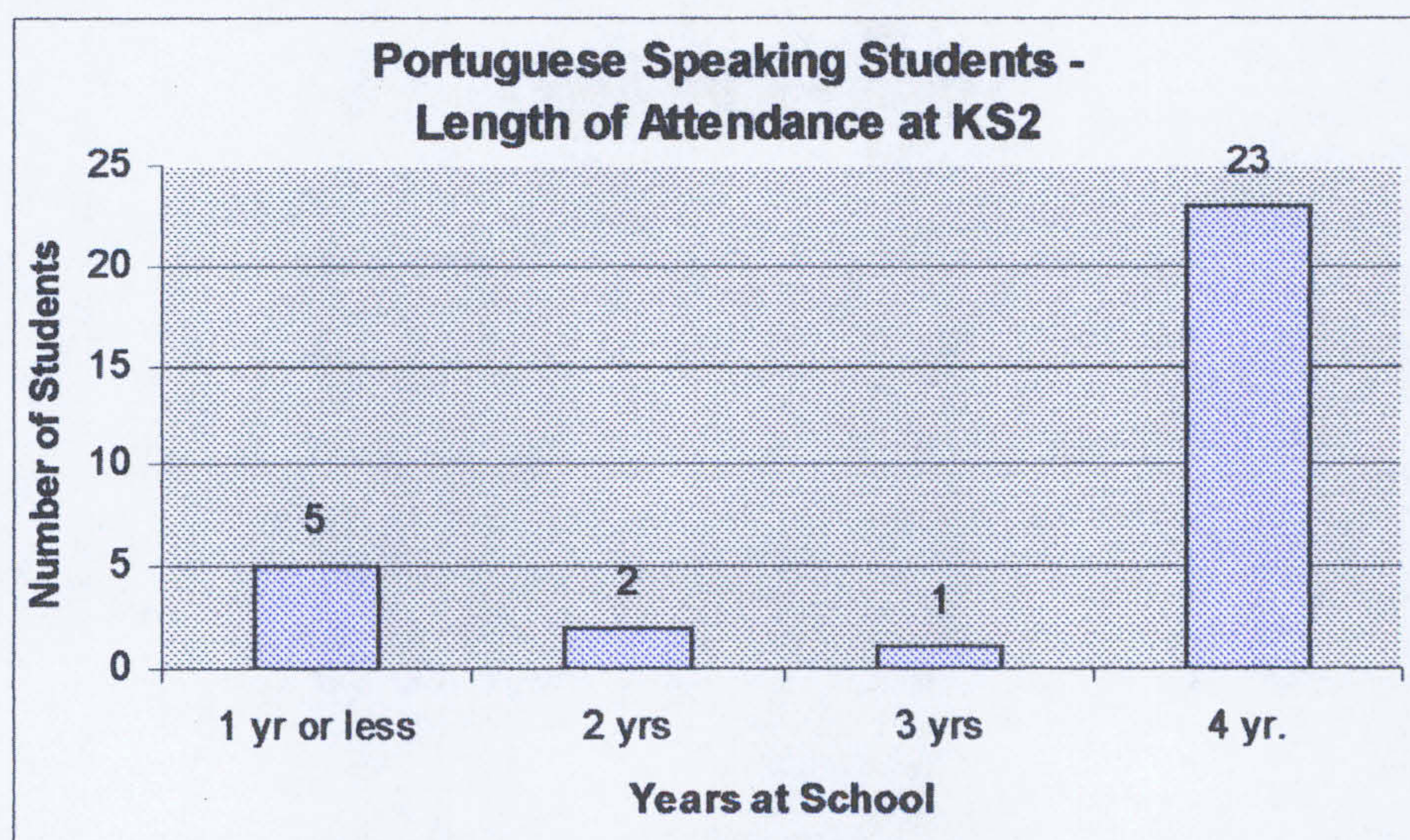


Figure 1.6 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 2

As only some schools kept the pupil information regarding previous schools attended, it is not possible to have a complete set of data for all pupils. This is especially the case at Primary/Secondary school transition. Thus, date of enrolment at the present secondary school is used as a marking point.

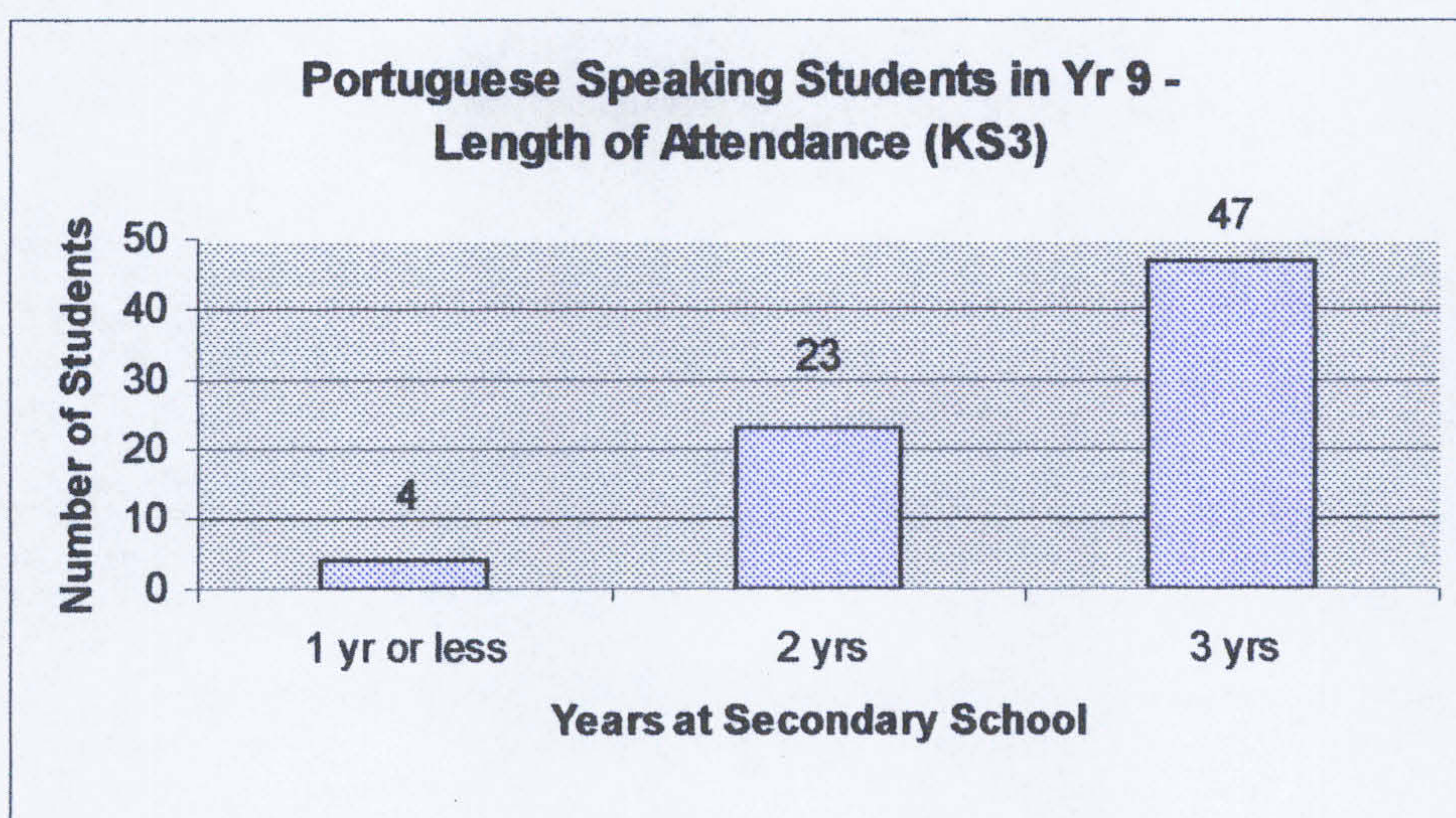


Figure 1.7 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 3

At the end of Key Stage 4, in Year 11, a total of 56 Portuguese speaking students had enrolled in the 5 secondary schools in the study (see Figure 1.8) at the beginning of the school year. Of these, 63% would have attended secondary school in England since the beginning of Year 7. This meant that they had had 4 full years of secondary schooling. The remaining 38% enrolled at school during the course of KS4.

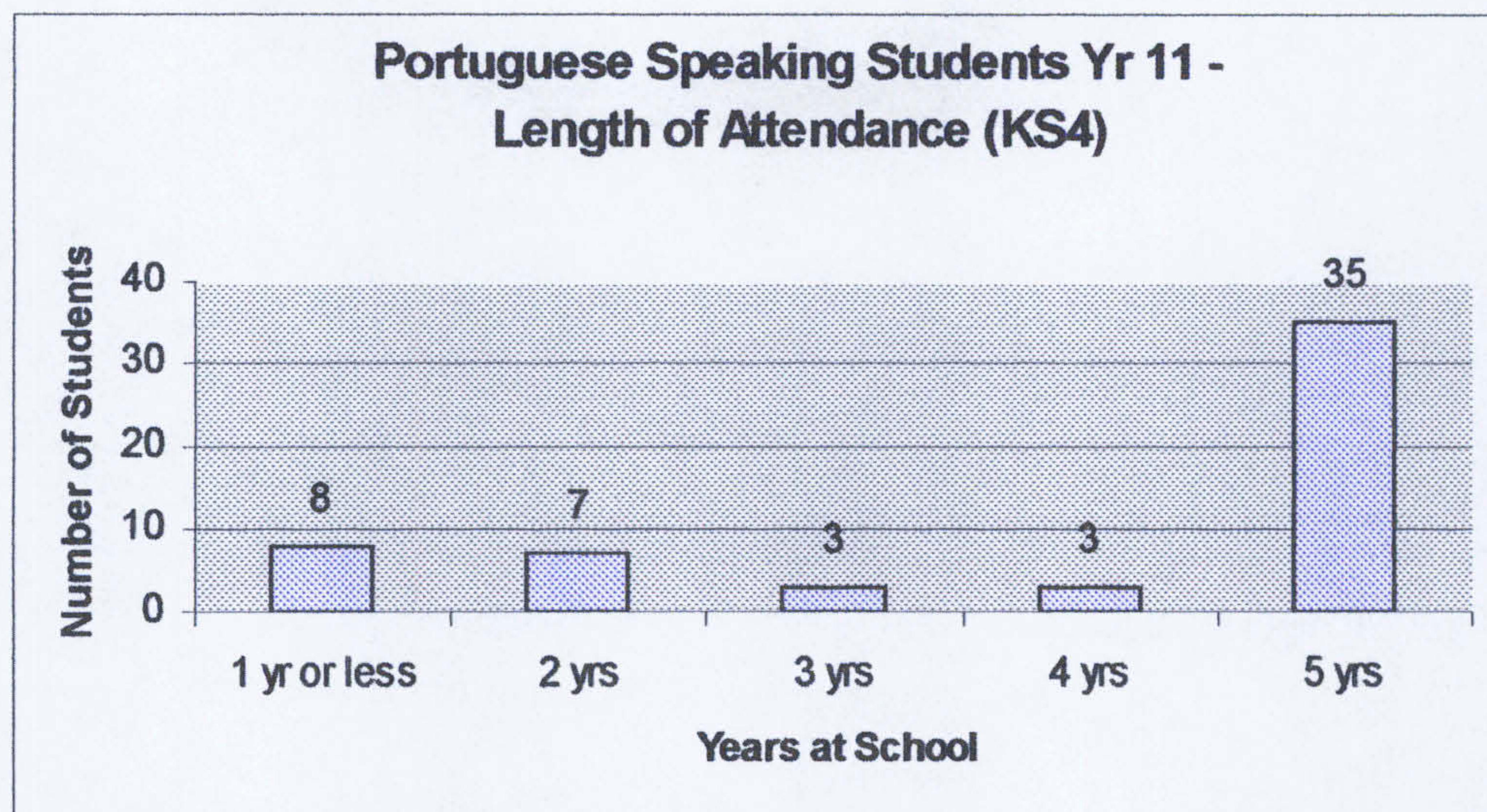


Figure 1.8 - Length of School Attendance (UK) in Key Stage 4

1.5.4 Students taken off-roll

The number of students in KS4 mentioned in the previous section does not, however, correspond to the total number of students who had enrolled in those 5 schools since the beginning of year 7. That figure refers only to those students who were still enrolled at the beginning of the 1998/99 academic year. When the numbers of Portuguese speaking students attending year 11 were compared against those that should be attending year 11 at the end of Key Stage 4, we find a rather large discrepancy. Of a total of 76 Portuguese students of that age group who should be attending, at the end of that year, only 52 were still at school (see Figure 1.9). 24¹¹ students have been taken off the school roll either in the school year before or in the one when the sample data was collected. It would appear that these students had given up obtaining formal qualifications just before the end of compulsory education.

¹¹ At the beginning of the study, when the sample was identified, 21 students had been taken off-roll. Four more students dropped out during the course of that school year, one of whom was still on-roll even though he had abandoned school altogether.

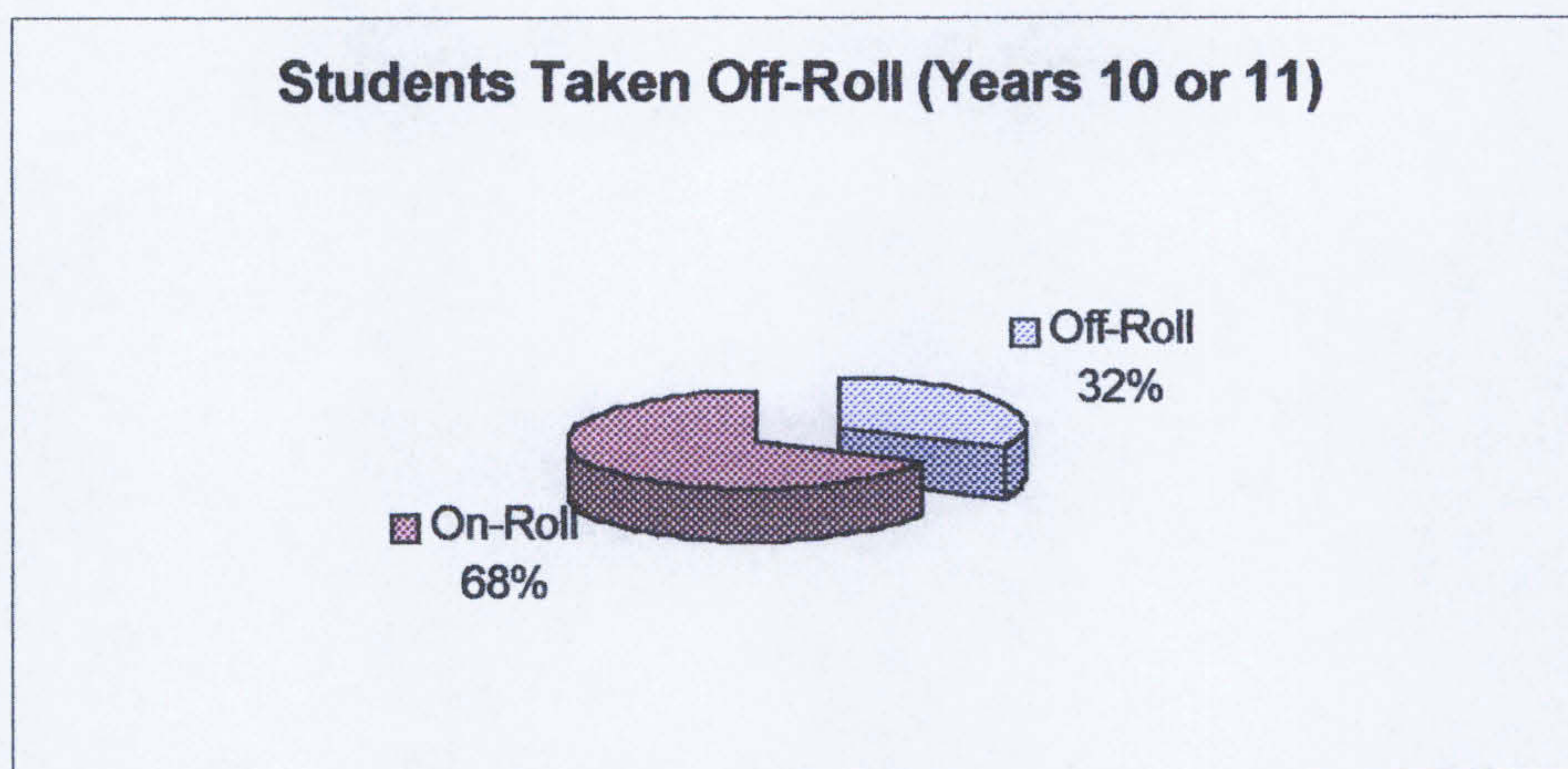


Figure 1.9 - Proportion of Portuguese students taken off the school roll

Although length of school attendance may be a contributing factor, this does not appear to be very clear when we plot the length of time these students had been attending the school from which they were taken off-roll (see Figure 1.10). It is difficult to assess how the number of students taken off school has varied in past years or, indeed, to get a view of their number across the borough as the authority (Lambeth) collects data on absenteeism and exclusions only.

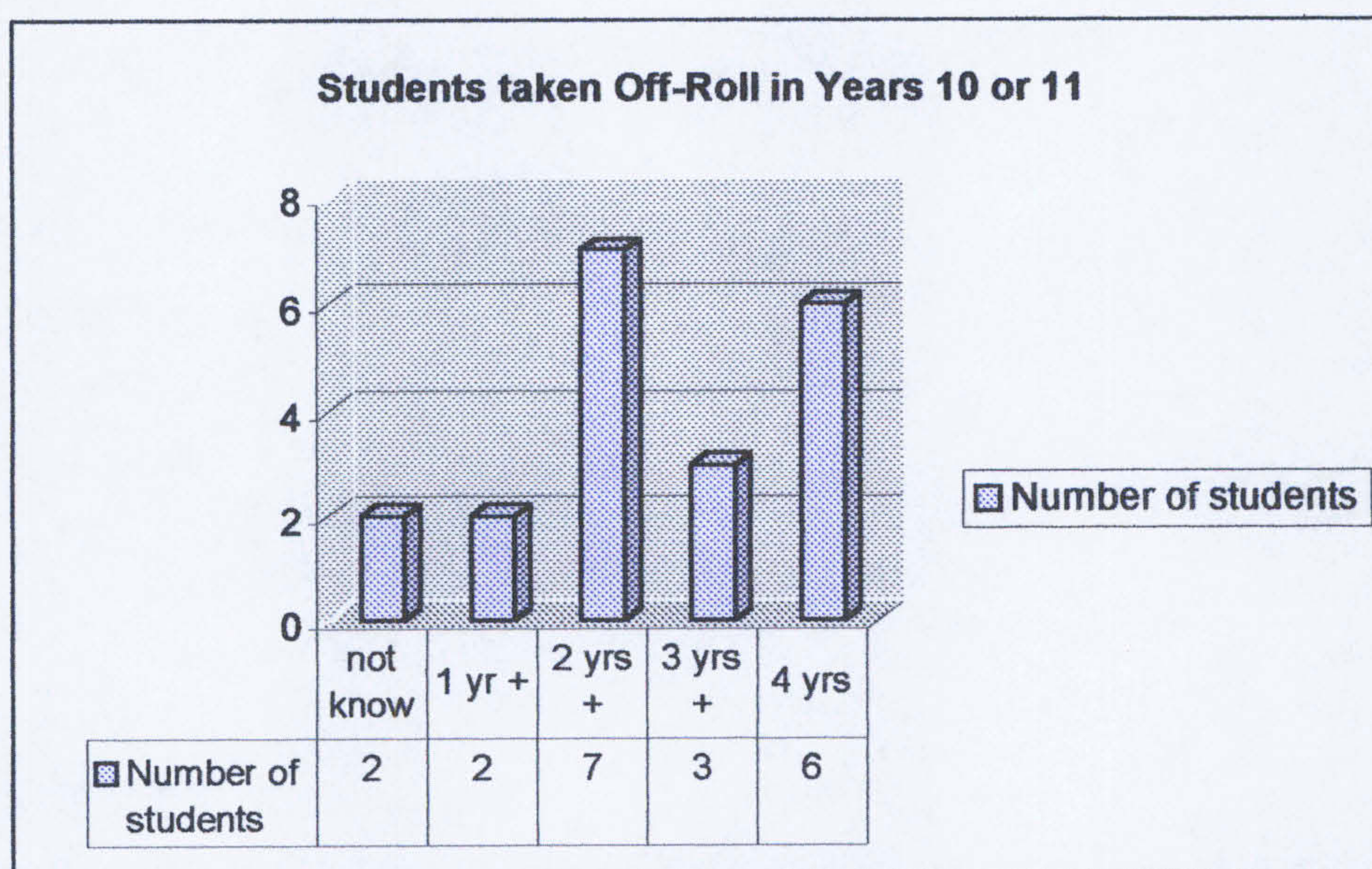


Figure 1.10 - Length of school attendance in the UK/students taken off the school roll

1.5.5 Academic achievement of Portuguese students

Informal evidence seems to suggest that underachievement by the Portuguese students is attributed by teachers mostly to the lack of fluency of English. The comparison of assessment results across schools has turned the focus of attention onto students of English as an additional language (EAL). This, combined with the data grouping according to language has shown that the Portuguese students are not doing as well as other groups, raising the issue that there could be other factors involved and not just language fluency factors¹².

SATs results 1998			
<u>KS1</u>		<u>% Achieving Level 2 or more:</u>	
Reading	Writing	Maths	
36%	44%	54%	Portuguese Students Average
74%	74%	80%	Lambeth Borough Average
80%	81%	84%	National Average
<u>KS2</u>		<u>% Achieving Level 4 or more:</u>	
English	Maths	Science	
42%	30%	47%	Portuguese Students Average
56%	49%	60%	Lambeth Borough Average
64%	58%	69%	National Average

Table 1.2 - SATs Results for Key Stages 1 & 2 – 1998

¹² Recently, a study commissioned by the Portuguese Ministry of Education (Departamento da Educação Básica) and carried out by the Department of Psychology at Luton University (Abreu and Lambert 2003), confirmed that “there was a problem with the educational achievement of the Portuguese children” (p.20).

The low academic results achieved by the Portuguese as a group, can be seen across Key Stages. In the first 2 Key Stages, Portuguese children fare well below the national and the local averages. Even though the difference seems to be smaller in English, at Key Stage 2, there is still a considerable gap in the other two core subjects: Maths and Science. Although the full set of data is not available, as the 1998 results attained by Portuguese students as a group in KS3 and KS4 were not published, we can see how this low attainment pattern is maintained in the results published for 1999. These results can be seen in Table 1.3.

The authors of this study were aware of the work being conducted for this dissertation through reports sent to the Departamento de Educação Básica by me.

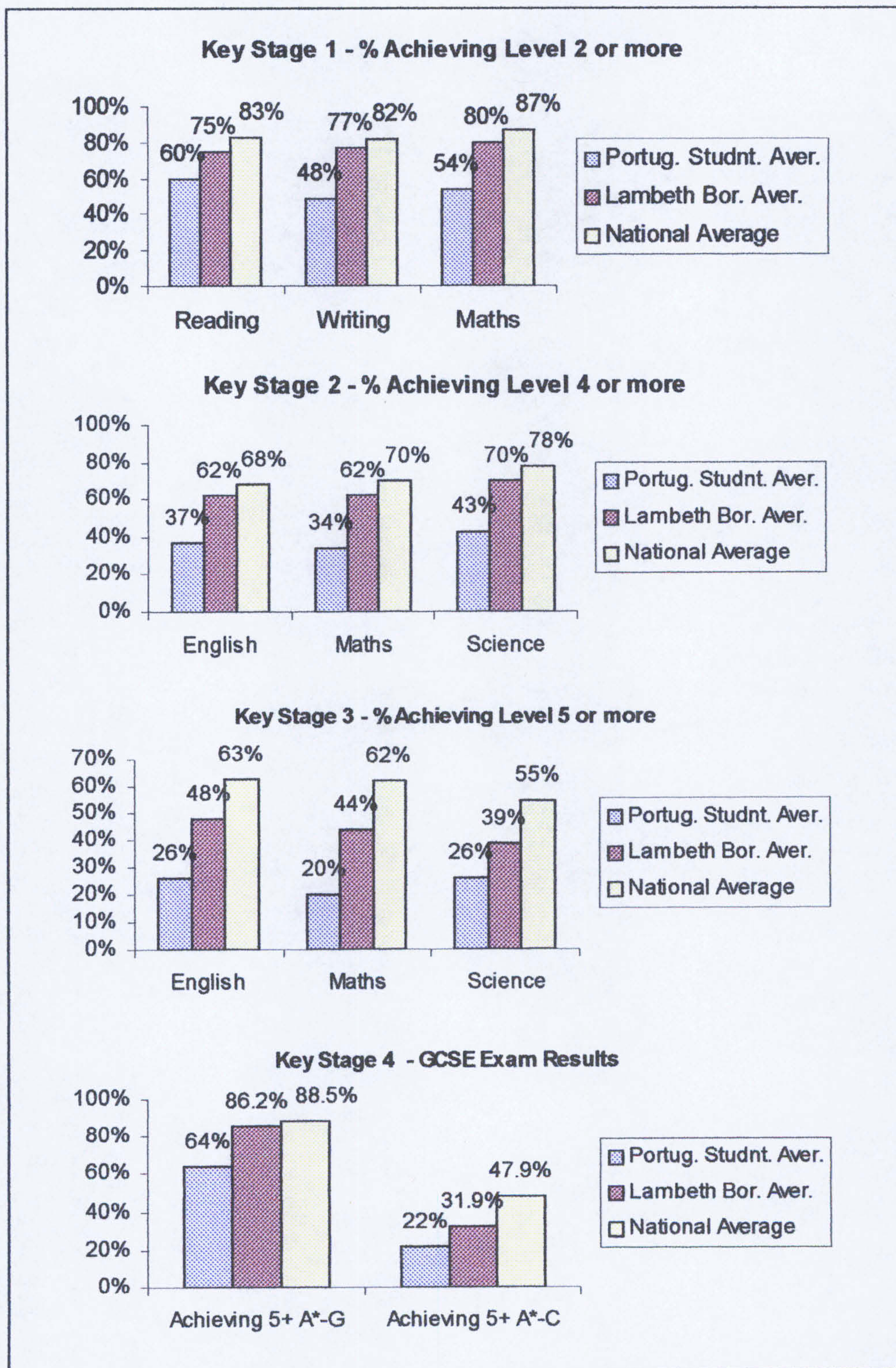


Table 1.3 - London Borough of Lambeth: Standard Attainment Tests' Results 1999

With regard to continuing and further education, although there are alternatives to GCSE qualifications (GNVQs, NVQs and BTEC Diplomas), there is no global figure as to what further qualifications are pursued by Portuguese students in the borough. Only individual school records are kept and Lambeth College, one of the largest colleges of further education in London, with around 9000 students in the school year this data was collected, had no breakdown on the number of students per language spoken. Therefore, there was no way of finding out how many Portuguese students attended that College or what type of courses they attended.

1.5.6 Mother tongue maintenance

Only about half of the students in the sample attend Portuguese LCP classes. Given the present system of data management in the Portuguese Education Department at the Portuguese Consulate it is not possible to have a clear view of the length of time the children have been attending classes. Hand-written lists of students are prepared annually per school establishment where the classes take place and these were used to identify which students were attending LCP classes. However, a student can decide not to attend the classes on an interval year, in which case s/he would not appear on the lists. Furthermore, some students may prefer to attend Portuguese classes in another area more convenient for the family or for the student. Thus, the number of pupils listed as attending mother tongue classes may not show the total picture.

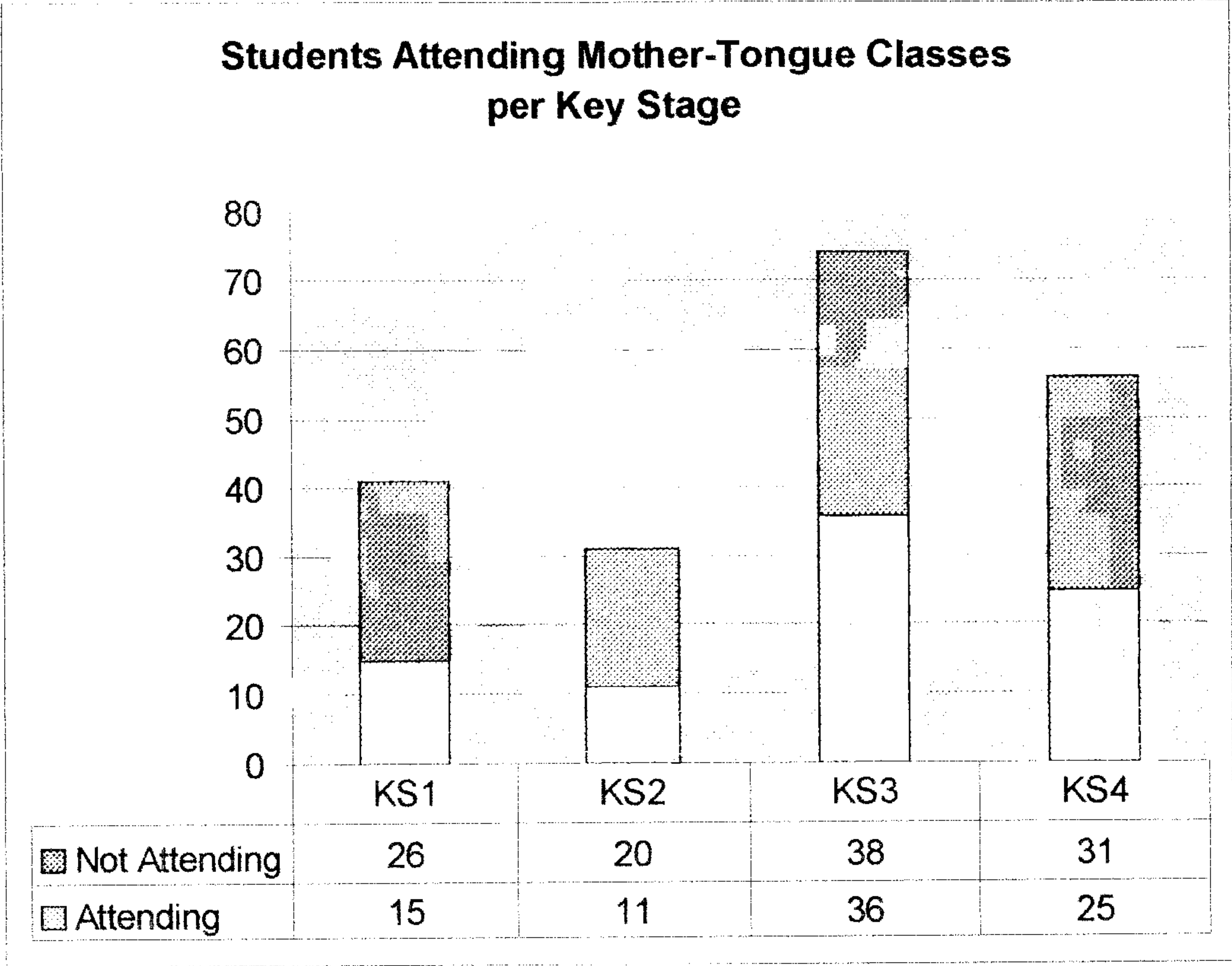


Figure 1.11- Portuguese students attending LCP classes

1.6 Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to create a background of knowledge about the Portuguese as a people with an intimate history of migration, about the area in London where this community has settled and their relations with the academic world their children are part of. This academic world encompasses both the mother tongue classes and mainstream education.

In gathering a sample of students for this study, two main points became apparent:

- a) Portuguese youngsters are, in a significant number, abandoning compulsory education and
- b) Portuguese students throughout their academic career, as a group, underachieve in comparison to national and local averages across academic areas.

These are very important points that will be explored in the remainder of this work in order to try and shed light on the variables that may lead to the underachievement and disaffection of Portuguese youngsters as members of an ethnic minority.

Part II – Theoretical Perspectives

Chapter 2 - Social Inclusion and School Inclusion
50

Chapter 3 - Bilingualism and Bilingual Education
78

Chapter 4 – Methodology
106

Chapter 2 - Social Inclusion and School Inclusion

CHAPTER 2 - SOCIAL INCLUSION AND SCHOOL INCLUSION	50
2.1 Introduction	51
2.2 Social mobility and social capital	51
2.3 School disaffection	58
2.3.1 Disaffection, truancy and exclusion	60
2.4 Ethnic minorities and racism	65
2.4.1 Ethnic minorities and educational achievement	69
2.5 School inclusion and social inclusion	73
2.6 Summary	76

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall attempt to analyse social factors that affect the life of ethnic minority children and their future participation in society, focusing on the school as the major instrument of social inclusion. My aim is to show how societal pressure can affect in different ways the education of children from different backgrounds.

The concept of 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1977) and how it affects an individual's participation in society will be discussed throughout the chapter, but presented in more detail in Section 2.2. The effects of institutional racist and xenophobic attitudes will also be considered here as well as (employment and educational) market pressure. Issues of school exclusion, non-attendance and under-achievement of pupils, relating to school disaffection and how this problem is tackled by the educational institutions, will be discussed.

Finally, in the last section, I shall focus on school inclusion and go on to attempt to summarise the main ideas proposed in the literature discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Social mobility and social capital

The promotion of lifelong learning as proposed in policy reports, whilst welcomed, has been the subject of three main criticisms: they accord too much priority to vocational education and training; they betray a tendency to blame non-participants, while placing responsibility on them for changing their behaviour; and they threaten economic and social exclusion for those who, in the future, do not participate (see e.g. Tight, 1998; Coffield, 1999).

Others, nevertheless, see social exclusion as being about processes rather than an end-state. For Room (1995¹) 'Social exclusion is the process of

¹ Quoted in Oppenheim (1998), p.13.

being detached from the organisations and communities of which the society is composed and from the rights and obligations that they embody'. It has also been defined as 'the process by which individuals and groups become isolated from major societal mechanisms, which produce or distribute social resources as well as the inability to participate effectively in aspects of life that include not only the economic and social but also the political and cultural (Duffy, 1995²).

Oppenheim (1998, p.23) outlines five broad areas for policies to address social exclusion:

- Access to employment and the quality of employment;
- Education, qualifications and skills (human capital);
- Changing the public sector housing mix;
- Improved standards of living;
- Enhancement of social capital.

Oppenheim draws on the work by Mingione (1997) to point out that it is, therefore, important to identify not only the indicators of poverty but also the institutional processes that bring about exclusion. These institutional processes are likely to be present at school. School exclusions are probably the most obvious aspect in this type of institution. However, the social and economic conditions of children who have difficulties coping with school life need to be taken into account as well as the quality of the relationships between teachers, parents and children and the institutional processes involved. Another issue that needs to be taken into account is that of ethnic background.³

Social capital is of particular interest as it involves issues of school disaffection, parental involvement, self-esteem and expectations in the family and in the community. However, for Bourdieu (1977), the determinant factor of occupational opportunity and of extended life chances is the nature of the prior cultural capital inherited by students from their parents and their class backgrounds which are reproduced by the school system (Robbins, 1991,

² Quoted in Oppenheim (1998), p.13.

³ See Modood et al (1997).

p.44.). "The educational system reproduces [...] the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes [...] in that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture and [...] the mode of inculcation practised by the family" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.493).

Therefore, it is family upbringing (and social class) that allows the transmission of the dominant culture through linguistic and cultural competence and a relationship of familiarity with culture. Thus, a child of a family that has (dominant) cultural capital is more likely to experience academic success due to the nature of the academic market. In the same way, "for the most culturally unfavoured classes or sections of a class - self depreciation, devaluation of the school and its sanctions, or a resigned attitude to failure and exclusion - must be understood as an anticipation" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.495) unconsciously expected as a result of internalising the perceived value that the academic market attributes to those classes. Expectations and aspirations are viewed as limited by one's family cultural knowledge. In short, you can only aspire to what you estimate are, even if unconsciously, objective probabilities of success for your class. This is clearly illustrated by the following quote taken from Abreu & Lambert (2003, p116) regarding Portuguese parents:

"Ilda, Portuguese teacher

If you are a cleaning lady and your daughter wants to be a hairdresser or a nanny, that's wonderful isn't it because that's something better than you'll ever have been, but I don't know. I'm sure that the mums will want the very best for their children and I think that some of the mums can't really see their children being medical doctors or being even teachers or lawyers because they can't see, they can't imagine that."

Bourdieu also recognises the importance of social capital or "capital of social relationships" which can later be used as currency. It is this capital of relationships that allows the holder of academic qualifications (themselves a converted form of cultural capital) to use them in the most profitable manner. The same academic qualifications receive different values and functions

according to the economic and social capital at the disposal of those who hold them and the markets in which they are used. Or, as Robbins (1991, p.45) puts it: "The determinant of occupational opportunity and of extended life chances will be the nature of the prior cultural capital inherited by students from their parents and their class backgrounds". Bourdieu has, nevertheless, been accused of not being sufficiently explicit in defining variations in the ways in which individuals activate the social and cultural forms of capital (Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Portes and Macleod (1999) propose a division into two main groups of the perspectives to explain differences in school adaptation and success of children from different backgrounds put forward by several authors in the published literature. According to Portes and Macleod⁴, a first explanation is that differences in academic performance of the children reflect the human capital, in particular, the education of their parents. Following this view, controlling for the different human capital endowments of the families, the apparent national differences on educational results disappear.

A second perspective emphasises the importance of social capital. Coleman's work (1988) can help us understand how social capital may affect a child's school life. Coleman defines social capital by its function - as a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure. Social capital constitutes a particular kind of resource available to an actor. It is productive in that it makes possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. Whilst human capital is created by changes in persons and is embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual, social capital "exists in the relations among persons" (Coleman, 1988, p. S100). Social capital can, thus, be defined as the social relationships from which an individual is potentially able to derive various types of institutional resources and support, particularly, support that includes the delivery of knowledge-based

⁴ Portes and Macleod (1999, p.375) refer to the work of Borjas (1989, 1990) and Vernez and Abrahamse (1996).

resources, for example, guidance for further education or job advancement (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995).

For Coleman (1988), the effect of social capital on the next generation is of prime importance. Both social capital in the family (across generations) and in the community play an important role in the creation of human capital in the next generation. Whilst human capital in the family, approximately measured by parents' education, provides the potential for a cognitive environment that aids the child's learning, the social capital of the family is the relationship between children and family members (intergenerational closure), combining measures such as two parents at home, number of siblings, and parents' expectations for child's education.

Outside the family, social capital can be found in the social relations that exist among parents and in the parents' relations with the institutions of the community network. Thus, "if the human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to the child's educational growth that the parent has a great deal, or a small amount, of human capital" (Coleman, 1988, p. S110). When families move, the social capital that constitutes relations in the school and in the community is broken and will need to be re-established. We can extrapolate this premise to ethnic minorities and migrants. The same type of network loss may happen in a school where parents minimally know each other. A parent from another culture, who does not speak the language used in the community will not be able to communicate and develop the type of social relations that allows him/her to take part in the school/community network. The child in that family will, thus, have a reduced knowledge of the obligations, expectations and social norms as well as limited information channels in comparison to other children whose families fully take part in those social structures.

In modern society, where strong families and strong communities are less present, the emphasis on the individual and on human capital becomes stronger. Therefore, there is a need for formal organisations to substitute for the

voluntary and spontaneous social forms of support that supplied social capital to youngsters in previous generations. In ethnic minority communities, this would imply forms of support not only across generations but also across cultures to make possible the engagement and advancement in the educational system and later in the occupational structure. According to Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch (1995), these supportive ties, for working-class and minority youth, are mainly found outside the family, in school settings and community organisations. These authors refer to various pieces of research showing that establishing such ties has been found to be no easy task even for majority-group members.

Referring to the accommodative strategies of the British and U.S. Sikh immigrant community, Gibson & Bhachu (1991, p.78-79) describe a common belief that "to be successful, one has not only to understand the way the majority society operates but, in addition, one must gain the social skills and personal networks that open doors". A strategy to which these authors refer as 'accommodation without assimilation'.

There is also research pointing out how perceptions of the available opportunities for success within the educational system and the job market help determine minority students' optimism and willingness to conform to the cultural standards imposed by schools. Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch (1995) refer to the work by Ogbu (1991) as well as Fine (1991) and Gottlieb (1975) suggesting that conformity to norms and supportive contact with mainstream institutional agents is highly dependent on the degree of overlap in subcultural values and norms. Fine and Gottlieb showed that teachers, coaches, guidance staff, and secretaries were less responsive to marginal, non-conforming students and often acted to discourage them from seeking support.

On the other hand, Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch's own work (1995) seems to indicate that ethnic minority bilingual students may have an advantage in developing their language and culture. By maintaining a strong cultural identity whilst developing both languages to a high standard, they are able to

acquire sufficient mainstream cultural capital to share in the resources enjoyed by dominant group members and, at the same time, retain trust in the system. This kind of bicultural adaptation, in line with Gibson's 'accommodation without assimilation', would appear to lead to increases in social capital, both by lowering the risks entailed in help seeking and by increasing the likelihood of genuine support from institutional agents. "Minority youth do better in school when they feel strongly anchored in the identities of their families, communities and peers and when they feel supported in pursuing a strategy of selective or additive acculturation" (Gibson, 1997, p.431).

A strategy of accommodation without assimilation would also help reduce the risk of "dissonant acculturation" (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Based on Portes and Rumbaut's work, Gibson (1997, p.438) suggests that "the children of immigrants are at risk of school failure and downward assimilation when they feel pressured to Americanise more rapidly than their parents and when their parents and ethnic community lack the cultural and social resources needed to guide their educational progress and to steer them away from a deviant path." Some may see the repudiation of their cultural practices as a form of integration in the mainstream, more powerful, culture⁵. This, as Gurnah points out, would be a way of escaping the 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1991) exerted by the dominant ethnic group in the form of "constant questioning, and even ridiculing, of their basic cultural, social and moral concerns" (Gurnah, 2000, p.244).

To Stanton-Salazar (1997), however, in order to thrive, minority children must learn to engage in the academic process communally, rather than individualistically; remaining embedded in familial and communal support systems while participating in the mainstream culture. "Successful socialisation amongst minority children entails learning to "decode the system" and to "participate in power," understood as learning how to engage socially those

⁵ Alternatively, where it does not seem possible for children of an ethnic minority to have their academic capital recognised as cultural or symbolic capital, families may return or send their children to be educated in their country of origin, such as in the case of Turkish families in Berlin (Çaglar, 1995).

agents and participants in the mainstream worlds and social settings who control or manage critical resources." (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p.33)

The need to decode the system in order to participate in power and remain embedded in one's communal support system whilst taking part in the mainstream culture implies a view of oneself as part of a (minority ethnic) group that, generally speaking, receives the same treatment from the host majority. This relates to what Portes and Macleod (1999) call contextual effects due to different modes of incorporation. These effects emphasise community differences that transcend individual and family characteristics but that influence all members of a particular group.

According to this view, the modes of incorporation of immigrants into the host country (how they are accepted, or not so, by the members of the host society) have enduring effects in the patterns of adaptation of both adults and children. Portes and Macleod (1999) propose that different modes of incorporation, determined by governmental policy and public perceptions of different nationalities, interact with the cultural outlooks and aspirations of their members, producing diverse ethnic communities. In a view akin to Bourdieu's cultural capital (1997), these authors (p.376) propose that "These communities subsequently condition the orientation toward the future of their members, their perception of what is acceptable in American society, and their mutual solidarity".

Notwithstanding the theories proposed above, it remains unclear how the school system can help perpetuate a situation of limited future expectations for minority students or contribute to preventing situations of disadvantage for groups of students.

2.3 School disaffection

In their report 'Wasted Youth', Pearce and Hillman (1998, p.5) point out that we are required to "locate the 'problem' of disaffection simultaneously at a

number of levels - socio-economic, institutional and individual - and to formulate our response accordingly". Disaffection should be considered on the basis of issues of exclusion, non-attendance and under-achievement of pupils in compulsory education and the implications this may have for post-16 training and education. Pearce and Hillman (1998, p.6) also point out that "for some young people conventional notions of 'achievement' and 'participation' are an inadequate definition of success and self-esteem."

In 1998, it was estimated that 8% of sixteen-year-olds were leaving school without any GCSE passes at all and the same percentage remained outside education, training or employment. Educational disadvantage continues throughout life: 36 per cent of adults have had no education and training since leaving school, and a large proportion of these have no qualifications at all (Sargant & Tuckett, 1996 [referred in Pearce & Hillman, 1998]; Kerckhoff & Bell, 1998). The importance attached by this society to individual and to lifelong⁶ learning has been expressed by various organisations (see, for example, CBI, 1989). It is depicted succinctly in 'Excellence in Schools' as "Investment in learning in the 21st Century is the equivalent of investment in the machinery and technical innovation that was essential to the first great industrial revolution. Then it was physical capital; now it is human capital" (DfEE, 1997; p.15).

Thus, the consequences of youth disaffection affect not only each individual but society as a whole. At stake are not only the right of each person to participate and achieve their best in society but also, as is clearly stated by the Education and Employment Committee (1998), "a substantial price tag" "for the indirect costs of disaffection to the public purse" (parags. 4 & 3), through, amongst others, long-term unemployment, an increased chance of becoming involved with crime and drug misuse, and of teenage parenthood. The problem of low qualifications affects even more acutely ethnic minority children, whose school attainment, despite improvement as a whole, continues to show underachievement. The Ofsted national survey of 25 LEAs (1999), focusing on the attainment of Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Gypsy Traveller

⁶ See Coffield (1999) for an alternative vision of lifelong learning. See also Parry & Fry (1999).

students found achievement differences also between these groups. Despite different progress rates throughout their academic career, at the end of compulsory education, the attainment of these groups remained a concern (Ofsted, 1999, parag. 8). Whilst in previous generations of migrants the labour market could deal easily with large numbers of early school leavers (Wong Fillmore, 1986, p. 649), today's labour market, in Europe, demands highly qualified personnel for a technologically advanced economy.

2.3.1 Disaffection, truancy and exclusion

Truancy can be seen as a form of exclusion on the part of the students. Frequent truancy is the clearest expression of disaffection with school and dissatisfaction with the education provided. Through truancy, young people vote with their feet on issues that cannot be understood solely in educational terms and that spill onto the wider community.

Official figures show relatively low and stable levels of truancy. In 1997, secondary schools reported that 1 per cent of school time was lost to unauthorised absence (SEU, 1998). However, anonymised surveys of pupils (O'Keeffe, 1993 [referred in the Social Exclusion Unit Report (SEU, 1998)]) give a very different picture and the latest Youth Cohort Study (Graham & Bowling, 1995 [referred in SEU, 1998]) showed that 2 per cent of children in Year 11 truanted for weeks at a time, a further 2 per cent for several days at a time, and another 34 per cent truanted occasionally.

The Social Exclusion Unit Report (SEU, 1998) indicates three main areas of impact of truancy:

a) Educational underachievement - Truants are more likely than non-truants to leave school with few or no qualifications. (38 per cent of truants reported that they had no GCSEs, compared with 3 per cent of non-truants).

b) Unemployment and homelessness - Like others with low qualifications, those who miss school are more likely to be out of work at age 18, and are more likely to become homeless.

c) Crime - Home Office research showed that truants were more than three times more likely to offend than non-truants. There is evidence that pupils who have a poor attendance record were much more at risk of a custodial sentence than those with more positive reports.

The Social Exclusion Unit's Report (1998) 'Truancy and Social Exclusion' refers to surveys where pupils have said that they truant because they dislike particular lessons or teachers, or see school or the National Curriculum as irrelevant. Non-attendance can also be a result of anxiety about GCSE course work deadlines. Anxiety about bullying is frequently cited as a reason. Other factors that need to be taken into consideration are peer-group pressures⁷ (Cullingford & Morrison, 1997; Paetsch & Bertrand, 1997), families condoning their children taking time out of schools to work or share domestic responsibilities and instability caused by frequent change of school.

Student mobility can in itself be a symptom as well as a risk factor. There is evidence from the United States to suggest that student mobility is not simply a result of students changing residences. A number of experiences in school - absenteeism, educational expectations, misbehaviour, grades - have a powerful influence on whether students change high schools and eventually complete high school. These factors reflect both academic and social engagement and are directly influenced by what schools do (Rumberger & Larson, 1998b).

In the United Kingdom, the minimum school leaving age is 16. Until that age, all children are entitled to full-time education. This is a right of all children living in the country. However, exclusion, be it permanent or temporary, can be

⁷ The importance of peer-group attitudes can be related to earlier reputational profiles developed in primary school age. Carroll et al (1999) suggest that "gender differences exist in the type of reputation sought and that the process of initiation of a particular reputation begins much earlier than adolescence. Thus, reputation enhancement is a dynamic and developmental process which begins in primary school-aged children."

used as a form of punishment when the school finds it necessary. Statistics indicate that exclusion from school is being used with increasing frequency (Benn & Chitty, 1997, p.238; Gillborn & Gipps, 1996, p.4; Pearce & Hillman, 1998, p.14). Permanent exclusion is a decision that headteachers do not take lightheartedly: it is estimated that less than forty per cent of excluded pupils return to mainstream education (Parsons, 1998). Parsons regards permanent exclusion as counter productive, unjust, costly and damaging to both the individual and the fabric of society. According to OFSTED (1996, par. 26), "for the pupil concerned, it [exclusion] may well constitute a critical turn in a downward spiral leading to unemployability, anomie and hopelessness". Nevertheless, it should also be taken into account that, in cases where the range of strategies available to schools failed to improve children's behaviour, "exclusion remains the only option if the rights of teachers and other pupils to work in a safe and supportive environment are to be protected" (NUT, 1998).

It has been suggested that, behind an increasing number of school exclusions, are problems linked to economic factors. Children and young people from disadvantaged households are more likely to engage in acts of violence or disruption, thus posing additional and more challenging problems for schools. Secondly, the national curriculum and assessment arrangements make it more difficult to provide programmes of social and personal education in schools who may no longer be able to provide disaffected children with the attention they need. A third causal factor may be that, in order to save their reputation through a convenient place in league tables, schools may have a lower tolerance than previously of non-conforming behaviour (Richardson & Wood, 1999).

Schools have to report to LEAs fixed-term exclusions (defined as exclusions of between five and a maximum 15 days per term) but the information is not collated. OFSTED (1996) estimates there are around 100,000 a year. Some of these may be repeat exclusions of the same child. The figures above cover only decisions to exclude in any given year. They do not include children who were excluded in previous years and are still not in school. And, as pointed out by the Social Exclusion Unit (1998), they do not cover children who

are excluded 'informally': anecdotal evidence suggests this is not uncommon⁸. Bridges (1994) quoted in Benn & Chitty (1997, p.239) alerts that:

"There is a danger that headteachers may seek to use a series of extended 'fixed-term' exclusions (which can amount in total to a quarter of the school year) as a means of circumventing the clear scrutiny of their decisions that would result from permanent exclusions and in order to keep 'difficult' children out of school for long periods and thereby 'persuade' parents to remove them voluntarily from the school."

This seems to be confirmed by Education Welfare Officers (Education and Employment Committee, 1998, parag. 15) who referred to the "practice of children being taken off roll "unofficially", without being formally excluded - a headteacher may recommend to a parent that they withdraw their child from the school to be enrolled at another school, but the parent then finds that no other school wants to take the child."

The reasons for exclusion vary greatly from relatively minor incidents to serious criminal offences. The circumstances in which exclusion might be justified are not set out in the law, and the DfEE guidance⁹ on the subject does not have statutory force. However, practice varies enormously and, according to the Social Exclusion Unit (1998), in too many schools, is at odds with this guidance. Exclusion rates vary greatly from school to school, but tend to be higher in areas of social deprivation. The regions with the highest rates are inner and outer London (SEU, 1998).

⁸ Exclusion may be permanent or of fixed-term duration up to a period of 45 days in any one year. Schools may also exclude pupils unofficially or informally, as happens, for example, when parents agree voluntarily to withdraw a child and seek placement in another school, or when a pupil remains on school grounds but is prohibited from participating in activities with his or her peers (Pearce & Hillman, 1998).

⁹ The guidance says that:

- exclusion should be used 'only in response to serious breaches of a school's policy on behaviour or of the criminal law';
- it should be used as a last resort when all other reasonable steps have been taken and when allowing the child to remain in school would be seriously detrimental to the education or welfare of the pupil or others;
- exclusion is not appropriate for minor misconduct, such as occasional failure to do homework or to bring dinner money;
- pregnancy is not in itself sufficient reason for exclusion (SEU, 1998).

The literature available indicates that different ethnic minorities are likely to experience different rates of exclusion from school. Richardson & Wood (1999) indicate that young people in the following categories are more likely to experience school exclusion: 1) boys; 2) in years 9, 10 and 11 at secondary school; 3) victims of social deprivation, as measured by entitlement to free school meals; 4) having special educational needs; 5) being looked after by local authorities; 6) living in London and 7) of African Caribbean or mixed Caribbean and White heritage. According to these authors, both African Caribbean boys and girls are disproportionately excluded. They refer to DfEE figures showing that the exclusion rate nationally amongst African Caribbean (6.6 per thousand) is three times the rate for White pupils (1.8 per thousand). Similar statistics are mentioned by Benn & Chitty (1997, p.239). This rate, however, may hide an even larger disproportion as black boys are more likely than white boys to drop-out and truant, thus not showing up in these statistics. Furthermore, in recent years, in some areas of England, there has been a rise in the number of exclusions of young people from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds.

At a local level, responsibility is divided between schools, local education authorities and the police. It is simply not clear who is responsible if overall levels of truancy and exclusions rise¹⁰. It is the duty of the LEA to ensure that children of compulsory school age receive suitable education. Nevertheless, many excluded pupils are likely to receive only a few hours of education each week (Parsons, 1998). According to official guidelines, when a child is excluded or is at risk of failure at school through disaffection, a school-based Pastoral Support Programme (PSP) should be immediately set up. This PSP, set up in agreement with parents, should involve other services such as Social Services Departments, Housing Departments, Voluntary organisations and the Youth Service, Careers Services and Ethnic minority community groups (DfEE,

¹⁰ The professionals who look after children who may truant or be excluded are required by law to produce a range of strategic 'plans' including Children's Services Plans, Behaviour Support Plans, Education Development Plans, Youth Justice Plans, Drug Action Strategies. The purpose of these plans is to focus on particular problem issues. But the large number involved runs the risk of duplication and lack of co-ordination and some children have as many as eight different professionals dealing with them, not always communicating with each other (SEU, 1998).

1999a). An Education Welfare Officer will liaise with the schools and the families to resolve attendance issues and, when appropriate, find an alternative school or educational arrangements for the child. Sometimes, pupils are registered at a school and at a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU). Legally, PRUs are both a type of school and education otherwise, as they are not subject to all the legislative requirements that apply to mainstream and special schools (DfEE, 1999b). There are about 25,000 children receiving education outside school. Parsons (1996) suggests it costs about four times as much to provide as mainstream schooling but that children receive on average only 10 per cent of full education (referred to in SEU parag 2.23).

According to the Education and Employment Committee (1998), a feature of a good school is a low exclusion rate. Although the Government has decided that published performance data on exclusions (down to school level for secondary schools and LEA level for primary schools) should be broken down by ethnic group, such data will not provide a complete picture of the situation. Only those cases brought before the Board of Governors, usually for disciplinary reasons and, thus, formally excluded will count as "exclusions". Therefore, the number of students excluded can only serve as an indicator.

2.4 Ethnic minorities and racism

The definition of 'ethnic minorities' is *per se* controversial and often confused with that of 'ethnic group'. Giddens (1989, p.243-4) defines ethnic group in the following way:

"Members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groupings in a society, and are seen by those others to be so. Many different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups from one another, but the most usual are language, history or ancestry (real or imagined), religion and styles of dress or ornament. Ethnic differences are wholly learned".

'Ethnic minority', on the other hand, implies power status. 'Minority' can be used to refer to people whose countries have been, or still are, colonised; belong to immigrant groups, independently of the time they intend to stay in the host country; others, still, for their religious beliefs. Whatever the underlying characteristic denoting minority status, being minority means being in a less powerful position in the context of the host or mainstream of society (Navarro, 1997). In different countries and study contexts, 'ethnic' and 'minority' are associated with different meanings. In the Netherlands, for example, "An ethnic minority is characterised by a low social position over a long period, mostly several generations. The social position of a group concerns its average position in the central institutions of a society: labor market, housing market, educational system, and political-legal system" (Eldering, 1997, p.330).

In Britain, although the 1985 Linguistic Minorities Project identified sizeable minorities that included European nationals, these groups do not appear in studies of minorities. In fact, 'ethnic minority' in Britain is commonly used as meaning 'minority of colour'. Thus, in educational research, as in official interest¹¹, groups like the Irish, Greek, Portuguese, Turkish are not visible even though they have a distinctive cultural and economic profile and their community may be well established in certain boroughs (Hickman, 1993; Gillborn & Gipps, 1996; Gillborn, 1997). This is certainly the case in the OFSTED (1999) publication "Raising the attainment of minority ethnic pupils" where only the attainment of Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Gypsy Traveller pupils is taken into account.

The 'official' view of a limited number of homogeneous ethnic minority groups, thus, appears to contrast with the rich diversity of cultural, linguistic and

¹¹ More recently, the guidance for Local Education Authorities on schools' collection and recording data on pupils' ethnic background for Pupil Level Annual Schools' Census (PLASC) allows for the coding and local breakdown of information. However, nationally, the categories are still broad: **White** (British, Irish, Traveller of Irish Heritage, Gypsy/Roma, Any other White background), **Mixed** White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Any other mixed background), **Asian or Asian British** (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Any other Asian background), **Black or Black British** (Caribbean, African, Any other Black background), **Chinese, Any other ethnic background** (see www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/ethnicminorities).

historical backgrounds that constitute the ethnic minorities in Britain. These backgrounds are continually evolving and being created, as "cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past." (Hall, 1993, p. 394).

Identity is multilayered and ever-changing. It has to take into account not only one's views of oneself but also how the others view us, the pressures and the choices. As Richardson and Wood (1999) put it: one's allegiances, belongings and loyalties. These authors also highlight the role of racism. "Choices of cultural identity, as also refusals to choose, are made within the wider context of much racism and xenophobia in wider society" (1999, p.21).

However, not all 'white people' are 'white'. Racist propaganda often equates "British" with "White" and views demanding that schools should promote a sense of national identity in education are widely held in the media. Richardson and Wood (1999) point out that, until the 1950s or 1960s migrations into Europe, most colour racism affected relationships between Europeans and people outside Europe, in the various colonies, whereas cultural racism (xenophobia and anti-semitism) mainly affected relationships within Europe, between dominant majority culture and various minorities (Gillborn, 1990, p.10, uses the term 'ethnocentrism' to describe this form of discrimination).

In the case of the Portuguese, nevertheless, the two strands of racism appear intertwined, where colour racism is used in an attempt to justify cultural racism. Harney (1990), shows how the Portuguese migrants have been characterised in English-speaking host countries¹² as "semi-negroid" in the 1920s (p. 123), and "dark-whites [...]. A sense of the Portuguese as not truly European, or at least inferior to other White settlers" (p.113) existed until the mid-1940s. Even in the 1980s, the confusion remained:

"In 1984, a Canadian anthropologist, describing Toronto's annual West Indian festival [...] wrote, [...] "the largest segments are black and East Indians, with smaller numbers of Chinese,

Portuguese, Lebanese (called Syrians in Trinidad) and whites (i.e. northern Europeans.)"¹³.

Still with regard to Canada, where the Portuguese community constitutes roughly 1.2% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census), Nunes (2003, p. 30) points out that "Luso-Canadian students have grown up with the stigma of belonging to a culture which is little recognized, or often dismissed, by mainstream North American society and where they have been inculcated with negative definitions of their ethnic identities. (...) In essence, in living within the restricted economic and social roles of their families, in suffering the marginalizing stigmas of their community, in responding to their marginalized situation by adopting similar strategies to those of their parents, and in consequently failing to challenge the community's existing socio-economic status, subsequent generations of Luso-Canadians have allowed the perpetuation of this marginalized situation for themselves, their families and their community."

In South Africa, Da Rosa & Trigo (1990, p.186) also note that "the majority of South Africans display a negative, derogatory attitude toward the Portuguese, including their own co-workers of the same social class".

More recently, in their study in the context of the United Kingdom and Channel Islands, Abreu and Lambert (2003), reached the conclusion that "Discrimination, conflict, bullying and racism associated with their Portuguese identity was part of the experience of students, and this needs to be seriously addressed by schools" (p.ix). They base this conclusion on evidence that "some students reported bullying which was "attributed" to being Portuguese. There were reports of these incidents from students in four schools out of the seven case study schools" (p.143) in mainland England. In Jersey, however, the level

¹² Harney's analysis of literature refers to the United States, Canada and South Africa but not the United Kingdom.

¹³ Harney (p. 122) also quotes Mark Twain (1968) who, in his book *Innocents Abroad*, describes the population of Azores as "The community is eminently Portuguese [...] that is to say slow, poor, shiftless, sleepy and lazy." Also, the "good Catholic Portuguese crossed himself and prayed God to shield him from all blasphemous desire to know more than his father did before him".

of discrimination was much higher and gave Portuguese students a cause for concern.

“Seven out of the eight students interviewed were either experiencing or had in the past experienced being ill-treated or discriminated against at school because of their Portuguese ethnic identity. (...) All seven had experienced racist name-calling, such as being called ‘porko’ or ‘spud-picker’. Two students either knew of individuals who had been or had themselves been, physically attacked by English students in school” (p.333).

2.4.1 Ethnic minorities and educational achievement

Within general educational discourse, pupils from ethnic minority immigrant groups have, historically, been regarded as underachieving. This has been attributed mainly to language deficits/differences, cultural differences, family practices and problems of adjustment to British society (Rassool, 1999). That there are differences between ethnic origin groups in their academic career and in examination results at the end of compulsory schooling is well established in published research. (See, for example, Swann Report, 1985; Drew & Gray, 1990; Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Modood et al, 1997). How to account for ethnic differentials in educational achievement, however, is another matter. Pilkington (1999) points out that this debate is, in many ways, reminiscent of an earlier dichotomy between focus on the home culture and focus on the school processes when trying to explain class differentials in educational achievement.

Taylor & Hegarty (1985) recognise different attitudes from teachers towards different ethnic groups. These authors, nevertheless, seem to adopt a view, sometimes crudely summarised as 'pro-school' or 'anti-school', of pupils' complex and negotiated adaptations to the school culture, as well as reflecting stereotypes regarding different cultures' parenting styles:

"There has certainly been a much greater effort on the part of educators to attend to the needs of pupils of Asian origin rather than

those of West Indian origin at the first stage of acquiring English. It appears, moreover that there maybe particular alienating factors within the school experience of pupils of West Indian origin" (p547). "[T]eachers generally have positive attitudes towards Asian pupils"(p.563).

Taylor & Hegarty (1985) state that, although both Asian and West Indian (Black Caribbean) pupils are "likely to be in a similar position when it comes to suffering from racial discrimination [...] The cultural roots of West Indian pupils have often been disparaged or negated with discouraging implications for pupils of West Indian origin." (p.547). Teachers discriminatory attitudes in school are seen as being a necessary response to inadequate parenting. Comments like "Asian parents, unlike West Indian parents, do not believe that Asian children are treated less well than other pupils and continue to emphasise respect for authority" (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985, p.563) seem to reflect a commonly held view of black students disadvantaged by their families (Mac an Ghail, 1988; Gillborn, 1990; OFSTED, 1999).

Ethnic origin has emerged as one of the most important variables in final compulsory education exam results. Due to the pressure put on schools in recent years through funding arrangements and school performance 'league' tables, there has been a return to selection and 'streaming of ability' groups of pupils, a practice that disadvantages ethnic minority pupils. In England, there is evidence that African-Caribbean pupils, along with other ethnic minority pupils are under-represented in top streams/sets and over represented in bottom stream/sets (King and Mitchell, 1995; Pilkington, 1999).

This appears to be a characteristic of pupils from ethnic minority groups in other countries of the European Union as well. Van Zanten's work in France has shown that, on the whole, children of immigrants do as well in school as French children of working-class backgrounds, but not all groups do equally well. For example, youngsters of Algerian descent, have higher academic aspirations and remain in academic programmes longer than students of

Spanish, Turkish or Portuguese descent, who drop out of school earlier than French children. It would seem that Algerian families place greater emphasis on obtaining an university degree, while the Portuguese families more often appear to encourage their children to pursue short technical/vocational courses of study (Van Zanten, 1997).

Cummins (1997, p.413) mentions the poor school results obtained by Portuguese-speaking and Spanish-speaking students in the metropolitan region of Toronto, Canada in contrast to other immigrant minorities. This is confirmed by Nunes (2003) who also refers the underachievement of Luso-Canadian students. However, this latter author proposes that such underachievement is due to internalisation of blame as “the Portuguese in Canada tend to blame themselves, or their societal group, for their reactions to the structural problems in which they are submerged and which - because of this submersion - are outside their full comprehension” (p. 31).

In terms of access to further and higher education, Januário (2003, p.5) notes that “the number of Portuguese-Canadian youth in university is still abysmally low and will probably increase very slowly as tuition fees and other university expenses keep rising. According to the 1996 census statistics, Portuguese were the ethno-racial group with the fewest university graduates and one of the highest high-school drop-outs (Ornstein, 2000). It is probably the case that many parents would be willing to help their children through university if they were doing well academically and if they could avoid going into debt to do so.” One interesting point raised by Januário concerns the classification of Luso-Canadians students in the two main School Boards¹⁴ in Toronto. Statistical data from the Catholic School Board indicated “that in 1996-1997, 3 to 4 times more Portuguese children were assessed as Learning Disabled (LD) than the average for the boards in question, and 10 to 20 times fewer Portuguese children were assessed as Gifted (the other pertinent special student category being Behavioural, i.e. behaviour problems, did not show a difference)” (Januário, 2003, p.13).

¹⁴ These are the Catholic and the Public School Boards of Toronto.

Teunissen (1992, p. 88) refers to the work of several authors in EC member states indicating that ethnic minority students leave school earlier, more often drop out altogether from the educational system and obtain lower exam qualifications. Low educational attainment becomes apparent early in their school career, occurring as early as 7 years of age (Strand, 1999). Strand draws on work by Mortimore et al (1988) and Sammons (1995) indicating that the problem often gets worse during the period of compulsory schooling. As OFSTED (1999, p.54) found, "[d]espite some pockets of sound practice [...] many schools and LEAs are not nearly as effective as they should be in tackling the underachievement of minority ethnic groups". Nevertheless, although there may be evidence of racism in schools, we must not assume that this is the only or major factor in accounting for ethnic differentials in educational achievement as, by itself, it does not explain why some cultural groups fare better than others or why in the same ethnic minority background some individuals manage to succeed whilst others do not (Pilkington, 1999).

2.5 School inclusion and social inclusion

It is often assumed by policy makers, educators and others that English-language proficiency is "the 'cause' of low academic achievement rather than considering or exploring more complex alternatives" (Macias, 1993, p.236, quoted in Rumberger & Larson, 1998a, p68). Partly, this is the result of conflicting research evidence that has focused either on a socioeconomic perspective, (explaining the acquisition of English and school performance in terms of socioeconomic factors, particularly family SES) or on a sociocultural perspective (in terms of sociocultural factors, such as appropriate social and academic behaviours) instead of considering the joint effect of the two, and of the mechanisms they bring about, in educational achievement (Rumberger & Larson, 1998a). Lytle (1990), analysing official reports and legislation on improving U.S. urban education is not very optimistic. "The primary reason is that the current reform movement is inherently conservative - employment, not equity, is the motivating force. Urban schools must be improved to fulfil corporate/business demand for qualified workers, not because they fail to provide students with equal opportunities." (p. 218)

The system seems to limit beforehand the range of possible academic results at the end of compulsory education. In the U.K., socioeconomic factors and social networks can be seen to affect the child's educational possibilities even before school admission. Byrne & Rogers refer to Ball et al's work (1995) indicating that access to 'desirable' (state) secondary schools is constrained and dependent on parental social background. Schools have admissions policies, few of which are based on ability tests, rather more are based on interviews with parents and children, thus ensuring the 'right' cultural and social capital for the school, but most have some kind of geographically based prioritising schemata, often related to 'feeding' primary schools. According to Byrne & Rogers, (1996, parag. 1.9), "[p]art of the life strategy of the middle classes [...] involves picking areas of residence and primary schools in order to maximise their children's chances of gaining access to 'good schools'." Also, as Benn and Chitty (1997) point out, although in theory there is parental choice,

this is subjected to a hierarchy. Not only do some parents have more right to choose than others but also some schools have more right to select.

"Schools can admit (or turn down) whoever they wish, while others must admit a child to a school which is not 'full' - unless, of course, the school is a grammar school, an aided school, a school specialising in a particular academic subject, a CTC school, a school offering assisted or aided places or a grant maintained or LEA school given special permission to select; or any school which is 'full'."

(Benn and Chitty, 1997, p.200).

Parents' cultural and social resources become forms of capital both before and during their child's academic career. Social capital includes social networks with other parents in the school community who provide informal information about schools and the teachers. In particular, it includes parents' large vocabularies, sense of entitlement to interact with teachers as equals, time, transportation and child care arrangements to attend school events during the day. These forms of social capital underlie the ability of parents to intervene in a fashion that the educators defined as appropriate and legitimate, therefore classifiable as leading to social inclusion (Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Aspirations can be seen as a limit (even if unconsciously) of what a child as a member of an ethnic minority group and of a family can realistically expect to achieve in an educational system (Bourdieu, 1977). If parents lack the cultural and social capital necessary to help their children in school, not only their children's academic achievement is likely to fall short of the family's expectations but also the family's expectations of their children will be reduced. Thus, different cultural and socioeconomic groups will have different expectations and achieve different results. As mentioned above, Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch's work (1995) suggest that even if language-minority students have the desire to be more successful in school, they may not always have access to the resources that can help them succeed.

An example of how economic capital is transformed in social capital in primary school comes from Reay's work on how mothers, both working class and middle-class, help their children with homework and establish networks. In

Reay's work (1998), whilst all families were affected by school-life, there was only evidence of reciprocal influence between middle-classes and school. Only the middle-class mothers had the power and resources to act effectively to shape the curriculum offered to their children. This power to affect school life is particularly important with regard to teachers' expectations, an important factor both in primary and in secondary schools. Teacher underexpectation is strongly associated with socio-economic deprivation and minority ethnic status. The same dangers exist for pupils learning English as an additional language (Ofsted, 1999). In secondary schools this can be reflected in the streaming of pupils according to 'ability', and the 'choice' of options at the upper secondary school, which may well determine and limit the exam results and outcomes of secondary education (Gillborn, 1990; Gillborn, 1997, Pilkington, 1999).

As the children's performance on the national assessments (SATs) will be published on the schools' performance tables, they will, therefore, affect the school's reputation, determining the 'clientele' of parents that will choose that school for their children thus creating a vicious circle. This will put pressure on schools, particularly those in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas to increase indices of performance at almost any price (Reay & Wiliam, 1999) and, undoubtedly, create even more anxiety over the attainment of ethnic minority children. In the absence of data detailing the pupil performance per ethnic group, "it is all too easy to turn a blind eye to minority ethnic underachievement and for scarce resources to be dissipated on the wrong priorities" (Ofsted, 1999).

Rumberger & Larson (1998a) suggest that, to be successful, "schools must do more than teach English" (p.87). They must not only promote and "strengthen cultural awareness and identity so that language-minority students become bicultural as well as bilingual [...]", but "also work ardently on improving the social support system to engage students socially and reduce problematic behaviors" (p.88). In order to achieve this, schools must, amongst other strategies, create careful links with the local community, establishing effective and realistic communication with families from different cultures through the

allocation of staff and resources. This would also imply the recruitment of teachers from those communities. Above all, there is a need for monitoring thoroughly pupil and school attainment by ethnicity and deploying teaching support and resources successfully to raise achievement, which also raises questions about expectations, setting and exclusion processes (Lytle, 1990; Blair et al, 1998; Ofsted, 1999).

2.6 Summary

This chapter focused on factors that affect the individual's participation in school and in society in general. Using their social and human capital, families can influence the educational institutions and, therefore, shape their children's academic career and future participation in society. The literature available indicates that children from ethnic minorities benefit from maintaining their cultural practices and ethnic minority identities whilst acquiring the mainstream culture. On the other hand, mainstream negative reactions to the minorities' cultural practices and identities, in the form of racism and xenophobia, were seen as an important negative force to be taken into account.

Focusing on education, truancy and exclusion were seen as major indicators of pupil disaffection with dire consequences for academic achievement at 16 and post-16 training and academic careers. The literature discussed above indicates that different ethnic minorities are likely to experience different rates of exclusion and ethnic origin has been shown to be one of the most important variables in the exam results. Nevertheless, information is only available regarding a reduced number of minority groups.

Although Portuguese students appear to experience the same difficulties as other minority groups, at the time of writing, with the exception of Abreu and Lambert (2003) which confirmed information gathered in this study, there is no literature available focusing on their academic progress and achievement as a minority group in the UK, nor do the studies available shed light on the high rate

of disaffection amongst Portuguese KS4 students. Furthermore, literature on social and school exclusion seems to ignore the possible role played by community language classes in helping to maintain and develop group identity through bilingualism and biliteracy. These matters will be considered in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 - Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

CHAPTER 3 - BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION	78
3.1 Introduction	79
3.2 Developmental models	79
3.2.1 Cummins Interdependence Hypothesis, BICS/CALP and the Developmental Framework	79
3.2.1.1 BICS/CALP and Cummins' Framework	82
3.2.2 Thomas-Collier's Prism Model and the "How Long" Research	85
3.2.2.1 Conceptual model of second language acquisition for school: the Prism Model	85
3.2.2.2 The "How Long" research: Effective school programmes	87
3.3 Bilingual students in the UK	90
3.3.1 Policy background	90
3.3.2 Bilingual teaching and mother tongue classes	94
3.4 Bilingual students in the mainstream classroom	100
3.5 In conclusion	105

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall focus on the main theories of bilingual development. I will consider how those theories are reflected in educational practice in the classroom. To do so, I will consider work carried out in the UK as well as in other countries.

Whilst the research carried out abroad, mainly in the USA, can consider the impact of bilingual or dual-language programmes, in England, that type of education is (with exceptions) not available to the school population. The development of students' mother tongue(s) is the responsibility of community organisations. The implications that this situation has for the children's development in the mainstream classroom will also be considered.

3.2 Developmental models

3.2.1 Cummins Interdependence Hypothesis, BICS/CALP and the Developmental Framework

During the past two decades, the field of bilingualism and bilingual education has been greatly influenced by the work of Jim Cummins. Cummins proposes that first and second language skills are interdependent, i.e. manifestations of a common underlying proficiency. He defines the interdependence principle as:

“To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly” (Cummins 1984, p143).

Thus, it is suggested that, in a bilingual programme, instruction that develops first language reading skills is also developing a deeper conceptual

and linguistic proficiency that is related to the development of the literacy and general academic skills in the second language. Although the surface aspects of the two languages are separate, there is a ‘common underlying proficiency’ that makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages (see figure below).

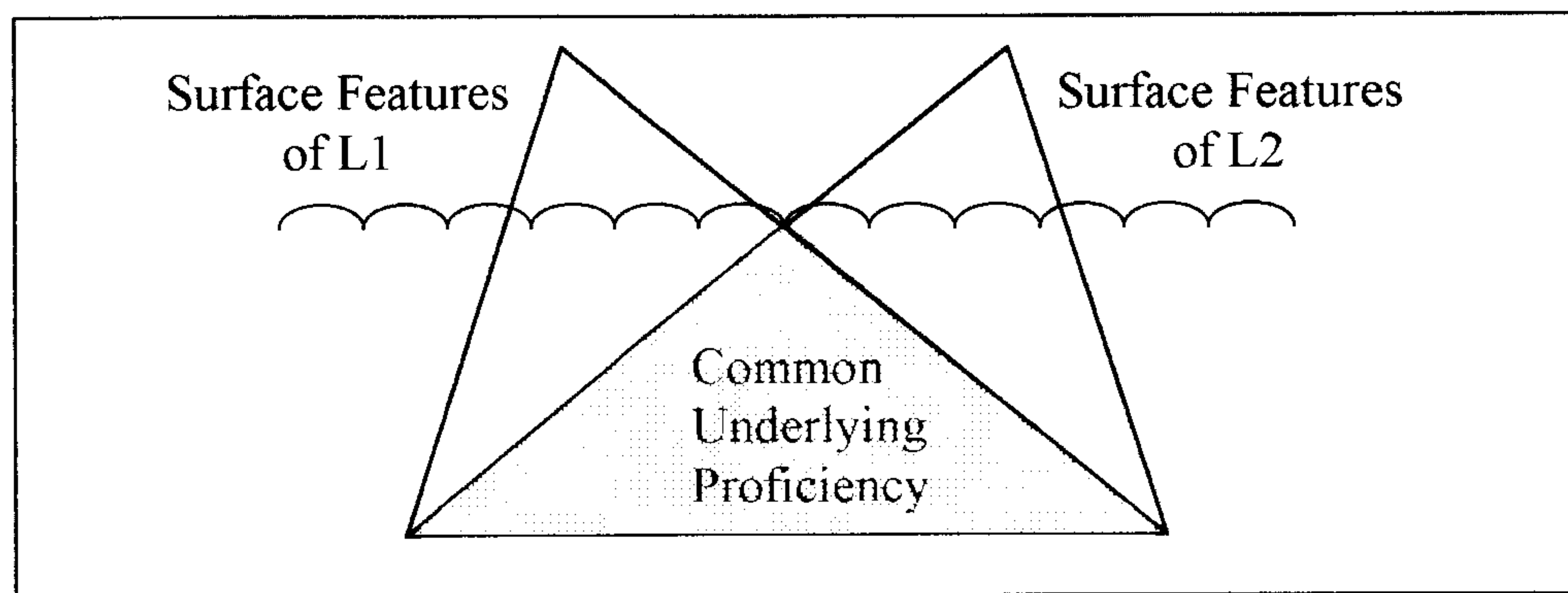


Figure 3.1 – The “dual iceberg” Representation of Bilingual Proficiency

Cummins proposes that the interdependence or common underlying proficiency principle implies that “experience with *either* language can promote development of the proficiency underlying both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both either in school or in the wider environment” (Cummins 1984, p143). This would help to explain why instruction through a minority language in a well-implemented bilingual programme results in no adverse effects on academic development in the majority language.

Cummins uses the term *common underlying proficiency* to refer to the interdependence of concepts, skills and linguistic knowledge that makes transfer possible (Cummins 2000). With regard to the interdependence of academic proficiencies in L1-L2, he suggests that the common underlying proficiency is probably better conceived in a more dynamic way in terms of a *central processing system* comprising:

- 1) attributes of the individual, such as cognitive and linguistic abilities (e.g. memory, auditory discrimination, abstract reasoning, etc.)
- 2) specific conceptual and linguistic knowledge derived from experience and learning (e.g. vocabulary knowledge).

The positive relationship between L1 and L2 can, this author proposes, be seen as deriving from three potential sources:

- a) the application of the same cognitive and linguistic abilities and skills to literacy development in both languages;
- b) transfer of general concepts and knowledge of the world across languages in the sense that the individual's prior knowledge (in L1) represents the foundation or schemata upon which L2 acquisition is built; and
- c) the extent that the languages are related, transfer of specific linguistic features and skills across languages (Cummins 2000).

Opponents of bilingual education point to the 'maximum exposure' or 'time on task' hypothesis to support their arguments. That is, the more time spent learning a language, the better you do in it, all other factors being equal (Porter 1990). Nevertheless, the results from several studies, as reviewed by Cummins (2000), indicate positive relationships between L1 and L2 academic proficiency (González 1989; Umbel and Oller 1995; Durgunoglu 1998; Wagner 1998). Cummins (2000) also refers to evaluations from bilingual programmes (Verhoeven 1991; Ramírez 1992; Beykont 1994) that would confirm predictions derived from the interdependence hypothesis in that transfer across languages of conceptual knowledge and academic skills (such as learning and reading strategies) compensates for the reduced instructional time through the majority language¹.

Verhoeven's work, with Turkish nursery school children in the Netherlands, suggests that, in an additive² educational context where there is

¹ For reviews of literature on bilingual education in the United States see, for example, August and Hakuta (1997). Rossell and Baker's review of literature on bilingual education (1996) has been criticised for comparing as equivalent different types of bilingual education programmes and for their inconsistent labelling of programmes as 'bilingual' (Cummins, 2000; Krashen, 2003).

² I follow, here, Thomas and Collier's (1997) definition of the concept of additive and subtractive bilingualism, first developed by Lambert (1975). These terms refer to the societal context in which bilingualism develops. In an additive bilingual context, students acquire a second language at no cost to continuing cognitive and linguistic development in their first language. An additive bilingual context can lead to age-appropriate proficiency in both L1 and L2. Proficient bilinguals outscore monolingual on school tests. Thus, an additive bilingual setting leads to positive cognitive effects for proficient bilinguals, whereas, in a subtractive bilingual setting, as students acquire L2, they gradually lose L1. This may happen in situations where the L2 is prestigious and the L1 is perceived as low in status, in relation to the

opportunity and motivation to develop literacy skills in both languages, interdependence will occur both from L1 to L2 and vice versa. "From the study on biliteracy development it was found that literacy skills being developed in one language strongly predict corresponding skills in another language acquired later in time" (Verhoeven 1991).

The Ramírez study involved 2352 elementary school children in the USA and compared their academic progress in three programme types: English immersion, early-exit (with Spanish up to first grade) and late-exit (with Spanish being phased down to about 40% of the time from Grade 4). The results obtained in this study clearly refuted the 'time-on-task' argument of a direct relation between the amount of time spent through English instruction and academic development in English. In contrast to students in the immersion and early-exit programmes, the late-exit students were catching up academically to students in the general population. Another interesting finding of this study was that parental involvement (such as with homework) was greater in the late-exit programmes. It was suggested that this could be due to teachers being fluent in Spanish and the children bringing homework in Spanish in addition to English (Ramírez 1992). In an additional analysis of the Ramírez data, Beykont reports another parental-related factor: Students whose parents held favourable attitudes toward bilingual education made faster progress in both English and Spanish reading between Grades 3 and 6 than those whose parents held unfavourable or ambivalent attitudes (Beykont 1994).

3.2.1.1 BICS/CALP and Cummins' Framework

In their 1976 report, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa highlighted that Finnish immigrant children in Sweden appeared to have a fluent competence in Finnish and Swedish, whilst still showing a verbal academic performance below what could be expected of their grade/age group. In initial formulations of his theory, Cummins proposed a distinction between 'surface fluency' and

high-status language. In subtractive bilingual settings, students losing L1 tend to do less well in school as

'conceptual-linguistic knowledge' (Cummins 1979a), later formalised in terms of basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins 1979b; Cummins 1980). The distinction between BICS and CALP (or conversational and academic language proficiency) was intended to draw attention to the need to distinguish between conversational fluency and academic aspects of second language performance. It highlighted the danger of premature exit of learners of English (in the USA) from bilingual programmes to English-only on the basis of surface fluency in English. Students can quickly acquire considerable fluency in the dominant language of the society when they are exposed to it in the environment and at school. Nevertheless, research would indicate that it takes a minimum of about five years for them to catch up to first language speaking peers in academic aspects of the language (see, for example, (Cummins 1981a; Collier 1987; Collier 1989; Hakuta, Butler et al. 2000).

Borrowing from Donaldson's (1978) distinction between embedded and disembedded thought and language, Cummins elaborated the BICS/CALP distinction into two intersecting continua (Cummins 1981a; Cummins 1984) which highlighted the range of cognitive demands and contextual support involved in particular tasks (see figure 3.2 below³). In this framework, language proficiency required for school tasks can incorporate the whole range of skills in all four quadrants, but students need to develop context-reduced and cognitively demanding aspects of language in order to function successfully in the classroom.

the cognitive complexity increases in the school curriculum.

³ This illustration also appeared as Figure I.1 - Cummins' two-dimensional model of language proficiency on page 19.

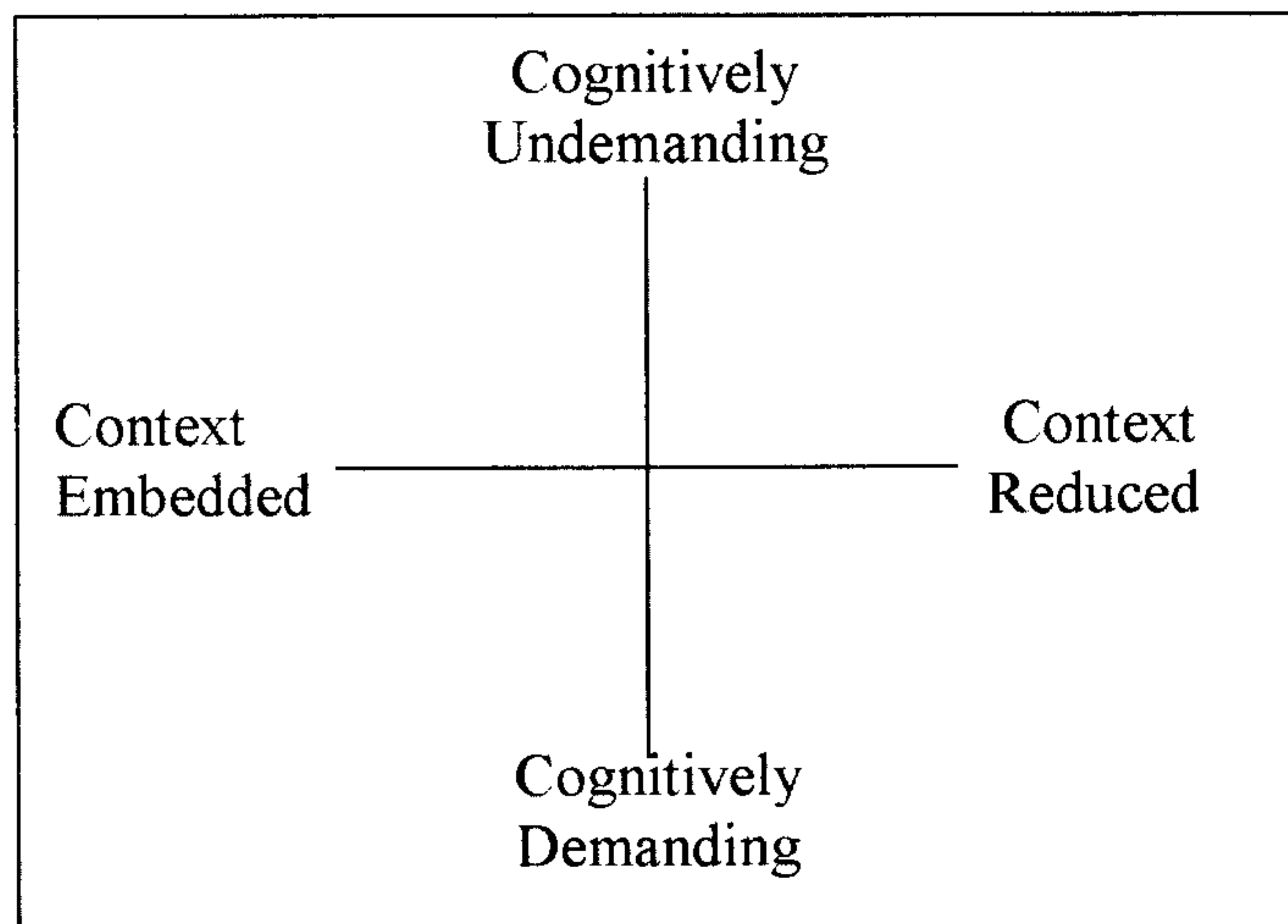


Figure 3.2 – Cummins' framework: Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in language tasks and activities

According to Cummins (2000, p. 68), the framework, and the associated conversational/academic language proficiency distinction, focuses only on the sociocultural context of schooling⁴. It refers to the nature of language proficiency that is required to function effectively in this particular context. The construct of academic language proficiency refers to the degree to which an individual has access to and expertise in understanding and using the specific literacy related kind of language that is employed in educational contexts and is required to complete academic tasks. Thus, “the essential aspect of academic language proficiency is the ability to make complex meanings explicit in either oral or written modalities by means of *language itself* rather than by means of contextual or paralinguistic cues” (Cummins 2000).

⁴ In this regard, Cummins acknowledges and fully agrees “with Martin-Jones and Romaine’s point that the conversational and academic aspects of proficiency are ‘shaped by the language context in which they are acquired and used’ and that academic language is ‘specific to the cultural setting of the school’.” (Cummins 2000, p98; Martin-Jones and Romaine 1986).

3.2.2 Thomas-Collier's Prism Model and the "How Long" Research

3.2.2.1 Conceptual model of second language acquisition for school: the Prism Model

Based on their research into the characteristics of effective school programmes, Collier and Thomas propose a model of second language acquisition for school with four major interdependent and complex components: sociocultural, linguistic, academic and cognitive processes (Collier 1995a; Collier 1995b; Thomas and Collier 1997). For a student in the process of formal schooling, development of any of the three latter components depends critically on the simultaneous development of the other two, through both first and second languages. Sociocultural processes exert a facilitating (or otherwise) influence on the other components. This can be graphically represented as a prism:

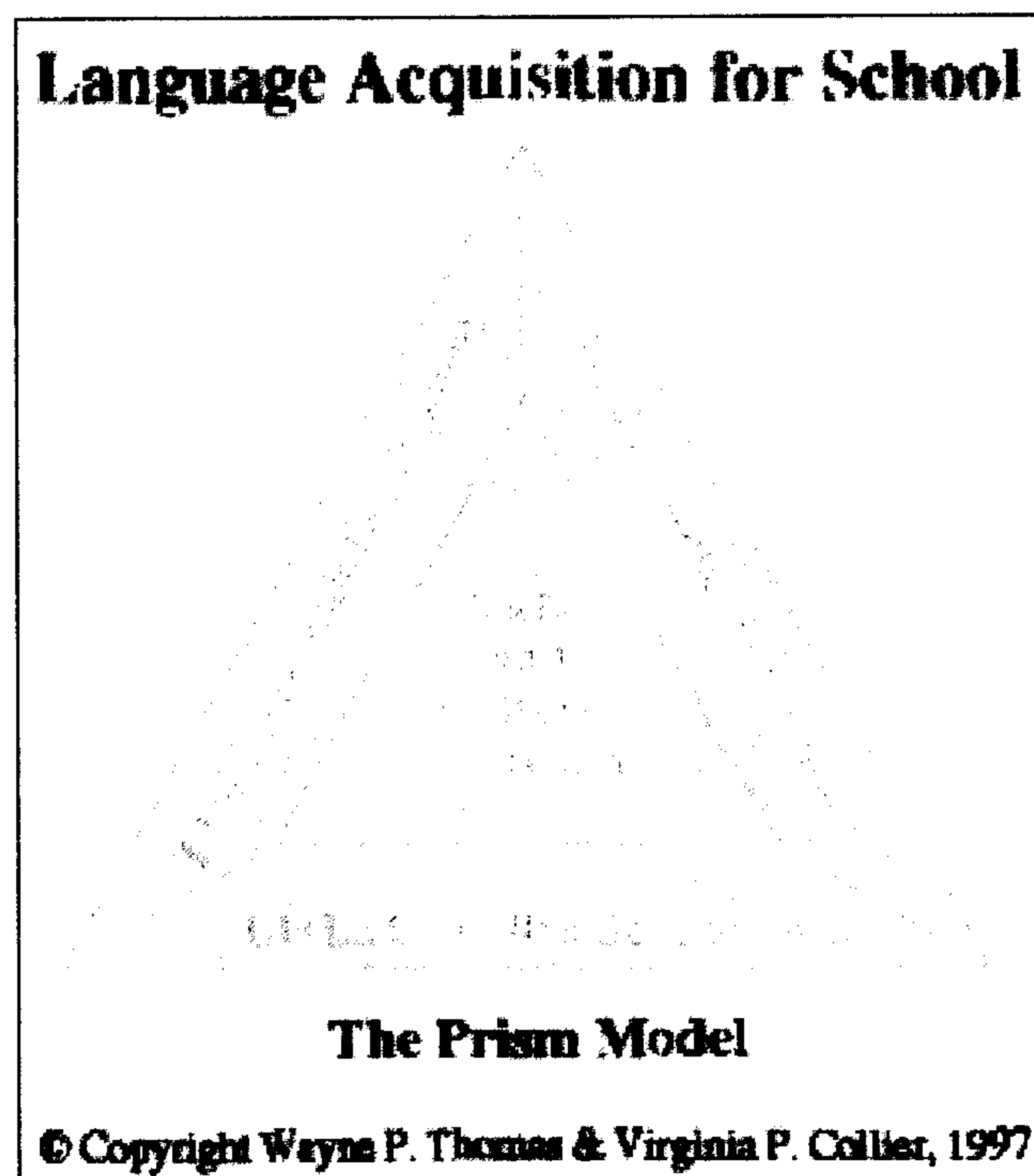


Figure 3.3 – Thomas & Collier's prism model of language acquisition for school

a) According to these authors, sociocultural processes only affect the process positively when the student is in a socioculturally supportive

environment. They include here individual student variables (such as self-esteem and other affective factors) school factors (such as instructional environment in the classroom) and community and societal patterns (such as status of the minority group in the broader society).

b) Linguistic processes consist of the subconscious aspects of language development as well as the metalinguistic, formal teaching of language in school and acquisition of the written system of language. This includes the acquisition of the oral and written systems of the student's first and second languages across all language domains, such as phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax, semantics, pragmatics, paralinguistics and discourse. For Collier and Thomas, a student's cognitive and academic success in a second language, is intricately related to the oral and written development of the first language system.

c) Academic development includes all school work in the language arts, mathematics, sciences and social studies for each grade level. Academic work dramatically expands the vocabulary, the sociolinguistic and the discourse dimensions of language. These authors propose that, as academic knowledge and conceptual development transfer from the first language to the second, it is most efficient to develop academic work through students' first language, while teaching the second language during other periods of the day through meaningful academic content.

d) Cognitive development must be promoted both in the first and in the second languages. Thought processes, initially built through the interaction with the family, in the home language, must be used as a stepping stone to build on as cognitive development continues. For Thomas and Collier (1997), it is extremely important that cognitive development continues through a child's first language at least through the elementary school years. In previous decades, educators focused exclusively on the linguistic component of English Language

Learners' (ELLs) school development. Later, in the teaching of ESL⁵ through content based lessons, academic development was taken into account. Nevertheless, the role of cognitive development was often neglected (Collier 1995a; Collier 1995b; Thomas and Collier 1997).

3.2.2.2 The "How Long" research: Effective school programmes

Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier's research from 1985 to 2001 has focused on analysing the great variety of education services provided for language minority (LM) students in U.S. public schools and the resulting long-term academic achievement of these students. Their longitudinal work investigates very large samples of children (a total of more than 700,000 student records collected between 1982 and 1996) and emphasises student achievement across the curriculum, not just English proficiency (Thomas and Collier 1997; Thomas and Collier 2002).

The results of a series of studies conducted by Thomas and Collier analysing the length of time it takes students who have no proficiency in English to reach levels of academic achievement typical of native speakers⁶ strongly indicate the need for continued support during their school career (Collier 1987). These authors found that students who arrived in the US between ages 8 and 11, schooled totally in English, but "who had received at least 2-5 years of schooling taught through their primary language (L1) in their home country, were the lucky ones who took only 5-7 years [to reach levels of academic achievement typical of native speakers]. Those who arrived before age 8 required 7-10 years or more!" (Thomas and Collier 1997). Students who arrived after the age of 12 and had formal schooling in their country of origin were

⁵ English as a Second Language (ESL) is used here to convey the information given by Collier and Thomas. Other authors, such as the contributors to NALDIC Working Paper 5, prefer the use of English as an Additional Language (EAL), as, for them, ESL implies a knowledge of a 'first' language only, in addition to English, whereas EAL acknowledges that pupils may have a knowledge of more than one other home or community language. In this chapter, unless otherwise pointed out, the use of ESL or EAL corresponds to that of EAL and both terms are used with that meaning.

⁶ Tested on school tests given in English.

making steady gains with each year of school but, by the end of high school, they had run out of time to catch up academically with their peers.

Furthermore, these authors have found that students being schooled totally in English, initially, make dramatic gains in the early grades, independently of the type of programme they are receiving. This misleads teachers and administrators into assuming that the students are going to continue to do extremely well in the mainstream. Since schools, usually, do not monitor their progress, afterwards, they do not detect the fact that these students tend to fall behind the typical achievement levels of native English speakers, resulting in a very significant, cumulative achievement gap by the end of their school years (Thomas and Collier 1997; Thomas and Collier 2002).

Of particular concern is the finding that students (ELLs) immersed in the English language mainstream whose parents refused bilingual/ESL services showed large decreases in reading and mathematical achievement by Grade 5 (Thomas and Collier 2002). This was also the group of students with the largest number of school dropouts.

Although different types of programmes have different results, the importance of L1 development comes across consistently⁷ (Collier 1987; Collier 1989; Collier 1995b; Thomas and Collier 1997; Thomas and Collier 2002). The number of years of primary schooling, either in the home country or in the host country, appeared to have more influence than socioeconomic status (SES) when the number of years of schooling was 4 or more years. Students of low SES who were born in the U.S. or arrived at a very young age achieved high levels in L2 when grade-level schooling was provided in both L1 and L2 in the host country. Dual language, bilingual education programmes were the only ones found to assist students reach the 50th percentile in both L1 and L2 in all subjects and maintain or even reach higher levels of achievement until the end

⁷ Ramirez (1992) found that primary school children's learning of English and Maths was enhanced if they had been taught partly in their mother tongue, Spanish, up to Year 6. Also, the finding that learning English language skills by ELL students requires six or more years of special instructional support, is clearly consistent with the results of other studies that have addressed this issue.

of schooling (Thomas and Collier 2002). These authors conclude that the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. The deeper a student's level of L1 cognitive and academic development (which includes L1 proficiency development), the faster students will progress in L2 (Collier 1987; Collier 1989; Collier 1995b; Thomas and Collier 1997; Thomas and Collier 2002).

Therefore, based on their research, Collier and Thomas propose that the best educational programmes for bilingual children are those that foster academic, linguistic and cognitive development in the student's first and second languages, in a positive social and cultural environment.

3.3 Bilingual students in the UK

3.3.1 Policy background

Despite the fact that England is considered, and has been for many years, a multilingual society, there is no official policy promoting the development of bilingualism in children's education.

The Bullock Report (1975) marked the origin of official support for community languages⁸, by recognising mother tongue as an asset and the school as the main agency to nurture it but gave little guidance as to how language maintenance could be attained. Furthermore, it did not provide guidelines on acknowledging and respecting the validity of other people's cultures, languages and identities and it has been criticised for not contemplating the cognitive/ emotional/ social importance of keeping children's own languages until fluency in English is achieved (Brook, 1980).

The Bullock Report followed in the same spirit as the EEC Directive on Mother Tongue Teaching (1977). Although this Directive was used to justify provision for community languages, it did not make mother tongue teaching mandatory for anyone, merely indicating that it should be in accordance with member states' national resources and legal systems (EEC 1977).

A decade later, the view from 'middle-England' reflected official policy. The results of a British survey on social attitudes (Flather, 1988) showed that the majority did not like special provision for minorities, except for those sorts of provision which reduce rather than emphasise differences. Thus, when

⁸ Community languages will be used, following the definition given by Anderson and Chaudhuri (2003, p.63), to describe languages "towards which users, whatever their level of competence, experience and emotional attachment and which form a part of their heritage and their identity. Patterns of use of community languages vary considerably within families, partly because some parents believe (sometimes on the basis of misinformation provided by teachers) that development of the first language will hamper the child's development in English. Typically, proficiency in the language decreases across generations and this is even more likely to happen where, as in the UK, prevailing social and political attitudes, reflected in educational policy, are unfavourable."

interviewed in 1987, 83% of the respondents did not agree with the possibility of allowing minority children to study their mother tongue in school hours. This view echoed the recommendations of the Swann Report (DES 1985). For the latter, it was not possible to “accept the argument that for ethnic minority pupils to be taught through the medium of their mother tongue accords them equality of opportunity in this society. On the contrary, the key to equality of opportunity to academic success and, more broadly, to participation on equal terms as a full member of society, is good command of **English** and the emphasis must therefore, we feel be on the learning of English’ (DES 1985, Chapter 7, parag. 3.16).

This situation, according to Skutnabb-Kangas (1990), characterised most European countries. “High levels of bilingualism/multilingualism are seldom seen as a goal for the educational system (even if there may be vague phrases about functional or active bilingualism in general declarations). If they are, then the language learning emphasis is put on the learning of the majority language by the minority children to a high level” (Skutnabb-Kangas 1990, p15). In the UK, the system, effectively, recognised the importance of supporting and maintaining children’s mother tongue but did little to put these ideas into practice. At best, the guidelines were contradictory. The NCC Circular n° 11 (1991) suggested that in meeting the needs of bilingual pupils schools need to consider the value placed on languages other than English spoken by pupils and used in the classroom. Although there was an emphasis on promoting respect for all forms of language (NCC Circular n° 11, 1991), there was no focus on the development of bilingualism *per se*.

Given the above mentioned Circular, it would seem that the policy towards bilingualism and community languages (that had changed, with the Bullock Report, from language-as-problem to language-as-right) was now tending towards language-as-resource (Ruíz 1984). More recently, this tendency appeared to be confirmed by the National Literacy Strategy (DfEE 1998b).

Nevertheless, when some schools introduced language-awareness courses, as pointed out by Bhatt and Martin-Jones (1992), bilingual students' knowledge of languages other than English served primarily as a 'resource' for monolingual speakers of English. Also, although the National Literacy Strategy suggested that a child's knowledge of the first language, particularly the principles of spelling and phonology, could be used when learning English in the classroom, the intended objective was not bilingual development, as Kenner (2000, p. 14), explains:

"The National Literacy Strategy advice (...) is directed towards the learning of English, and pupils are referred to as having 'English as an additional language' rather than as 'children who are becoming biliterate'. This implies that 'the place of other languages' is marginal. The only reason for using them in the classroom is for extra help in acquiring the school language, English". Language development, in general, continued to be taken as meaning English language development.

Jo Lo Bianco (1999) points to a double standard about bilingualism. Bilingualism achieved by minority language children who retain their first language and have English as an additional language is considered of less value than the bilingualism achieved by English-speaking children who learn a prestigious foreign language. Although organisations like the Nuffield Foundation recognise the need for developing the use of languages in British society, the overall view is still that of foreign languages. The Nuffield Languages Inquiry (2000) recognises that "the multilingual talents of UK citizens are under-recognised, under-used and all too often viewed with suspicion" and "bilingual and plurilingual children in schools are still seen sometimes as a problem rather than a resource" (p. 36). Nevertheless, the general view put across in this document is one of bilingual children as a minority and of the importance of learning 'a language' as learning a new foreign language.

The Content and Language Integration Project (CLIP)⁹, a new three-year study piloted by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching (CILT) and funded by the Department for Education and Skills, involves teaching another subject through a Modern Foreign Language (German, Spanish or, mostly, French) to find out if it improves linguistic competence and attitudes towards language learning. It is not conceived as a project for the development of bilingual/biliterate children who already speak a language other than the majority. In this sense, it would appear to follow on the tradition of elite bilingualism or curriculum-engendered bilingualism as opposed to community-based bilingualism (which would have been the result of development since the early years education).

It is, thus, not surprising that a similar point of view appears to permeate the Languages Strategy document for England 'Languages for All: Languages for Life' (DfES, 2002). Although it purports to recognise "a wide range of languages, including community languages" (p7), the recognition of those language skills is focused on the teaching of Foreign Languages (p8) and their corresponding assessment (p39). Only in the 14-19 Pathfinder Project (p26) and, later, in the Adult and Community Learning (p32) does the document specifically mention the use or learning of community languages. Throughout, the strategy delineated focuses upon the development of Foreign Languages, not Community Languages. There is no mention of how language skills existing at the time of school entry will be supported or developed in the classroom.

A strong and clear emphasis on bilingual education for everyone comes from the European Parliament (1992). The report from the Committee on Culture, Youth Education and the Media openly calls on the Member States to make the provision of education in two main languages (the language of the country of origin and that of the host country) for immigrant children the responsibility of the host countries as part of the standard curriculum. The Report strongly calls on the host countries to promote the training of mother

⁹ For more information see <http://www.cilt.org.uk/clip>. Information on the EuroCLIC and European Network can be found at <http://www.euroclic.net/english/english.htm> and on the CLIL Consortium on <http://www.euroclic.net/english/clil.htm>.

tongue teachers and teaching in the mother tongue itself. It also highlights the contradiction of advocating multilingualism through programmes such as LINGUA while, at the same time, excluding from such programmes the promotion of mother tongue teaching.

3.3.2 Bilingual teaching and mother tongue classes

Although, in recent decades, there appears to be a more positive view of children's bilingualism by the education establishment, this does not translate into active development of mother tongues other than English.

In 1972, a survey by Townsend and Brittan (referred to by Tansley, 1986), indicated that no primary schools and only four secondary schools provided tuition in the languages of pupils' countries of origin. Later, Tansley and Craft (1984) reported finding that 23 LEA's provided mother tongue teaching as part of the primary curriculum, to a total of 252 schools. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that these data refer to the situation before the introduction of the National Curriculum and SATs, with the associated publication of schools' league tables.

The official view transmitted by the Swann Report (1985), that schools should employ "what we would term a "bilingual resource" to help with the transitional needs of a non-English speaking child starting school" and, in no situation, as meaning "that a child's mother tongue should be used as a general medium of instruction or should form a structured part of the curriculum" (Chapter 7, parag. 3.15) appeared to permeate the Education Reform Act (1988). Related official documents indicated that bilingual teaching support and books could be made available to bilingual children until they were competent in English (DES 1989). Mother tongue maintenance and development, thus, continued to be the responsibility of voluntary community organisations.

In 1999, the Resource Unit for supplementary and mother tongue schools (Kempadoo and Abdelrazak 1999) published a directory giving details of 1000 supplementary and mother tongue voluntary projects. The second edition of the Directory included nearly 2000 organisations, thus demonstrating clearly that, in this country, the responsibility for mother tongue education lies with the voluntary sector. These classes aim to provide a “historical *continuity* of cultural identity and language shared by a group of people who might be a minority or majority in a particular place and time” (Abdelrazak, 1999, p11). Such schools, frequently registered as charities, are often organised by members of the community on whose enthusiasm they depend. Although they vary in size, in the subjects taught, in effectiveness and ability to attract funding, they share two common aims:

- ◆ To develop the minority ethnic child’s cultural identity, self-esteem and confidence;
- ◆ To promote the achievement of minority ethnic children in state-maintained schools.

Despite their holistic education objectives, filling in a gap in state education, even when the complementary and mother tongue schools take place in state-maintained school premises, “many of these classes operate almost in isolation from their Local Education Authorities or the state-maintained schools themselves” (Abdelrazak, 1999, p11).

Although it is recognised in the DfES (2003) Consultation document that many pupils “have benefited greatly from out-of-school-hours learning in community-run initiatives such as supplementary schools”, there is no explicit acknowledgement of these schools’ direct contribution to children’s academic achievement. “Attendance can enhance pupils’ self-respect, promote self-discipline and inspire pupils to have high aspirations to succeed” (parag. 2.36).

Apart from the disadvantages of students’ tiredness and workload, parental and family logistics involved in this type of classes, a point that is not

usually raised, is the financial responsibility¹⁰ avoided by the government with regard to the children of people working in this country and contributing with their taxes towards the national economy. Only in 2001 was a pilot Supplementary Schools Support Service launched. This service, funded by the DfES but operating in only 4 areas of the country, aims to build links between schools and their local communities¹¹. Nevertheless, the Service does not have a budget to allow it to actively promote mother tongue or bilingual education, when financial difficulties constitute a major problem for many of these classes¹².

Apart from the Established (Edwards 2003) or Indigenous (Nuffield 2000) languages of the British Isles (Welsh and, to a lesser extent, Gaelic and Irish), bilingual education in the state sector could be said to consist of sporadic projects and/or European Commission initiatives on educational provision¹³ as well as, in the private sector, to be the result of parental pressure and investment¹⁴. Cases such as St. Cyprian's Greek School¹⁵, a Voluntary Aided school in Croydon, are still rare.

“Without the opportunities to learn spoken and written language in formal settings, many bilingual children in Britain will lose their skills in their home language, as the environmental support in that language is inadequate to counter-balance the pressures of linguistic assimilation to English” (LMP, LINC et al. 1983, p5). Although this quote refers to the situation 20 years ago, at first sight, not much would appear to have changed. There are, however, reports of good practice in schools, building on students' oracy skills and knowledge of literacy in the mother tongue. This is certainly the case for the school described in Kenner (2000). However, as this author points out, multilingual literacy

¹⁰ I refer here not only to the physical installations and material resources but, more importantly, to the training, recruiting and professional development of educators.

¹¹ For more information, see <http://www.supplementarieschools.org.uk>.

¹² See, for example, Khan and Kabir, 1999; Rutter, 1998.

¹³ Such as the Schools Council Mother Tongue Project (1984), the Bradford project (Fitzpatrick, 1987), the Intercultural Project or Eurocities (DIECEC) (Green, 2000), or CLIL projects (http://www.cilt.org.uk/clip/national_perspective.htm).

¹⁴ This is the case, for example, of the Colegio Español, the Hellenic College, the Lycée Français, the Swedish School or the King Fahad Academy in London.

¹⁵ Visit www.abj97.dial.pipex.com for information on the St. Cyprian's school.

knowledge tends to be invisible in the English-speaking school world. In the classroom, literacy materials that are familiar to the children at home are not available for use and comment. Teachers (and schools), thus, have the power to “encourage bilingual literacy to flourish or (...) leave it to wither away because there is no place for it in a monolingual curriculum” (Kenner, 2000, pxi). When the teachers take biliteracy as an integral part of the children’s education and make it visible in the classroom, children will show their knowledge. Notwithstanding, this type of pedagogical philosophy poses a challenge to deep-rooted beliefs and the status quo. It carries serious implications for teaching linguistic minority pupils by promoting a range of principles, pedagogies and resources for teaching and developing literacies, not only in the classroom but also for working with parents to build on the literacy practices developing at home (Martin 1999).

Furthermore, as Ferdman (1990) proposes, biliteracy has strong implications for the child’s identity. A person’s identity as a member of an ethnocultural group is intertwined with the meanings and consequences of becoming and being literate. The image of the behaviours, beliefs, values and norms appropriate to members of ethnic group to which we belong, the cultural identity, both derives from and modulates the symbolic and practical significance of literacy for individuals as well as groups. Being literate refers to the mastery over the processes by means of which culturally significant information is coded. It is not constant across time and place. Different cultures differ in what they consider as literate behaviour. In this view, an illiterate person is someone who cannot access (or produce) texts that are significant within a given culture. That same person, in another cultural context, may be classified as quite literate (Ferdman 1990). This culturist view of literacy (Moore 1999), would explain why Kenner (2000, p.x) and Blackledge (2000, p114) found that, often, teachers regard bilingual families as, effectively, illiterate or, worse, hindering their children’s development by not speaking English only (Smyth 2001). Thus, as Blackledge (2000, p.22) proposes, for disempowered families of minority group status, the process of literacy learning can also be seen as the affirmation of the individual’s cultural identity.

To Gregory and Kenner (2003), complementary, out-of-school, classes offer children the possibility of blending their knowledge of different worlds and syncretising new and old identities, new and old ways of life. These authors point out that, in this situation, the classroom, or learning place, becomes a safe 'haven' where 'members' share common practices and expectations. Furthermore, the teachers in the classes that these authors describe have high expectations for all of their pupils. Complementary classes, thus, become a place where parents know what counts as learning and what behaviours and roles are expected. They can be part of the learning that is taking place.

In recent years, research work has highlighted the role played by family members and other mediators, as well as contrasting home and school strategies and practices, in the child's literacy development (see, for example, Kelly et al, 2001). Research like that carried out by Gregory & Williams (2000), Sneddon (2000), Martin-Jones & Bhatt (1998), Rashid & Gregory (1997) and Saxena (1994, 2000), exploring the home and community (or out of mainstream school) literacy environment of bilingual children in Britain is, however, not very frequent. These studies highlight how the practices that are seen as literacy in mainstream classrooms do not normally take into account the knowledge and skills that are developed in the literacy practices of the child's community. They can also stress the fluidity and changeability of cultural allegiances and literacy practices (Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998).

Kelly et al (2001) emphasise the need to syncretise mainstream and community/home literacies. These authors argue "that *contrasting* home and school strategies and practices" (p.12) may provide extended academic resources that children can draw upon in mainstream education¹⁶. It would, however, imply the need to know more about complementary¹⁷ classes and the

¹⁶ Such a perspective would fit within the anti-culturalist discourse and contribute to move towards social action and full inclusion, as proposed by Moore (1999), described later in this chapter.

¹⁷ The terminology used to describe classes outside mainstream education is, itself, the focus of some discussion. Some authors, like Parke et al (2002), point out that 'Heritage classes' and 'supplementary schools' convey contested power relationships. 'Heritage' points to the past when the community members and their literacy practices are well alive and evolving in the present, whilst 'supplementary'.

skills and language abilities they help bilingual children to acquire and develop. Notwithstanding the work of Parke, Drury, Kenner and Helavaara Robertson (Parke, Drury et al. 2002), a lot remains to be done. However, it should be borne in mind, as pointed out by the latter authors, the danger of “purely transitional programmes that aim simply to put the knowledge gained from community language schools at the service of an easier transition into English schools” (p. 218) (see also Bhatt and Martin-Jones, 1992).

implying that the main focus is somewhere else, is a marginalizing term. For Martin et al (2003, p. 1), ‘community school’ can, in certain areas of this country denote a state secondary school which also hosts adult education classes. These latter authors prefer the use of ‘complementary schools’ to stress the “positive complementary function for those who teach or learn in them. It recognizes their importance for participants and their local black and ethnic minority communities and their potential contribution to political, social and economical life in the wider community.”

3.4 Bilingual students in the mainstream classroom

In the United Kingdom, following the directions indicated by official policy, the education of students with English as a Second or Additional Language (ESL/EAL) appears to focus their integration in the mainstream classroom and on their being able to follow the academic work their (monolingual) peers do, according to the curriculum. Historically, as Franson (2001) points out, this was certainly the case. In the 1950s and 60s, the provision was established in the tradition of English as a Foreign Language, entailing a classroom and/or a programme outside the mainstream classroom and curriculum (Edwards 1983). It became common policy for off-site language centres to be established for bilingual children. There, the focus was on providing them with the basic English skills they would need to 'cope with' a curriculum taught exclusively in standard English in mainstream schools (Moore 1999). Although some of the later off-sites centres attempted to teach both language and curriculum content appropriate to the students' cognitive levels, as well as encouraging the development of first languages, there was already a call for full integration into mainstream classes (Wiles 1985). Thus, according to Moore (1999), when the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE 1986) condemned this practice as discriminatory, it also impacted upon the way learning was organised for multicultural students in mainstream classrooms.

As Wallace (2001, p124) puts it, the "favoured current term is 'inclusion' but much the same caution needs to be exercised as with the term 'mainstreaming'. Inclusion means little if it is not accompanied by meaningful opportunities to participate fully in learning opportunities in school." Elaborating on the dangers of unplanned inclusion (Franson 2001), Moore (1999) describes a progression from symbolic exclusion through partial inclusion (undeveloped and developed) to full inclusion (see figure 3.4). To this author, symbolic exclusion, typically "*includes the denial or marginalization of minoritized students' first languages: not just words, sounds and visual appearance of those languages, but also their protocols, their styles and their genres. (...)* Even when encouraged to feel welcome in the classroom (through smiles,

through help with their work, through the publicizing of their strongest languages and so on), they are likely to find that their own cultural skills, values and practices are rendered largely invisible and invalid, while the dominant culture's skills, values and practices, which they must acquire if they are to succeed academically within UK schools, are presented and treated not as mere alternatives to their existing skills, values and practices but rather as the 'right and only' skills, values and practices" (Moore, 1999, p.33-34).

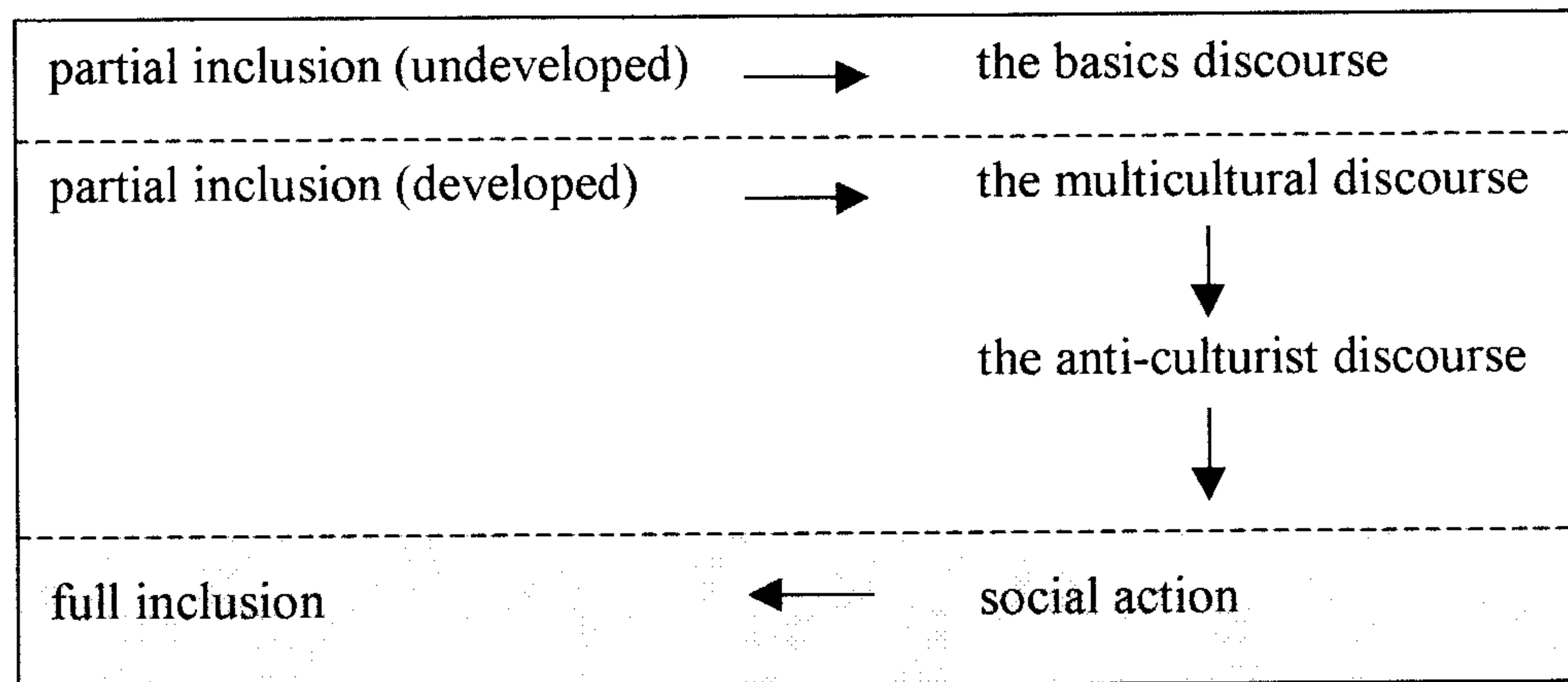


Figure 3.4 – Moore's models of partial inclusion (undeveloped and developed)

Moore (1999) describes undeveloped partial inclusion as having its roots in the kinds of pedagogy that tended to be found in off-site centres and in withdrawal groups, related to the teaching of English as a foreign language. It concentrates on providing the "basic academic and social skills of English grammar and vocabulary, seasoned with a generous pinch of spelling and punctuation" (p35). On the other hand, the developed partial inclusion results in more effective teaching and learning. This can, itself, be divided into two branches:

- a) multicultural discourse;
- b) anti-culturist discourse.

The multicultural discourse allows and encourages the use of the student's other language/s to accomplish tasks that the use of English would not allow, giving the student, as much as appropriate, the same work as their

monolingual peers and acknowledging cultural differences by selecting multicultural materials and exposing the student's work in the mother tongue/s to the class. Nevertheless, the criteria against which the work is compared and assessed are still those espoused by the UK public assessment criteria.

The anti-culturalist discourse, on the other hand, makes explicit the power relations on which the curriculum is based. It starts from the premise "what does this student's work tell me about their existing cognitive-symbolic skills, including the way in which their existing practice may differ from the kind(s) of practice in which they will need to develop expertise if they are to succeed within a culturally biased education system?" (Moore 1999, p36).

Social action and full inclusion would imply moving beyond the frameworks imposed by the existing dominant educational ideologies and removing the ethnocentric cultural dominance enshrined in such aspects of the legal framework as National Curricula and public examinations. Rather than being restricted to the educational structures, it would imply, as seen in the previous chapter, the active promotion of inclusion in society through links with the community and allocation of adequate resources. At a pedagogical level, it would imply the development of sophisticated reading and writing skills, helping students to become functionally and culturally literate in more than one language and empowering them to challenge the status quo (Moore, *op. cit.*). As Cummins (1996) suggests, effective instruction that will give students access to the power of language and accelerate their academic growth.

Given that removing the cultural instruments of assessment required by social action, in the present social environment, is less than likely, the more appropriate models for the development of bilingual students in the classroom appear to be the developed partial inclusion models. These could involve not only making explicit the contexts for the academic tasks set, thus requiring analysis of the contexts in which those tasks are embedded, but also using the students' knowledge and skills acquired in their mother tongue (and metalinguistic knowledge) when developing their second language, as

suggested by Cummins (2000) theory of Common Underlying Proficiency. Furthermore, it would involve developing the students' mother tongue as an educational goal for the school as well as promoting the students' development through the mother tongue, in a perspective akin to Thomas and Collier's (1997) prism model of language acquisition for school.

In schools, students receive help from specialist teachers funded by the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (previously Section 11, see chapters by South and Nathan in Jones and Wallace, 2001). The funding is aimed at supporting pupils for whom English is an additional language and for raising the achievement of all ethnic minority pupils who are at risk of underachieving (DfEE 1998a). Although such support includes, as a primary function, the teaching of EAL, that is but one of the several areas supported which include, among others, bilingual support, home-school liaison and family literacy (South 2001).

South (2001) highlights the dangers caused by lack of long-term stability of funding associated with the EMAG position within the Standards Fund. The consequences of "a situation of permanent underfunding and understaffing" are reflected in the fact that most EAL teachers have to work with pupils with the least English (Leung and Harris 1997, p7). The inadequate funding meant that local authorities and schools had to concentrate their efforts on responding to the day-to-day needs of pupils and teachers, rather than focusing on a proper appraisal and conceptualisation of EAL¹⁸ on the basis of available research. According to Leung and Harris (1997), this can be seen from the proportion of professional advice and teaching materials produced by local authority language and multicultural support services focusing on the early stage English language learners. "Educationally, this apparent overemphasis on pupils at the *ab initio* or near-*ab initio* stages has unintentionally distorted the long term nature of EAL acquisition in the policy forum and allowed implicit and explicit

¹⁸ EAL is proposed as a cross-curricular discipline drawing on several fields of study including Bilingualism, Second language acquisition, Linguistics, Cognitive psychology, Social and cultural ethnography, Curriculum studies, Theories of teaching and learning, Language assessment and testing (NALDIC 1999).

claims that EAL, on the individual level, doesn't really exist except for a brief time" (Leung and Harris, 1997, p. 7). It would, thus, appear that financial constraints force education professionals to adopt practices contradictory to what is clearly indicated by research (e.g. Cummins, 2000), even though such research indicates that "Students with no proficiency in English must NOT be placed in short-term programs of 1-3 years" (Thomas and Collier 2002).

Another aspect highlighted by South (2001), with regard to the EMAG funding arrangements, is the weakening of the consultation with communities, previously required with Section 11. Consultation with the communities involved could certainly have been used as a basis to contribute towards a degree of social action (Moore 1999) in school management. Other authors (quoted in Collier 1995a) have proposed that shared decision-making, or collaborative leadership, can assist language minority students' academic achievement when diverse groups are represented and can successfully collaborate (McKeon and Malarz 1991), as has been shown in the 'accelerated schools' model for at risk students (Rothman 1991). In this model, the entire school community – teachers, parents, students, and administrators – are actively involved in curricular changes and meaningful connections to the culturally diverse communities the school serves.

3.5 In conclusion

One of the features that the models described above have in common is the continued support for linguistic, cognitive and academic development of children's mother tongue in their education. Mainstream education in the UK does not contemplate bilingual support and parental involvement is common only in the early years. Even when that happens, the focus is normally on the development of English. Mother tongue development becomes the responsibility of community initiatives and organisations. In secondary schools, these languages can appear but as Modern Foreign Languages (MFL). It is difficult to see how, in the context of MFL, the areas highlighted by Thomas and Collier as well as other researchers can be contemplated.

Although there is ample support from research on the social and individual advantages of promoting bilingualism through the development of students' mother tongue(s), the educational policy in this country does not appear to take that into account. Given the demographic changes predicted for the future (Fukuyama 2003), full integration of mother tongue languages in schools may, eventually, happen as a result of social pressure on national education systems and supranational institutions (European Parliament 1992; Allemann-Ghionda 1995). Until then, bilingual education and the development of bilingual competencies in students will, probably, continue to remain outside mainstream education.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

CHAPTER 4 - METHODOLOGY	106
4.1 Introduction and overview of chapter	107
4.2 A combination of approaches	108
4.2.1 Quantitative approaches	109
4.2.2 Qualitative approaches	112
4.3 This research study	116
4.3.1 The schools and the study sample (or Gatekeepers, Key informants and Party crashers)	119
4.3.2 Determining the samples and accessing the data	120
4.3.3 An unexpected situation (The party crashers)	125
4.3.4 The interviews	130
4.3.5 From translating and transcribing to analysing and writing	132
4.4 Ethical considerations	138
4.5 Summary	141

4.1 Introduction and overview of chapter

In this chapter I shall describe how the study was conducted and the methodological strategies used to collect and analyse data.

This study combines two main approaches: quantitative and qualitative, which are often presented in research as opposed to one another. A brief characterisation of each approach will be given in the first part of the chapter. The second part will focus on the study itself. I will describe how the study is organised and I will show that both aforementioned approaches are necessary and complement each other to give a more complete view of what is being studied. Thus, in this study, both quantitative data, in the form of school test results and demographic data were collected and analysed; as well as qualitative data: interviews, field notes, photographs and other sources of information. Further to methodological issues, ethical considerations will also be addressed in this chapter.

4.2 A combination of approaches

The dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative models of social research and their respective representing philosophical positions: 'positivism' and 'naturalism' has, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), been drawn for a considerable period.

In a rather simplistic way, quantitative research methodologies were often seen as revealing the 'hard facts' while qualitative methodologies were, by opposition, 'soft science'. As Greenhalgh and Taylor (1997), citing Black (1994), explain,

"a finding or a result is more likely to be accepted as a fact if it is quantified (expressed in numbers) than if it is not (Black, 1994). There is little or no scientific evidence, for example, to support the well known "facts" that one couple in 10 is infertile, or that one man in 10 is homosexual. Yet, observes Black, most of us are happy to accept uncritically such simplified, reductionist, blatantly incorrect statements so long as they contain at least one number".

Part of the attraction of statistical measures and explanations is that they offer a picture of rigour and detached rationality (Smeyers, 2001). They also lead us to think that "if events can be causally *explained* then they are causally *determined*" (McNamee, 2001, p. 324). Therefore, if you can control the cause, you can control the effect.

Qualitative research, on the other hand, for its interpretive, naturalistic approach, came under criticism as lacking scientific rigour, accused of producing 'subjective' data and findings (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). However, educational research often takes place in diverse backgrounds with many 'confounding variables'. To consider how these come into play is difficult work and better achieved by using methodologies that allow for flexibility in the data reach.

4.2.1 Quantitative approaches

Positivism, the philosophical view supporting quantitative research approaches, has, as one of its central tenets, a conception of scientific method. It is concerned with the testing of theories, through experiments, the shared common logic of the physical sciences. In a positivist view, there is a conception of reality that is out there to be studied, captured and understood through universal laws. The question of how these theoretical rules are generated belongs to the context of discovery and is not of interest to the scientific method. Events are explained in deductive fashion by appeal to universal laws that state regular relationships between variables, which hold across all relevant circumstances (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

If, as Hatch & Farhady (1982, p.1), we define research as “a *systematic approach to finding answers to questions*”, it follows that “our task, then, is to ask appropriate questions to select the best and optimally the shortest way to find answers, and to interpret the findings in a way which we can justify”. The possible answers to these questions are posed in the form of hypotheses to be accepted or rejected. “A hypothesis, then, is a *tentative statement about the outcome of the research*” (p.3).

Quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Quantitatively measured variables are manipulated in order to identify the relationships between them. Two types of variables interact in any form of experiment: the variable that the tester can manipulate, or independent variable, and the one that is being assessed for changes, or dependent variable (Robson, 1994).

The effect of the observer/interviewer is undesirable, as it will affect the variables being tested. Standardisation, or systematicity of procedures, will include the setting down of the exact wording to be used in interviews and the fixed order of the questions. (Hatch & Farhady, 1982; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Standardisation of data collection procedures is of great

importance as this is viewed as a way of controlling variables and, therefore, of obtaining replication of results, a measure of validity. Traditional evaluation criteria, such as internal and external validity, are stressed (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.9). The internal validity of a research study is the extent to which the outcome is a function of the factor you have selected rather than other factors you have not controlled. External validity, on the other hand, refers to the extent that the outcome of any research study would apply to other similar situations in the real world, how generalisable to the population are the findings of the sample selected (Hatch & Farhady, 1982).

For Alasuutari (op. cit., p.11), “quantitative analysis is based on finding statistical regularities in the way different variables are associated with each other. In quantitative analysis, what is *common* to all observation units does not give any clue whatsoever about the phenomenon to be explained; it is automatically ruled outside the methodological possibilities. What is common to all units is a characteristic of the *population*”.

Statistical analysis is used here to mean both the descriptive use of data (to present and summarise data) and the inferential use of data (whereby statistical information obtained from a sample is used to draw conclusions) (Peers, 1996). Sometimes, using simple crosstabulations and percentages to create tables and displaying these in the form of graphs are all that is needed to allow the researcher to have a “view” of the data. Other times, sophisticated statistical analyses are needed to understand relationships between categorical variables.

Statistical inferences are described in terms of probability, the likelihood or chance of occurrence of an event in a normal population (normal probability distribution or normal distribution). The outcomes of an experiment are to be explained by taking into account what would be expected from the laws of chance alone (probability) (Robson, 1994; Peers, 1996). “The decision is made that the independent variable has affected the dependent variable when the probability of getting the result obtained, if random errors only are involved, is

sufficiently low” (Robson, 1994, p.32). This cut-off level of probability is called the significance level.

Different statistical tests are based on different assumptions about how the data was generated. Statistical tests whose inferences are based on the normal distribution are called parametric statistical procedures. Inferences using parametric statistical procedures are only likely to be valid when four conditions are met:

- observations are independent;
- they are drawn randomly from a population;
- they have continuous levels of measurement (at least in theory); and
- the random errors associated with observations or measures have a known distribution, (usually normal) (Peers, 1996, p. 119).

When these assumptions are not met, other statistical test procedures called nonparametric tests are used. These are sometimes called distribution-free tests because they do not make assumptions about the probability distribution of errors. However, nonparametric tests, whilst being *distribution* free, are not *assumption* free (SPSS, 1999).

An example of a parametric test commonly used to compare the means of two independent samples is the independent *t*-test. The null hypothesis is that the two samples have the same population distribution. Littlemore (2001), in her study on metaphoric competence and its relationship to L2 learning and teaching used *t*-tests to measure the significant difference in mean scores between the two groups of participants. Should the independent *t*-test be considered inappropriate, then an alternative nonparametric procedure is the Wilcoxon Mann-Whitney test (Peers, 1996, p. 125).

It is also common to look for relationships between observations or scores. Statistics about relationships are called correlations. The Chi-square (χ^2) test is an approximate test of significance for association between two categorical variables when the data is in the form of frequency counts and

interest focuses on how many subjects fall into different categories (Peers, 1996, p. 165). However, the χ^2 should not be used when any expected cell frequencies are small. Lewis and Burke (1949) claimed that small expected frequencies were the most common weakness in the use of Chi-square tests (p.460). They suggested expected values of 5 as the absolute lowest limit. A useful alternative in this situation is the Fisher's exact test, also used to test the significance of any association or difference between two independent samples (see Peers, 1996, p.167, 181-187).

Examples of studies using χ^2 are Hurman and Tall (2002), who compared dictionary use by different tier candidates in French GCSE exams and Urmston (2003), who analysed the extent to which the beliefs and knowledge of pre-service English teachers changed between leaving secondary school and entering the teaching profession.

4.2.2 Qualitative approaches

In this study, I will use 'qualitative research' as defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.3) to mean "a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them."

Alasuutari (1995, p.7-8) points out the difference between qualitative research and qualitative analysis. For this author, qualitative analysis excludes the use of frequency counts or other quantitative forms of data analysis. Qualitative analysis means, therefore, the reasoning and argumentation that is not based simply on statistical relations between 'variables', describing objects

or observation units. Qualitative research makes inferences based purely on qualitative analysis. Nevertheless, Alasuutari does not exclude the possibility of using quantitative analysis of qualitative data.

Traditionally, qualitative inquiry has concerned itself with *what* and *how* questions and *why* questions have been addressed by quantitative approaches. For Gubrium and Holstein (2000, p.502), one way for qualitative inquiry to approach *why* questions without endangering its traditional analytic interests is to proceed from the *whats* and *hows* of social life. In fact, before the development of statistical methods and the influence of the 'logical positivism' in the 1930s and 1940s, Hammersley and Atkinson note that (op. cit. p.3), "in both sociology and the social psychology, qualitative and quantitative techniques had generally been used side by side, often by the same researchers."

Although several qualitative studies present some of their data in quantified form such as tables of descriptive statistics, they are not used with the purpose of generalising or comparing with other contexts not studied. According to Lazaraton (1995), triangulation of analytic approaches appears to be uncommon and very few researchers design studies that employ both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This could be due to multimethod studies requiring the researcher to be trained in each of the analytic methods and to such studies being both time consuming and expensive. Lazaraton (1995) goes on to name Jacob (1982) on work with Puerto Rican children; Johnson (1987), who analysed both coded observational data and qualitative interview data and Lazaraton and Saville (1994) on a study validating interlocutor support rating scale in an assessment of spoken English, as examples of such multimethod studies.

To refuse one approach, be it qualitative or quantitative, in favour of the other is, therefore, wrong. In order to be able to pursue the objectives already mentioned it is essential to combine the two. Only this combination of approaches will allow a deeper understanding of reality, multifaceted and multiperspective. The use of multiple methods within a research approach (or

triangulation) reflects an attempt to achieve a deep understanding of what is being studied. "Objective reality", according to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), "can never be captured. We can know a thing only through its representations" (p. 5). However, the question of validity is one that is not easily dismissed:

"Are these findings sufficiently authentic (isomorphic to some reality, trustworthy, related to the way others construct their social worlds) that I may trust myself in acting on their implications? More to the point would I feel sufficiently secure about these findings to construct social policy or legislation based on them?" (Lincoln and Guba, 2000, p. 178).

Vidich and Lyman (2000) draw on Clifford's (1986) proposition that lurking behind each method of research is the personal equation supplied to the setting by the individual observer. In their view, all research methods are, in this sense, qualitative and equally objective as the use of quantitative data or analysis does not eliminate the intersubjective element that underlies social research. Thus, objectivity resides not in the method, per se, but in the framing of the research problem and the willingness of the researchers to pursue that problem wherever the data and their hunches may lead.

Just in the same way as triangulation within a chosen methodology allows a researcher to present a more reliable interpretation of the topic under study, the concomitant use of quantitative and qualitative approaches, contrasting and, in the same stroke, complementing each other, allows us a 'crystallized' view of that topic. Richardson (2000, p.934) proposes "different 'takes' on the same topic (...) as a postmodernist deconstruction of triangulation". Triangulation carries the "assumption that there is a 'fixed point' or 'object' that can be triangulated.

"I propose that the central imaginary for "validity" for postmodernist texts is not the triangle - a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities *and* refract within themselves, creating colors, patterns, and arrays,

casting off in different directions. What we see depends on our angle of repose. Not triangulation, crystallization (...). Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of "validity" (we feel how there is no single truth, we see how texts validate themselves), and crystallization provides us with a deepened complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. Ingeniously, we know there is always more to know." (Richardson, 2000, p.934)

Apart from the problems of representing reality, in the form of *how* or of *what*, other problems have to be considered when using qualitative approaches. A major consideration is *whose* ideas are being presented, *whose* interpretation of reality is being considered. This problem is particularly pressing when using ethnographic methodologies.

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

Barbara Tedlock (2000, p.455) puts a more human emphasis on her description of what is ethnography:

"It is not simply the production of new information or research data, but rather the ways in which such information or data are transformed into a written or visual form. As a result, it combines research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations and representations of human lives. (...) Because ethnography is both a process and a product, ethnographers' lives are embedded within their field experiences in such a way that all of their interactions involve moral choices."

This interaction between researcher and the data being collected, between researcher and informant, is according to Spindler and Hammond (2000) one of the essential attributes of ethnographic methodology. Or, as

Vidich and Lyman (op. cit., p.41) put it “the values of the ethnographer or the values of the observed – that is, in modern parlance, either the *etic* or the *emic*”. Although the researcher must lay aside his/her own knowledge (*etic*) to allow the view point of the informant (*emic*) to be presented, the presentation and interpretation of the data forcibly imposes a structure, from the researcher (and therefore *etic*), on what is presented (Spindler and Hammond, 2000).

In looking for what will be “interesting” data, the researcher will bring with him/herself ideas and expectations that unintentionally affect the view that is being presented. Thus, “we potentially walk into the field with constructions of the “other”, however seemingly benevolent or benign (...)” (Fine *et al*, 2000, p. 117). These constructions are described by Fine (1994; quoted on Fine *et al*, 2000, p.108) as “the hyphen at which Self-Other join in the politics of everyday life, that is, the hyphen that both separates and merges personal identities with our inventions of Others”. Standish (2001) calls for an heightened receptiveness, for respectful and patient attention to the problem. However, as this author points out, the dominant technician approach to research training does not sit easily with such qualities as openness or passivity, nor with the ‘inefficiency’, the time costs, of such a deeper picture of research engagement.

4.3 This research study

Although there is a large body of literature documenting processes, achievements and difficulties relating to the education of bilingual and/or minority language children, only very few focus on the Portuguese communities. Examples of these are Barradas (1993) (work on the Portuguese community in London-unpublished), Beirão (1997) (in Luxembourg), Cabral (1997-unpublished) (in France), Tomé and Carreira (1994) (in France)¹. At the time of writing, with the exception of Barradas (1996, 2000) and Abreu and Lambert (2003), no studies had yet been published on the academic achievement of the Portuguese children living in the United Kingdom.

I knew from my experience and from what I heard from other Portuguese teachers, that there were a large number of Portuguese students who were not achieving as much in English school as we expected of them. There were also a few, some of them even bright students, that did not continue to study and left school as soon as possible. However, I had no data or information to back up what was anecdotal information. For me, both as a teacher and as a member of the Portuguese community, this was a very important issue.

This study aims to investigate the academic attainment of children of Portuguese origin by identifying differences, if existing, between the academic results of the children who attend mother tongue classes and those who do not. It aims to find out differences and patterns in attitudes towards mother tongue, towards the school in general and to explore issues of identity and inclusion affecting these children and their families. In this way, by listening to both parents and children, it attempts to give a voice to a community hitherto ignored.

The above mentioned objectives, for the very different types of information that they require and questions they raise, imply necessarily the use of different types of data and of data collection. Thus, in order to compare academic attainment in the English school system, where the output is measured in terms of standardised tests, quantified and grouped in levels of attainment, one needs to use quantitative methods. However, such methodology will not be able to explain, by itself, why certain groups of children will tend to fall into certain levels, nor can it allow us to explore personal issues of identity or of inclusion in school and society. Although I could have used questionnaires and attributed to each possible answer a numerical value, that would still limit the personal interpretation of the question. It would restrict the participant's input to what the researcher had presumed (more or less correctly) would be the possible answers. The scope for individual input and inquiry would be limited which defeats the aims of an exploratory study such as this one.

¹ Other studies on Portuguese communities include Keating (1990) and Capinha and Keating (1997) on



Different approaches to the same problem contribute to the validation of the interpretation of the data obtained. If I were to infer from only the qualitative data obtained that the parents of children attending Portuguese classes have more academic expectations of their children, that inference could be dismissed by someone saying that parents of children not attending will promote more the development of the English language. Thus, basing their argument on the view that knowledge of English is the crucial factor for success in the UK's educational system. By using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, this dialectic reasoning is avoided. One approach can be used to confirm or disprove inferences based on data analysed through the other approach. Rather than opposing takes on a subject, they become complementary and provide a better view of what is being studied.

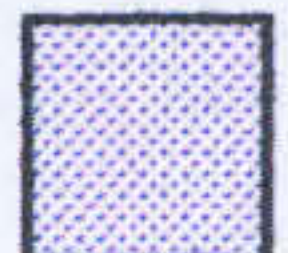
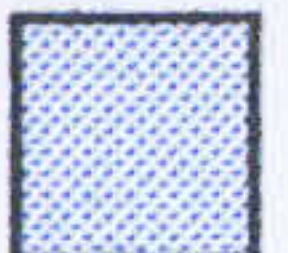
In this way, I try to avoid what McNamee (2001, p 314) refers to as "the phenomenon of ventriloquy" where the researched are merely the vehicle for the researcher's message. (...) Given that educational research frequently attempts to raise the profile of disempowered groups it is ironic that so little care is taken to understand them from inside."

4.3.1 The schools and the study sample (or Gatekeepers, Key informants and Party crashers)

◆ Design of the study

The study was composed of two sample levels (see figure 4.1 below):

a larger sample of students, whose end of Key Stage (SATs) and GCSE results would be compared ( );

a smaller sample, randomly extracted from the first sample, with whom the interviews with parents and with students were to be conducted ( ).

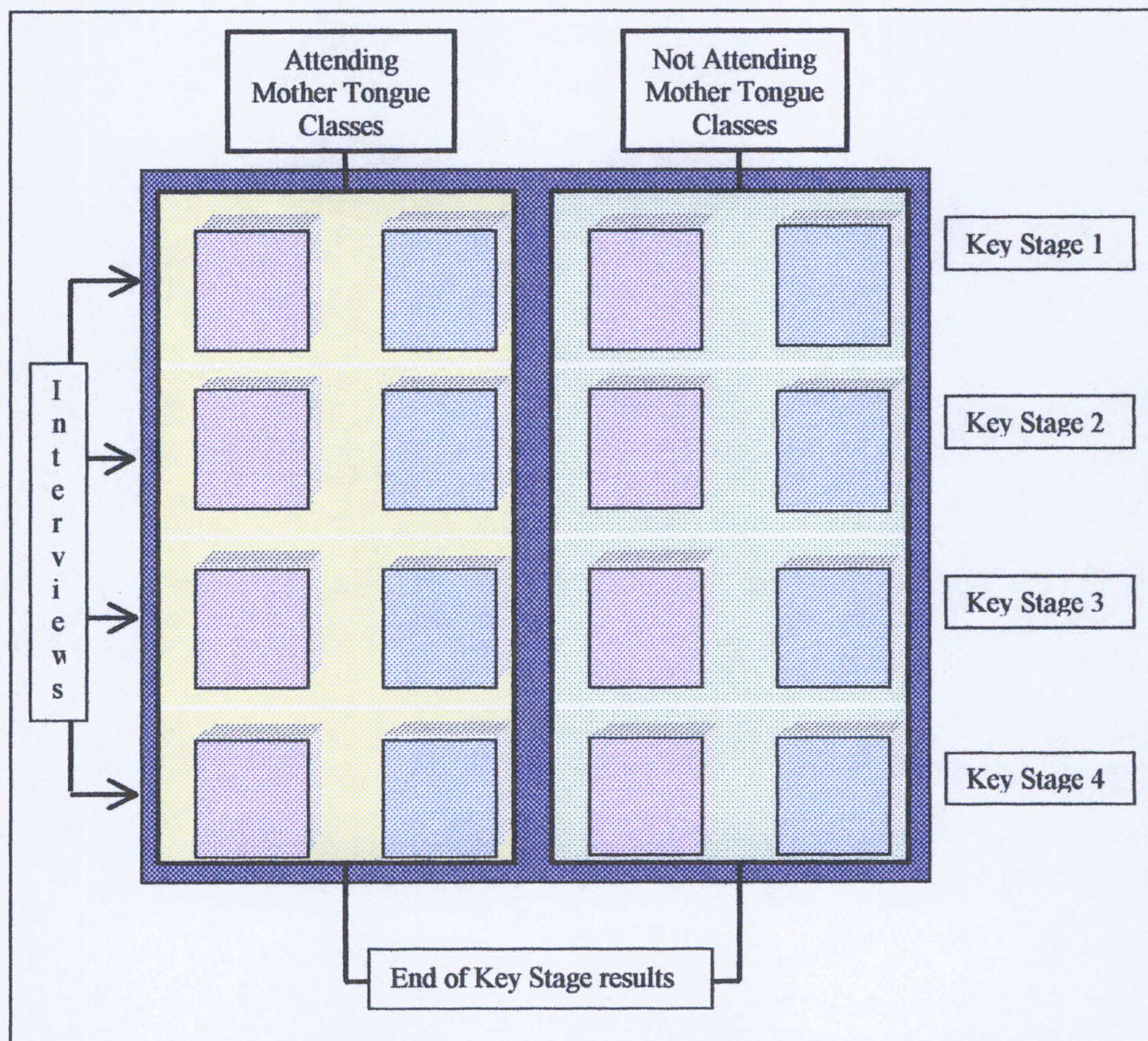


Figure 4. 1 - Graphic representation of study sample structure

4.3.2 Determining the samples and accessing the data

The schools contacted to take part in the study were those that, from the lists of children attending Portuguese mother tongue (LCP) classes, in past school years, were most frequently mentioned. This would allow me to identify Portuguese children not attending LCP classes in those same schools. Their non-attendance could then be assumed to relate to reasons other than the (non-) existence of LCP classes in nearby areas.

The process followed to select the samples will be outlined below. It describes how the schools were contacted and the 'gatekeeper' role played by some of the school staff.

"Gatekeepers. By gatekeepers I mean actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity." (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 34.)

"gatekeeper

This is a data collection term and refers to the individual who the researcher must visit before entering a group or cultural site. To gain access, the researcher must receive this individual's approval (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995)." (Creswell, 1998, p.247)

Initially, 9 Primary schools were contacted (including 2 Infant and 2 Junior schools) and 6 Secondary schools (4 in the Borough of Lambeth, and 2 in neighbouring Boroughs that have a high intake of pupils from Lambeth). This selection included non-denominational as well as Catholic schools and two Secondary girls' schools.

The first contact with the schools was established by means of a short letter. This was followed by a telephone call to make an appointment to see the Headteacher and explain in person what the study entailed. In theory, this should not have been a very complicated process. However, in practice, stage number two, the telephone call, became a very elongated process. In most schools, it was simply not possible to speak directly to the Headteacher. If the Head functioned as a gatekeeper by authorising the data collection in the

school, then the 'all-powerful' School Secretary was no less of a gatekeeper by controlling access to the Headteacher. In one of the Primary schools contacted, it took five phone calls to make an appointment with the Head. Another Primary school, after eleven phone calls, simply refused to take part in the study. Overall, two Primary and one Secondary schools declined to take part, leaving 7 Primary schools (including 2 Infant and 2 Junior schools) and 5 Secondary schools (4 in the Borough of Lambeth, and 1 in a neighbouring Borough).

Nevertheless, my impression, from contacting the schools, was not of a negative perception of research or an unwillingness to collaborate. Rather, I had the feeling of chasing after people who themselves were having difficulty coping with all that they had to do. Some schools were having OFSTED visits, and, in others, the Head was newly appointed. They, probably, felt that taking part in research could mean an even greater workload for the school. I tried to make as clear as possible that this was not the case but, nevertheless, this worry seemed to be present whenever I contacted the schools.

"22/10 – The Heads' reluctance to take my calls is now clear. Those Heads with whom I have managed to speak, ask openly what extra work will come to the school. There seem to be three basic questions behind this 'reluctance'. To be known:
1- What extra work will this person bring to the school?
2- What proportion of teaching time will the students lose so that she can work with them?
3- Who is she?" (from my field notes)

Although, in all cases, the Headteacher had been contacted in writing and informed of the study, only in the Primary schools was there personal contact. In the secondary schools, the contact was delegated to another person, usually the teacher responsible for English as an Additional Language. In one school, I was referred to the Deputy Headteacher and, in a second, to the Examinations Officer. Once the schools had agreed to take part in the study and, parental consent obtained as requested², then the initial data collection could take place. This involved, as a first step, identifying all the Portuguese

² Two primary schools asked for parental consent to be obtained. In the remaining schools, no need was felt by the gatekeepers to do so as I was to have no contact with the students and no individual raw data was to be used.

students (or of Portuguese origin), attending Years 2 or 6 in Primary (Infant and Junior) Schools and, in Secondary Schools, students attending Years 9 and 11 (see Table 4.1, below).

Schools and Number of Portuguese Speaking Students			
Years 2 (KS1) and 6 (KS2)		Years 9 (KS3) and 11 (KS4)	
Apple Field Infant School	8	All Saints Secondary School (R.C. Mixed)	39
Apple Field Junior School	8		
Vermont Infant School	8	Green Valley Secondary (LEA Mixed)	26
Vermont Junior School	10		
Our Lady of Lourdes R.C. Primary School	14	Shakespeare Secondary School (LEA Mixed)	31
St. Michael's R.C. Primary School	7	St. Vincent's Secondary School (R.C. Girls)	14
St Peter's C.E. Primary School	17	Victoria Secondary School (C.E. Mixed)	20
Total KS1 & KS2	72	Total KS3 & KS4	130

Table 4. 1 - Schools and Number of Portuguese Speaking Students

The data collected at this point consisted of students' names with the view of identifying from the mother tongue class lists whether they were attending those classes, date and place of birth and date of school admission. It was, also, possible to identify those children who came from mixed culture families. To avoid confounding variables, children whose parents (either mother or father) came from a different culture/nationality were excluded from the study. In the same way, no statistical data in the form of SATs or assessment results was collected for Portuguese children who had been stated as having Special Educational Needs (see Figure 4.2).

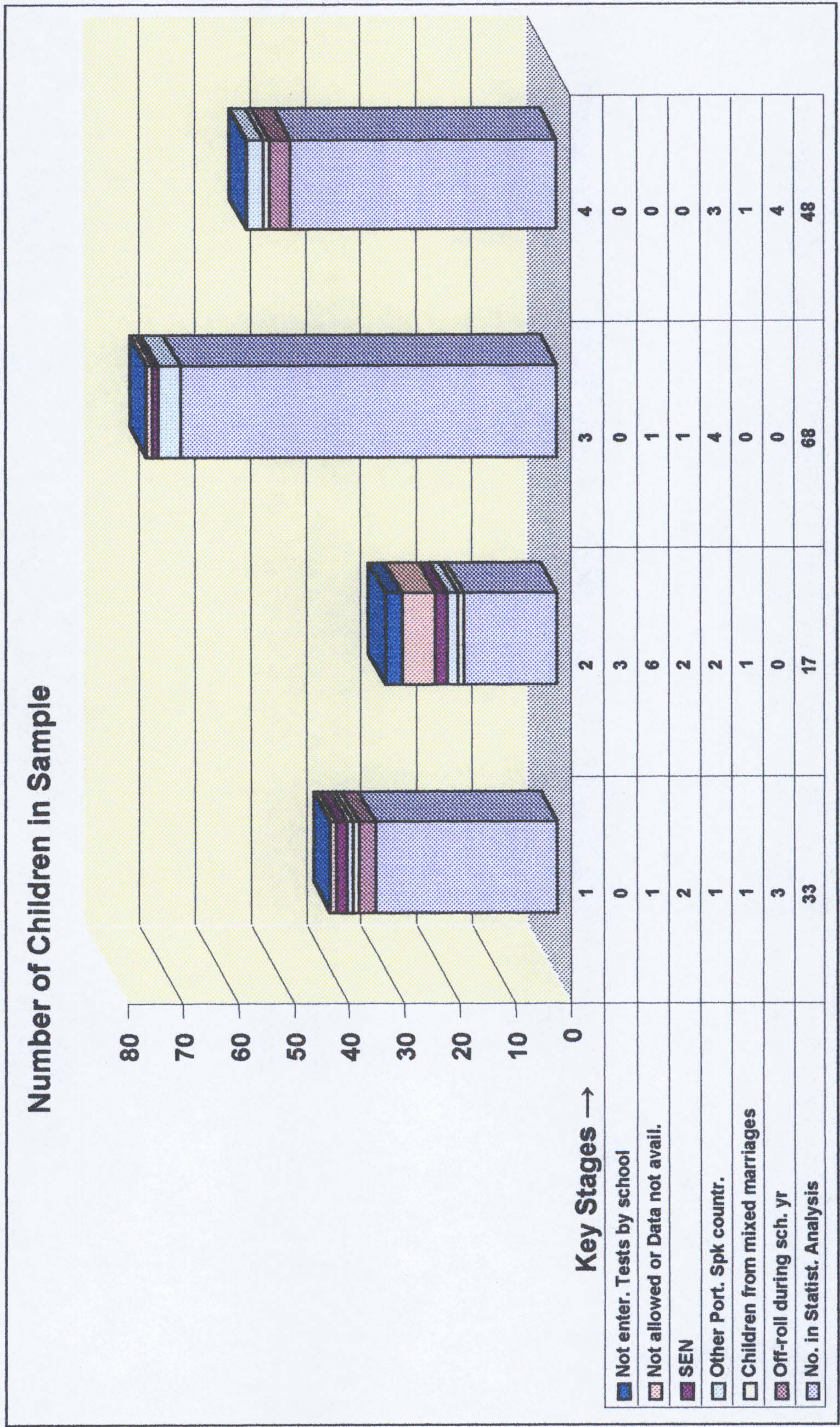


Figure 4. 2 – Number of children in the sample

Establishing contacts with the schools and determining what was to become the larger sample for collecting the data for statistical analysis took place in the first semester of the 1998/99 school year. The academic results that formed the data for the large sample, to be analysed quantitatively, were collected in the second semester of that year. In some schools, that process prolonged itself to the first semester of the following school year, when some of the students involved had already left school. Also, in the second semester of 1998/99, the smaller sample of students, for qualitative data collection and analysis, was identified. Once the students in the larger sample had been grouped according to attendance at mother tongue classes, a smaller sample was randomly selected for each year group using the facility offered for this effect by the Excel spreadsheet software (Microsoft, 1997). The parents of the children in this smaller sample were contacted via the school. A letter was sent to each family explaining the purpose of the interviews and asking the families to return the filled in consent form to the school³. No contact was established with the students⁴ without full parental information and consent.

Once parental consent had been established, I proceeded to contact the families directly. At this stage, I explained my interest in also interviewing the parents and invited them to also take part. In most cases, the parents wrote their address and/or telephone contact number in their reply to the school, which allowed me to phone and arrange a suitable date and time for the interviews. This meant going to the families' homes on weekends and/or in the evening or late in the afternoon. Given that, most of the families that constituted the smaller sample lived in council estates, this involved considerable risk to my personal safety. Therefore, at this time, I was forced to acquire a mobile phone and, as a precaution, I would leave at home the indication of the family I would be visiting on each particular day.

³ A total of 54 letters were sent (KS2=12; KS3=24; KS4=18) and 30 replies received (56%), of which 2 were negative. All students who replied were interviewed.

Most participants chose to be interviewed at home. Some, however, preferred to be interviewed in public spaces. Three interviews were recorded at a fast-food restaurant, two in a park, another in a school playground, one in a train station. Although this had advantages in that no school time was lost for the children and the interviewees were on their own chosen ground, this made transcription work even more difficult.

All participants were assured that anonymity would be guaranteed and that all information given was for the purposes of this study only. All participants agreed to the interview being recorded, for which I used a small tape recorder (Sony cassette-corder TCM 459V) with an external microphone (Sony electret condenser microphone ECM-Z3).

4.3.3 An unexpected situation (The party crashers)

Schools varied on how students' data were organised. Some schools had the information in computerised lists and all that was necessary was to access the system and print out the selected information. In one Secondary school, however, I was given the printed lists of class rolls to look for Portuguese names. Simply looking for Portuguese surnames in list of students could induce into error as children of mixed marriages were likely to have an English surname and people from Goa often have Portuguese surnames⁵. Nevertheless, this proved to be very useful as it allowed me to identify a problem that was, up to this point, unknown and that led to a change in the design of the study. The lists of students revealed that a relatively large number of Portuguese students had had their names crossed out, thus signifying that they were no longer attending the school. It was not clear what had happened to these students or where they had gone to, although they were still of

⁴ This does not, however, apply to the students who had dropped out of school or had been taken off the school roll.

compulsory school attendance age. This fortuitous incident at one school made me reformulate the problem being investigated.

If, as defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3), qualitative research “consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible”, then this was a facet of the world that I am⁶ studying that could not be ignored and left invisible. Finding these students who had dropped out of school and knowing why they had done that, what had lead them to do so, became one more important objective. It was one more reflection of the crystal. However, this meant that it was not possible, in terms of time and workload involved, to maintain the original structure of the study. For this reason, it was decided not to interview the parents and children at KS1.

It became necessary to contact all the secondary schools taking part in the study and try to find out how many Portuguese speaking students who should have been attending Year 11, in that school year, had left the school since 1997. The objective of this was to identify how many students had left during Key Stage 4 and, if possible, where they had gone to.

Finding the youngsters that had left school before the end of compulsory education meant some ‘detective work’. The schools could not give me the address of these students and therefore, I could not contact them at home. I had managed to obtain some addresses and that was my starting point. I went to addresses in housing estates, in private properties divided into bedsits, and asked for these students or left messages in Portuguese asking for them to get in touch with me. I successfully contacted two students through their home address. They, in turn, led me (literally) to the homes of others they knew had also left school. At a certain point, against my better judgement and the advice that I had received from people working in the area, I was walking through the housing estates in Stockwell and Brixton, following around a group of teenagers that I had not met before, in an area that I did not know. At the same time, I

⁵ To avoid collecting data for non-Portuguese students with Portuguese surnames the names listed down were confirmed by a EAL teacher in the school.

contacted organisations involved with alternative forms of education, which, unfortunately, did not lead me into meeting other Portuguese youngster, as none had contacted such organisations. In this manner, the sample 'snowballed' into eight students.

"immersed

The ethnographic researcher becomes immersed in the field through a prolonged stay, often as long as 1 year. Whether the individual loses perspective and 'goes native' is a field issue much discussed in the ethnographic literature." (Creswell, 1998, p.247)

How 'native' or 'immersed' am I? Although I could say I was a participant in the field I was researching, having myself migrated to this country 19 years ago and, in my everyday job, I was used to contacting Portuguese parents and children, I felt nevertheless a novice. I had never made a home visit to see a student in his/her home. I did not share the pattern of difficult socio-economic situations that faced many of the community members. Furthermore, I did not use 'Portinglês' (Keating, 1990; Barradas, 1993) in conversations like some of the parents and children did.

I could say, perhaps, that I am in a privileged position as an observer in that I share the cultural background, being Portuguese, but not being completely inside the group I want to know more about. In this sense, I could describe my role in research as that of a participant observer. Unwittingly, I had become a 'marginal native' in my own community. As Seale (1998, p.226/7) puts it, "a degree of **marginality** in the situation is needed to do research. Marginality is a poise between a strangeness which avoids over-rapport and a familiarity which grasps the perspectives of people in the situation. Thus the researcher can be understood as a *marginal native*. This position creates considerable strain on the researcher as it engenders insecurity, produced by living in two worlds simultaneously, that of participation

⁶ As this study is an ongoing process, where writing, analysis, and collection of information are

and that of research. The researcher will be physically and emotionally affected by this.”

This problem of self-identification can be seen from an extract of my notes:

“(17/12) – (...) I entered the Bakery, which is also a Café. Had the same exact feeling of having entered a café in Portugal. [But] It’s not just the usual noise, nor the way the men eye you. It’s not knowing how to ask for things. I feel there is a script I do not know. Do you order at the café’s counter or at the bakery’s counter? (I was sitting in the bakery side) Do they serve you at the table (Portugal) or do you take it to the table (UK)? (...) The ambience is clearly Portuguese. The indispensable music noise accompanied by the TV, Brazilian music (70’s). The shop is ‘Madeiran’ (...) Nevertheless, the service, at the counter, is characteristic of the UK. (...) Can’t stand the noise any more, I’m leaving.”

Some points clearly facilitated my access to the group that I intended to study: the fact that I was Portuguese, shared the cultural background and spoke the same language, made me an insider to the community. Being a woman made it easier to be allowed into people’s homes and their lives, as it is generally mothers who deal with the school life of their children, particularly in the early years. On the other hand, should my identity as a mother tongue teacher be known, that might affect people’s attitudes towards me. Both the parents of children attending or not attending mother tongue classes might infer judgmental evaluations if I were to be known as a Portuguese teacher. I, thus, preferred to identify myself as a university student. On occasions, I had to answer some questions about my family, about how I supported myself, which I tried to answer as truthfully as possible without giving away my identity as a mother tongue teacher.

For these reasons, because I would not be known for my role as a teacher and, as mentioned on Chapter 1, because of the high demographic

concomitant. it seems more appropriate to use here the present tense.

concentration of Portuguese people in the area around Stockwell, Lambeth was clearly the best area to conduct this study.

“In overt participant observation, then, where an explicit research role must be constructed, forms of dress, can ‘give off’ the message that the ethnographer seeks to maintain the position of an acceptable marginal member, perhaps in relation to several audiences. (...) Speech and demeanour will require monitoring (...).” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.87)

My physical appearance was an aspect to which I was forced to pay special attention whilst collecting data, both when going to schools and when talking to parents. My clothing had to be informal, when talking to parents and children, so as to set them at ease, but not too informal when going to schools, so that I was taken seriously. My experience as a bilingual teacher in a West London borough was in a Catholic primary school. In this school, the dress code is informal but still “sensible” and jeans are not allowed. This is what I took as my dress rule for visiting schools. However, this proved not to be adequate for all schools as can be seen from the following extract taken from my notes of a visit to a primary school:

“4/11 (12.30) – Met with Ms. A. (Portuguese speaker working at school). Received by HT (Headteacher) halfway up the stairs to 2nd floor. I thought (from his appearance) that he was the schoolkeeper. Fortunately, I did not say anything embarrassing. (Followed Ms. A. to the) Staff room: I’m definitely overdressed for this school. Support staff in jeans. Come to think of it, this was not the staff room. There was a notice on the door (which I read on my way out) saying in various languages “Sala dos Empregados” (Employees’/Helpers’ room). There was no teacher there! I introduced myself as a bilingual support teacher in X area, studying at Goldsmiths’ College. The words ‘Portuguese’ and ‘teacher’ didn’t seem to match.”

Thus, my physical appearance had to take into account not only whom I was talking with but also where I was going. One main concern present in my mind, during the period I was doing the interviews, was, as mentioned before,

my own personal safety. Brixton and nearby areas are not known for public safety and throughout my fieldwork I never wore a skirt nor used a handbag. My equipment and personal effects were carried in a (not new) backpack, so that I did not attract too much attention to myself. The issue of personal safety was of such importance that when I explained to one Head-teacher the study involved interviewing the parents as well, he most vehemently advised me against going into private places, especially in the housing estates. He went as far as offering his own office at the school for the interviews to take place during or after school hours. At this particular school, for safety reasons, no teacher is allowed to do home visits. Nevertheless, I felt that, to conduct interviews in a school would not be neutral ground. Therefore, the interviews were always conducted at a place of the interviewee's choice. On occasions, I had mixed feelings about this decision. Walking alone the streets of unknown housing estates made me feel extremely vulnerable. This feeling of great insecurity and loneliness led me to buying a disposable camera and taking pictures of the places where I was going. However strange this may seem, taking pictures of the surroundings made me feel more in control of the situation.

4.3.4 The interviews

Fontana and Frey (2000) characterise interviews as being structured, semistructured or unstructured, varying in length from a few minutes to lengthy sessions, possibly taking place over several days. In the interviews, although I did not want to create a situation where everyone had to follow the same script, answering the same exact questions in the same order, there were some topics that I wanted to explore. In the beginning of the interview, after explaining the work I was doing, I also explained that I had some questions on topics I would like to touch on, but these were not fixed. However, on most occasions, I noticed that I did not have to ask many questions, as the

respondents would go on talking and covering the aspects that I was also interested in.

Like Holstein and Gubrium (1995), I do not see interview as a means of accessing an objective knowledge that is out there, in the respondent, to be taken by a dexterous interviewer “like a skilled surgeon can remove a kidney from a donor and use in a different context (e.g., for a patient awaiting transplant)” (Fontana and Frey, 2000, p.663). For Holstein and Gubrium (1995) interviews are active situations, in the sense that both interviewer and respondent are active meaning-makers. Meaning is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview:

“We contend that if interview data are unavoidably collaborative (Alasuutari, 1995; Holstein and Staples, 1992), attempts to strip interviews of their interactional ingredients will be futile.” (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p. 4).

As Holstein and Gubrium put it, the “production is spontaneous, yet structured – focused within loose parameters provided by the interviewer” (1995, p. 17). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p153) put across the same point when they say that “interviews, like social interaction, are structured by both the researcher and informant. The important distinction to be made is between standardized and reflexive interviewing”. These authors suggest that ethnographic interviews are closer in character to conversations. However, they are never simply conversations, because the ethnographer has a research agenda and must retain some control over the proceedings. Thus, the interviewer must also be an active listener. The interviews became, for many respondents, opportunities to tell their story, their ‘slice’ of life story. Respondents became the tellers of a story that was, in a way, delimited also by me.

4.3.5 From translating and transcribing to analysing and writing

With the exception of Cristina who chose to speak in English (and, occasionally, Clarisse and Joana), all interviews were conducted in Portuguese. This meant that they had to be translated. Nevertheless, by being a native speaker of the language and a member of the community, I was able to share the sociocultural and sociolinguistic background knowledge of the people I was interviewing. This allowed me to understand the more subtle differences between the ways different speakers use the two languages and that can be overlooked. In studies where the researcher does not speak the same language as the people s/he is interviewing, the role of the translator becomes one of linguistic and cultural interpreter. This is the case, for example, of the work done by Goldstein (1995) with Portuguese immigrant workers in Canada. This author refers to the work by Briggs (1986) who “argues that it is important to understand the norms the interviewees have for talking about their experiences. Different groups of people have differing kinds of restrictions on who may ask what questions of whom under what circumstances. Furthermore, questions may not mean the same thing to a member of another speech community, even if translated accurately” (Goldstein, 1995, p 589).

All interviews were tape recorded for transcription. This is a lengthy process that accompanies part of the data collection and the writing of the dissertation. In reading a transcript, as in other texts, certain conventions have to be followed. It is generally accepted that what appears further up on the page was said before (top to bottom) even if more than one column is used to present the speech of the participants involved. I began by using what Ochs (1979, p.47) refers to as standard “script” format, even if following a left to right bias. Thus, speech that was started first appears on top but a second statement, said simultaneously, is indicated by slashes (//) and may appear to the right of the paragraph. Other aspects of speech such as pauses [...] and hesitations [-] were also indicated and text omission is shown as (...). Text in

bold represents speech in English, whilst underlined text indicates the speaker is emphasising those words.

The following translated extracts are from the interview with Debbie (yr9) and her Mother:

Olga: *what made you leave Venezuela?*

Mother: *the crisis. The crisis that was going on there. Thieves. And the way of life there. It was very hard. And work, as well... and the money, it didn't pay for anything (não rendia nada). Here, it still pays for something. It's not much but [...] (unintelligible). It was not OK to be there. (não dava pra 'tar lá)*

And also:

Olga: *what did you choose to study next year, then?*

Debbie: *it's music and drama.*

Olga: *only two?*

Debbie: *there is one more but I can't say it in Portuguese.*

Olga: *say it in English then.*

Debbie: *it's **graphics**.*

Whenever possible, I indicated aspects relating to the context. Thus, the presence of other people in the room, children or adults, will certainly influence what the respondent says. These people may even have contributed to the interview, although the original intention was not a family interview.

On occasions, certain knowledge that is shared by both interviewer and respondent may not be clear to the reader and this also needs clarifying. This text or information appears between (brackets). Thus, the process of transcribing is not the mere writing of words that were said but, also, and, perhaps, more importantly, conveying the situation, which will include what was said in words. The role of the interviewer/analyst will inevitably affect what is conveyed but, as Richardson (2000) suggests, this should be part of the

crystallised view. It is not possible to put into a script the entire context and information that was conveyed in an interview, least we try as Cook (1990) puts it, to transcribe infinity.

What follows is an extract from an interview where some of above mentioned points are present:

Olga - And what else?

Roberto - Then it was more- the people- the students- were more- how shall I say it, they were not as quiet as the students from there. (there=Portugal)

Father- They were bad.

Roberto - They were bad.

Olga - They were bad in what sense? Bad because they were rude, bad because// they hurt you?

Roberto - //In everything. In everything.

Olga - OK.

Father- What is that? Is it regarding school XX?

Olga - Yes.

Father- That is the worst school here in London. In fact, it is one of the worst really.

Roberto - Even the teachers they beat up.

Father- Do they respect anyone? The teachers cannot have- even th- the teachers cannot-

Roberto - They beat up the teachers let alone the students.

Father- The teachers cannot have// the use of the school.

Mother - //To him, they even- To him, they even squeezed his neck. From the back, they left all this (area] black.. They almost killed him. (unintelligible) Didn't do anything. It was him that stopped// going to the school.

Roberto - //Expelled him.

Olga - E que mais?

Roberto - Depois era mais- as pessoas- os alunos- eram mais- como é que eu hei-de dizer, não eram tão sossegados como os alunos de lá. (lá=Portugal)

Father- Eram maus.

Roberto - Eram maus.

Olga - Eram maus em que aspecto? Eram maus porque eram malcriados, eram maus porque// te maltratavam?

Roberto - //Era em tudo. Era em tudo.

Olga - OK.

Father- Isso é quê? Em relação à escola de XX?

Olga - Sim.

Father- Isso é a pior escola que há aqui em Londres. Aliás é uma das piores mesmo.

Roberto - Até aos professores eles batem.

Father- Eles têm respeito a alguém? Os professores não conseguem ter- os próp- os professores não conseguem-

Roberto - Eles batem aos professores quanto mais aos alunos.

Father- Os professores não conseguem ter// uso da escola.

Mother - //A ele ainda lhe- a ele ainda lhe apertaram o pescoço. Por 'trás, deixaram-lhe isto tudo negro. Por pouco não o matavam. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) Não fez nada. Foi ele que deixou// de ir à escola.

Roberto - //Expulsou-o.

As can be clearly seen from the above extracts, a major aspect to be considered is the language used. With the exceptions noted before, the interviews were conducted in Portuguese. This meant that all extracts used had to be translated. In so doing, although the translation tries to follow as much as possible the perceived meaning of the Portuguese original, that perceived meaning forcibly carries in it my interpretation of what was said. When a certain word used in Portuguese can be interpreted in different ways or carries such a meaning or value that makes an appropriate translation difficult, this word is put into brackets in Portuguese and/or, if appropriate, its meaning explained. Thus, I tried to convey its significance to the English reader while it is still possible for another Portuguese speaker to extract the meaning of that word.

Olga - You didn't ask if you could continue having English, extra? (Shakes head) Why not?

*Valter - **Anyway**, the English tha' I know, I didn't learn it at school.*

Olga - How come?

Valter - At home.

Olga - How did you do to learn English?

*Valter - I used to read **'books'** (Portuguese pronunciation), I read (past tense) the words that's saying in Portuguese and in English. I read (past tense) that and I learn. When I'm bored, sometimes, I do that, I buy a **'book'**.*

Olga - And you look for the words in the dictionary?

Valter - In my sisters' dictionary.

Olga - (comments about the noise around. Interview taking place in open staircase outside flat, facing the street)

Olga - What did you think of the teachers?

Valter - (long pause) Nothing.

Olga - Tu não perguntaste se podias continuar a ter inglês, extra? (shakes head) Porque não?

*Valter - **Anyway**, o inglês qu'eu sei, eu não o aprendi na escola.*

Olga - Então?

Valter - Em casa.

Olga - Como é que fazias para aprender inglês?

*Valter - Lia **'buques'**, lia as palavras que 'tá dizendo em português e em inglês. Lia isso e eu aprendo. É' quando 'tou aborrecido, às vezes, faç'isso, compr'um **'buque'**.*

Olga - E procuras no dicionário as palavras?

Valter - No dicionário das minhas irmãs.

Olga - (comments about the noise around. Interview is taking place in open staircase outside flat, facing the street)

Olga - O que é que tu achaste dos professores?

Valter - (long pause) Nada.

One aspect that was, mostly, lost in the translation was the way of speaking characteristic of each speaker. While some speakers used standard Portuguese, there were also regional variations as well as the use of English words and occasional use of 'Portinglês'⁷.

In the extract above, the sentence transcribed as:

" VALTER- Lia 'buques', lia as palavras que 'tá dizendo em português e em inglês. Lia isso e eu aprendo. É' quando 'tou aborrecido, às vezes, faç'isso, compr'um 'buque'."

would, in standard orthographic Portuguese appear as:

" VALTER- Lia livros, lia as palavras que está dizendo em português e em inglês. Lia isso e eu aprendo. Eu quando estou aborrecido, às vezes, faço isso, compro um livro."

Because the interviews are not restricted to the quick answering of questions, they become very long and the process of transcribing and, afterwards, translating becomes an extremely lengthy one. Therefore, it became impossible to use the process described above. A compromise had to be achieved between a 'better' transcript and translation (Duranti 1997) and the amount of time available. The only way I could find to cope with the transcribing and translating of the interviews recorded was to use voice recognition software. Dragon Naturally Speaking (Lernout and Hauspie, 2000) was found to be relatively accessible software both in terms of cost and ease of use. It does, nevertheless, require a period of 'training' the software to recognise one's voice and, occasionally, mistakes are made in similar sounding words or combination of words which implies that the transcribed interviews need to be critically re-read. Furthermore, the voice recognition software allows the documents produced to be saved in a format

⁷ This term refers to the use of words created by combining elements of the English and Portuguese

that is readable by the data analysis software package later used (NVivo) (QSR 1999) to code and extract passages from those interviews.

Using voice recognition software allowed me to hear the recorded interviews in Portuguese and dictate the translated version into English. Given the length of each interview, it also meant that only certain extracts selected, reproduced later in this dissertation, were transcribed in Portuguese. Despite the advantage of saving time, voice recognition also represented a loss of linguistic richness and layers of detail in the translation.

The technological advances made by society in recent years have, according to some authors (see Coffey et al, 1996; Lee and Fielding, 1996), affected not only the way qualitative research is conducted but also the type of data used (such as the use of tape recorders or film) and the way that the data is analysed. Computers have attained an important role in aiding data analysis both with regard to quantitative data, where packages such as SPSS (SPSS, 1999) are often used to aide statistical analysis, and through the use of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software packages. Lee and Fielding (1996, par. 2.2) "see computer-based methods as permitting (...) the multi-tooling of qualitative researchers, making available to them more or less at will a wide range of different analytic strategies."

In order to analyse the data collected, all the above points had to be taken into account. The interviews and the stories they tell, as well as the academic results, were all part of the same story, viewed from different angles, giving out different reflections. Just as different methodologies and resources are drawn upon to obtain the data, so different strategies are used to find about the 'hows' and 'whats' the story tells us.

Writing and analysing are processes that go hand in hand. Thus, the result, the final version of the story, is one that will have changed throughout the writing process. It is not a linear progression. Nor does it attempt to have fixed, 'correct', answers to the questions posed during the whole research process. There can be no correct answers to the 'why' question. Following Alasuutari's work (1995), I try to tell the story. The idea is to present a rich understanding of the multitude of perspectives that constitute the crystal (Richardson, 2000) that is being investigated.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Although ethical issues have been raised throughout this chapter, they will be specifically focused upon in this section. Thus, I shall discuss two aspects in particular. These concern issues of informed consent and of privacy, central to ethical research.

This study depended on gatekeepers to obtain access to the data. Thus, as it is frequently the case, the entitlement to give or withdraw consent was held, initially, by those in the role of gatekeepers: headteachers. By contacting headteachers in writing, through the telephone and (whenever they agreed to it) in person, I tried to make available as much information about the study as possible, so that consent (when attained) would be informed. Although all data collected in the form of academic results would only be analysed in group comparisons and participant anonymity, both individual and schools', was guaranteed, two headteachers (primary schools) felt that facilitating access to SATs results was beyond the scope of their entitlement to *act in loco parentis* (Homan, 2001). When this was the case, parents were contacted via the school. In the remaining schools, however, this was not considered necessary, as I was to have, at this stage, no contact with any child or family.

The second part of the data collection, nevertheless, did involve contact both with children and their families. To establish contact with these families, letters were sent home, via the school, introducing myself and asking permission to contact the students. Although I tried to give as much information as possible, I could not reveal that one of the objectives of the study was to compare children who attend mother tongue classes with those who do not. Nor could I identify myself as a Portuguese mother tongue teacher. To do so would be to compromise not only the level of participation but also the data collected in that the parents and the children may assume that, in some way, their decision to attend or not was being questioned.

Sending a letter home to obtain parental consent also has another advantage. It allows parents to consider the child's opinion in whether to take part or not. Thus, the child is allowed his or her own real consent. As a consequence, some students (in secondary school) were allowed by their parents to take part while the parents themselves declined the interview. On the other hand, there was also a case (Susie) where the child decided not to participate but the mother took part in the study.

Another factor that was considered in this study was the location of the interviews. Whilst interviewing the participants at school would be an easier option for me, it would not allow an even platform to conduct the interviews. I would be associating myself with the school, thus showing a position of power. By giving participants the choice of location, I would either put myself on equal terms with them (in a public place) or allow them to control the physical environment (at home). This meant they could choose to allow me into the privacy of their home or to keep a stranger out of their private space.

One other ethical consideration is that of students who had been taken off the school roll, particularly, those younger than 16. Although I did respect their anonymity, no authorisation for contact was previously obtained from their parents. Apart from the fact that the way in which these youngsters were included had not been considered in the initial study design, I felt that they

were mature⁸ enough to decide by themselves. Notwithstanding, whenever possible, parents were informed.

Overall, during this study, I tried to inform participants as much as possible and to respect the relationship of trust between researcher and participants.

⁸ Homan (2001) considers the aspect of young people's consent and refers to various legal judgements whereby children's maturity rather than age is considered the crucial factor.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have described the characteristics of the two main models of social research: quantitative and qualitative and discussed how the two approaches combine to provide a better insight of what is being investigated.

The study design was described as well as the processes of data collecting, transcribing and analysing.

This chapter outlined how the body of work that constitutes this study was elaborated and how the initial design had to be changed to accommodate new and important information.

Finally, aspects relating to the relationship between researcher, participants and research environment were also considered.

Part III – Analytic Perspectives

Introduction	143
Chapter 5 – Portuguese Students Abandoning the System	144
Chapter 6 – Statistical Analysis of End of Key Stage Assessment Data	171
Analysis of the data collected in the interviews with students and/or parents:	
Introduction and description of the group	231
Chapter 7 – Portrait of a Community	234
Chapter 8 – View of Mother Tongue Classes	260
Chapter 9 – Factors Affecting Parental Decisions with Regard to Mother Tongue Classes	289
Chapter 10 – Discussion of the Results	309

Introduction

The analysis of the data collected for this study has been divided into the following chapters:

Chapter 5 deals with data from students who had truanted and/or been taken off the school roll.

Chapter 6 focuses upon the quantitative analysis of the data, i.e. the end of Key Stage assessment results in compulsory education. Statistical analyses are carried out to make comparisons between groups of students.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9, focus on the qualitative analysis of the data obtained in the interviews with parents and students. In Chapter 7, the human setting for the study is described through extracts from the interviews that offer a portrait of the Portuguese community in Lambeth as viewed by the participants. Chapter 8 considers specifically the participants' view of Portuguese classes, their content and (dis)advantages of attendance. Chapter 9 points towards factors that affect parental choice of attendance. A relation to the length of residence, as indicated in the quantitative analysis of the data, is investigated.

Finally, Chapter 10 discusses how the results and data obtained can be considered and justified in the light of existing theories and models of bilingual development. In this perspective, and taking into account social factors affecting the life of Portuguese children, arguments are presented to try and link both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study.

Chapter 5 – Portuguese Students Abandoning the System

CHAPTER 5 – PORTUGUESE STUDENTS ABANDONING THE SYSTEM 144

5.1	Introduction	145
5.2	Finding the students	146
5.3	The students' stories	149
5.3.1	Raul	151
5.3.2	Valter	152
5.3.3	Roberto	153
5.3.4	Rui	154
5.3.5	Francisco & Eduardo	155
5.3.6	Isabel	158
5.3.7	Cristina	159
5.4	Issues arising from the above	161
5.4.1	School curriculum with regard to students who are recent arrivals to the country (or who arrived between the ages of 5-16)	161
5.4.2	Academic support and re-integration	162
5.4.3	Socio-economic factors, self-esteem and pastoral support	163
5.4.4	Final qualifications (GCSE); schools advice on careers and other forms of qualification;	164
5.4.5	Parental involvement = empowering the parents through access to information	165
5.4.6	Education as a way of social promotion	166
5.4.7	Portuguese classes	167
5.5	Reflecting on the findings	168
5.6	Summary	170

5.1 Introduction

As described in previous chapters, during the initial data collection, an unusually high number of Portuguese students was identified as having been taken off the school roll before the end of compulsory education. It was not clear what had happened to these students, whether they had returned to Portugal or had moved address and were attending school in another area.

Between 1993 and 1998, only two Portuguese pupils had attended Lambeth's Secondary Pupil's Referral Unit (PRU). In the school year of 1998/99, only three more had applied for a place at the Unit, whilst another three students attended Lambeth Employment and Training Scheme (LETS)¹. Also, Project 409, an organisation based in Brixton, offering support and tuition for students outside formal education, reported, in 1999, that they had never had any Portuguese students. Officially, as indicated by an interview with a member of the Lambeth Education Welfare, Portuguese students were not seen as a priority.

The problem of 'drop-out' students did not appear to be limited to Lambeth. Initial enquiries in Westminster revealed the same pattern with regard to Portuguese students. Nevertheless, in one of the schools taking part in the study but belonging to a neighbouring borough this pattern did not seem to appear. In this school, where a high proportion of the Portuguese speaking students reside in Lambeth, only one of the twenty-four Portuguese students who should have been attending Year 11 at the time of this study had been, recently, taken off-roll. This girl had been identified by the school as having returned to Portugal. Only one student in 24 constituted an extremely low proportion as compared to the numbers in the other four schools in the study and was probably related to the fact that this was a heavily oversubscribed school. Therefore, the information discussed in the remainder of this chapter focuses on students who attended the four schools in the borough of Lambeth.

¹ These three students were later interviewed and summaries are provided below.

5.2 Finding the students

Information obtained from these schools indicated that a total of fifty-three Portuguese speaking students had enrolled and should have been attending Year 11. Nevertheless, twenty-two students had been taken off-roll in that current school year or in the previous one. Of those, only two could be positively identified as attending another school, one was attending a Training Project and one had been formally excluded. This left eighteen students unaccounted for. Furthermore, by the end of the school year, two more students had been taken off the school roll without completing Year 11 or obtaining any qualifications, thus, totalling 24 students the number that had left school (see Figure 5.1, below). Also, one of the students interviewed, although he was still on the school roll, had stopped attending school, altogether, months before.

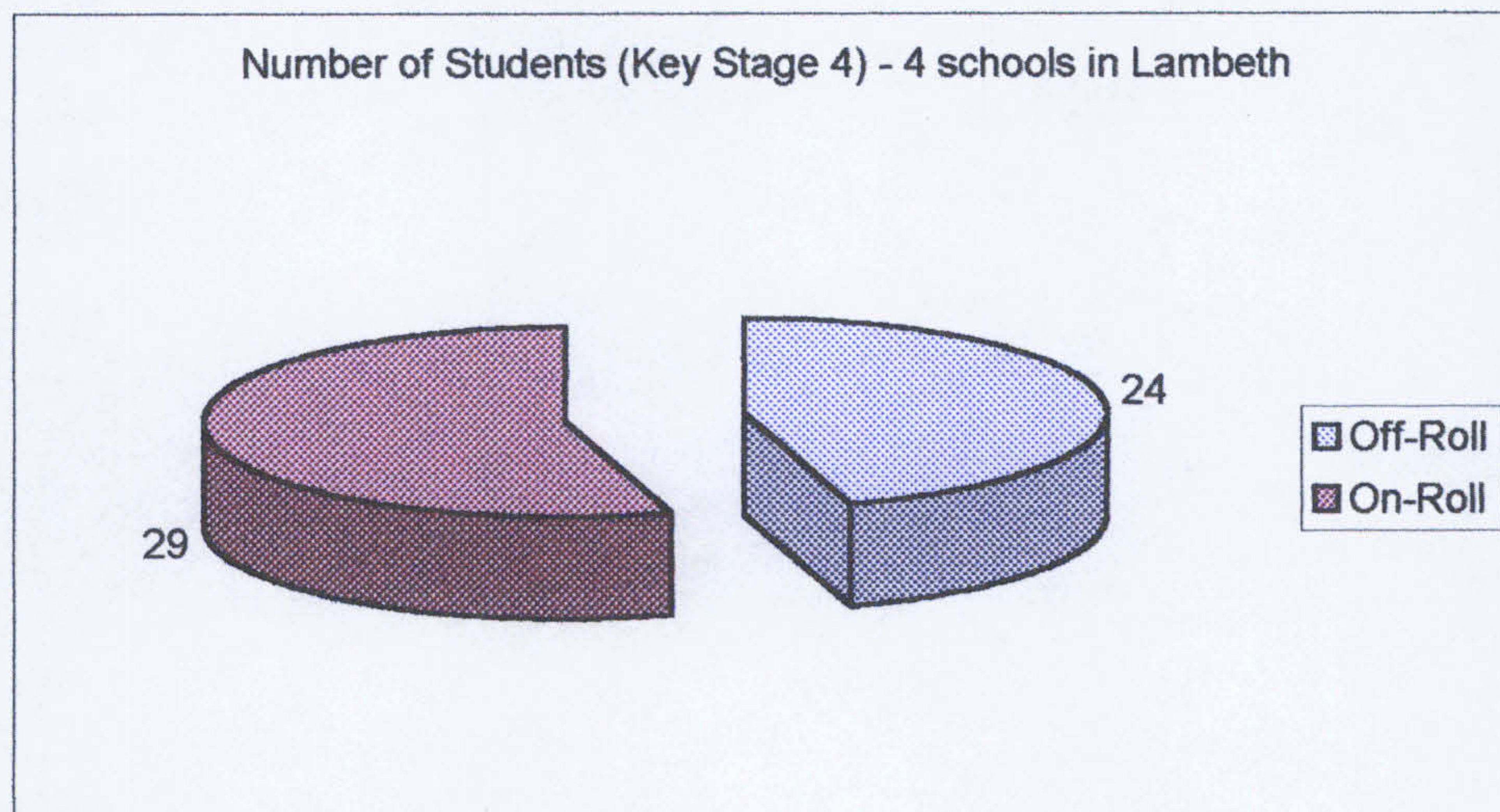


Figure 5. 1– Students taken off the school roll

As we can see from Figure 5.2, below, the schools varied not only in the number of Portuguese students they had enrolled in Year 11, but also in the proportion of students who had been taken off-roll. In school D, nearly two-thirds of the year 11 Portuguese students had been taken off-roll.

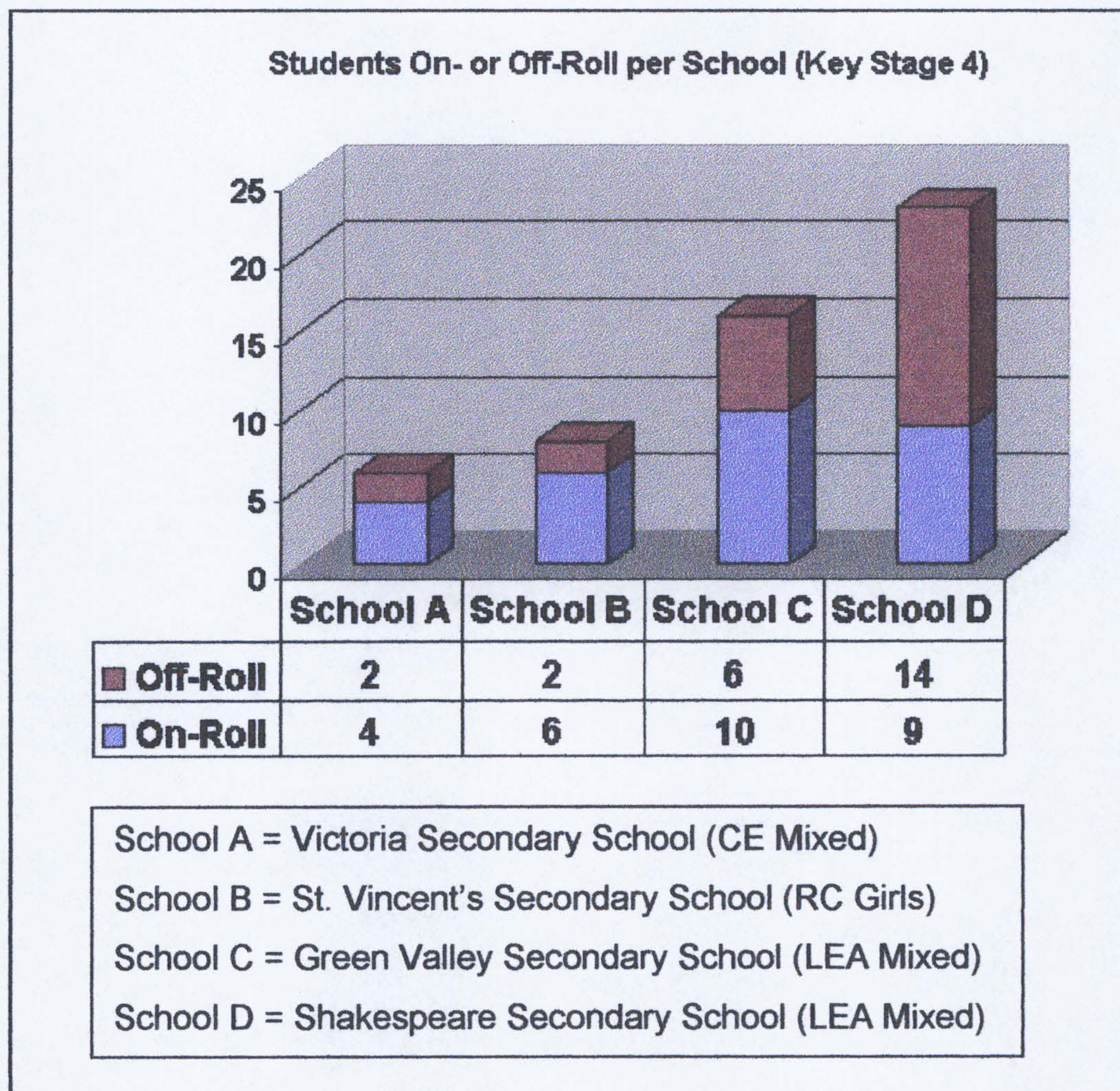
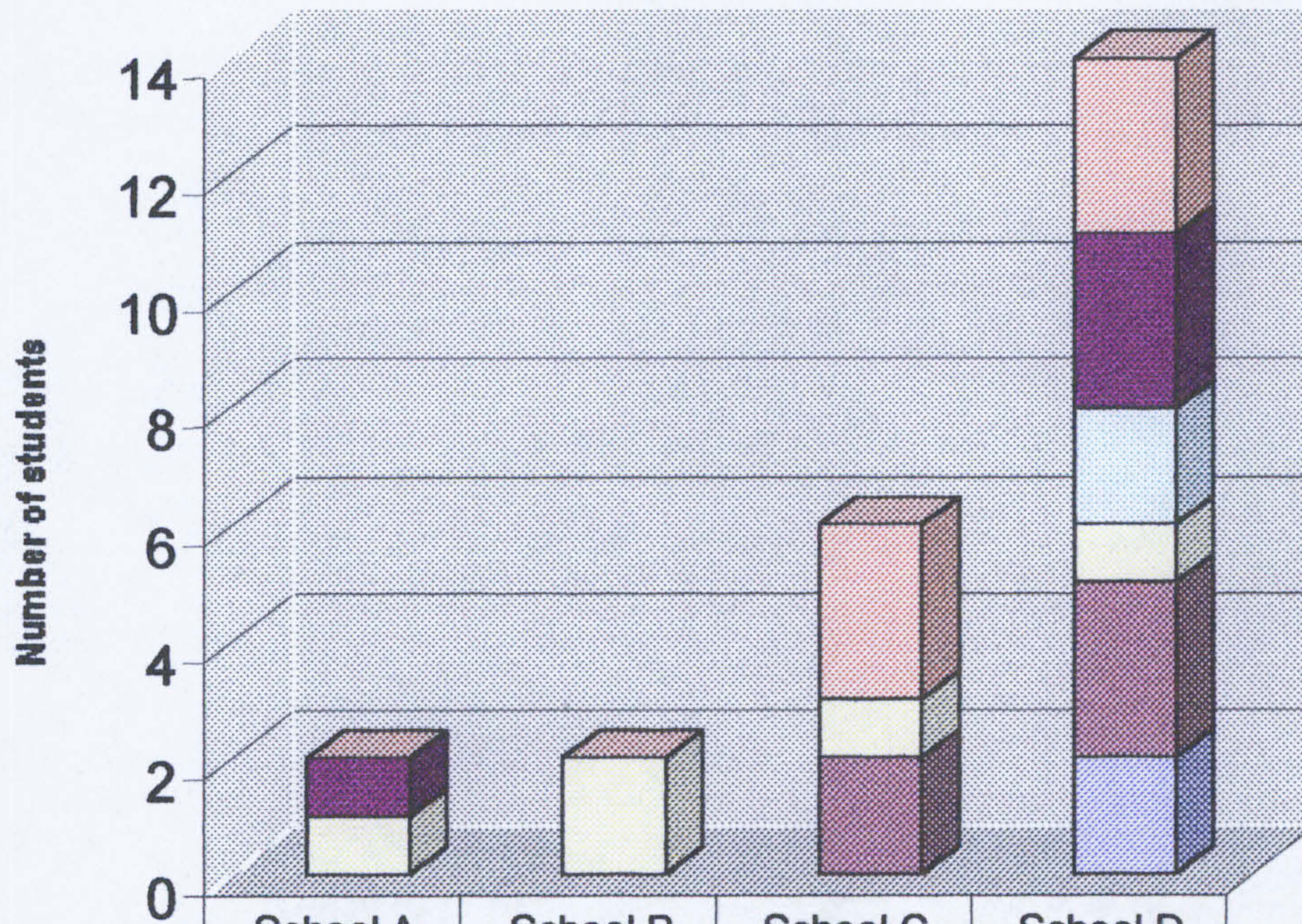


Figure 5. 2– Number of students on- and off-roll per school

This variation appears again if we look at the length of attendance at the students who had been taken off-roll (Figure 5.3 below). Although all students taken off-roll had been born outside the UK, their length of school attendance varied according to their arrival in this country and only six students had been in the UK for over 4 years. We can also see that, in School D, Shakespeare Secondary School, in the students taken off-roll, there seems to be a pattern of constant new arrivals to the school.

Students taken Off-Roll (KS4) – Entry to UK



	School A	School B	School C	School D
over 4 yrs	0	0	3	3
<4 yrs	1	0	0	3
<3 yrs	0	0	0	2
< 2yrs	1	2	1	1
1 yr or less	0	0	2	3
Not known	0	0	0	2

School A = Victoria Secondary School (CE Mixed)

School B = St. Vincent's Secondary School (RC Girls)

School C = Green Valley Secondary School (LEA Mixed)

School D = Shakespeare Secondary School (LEA Mixed)

Figure 5. 3– Period of residence in the UK of students (off-roll) in KS4 (as indicated by school admissions).

It is not clear what becomes of these youngsters that are taken off-roll nor how many are truanting or for how long they truant before abandoning school completely. Some may eventually rejoin formal education and attend classes somewhere else. However, such information has not been possible to obtain since schools cannot give students' personal details to allow researchers to make direct contact with those who are no longer attending.

As described in the previous chapter, in order to find the youngsters whom I interviewed and whose stories are summarised below I had to resort to 'detective work'. That meant finding one or two of those students and following them as guides through council estates and unknown streets in an area with high levels of crime. I found myself in what was, potentially, a very dangerous situation. Nevertheless, this group of youngsters, whom I had not met before, accompanied me through the blocks of flats and waited for me at the entrance of each building where they took me to in order to guide me back to the main road. This section of my work was done in order to gather data about them and, without their help, I would not have been able to do it.

5.3 The students' stories

The interviews took place at different locations: in the students' homes', in their place of training, in a café, even in the street. With the exception of one student, Cristina, all preferred to be interviewed in Portuguese. The excerpts quoted below have, therefore, been translated into English.

The table that follows (Table 5.1) gives summarised information about each of these students and their families. It includes the reason perceived by the students as triggering their school abandonment as well as other information that could have affected their academic career.

Name (All pseudonyms)	Age (at time of interview) Place of birth (Age-arrival UK) D.o.b.	Siblings (Truant) (This student)	Parents: (If living with family unit) Qualifications & Present occupation	Qualifications obtained at 16 (and after compulsory education)	Reason attributed as a trigger for truanting and/or dropping out of school	Attend. of Mother Tongue classes	Other information
Raul	15 Madeira (14) 21.07.83	10 ♀ ♂ ♂	M+F Unemployed R. lives with brother's family (cleaners)	None	Bullying + School curriculum	Yes	Sister (18) acting as "responsible adult".
Valter	15 Madeira (12) 17.07.83	4 ♀ ♂ ♂ 3 ♂	F = Yr. 6 M = Yr. 4 Restaurant workers	None	School curriculum → peers	Yes	Parents aware of situation after a while.
Roberto	16 Portugal (12) 22.08.83	♂ ♀ ♂	F = Yr. 12 M = Yr. 4 Coffee shop workers	Attempted 7 GCSEs (GNVQ Intermediate Business Studies)	Bullying → Parental decision	Yes	6 months out of school.
Rui	15 Portugal (10) 20.07.83	♂ ♀ ♀	M = Yr. 9 Cleaner	None	Lost interest → behaviour problems	Yes	Experienced 4 different secondary schools
Francisco	16 Madeira (11) 11.12.82	♂ ♂ ♂	F = Yr. 4 Kitchen hand M = Yr. 3 Chamber maid	None (NVQ Mech.)	Lost interest → peers	Yes	Attending Training Project
Eduardo	14 Madeira (9) 20.02.85	♂ ♂ ♂	F = Driver M = Cleaner	---	Learning difficult? → Behaviour prob? → peers	Yes	Stopped attending school at 13. -- SEN?
Isabel	18 Portugal (7) --.12.81	♀ ♂ ♀		GCSE: 3B-C, 3E-F (NVQ Level 2 Business Studies)	Peer pressure	Yes (Grade C)	Attending Training Project
Cristina	17 London --.05.83	♂ ♀ ♀	M = Cleaner	GCSE: 1A, 1C, 8D-G (NVQ Level 2 Business Studies)	Emotional and family problems?	Yes - at primary school	Truanted at sec. sch. Abandoned college. Attending Training Project

Table 5.1 – Students Interviewed – Summary of Details

5.3.1 Raul

Raul's name was still on the class roll even though he had stopped going to school some months before. Raul arrived in Britain from Madeira in November 1997. He is the youngest of 11 siblings. He lives with his single sister, Irene, a married brother, sister-in-law and nieces, in a council flat. Raul's father lives with one of the married children and the mother with another.

According to Irene, the first few months at school were OK. Then, in the summer term of 1997/98, a group led by a Portuguese Madeiran boy bullied Raul. After the summer holidays, the bullying continued. In October 1998, Raul stopped going to school altogether. A month later, a letter was received at home stating that Raul had been taken off-roll. Irene and Raul explained to the school what was happening and he was re-admitted. However, the bullying continued and, days later, the Police found Raul on the street during school hours. Irene demanded that the parents of the bully were called to the school and a meeting with them and the headteacher be set up immediately. According to Irene, the parents of this other boy had never been contacted for bullying Raul. Raul went back to school but found it too difficult to follow the lessons and lost interest. He said he could not take it any more. "Couldn't be bothered". Regarding his plans for the future, Raul said:

"When I'm sixteen, I'll start working. (...) Doing offices (ofícios) in the morning. [...] The same thing the others do. (...) How do I explain the work I want? The type of work I want I can't have. That's why I go to the jobs the other d- are doing when they came here. (...) My type of work that I would like to have was to be a policeman. But it's not possible to do the course. (...) You need tests and studying. For any work, like that, not being-, I mean, work for computer or- something like that. Everything must need tests. Therefore, to be a policeman you must need tests as well. (...)

*(Until I'm 16 years old, I'll) stay at home and look after my nieces. When I'm 16 years old and I have my **insurance number** I'm going to work. (...) That's cleaning- offices (ofícios) and other jobs.*

*(Até ter 16 anos,) Fico em casa a tomar conta das minhas sobrinhas. Quando fizer 16 anos e tiver o meu **insurance number** vou trabalhar. (...) A limpar- ofícios e outros trabalhos.*

Raul, 15yr

5.3.2 Valter

Valter came to live in the UK in 1994. He is one of 9 siblings. He came to join his parents and the rest of his family, having lived with his godmother in Madeira for a year. The whole family, mother, father and 9 children lived for two years in a place that comprised 3 rooms. He described it as 2 bedrooms and a kitchen. In 1996, they moved to a council flat.

Valter attended up to year 4 in Madeira - the last year of primary school. By itself, this would indicate that Valter had had academic difficulties. Given his age, he should have been attending year 5 in Madeira. In London, he entered year 8 in the secondary school. Here, Valter had what he called 'extra-English' lessons. However, when the family moved home to the council flat, he was absent from school for about 3 weeks. When he returned to school, he did not have any more 'extra-English'. He did not ask why.

He felt let down by the school. He saw no point in staying at school to sit for tests he was not being prepared for. His older brother, before him, had truanted the whole of year 11 and Valter abandoned school at about Easter time, just before his Yr. 11 exams.

Regarding his plans for the future, Valter, who was already working as a dishwasher every Sunday, says:

*"I always wanted to be a fireman. Or a **waiter**, to serve at the table. But, in Madeira, I would have liked to be that of building houses. Build houses and paint them. That's all that I wanted. But I think I'll be a **waiter**. There's no more what I wanted to do."*

Valter, 15yr

*"Eu sempre quis ser bombeiro. Ou **waiter**, de servir à mesa. Mas, na Madeira, eu queria ter sido aquilo de fazer casas. Era só isso qu'eu queria. Mas eu acho qu'eu vou ser **waiter**. Não há mais aquilo que eu queria ser."*

Valter cannot see himself going to college and continuing his education. However, he says he would like to attend evening classes if that would allow

him to become a fireman or a waiter. Nevertheless, he believes he can work as a waiter as soon as he turns 16 yrs old and he can see no financial advantage later in life from attending further education.

5.3.3 Roberto

Roberto came from Setúbal, Portugal, to join his parents in London, in 1996, after living for two years with his grandmother. His father had tried to enrol him at a Catholic secondary school for boys but he was not accepted. He then joined the local secondary school in year 8. He felt great difficulty initially not only because of the language barrier but also because of the other students, who, according to him, were 'bad': they were not interested in studying and behaved badly. In secondary school, Roberto attended 'extra-English' classes, which he felt were of great use to him, even though it meant he missed other lessons, such as Geography. However, he felt particularly disappointed that, in Maths, he was kept in a lower group, doing work he found too easy, because of his level of English.

Roberto was bullied at school and, on one occasion, in Year 10, a boy tried to strangle him. Following this incident, Roberto's parents decided that he was not going back to that school. However, they could not find another place for Roberto for over 6 months, until he was offered a school place in the borough of Westminster.

Regarding the possibility of continuing his education after the age of 16, Roberto (15yr) said:

"You should continue studying. At least 2 more years, to try to have a better course (qualification). But it's only that- that it's very difficult to enter a college here. Because that the exams- you have to take very high grades for the exams and only- only with one or two years of English is not enough."

"Devia-se continuar a estudar. Pelo menos mais 2 anos, p'a tentar tirar um curso melhor. Mas só que é- é muito difícil entrar aqui num colégio. Po' causa qu'os exames tem que se tirar notas muito altas p'ós exames e só- só com um ano ou dois de Inglês nã(o) chega."

Regarding his plans for the future, Roberto says:

“Well, first I would like to work with something that dealt with computers. Could be, don’t know, something that goes with computers. Then, I also like... using... travel. I’d like to work for a travel agency. I also like that work very much.”

Roberto sat for 7 GCSEs in the second school. After that, he did an Intermediate GNVQ in Business Studies and is, at present, studying for an AS qualification in Business Studies.

5.3.4 Rui

Rui lives with his mother and two younger sisters. He has no contact with his father. His mother moved to London in 1994 to find a better life, when he was 10 years old. For a while, they lived in Tottenham with an aunt, a sister of Rui’s mother. He did not attend school for 7 months. When Rui’s mother found accommodation of her own in Newham, he started to attend school there, in year 7, for just about one year. The family then moved to Gants Hill (Northeast London) and yet another school, for about one year and a half. Rui’s mother then decided to go back to Portugal, leaving Rui in the care of his grandmother in Lambeth. Rui attended school in Lambeth for about 4 months, from October to February. He returned to Portugal for one year to train in the youth team of a well-known Lisbon based football club. During that time, Rui attended secondary school in Portugal. He found a marked difference between the schools in London and in Portugal. He found school quite difficult in Portugal.

Rui returned to London and re-joined the school he had attended in Lambeth. He said he enjoyed his time at school, but felt that *“some teachers were not very good, they – they didn’t care about the students, in that school, they don’t teach a lot”*. He believed his English was fairly good, as he never had ‘extra-English’ classes. Rui started to have problems with some teachers due to his behaviour and stopped going to school. He applied to several other schools but *“they were all full”*. Rui said he had applied to and had now been accepted to do a BTEC first diploma in performing arts.

“In my time, when I was studying, I started looking at- looking at colleges. I went there, to Directions, I asked and they told me. And then, myself with my aunt, we went to (see) the courses I want to do. (...) (My mum) she said, ‘then, if you don’t want to study, don’t study. That is your problem. If you don’t want to go anywhere in life.’ But I decided not to study for the fact that they didn’t teach much. But I had this ambition of- when I’m 16 years old, to go and study 3 years in a college. That’s it. (...)”

My objectives, first is to finish college. To finish college. Then, find a job, a good job, a job that takes me somewhere. (...) What is a job with a future? It’s a good job, like, how can I put it? In an office. As long as it’s not cleaning, like, toilets.”

Rui, 15yr

Os meus objectivos, primeiro é acabar o colégio. Acabar o colégio. Depois aí, arranjar um trabalho, um bom trabalho, um trabalho que me leve a algum lado. (...) O que é um emprego com futuro? É um bom emprego, assim, como é que hei-de explicar? Num escritório. Desde que não esteja a limpar, assim, casas-de-banho.”

5.3.5 Francisco & Eduardo

Francisco and Eduardo are brothers. They came from Madeira, with their mother and younger brother, to join their father who had been working in London for 4 years. Initially, the whole family lived in one bedroom, with the children sleeping on the floor. Later, the landlady rented them a second room and they continued living in this house for two years. However, the landlady suffered from severe mood changes, which Francisco and Eduardo’s mother attributed to diabetes. On one occasion, as the boys were leaving to go to school, the landlady threw a knife at them. Frightened, the youngest son left home crying and was seen by a person who worked at the Primary school he was attending. This person found out what was happening and alerted the authorities. The family was moved to a Bed & Breakfast and, subsequently, after moving three more times, were finally given a council flat.

Francisco

Francisco, the eldest boy, finished his Primary school in Madeira. Given his age in 1994, he would have attended school for 6 years. However, he only reached year 4 of Primary education, which would indicate that he already had academic difficulties whilst attending school in Madeira. In London, he joined secondary school, Year 7. Francisco abandoned school completely in year 10. First, he started missing some lessons, then some days in the week. He used to leave home in the morning to go to school, in school uniform, and returned home as soon as the parents had left to work. One day, the Police caught him in the park during school hours and took him back to school. The school wrote home to the parents. Francisco started going to school again but was embarrassed to go back after so many absences. Eventually, he stopped going altogether. One day, the mother found in the rubbish bin, at home, a letter from the school, in Portuguese, stating that Francisco, in the mother's words "had been expelled. That he couldn't go to that school any more". It was then that a woman, they couldn't explain who this woman² was, went to talk to the family and told them about the existence of the Training Scheme. Francisco joined the Training Scheme and obtained an NVQ certificate. At the time of the interview, he was considering continuing his education, studying Information Technology.

Eduardo

Eduardo was only 9 years old when he came to London. He joined a local primary school and later the same secondary school his elder brother was attending. According to his mother, *"he is very behind in his reading and writing. Already in Madeira, he had some help. Here, he also had (some help), but his head..."* In the English primary school, things started well. He had a teacher "to help him learn how to study" and another person in the classroom to help him and the other children that could not read. Although he enjoyed his work in primary school, his behaviour and relations with colleagues were not the best and he often got home with his shirt torn. According to Eduardo, he started to

² This person was most likely the Education Welfare Officer.

follow around his friends and loose interest in schoolwork already in primary school. In secondary school, year 7 went all right. Then, in year 8 and more so in year 9, he started going around with friends again. Eduardo says *“I started not studying anything. Maths? I didn’t do anything. Many classes, I entered the room but I didn’t do anything. Then the classes I didn’t like, I started not going to.”*

This coincided with changes in the teaching staff. He said he didn’t like working with the new teachers. Also at this time, the Portuguese classes, which were included in the mainstream, were divided into two groups. He was separated from his friends and his group had a new Portuguese teacher to whom he had difficulty relating. His behaviour in class was very poor and he often had detention. According to his mother, his colleagues were quite afraid of him. In the autumn term, Eduardo stopped going to school altogether.

Some time after he left school, it was not clear when, the family received a letter with an appointment for Eduardo, which they attended, regarding the possibility of his entering another school, a school Eduardo describes as being for people who can’t read or write. He says:

“Myself and my mum, we went there one day and... they call that a- a doctor, it’s like a doctor, ‘doctor something’. And she has a book to see if you have problems with your head, to see how much you know. She shows you the drawings and you need to say. - then she said ‘OK. You’re gonna go downstairs’. And we went.”

The following day, Eduardo returned for a second appointment, accompanied by a family friend, as the mother had to go to work.

Then, they showed me the things, and then she (doctor) said, ‘then you go downstairs with a teacher. She will ask you some questions and then you say, that’s to see what you know’. Then I went there. She said it was for me to do some things. And then she said ‘OK. Give me your phone number and your address and then you- I’ll call you- to tell you the day you start that school’ and then never called me. (...)”

“She said she calls me. She said she didn’t write. I can’t read.”

“Ela disse qu’ela me chama. Ela me disse que não escrevia. Eu não sei ler.”

At the time of the interview, Eduardo was still awaiting to be contacted again confirming his acceptance, but neither he nor his parents knew with certainty who was supposed to contact whom, nor how to get in touch with this person or organisation again.

Regarding his plans for the future, Eduardo said he was already learning to work as a mechanic with his godfather, but wouldn't consider attending a Training Scheme like that his brother attended:

“To go there, no. I don't know. If I go to school, it's not to study reading or anything. If I went, to take a mechanic's course or things like that. To read, I'll never go”.

Eduardo, 14yr

5.3.6 Isabel

Isabel came to live in London with her family when she was 7 years old. She did most of her primary school here. At 11, she entered the same secondary school that her sister (2 years her senior) was already attending. It was the school nearest to their home. It was the same school that her brother (two years younger) would later attend. Her first impressions of the school were quite positive. She felt that the teachers made an effort to help the students by staying in the classroom at lunchtime.

Isabel truanted during year 10 because her peers pressured her to do so. She would miss occasional days, one or two at a time, and then return to school. Eventually, her Head of Year talked to her and she decided to stop truanting. Isabel says:

“My work, because of the GCSEs, began to get all behind because I had been missing (classes). And then when I stopped missing (classes) and went back to the lessons, what was harder was having to go back (...) and start again. And then having to start the year again.”

Isabel felt let down by the school. She felt that someone from the school should have talked to her much earlier to stop her truanting. Further, she had difficulty filling in the college enrolment form. As this took place during the period of GCSE examinations, she did not have contact with her teachers and ended up missing the enrolment period for the college. She could have applied the following year but:

*“The course I wanted to study, **Business Administration**, for me, the GCSEs that I had, the colleges would not accept me and here (Training Scheme) I would not need any GCSE.”*

*“O curso que eu queria tirar, **Business Administration**, que p’ra mim, os GCSEs que eu tinha, os colégios não me iam aceitar e que aqui não era preciso GCSEs nenhum.”*

Isabel

Isabel found out about the Training Scheme from her sister, who had also attended it.

5.3.7 Cristina

Cristina was born in London. Her parents separated before she was 13. Her father, with whom she is still in touch, already had a son from a previous marriage. Her mother has a second daughter. She attended a Catholic Secondary school for girls in a borough neighbouring to Lambeth, which she describes as being very strict and difficult to get a place at. Schooling went well up to year 9, which coincided with the birth of her younger sister. Until year 9, she did her work, listened in the lessons and had good reports. Then, she lost interest. She says it was not due to the work being too difficult. The school had a homework club and there were always teachers available to help the students.

“I never used to not going to school to go out with my friends. I used to not go to school and stay at home, to pretend I was ill or not feeling well or something.”

Cristina had difficulty in Science, but having always been in the top group, she felt embarrassed asking for help.

“In my school there’s certain classes for the- for your ability and I was at the top classes so obviously if you’re in the top classes, you’re supposed to know, i’nnit? You’re supposed to understand it. And I wouldn’t want to be (gestures to indicate behind) the other girls. They understood and they’d do it. And I- I just didn’t understand anything. Even in the tests I was, sometimes just used to sit down and not do them. And I used to revise, bu’ I just didn’t understand it. Now I think I should ‘ave asked for help. (...) ‘Cause I remember I used to find Sci- History really difficult and in year 11 I told my teacher and then after school I used to go every Tuesday and Thursday for an extra hour to get more help, but the Science... and the teacher’s really strict as well. So, didn’t really wanna ask. ‘Cause he shouted at me in front of the class.”

Cristina would try and take days off when she had the lessons she did not like. Her mother started taking her to school to make sure she attended every day, but she was only there in presence. She did sit for GCSEs and entered college, but only because the school had secure places at that college. She started missing college for weeks at a time, staying with friends, sometimes for several days. Eventually, she was, in her words, **“kicked out of college”**. Cristina found out about the Training Scheme through a friend and joined to study Business Administration but had not lost hope of reapplying to a college to study Leisure and Tourism, this being what she really wanted to do.

5.4 Issues arising from the above

5.4.1 School curriculum with regard to students who are recent arrivals to the country (or who arrived between the ages of 5-16)

It is difficult for the students who came from Portugal during their secondary education to adapt to a new school system, a new curriculum, and a different way of teaching. For some of those students, this change of system may often mean a discrepancy of more than one year between the year group they were attending in Portugal and here in the UK. None of the six students who had been born abroad had been assessed on entry to the school in order to identify possible difficulties or areas of knowledge that could be built upon and, therefore, to ease the transition between the systems of education. With the exception of English as an Additional Language, they were very much left to their own survival strategies. There was no link between their development as supported by EAL and the various areas of the curriculum. This meant that either they were not able to follow what was going on in classes or else they would be put in groups that did not necessarily correspond to their abilities.

For these students, the differences between what they expected from the school and what the system would give them, coupled with low teacher expectation, often came across as a view of the teachers failing to teach them:

"I was the best (student) in there (EAL class) and the teacher never asked me to read, why should I go there? (...) I only wanted to go to that school to learn to speak English. But then I stayed at home and I learnt at home. That school is for asses."

Valter

"Eu era o melhor que tava lá dentro e o professor nunca mandava eu ler p'ra qu'é qu'eu vou ir? (...) Eu só queria ir p'ra escola p'ra aprender a falar inglês. Mas só que eu fiquei em casa e aprendi em casa. Aquela escola é de burros."

Valter

“It was get in and start. Nothing else. I had to adapt on my own. They didn’t- didn’t do any test.” Roberto

Roberto- In Maths it was very easy things.

Olga- Did you try to tell the teacher that you could do more than that?

Roberto-

Yes, and he would only give that to the students (...)

Olga- Did you try and ask to go to those (higher) groups?

Roberto-

They didn’t let me go because you had to speak more English. Your English had to be stronger to go to those groups.”

“The (Maths) teacher always sent me to the computer, never gave me any work to do. He sent me to the computer but it was to play games. (...) When I got there and started to answer all the questions that the teacher asked, then the teacher said: You know more or less the work we are going to study these three months, so everyday, when you get here you go to the computer. That’s what the teacher said.” Raul

“The teaching isn’t very good. (...) The teachers- didn’t teach much. Especially, the Science teacher.” Rui

“The work was easy for me to do (...). (The exams) I think they were very different. Half of them were different from what we did in the lessons.” Isabel

5.4.2 Academic support and re-integration

Support for students who have truanted or missed school, regarding their re-integration was an aspect that needed improving. It would appear that the school expected the students to take the initiative to ask for help. However, this is a point narrowly linked with self-esteem and only one student (Cristina) had felt confident enough to ask for help, but even for her it was not easy:

“They said if I did carry on (missing school) they’d have to- take me off the school- the exam (sadly). It is very hard to get into that school and if you-re just- if you can’t be bothered to go in, then, they can’t be bothered to teach you, so just tell you to leave. In the end, I did start to go in, but then, homework... (sadly)” Cristina

“I could also have had better grades if it hadn’t been that story of staying 6 months out of school. I missed a lot of subject work. Then when I started

again at school, on top of it all, it was a different subject work from that (previous) school. It was even more difficult to do the work in this (new) school.” Roberto

“ When I get to year 10, they didn’t help me, because they said it was full stop. It was year 10 and we were all pushing for the GCSEs in year 11 and the teachers said that, whoever wanted help could go there and ask, those who didn’t need it... could stay there or not.” Isabel

5.4.3 Socio-economic factors, self-esteem and pastoral support

It is clear from what was described above that socio-economic difficulties were at play here. These cannot be disassociated from the way a student faces their school life. Socio-economic difficulties are linked to changes of address and of school. They can disrupt academic progress and often lead to lack of achievement and low self-esteem. There is also a danger that students may look for prestige amongst their peers through the wrong type of activities or bad behaviour.

The school’s pastoral support, by caring for the social and emotional needs of the students, could and should be a way of avoiding loss of motivation and disaffection. However, in the case of these students, the school pastoral support appears to have been, if anything, insufficient.

*Eduardo - In the class,(...) nobody messes with me.(...) ‘cause I’m the greatest one around there.
Mother – They more than afraid of you...!”*

*Eduardo- Lá da classe, (...) ninguém se mete comigo, qu’eu sou (...) o maior de lá.
Mãe – Têm máí medo de ti!...*

“In Madeira, I wasn’t going to miss school, because in Madeira I liked the school. I was the eldest in there. In Madeira, it was good.” Valter

“They (the school), to those that speak English, they try to solve to the problems and those that can’t speak (English), which was my case, thank God it is not anymore, they don’t do anything. Leave it there. And when I went to that school, I couldn’t speak any English, nothing, nothing, nothing. I only knew those things you learn there in Portugal.” Roberto

“The teachers should have got together and talked to me, to find out what was going on and help me not to truant.” Isabel

“Olga- Was there anyone at school to whom you could go and talk to and say you were having difficulty with those subjects?”

Valter- There was the Portuguese teacher but I didn’t want to talk to her.

Olga- Why not?”

Valter-She could say something, that’s, I should learn on my own, so I never went.”

“The teachers are better in that college (Training Project). Better than at school. (...) They don’t send us out. Like, if a person is not (behaving) well in the classroom, they send us out. To call them (teachers at the Training Project) you don’t need to say Miss or anything. They told us to call them their own names.” Francisco

5.4.4 Final qualifications (GCSE); schools advice on careers and other forms of qualification;

Only two students, Cristina and Roberto, in his second school, remembered having talked to someone at school regarding career advice. Nevertheless, others like Rui and Isabel sought advice outside the school. With regard to GCSE, the students felt that the exams were either not relevant for them or that they were unfair given that they had had limited access to the curriculum, both in terms of time and in terms of support with the work. For some, the exams represented a hurdle that they couldn’t even face.

“If it hadn’t been so difficult, I’d been doing my exams.”

“Se não tivesse sido tão difícil, eu ‘tava a fazer os meus exames.”

Raul

“There was the test and they didn’t teach anything of the test. And I (wasn’t going to) only stay there because of the test, so I got out. What am I doing there?” Valter

“I think they (GCSE exams) were very different. Half of them were different from what we did in the classes.” Isabel

5.4.5 Parental involvement = empowering the parents through access to information

Although there are guidelines for schools taking pupils off-roll, these involve writing home to parents who, in the case of ethnic minorities children, may not speak English and depend on their truanting child to read those letters. Parents were often faced with awkward situations in their everyday life and depend on their children to solve them. This meant that they could not demand to obtain information they were entitled to or, as in the case of Roberto and Eduardo's parents, take the little help that was being offered.

As the parents work at odd hours, leaving home very early in the morning, they can have no control over whether their youngster chooses to go to school or merely pretends to go. Some parents attended or tried to attend parent evenings at the English school. Their working life did not always allow it. For others, the language barrier was too high. Furthermore, going to school outside the dates set for those meetings seemed to be synonymous with 'trouble at school'. For the parents, going to the school, to talk with the teachers, was a move that had to be initiated by the school itself. Nevertheless, the parents expected the school to keep them informed of any problems. Not going to every parent's evening did not mean they were not interested in their child's education. When this failed, they, understandably, lost faith in the system.

"There (Madeira) he had my Mum and my Dad always- checking the hour you go, the hour you arrived. Always they would go to school to see if he was absent or not. (...) My Mum and Dad don't speak English. (Here) They couldn't go to the school. We could only know as the letters arrived."

Irene (Raul's sister)

"Lá (na Madeira) ele tinha a minha Mãe e o meu Pai sempre- a verificar a hora que se vai, a hora que se chega. Sempre, eles iam à escola a ver se ele faltava ou não. (...) A minha Mãe e o meu Pai não falam inglês. (aqui) Não podiam ir à escola. Só podíamos saber à medida que as cartas chegavam."

Irene (irmã do Raul)

“Olga- Did your mum ever go to your school?”

Rui- She didn't have to. I wasn't, like, unruly. So, I don't think she needed to. (...) She always asked 'Did you do your homework?', and I say 'yes'.

Olga- What about her asking the school?”

Rui- I don't think she had a lot of time. 'Cause she's always working and when she got home from work she was tired. (...) She used to work, it was from 8 in the morning until 9.”

“They (my parents) used to say that the school was a clique (uns compadres), that the teachers would never help anyone.” Isabel

“My father said, 'If I could speak English, the teacher would hear from me'.” Valter

“Olga- Your parents there (in Madeira) did they use to go to school to talk to the teachers?”

*Valter- **Of course.***

Olga- And here, did they ever go?”

Valter- They don't go because they can't speak English. (...)

Olga- You mean, you missed school for three months and the school didn't call your parents, didn't write home?”

Valter- And if they would write, I would tear it up. If they were to write, I would get it and tear it up. But I didn't get any. (...) One day, the Police caught me. (...) They took me to school. Then if my parents didn't come or phoned, I would be expelled. So I got my brother to call them (the school).”

5.4.6 Education as a way of social promotion

Education was viewed by the parents as a way of social promotion, as a way of their children escaping the type of jobs that they, parents, had to endure. For the children, however, this was not as clear. Whilst some would consider doing some course or further education later on, others would not even face the prospect of going back to school.

“The most that can happen now is to find him a private college and put him in a private college. Otherwise, his school year has finished. Of course, a boy with three years of English isn't going to be brilliant, isn't it? As he isn't brilliant, he doesn't have many chances of entering whatever it may be. He did some time ago, some- aptitude tests that only gave him, he would only find a job as – street cleaner, or what was it? Gardener. It was gardener, street cleaner and don't know what else. I said, 'Look, thank you very much for the English system. You should try much harder for him to try his best and try to learn as much English as possible so that you would really give him- a better future'.” Roberto's father

"I am here because of them. I like them to study. A little bit of English, because, tomorrow, you, with a little course, you'll get your position (empregozinho). Not like their father, who's been here for 10 years washing dishes." Francisco and Eduardo's father

"She (my Mum) used to say 'you don't go into college, what you're gonna do with your life? You're not gonna get anywhere without any qualifications, anything'. She's proud of me now, 'cause when I got kicked out, she was like 'Ah, what you're gonna do now? You're gonna be a cleaner.'" Cristina

"My mum wants me to go to college (...) So that when I grow up I have a job not- not- like my (brothers), to have a more better job. (...) But I don't want to any more." Valter

"No. I've studied too much up to now." Isabel

5.4.7 Portuguese classes

All the students interviewed had, at some point in their school career, attended Portuguese classes. With the exception of Cristina, all students had attended a school where Portuguese classes were part of the mainstream curriculum. However, there appeared to be no link between the Portuguese classes and supporting the students in their school life or a link between the Mother tongue classes and the rest of the school life. Only one student, Roberto, reports being helped academically in other subjects by the Portuguese teacher, but this help was informal and temporary. More importantly, only one of these students had taken GCSE Portuguese examination.

"Olga- Do you think, if you had been a little bit more brave, maybe, to talk to her (Portuguese teacher), do you think she could have helped you in any way? Talk to the other teachers?"

Valter- I don't know, but also, she can't do that. She's only the Portuguese teacher and nothing else."

Olga- Achas que se tivesses tido um bocadinho mais de coragem, se calhar, p'ra falar com ela (prof. de Português), achas que ela te podia ter ajudado de alguma maneira? Falar com os professores ingleses?"

Valter- Não sei, mas também, ela não pode fazer disso. Ela só é professora de Português e nada mais."

“Miss (Portuguese teacher’s name) helped me a lot, but then she moved to that catholic school, (...) to teach Portuguese in the afternoons. (...) She was a good teacher. She used to help me do the things of the other subjects, to try and teach me things, try and tell me- what I had to do.”
Roberto

“Let’s say it was as if I had- as if- when I stopped Portuguese in the school there in Portugal, as if I were continuing after two years.” Roberto

“A bore!” Isabel

“Knowing Portuguese helped me get a GCSE in Spanish.” Cristina

“Once I left, then my Mum tried to get me back into it (Portuguese classes). (...)I knew that they (my friends) were in higher classes and I didn’t wanted to get put down. I knew I would be with younger children.”
Cristina

5.5 Reflecting on the findings

The issues described above are, by themselves, capable of affecting the school career of the students characterised. However, it is important to remember that they interact and create a multifaceted problem. They cannot be separated. Each student’s career path should be viewed not as the result of a single cause, but as the interaction of multiple issues. This interaction, often simultaneous, can lead into a spiral of lack of motivation, disaffection and despair. Notwithstanding each individual’s response to the situation, we can see here how societal and institutional pressure, reflected through the issues identified in the previous section, leads to self-exclusion as a means of escaping that pressure.

In the case of the students whose stories are described above, issues relating to socio-economic difficulties are coupled with language and academic difficulties. Not only do these pose questions concerning the validity of the school curriculum, taking into account the schools intake characteristics, but also concerning issues relating to students’ welfare. The school with the highest number of students taken off-roll was also the school where there appeared to be a pattern of constant new arrivals. This raises issues

concerning the priority and administration of school resources vis-à-vis not only students who are EAL beginners but also those categorised as 'fluent'. Although these children have been integrated within the mainstream, they have not truly been given access to the mainstream curriculum. Their academic knowledge developed in another country, and that of the Portuguese language, is ignored. Instruction is focused on the assessment instruments of the dominant educational ideology, the exam, rather than on developing the students' existing abilities and allowing them to develop a solid basis to achieve success in life.

The students who had attendance problems in a secondary school and were known to have been admitted to another³, continued truanting and eventually dropped out of school altogether. It should be noted that half of the students interviewed have siblings who were themselves truants. Overall, these students' stories highlight the need for the involvement of the various partners (families, Portuguese and mainstream teachers, education welfare and others) in their education, which would confirm Pearce and Hillman's point (1998) of taking a multifaceted view of disaffection. From this point of view, it is interesting to consider that, although these students appear to be disillusioned with education, they want to be active members of society. However, in terms of education, their point of view of achievement may not correspond to the traditional, or expected, end of schooling exams. Not surprisingly, education is viewed as a means to getting employment, as training, rather than as personal development and enrichment. This will certainly affect the students' self-esteem and idea of achievement.

In these families, the expectations held for the educational achievement of their children are very low and the school, as an important societal instrument, surely appears to have contributed to that. These parents do not have the power to demand their existing rights or negotiate forms of interaction, let alone challenge elements of an institution such as the educational system. They are not equal partners in their children's education. Rather than being

³ Valter had been admitted twice to the same school and two other students who dropped out could also be identified as having enrolled in a second school. Only Roberto was known to continue studying.

participants in a relationship of mutual solidarity towards achieving the best possible educational outcome for the students, they are relegated to a position of 'us' (powerless) versus 'them' (powerful).

Thus, although these individuals want to be productive members of society, they do not appear to have access to the social capital or the social resources that the society can offer. Despite their goal being one of promoting their social standing through education, they appear to have fallen through the 'safety net' of institutional procedures at school and their parents do not possess the economic, human, social or cultural capital to access resources inside nor outside school. If we consider, as Duffy (1995) proposes, that social exclusion is about processes by which individuals or groups become isolated from major societal mechanisms that produce or distribute social resources, then this group can certainly be considered to be experiencing its effects.

5.6 Summary

This chapter investigates how the problem of school disaffection, identified in schools taking part in this study, concerns students from the Portuguese community. A group of students who were either long-term truants or had dropped out of school altogether was identified and the reasons leading to their disenchantment with school life are explored. These reasons relate not only to factors outside school control, such as socio-economic difficulties, but also to other aspects where schools can have a direct influence. Amongst these, we can count the school curriculum, academic and pastoral support for students, careers advice and parental involvement. It would appear that, for these students, given the difficulties faced, their integration in a mainstream classroom did not lead to having the same learning opportunities as their monolingual peers.

Chapter 6 – Statistical Analysis of End of Key Stage Assessment Data

Chapter 6 – Statistical Analysis of End of Key Stage Assessment Data 171

6.1	Introduction	172
6.2	Effect of attendance at mother tongue classes	175
6.2.1	Key Stage 1	175
6.2.1.1	Results achieved by the children in the sample	175
6.2.1.2	Comparison of results with borough and national averages	178
6.2.1.3	Statistical analysis	179
6.2.2	Key Stage 2	183
6.2.2.1	Comparison of results with borough and national averages	188
6.2.2.2	Statistical analysis	189
6.2.3	Key Stage 3	191
6.2.3.1	Comparison of results with borough and national averages	195
6.2.3.2	Statistical analysis	195
6.2.4	Key Stage 4	198
6.2.4.1	Subjects taken	198
6.2.4.2	Grades achieved	200
	Comparison of results with borough and national averages:	203
6.2.4.4	Statistical analysis	204
6.3	Effect of length of residence: Children born in the United Kingdom, school entry and length of school attendance	206
6.3.1	Key Stage 1	206
6.3.2	Key Stage 2	209
6.3.3	Key Stage 3	213
6.3.4	Key Stage 4	217
6.4	Attendance at mother tongue classes	222
6.4.1	Key Stage 1	222
6.4.2	Key Stage 2	223
6.4.3	Key Stage 3	224
6.4.4	Key Stage 4	225
6.5	Main points arising from this chapter	227

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the quantitative data obtained from the larger sample of students. In order to make the data analysis more manageable, the chapter will be divided into separate sections. Each section starts with a “question” posed for each Key Stage.

A figure showing the distribution of the raw data, as indicated by the levels achieved in the different areas of assessment, will be shown for each “question”. A statistical analysis will follow the graphical representation of the data. The analysis will be made through comparisons between two groups, according to the variables being tested. The null hypothesis for each case is that there is no statistically significant difference between the groups¹.

The number of students in the sample used for the quantitative analysis does not correspond in its entirety to that in the demographic analysis (see Chapters 1 and 4). A detailed breakdown of the number of students removed from the sample can be seen in Figure 6.1 below. Students whose parents are from mixed marriages (one parent not Portuguese) or who come from Portuguese speaking countries (other than Portugal) were removed from the demographic data. Nevertheless, these students appear in local statistics, as their home language has been declared in school forms as Portuguese.

The data used in the statistical analysis do not include the results of:
children from families where one parent is not Portuguese (mixed families);

children on the SEN register, as indicated by the schools, and;

children who had arrived recently (less than 6 months), thus having entered school after the beginning of the Key Stage in question and whose schools had decided not to enter for the assessments.

¹ Or association with dependent variable.

The number of children whose end of Key Stage results are being considered for quantitative analysis and discussion in this chapter are as follows:

Key Stage 1 = 33 children

Key Stage 2 = 17 children

Key Stage 3 = 68 children

Key Stage 4 = 48 children.

As we can see from Figure 6.1, below, the data available include students who were recent arrivals and had only attended school for a limited period of time. According to QCA statutory guidance, these students can be disapplied from the end of Key Stage assessment if they have recently arrived in the country².

For all other students, a level or threshold, is delimited by the Department for Education as corresponding to what could be expected from most students attending each Key Stage. When a student achieves below that threshold, the result is indicated by a letter³ rather than specifying the exact level achieved. When this is the case, in order to avoid the results presented as a letter being treated as 'missing data' for statistical analysis, they have been coded as a zero. To remove these results from the data would, effectively, exclude all those students who achieved less than the nationally expected marks.

² In 1999, temporary disapplication could last up to 6 months (QCA 1999a,b,c).

³ In Key Stage 1, W= Working towards Level 1. In Key Stages 2 & 3, B= Below minimum expected level.

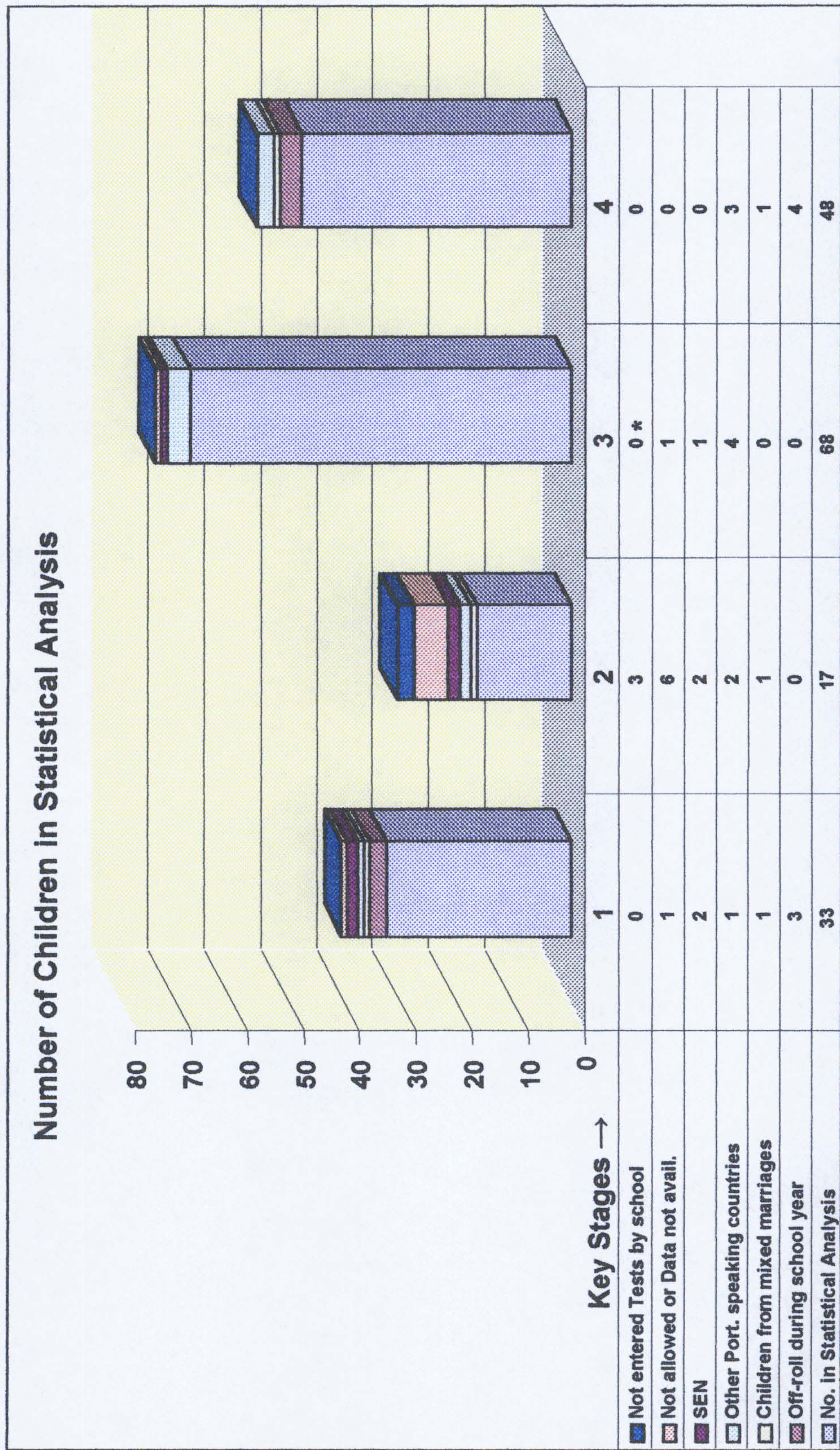


Figure 6. 1 - Number of students in sample

* This is not a true zero, as students not entered for tests in the core subject being assessed. Recently arrived students were entered for some but not all core subjects. For that reason, those numbers are not differentiated here. A detailed breakdown can be found in the KS3 analysis.

6.2 Effect of attendance at mother tongue classes

Is there a significant difference (or association with the dependent variable), in the end of Key Stage results, between Portuguese children attending mother tongue classes and those not attending?

6.2.1 Key Stage 1

At Key Stage 1, students' results are categorised into:

'Working towards level 1' (W) and Level 1, which represent achievement below the nationally expected standard for most 7 year olds;

Level 2 (L2) and grade B represents achievement at the nationally expected standard for this age group (L2C, L2B, and L2A); and

Levels 3 and 4 represent achievement above what would be expected.

6.2.1.1 Results achieved by the children in the sample

Reading Test:

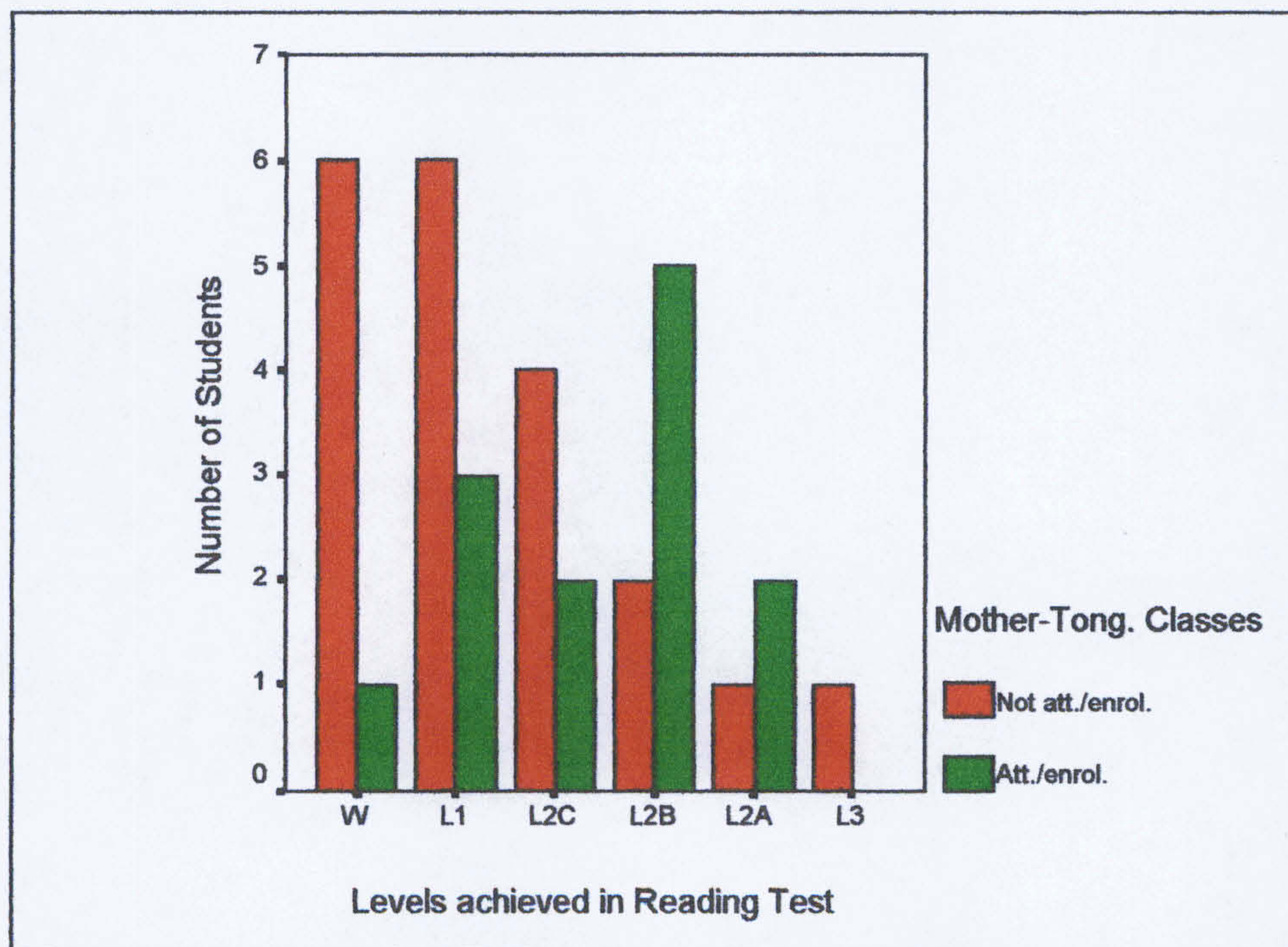


Figure 6. 2 - Number of students per level achieved in Reading Test (KS1)

When we look at the distribution of students' results according to attendance at mother tongue classes (Figure 6.2), we can see that the Reading Test results of the group of students not attending or enrolled in those classes appears to be skewed towards the left side of the graph. This corresponds to lower levels achieved in the end of key stage results. The results of the group of children attending mother tongue classes, although not forming a harmonious curve, appear to have greater tendency towards the higher grades. However, that tendency does not form a clear pattern.

Notwithstanding the fact that the numbers are small, most students (53%) attending mother tongue classes achieve results at or above the nationally expected for most of the students of this age. In the group of students not attending mother tongue classes, most students (80%) achieved below the expected Level 2B.

Nevertheless, if we consider the two groups together, most children in the sample (67%) achieved results that are below the nationally expected standard for this age group.

Writing Test:

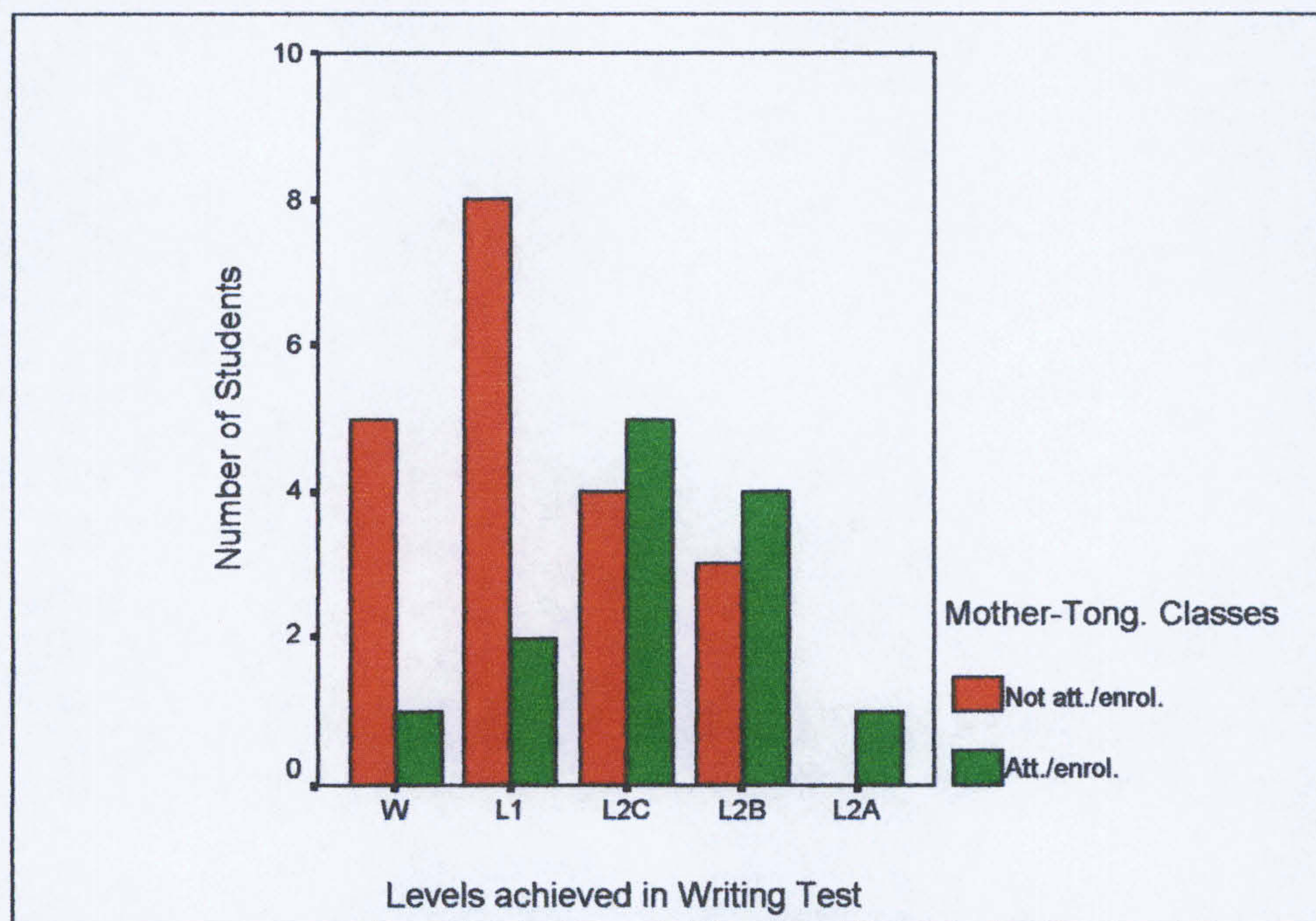


Figure 6. 3- Number of students per level achieved in Writing Test (KS1)

No children in either of the two groups achieved Level 3 in the Writing Test. Furthermore, most of the children (85%) in the group not attending mother tongue classes achieve results in the Writing Test that are below the nationally expected standard for most 7 year olds. Although the distribution of the results achieved by students attending mother tongue classes is skewed towards the centre-right of the graph (see Figure 6.3), corresponding to Levels 2C and 2B, most of the children in this group (62%) achieve results below Level 2B.

Taken altogether, the results of the two groups indicate that most (75%) children in the sample achieved results that are below the nationally expected standard for this age group.

Mathematics (Maths) Test:

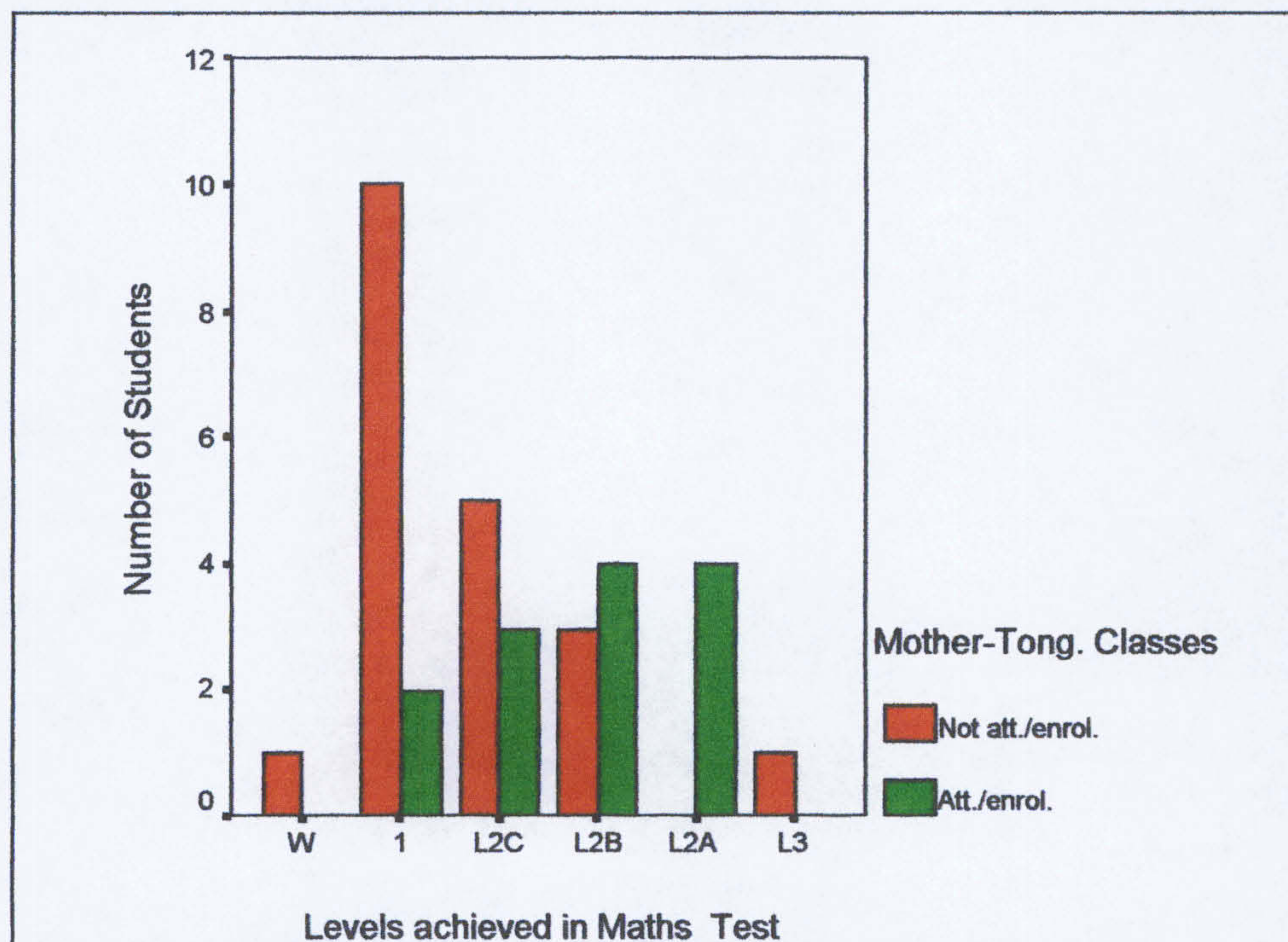


Figure 6. 4 - Number of students per level achieved in Maths Test (KS1)

In the Maths Test, as in the Writing Test, the results of the two groups (attending/not attending mother tongue classes) appear to be skewed in opposite directions (see Figure 6.4). Most of the children in the group not attending mother tongue classes (80%) achieved at or below Level 2C. Most of the children attending mother tongue classes (62%), on the other hand, achieved at or above Level 2B.

The results of the two groups taken together show that only 36% of the children achieved at or above Level 2B, the level that most children are expected to reach at this age.

6.2.1.2 Comparison of results with borough and national averages

We can see from the data above (Figures 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) that the group of students attending mother tongue classes tends to achieve results that are towards the higher end of the scale when compared to those not attending. Nevertheless, it is also important to measure these results against those attained by the children in the local Borough and nationally.

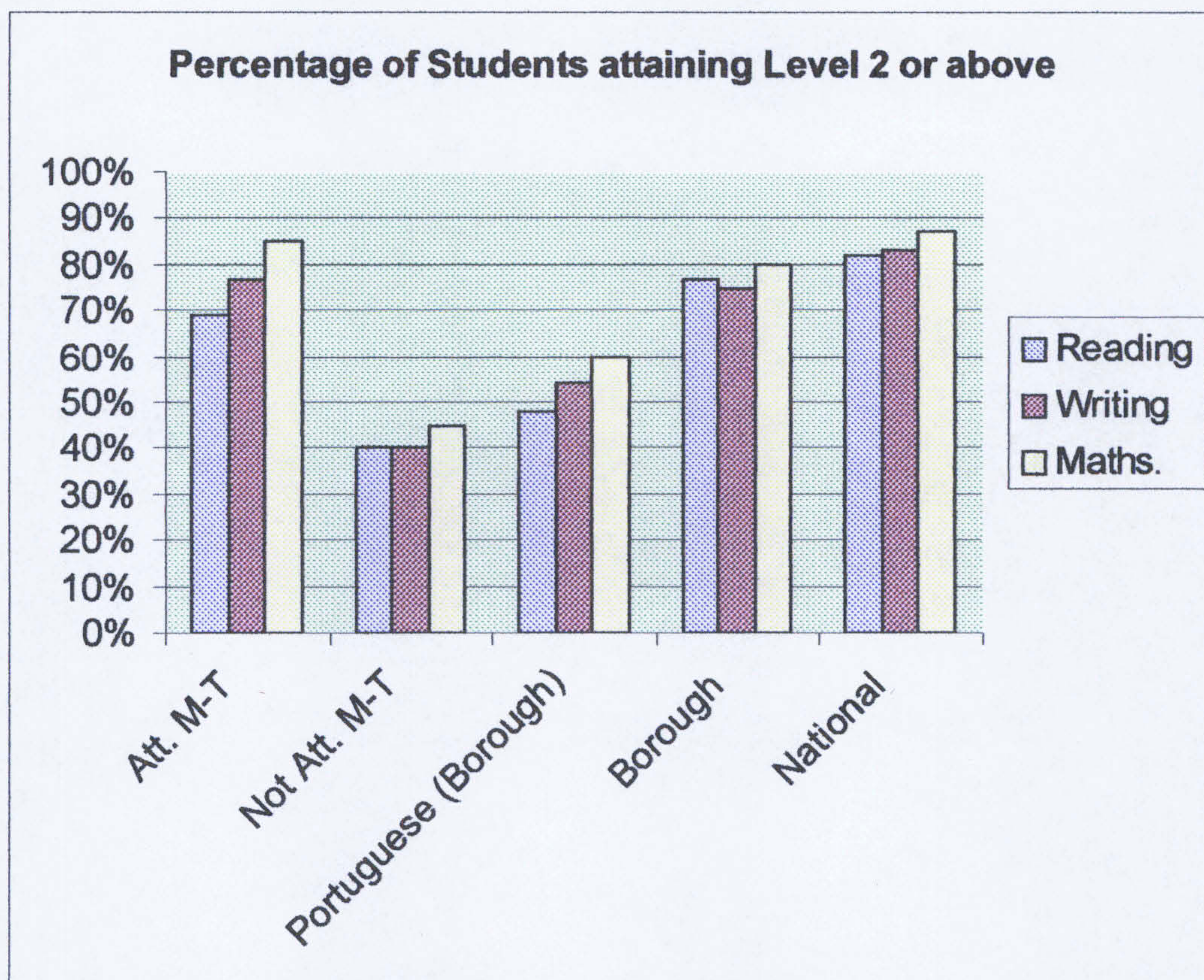


Figure 6.5 – KS1 - Comparison with borough and national averages

In 1999, the Portuguese students, as a group, (see Figure 6.5, above) achieved well below the local and national averages⁴ for this key stage. Nevertheless, the students who attend mother tongue classes (Att. M-T) achieve results that are comparable both to the local and to the national averages. The academic results of the students not attending these classes, on the other hand, fall behind all the other groups.

6.2.1.3 Statistical analysis

A statistical test was performed in order to compare the mean ranks of the results achieved by the two groups. Given that the number of children in the sample may not follow a normal distribution, a more robust non-parametric

⁴ See Appendix 1 for a table of these data.

statistical test (Mann-Whitney Test) was chosen (SPSS, v.9.0.1, 1999). The results of these statistical analyses are provided below.

In order to allow the quantification of Level 2, a numerical value was attributed to each categorical classification:

Working towards Level 1 (W) = 0

Level 1 = 1

Level 2C = 2

Level 2B = 3

Level 2A = 4

Level 3 = 5

No student taking part in the study, in Key Stage 1, reached Level 4 and, therefore, no results for this level were available for analysis.

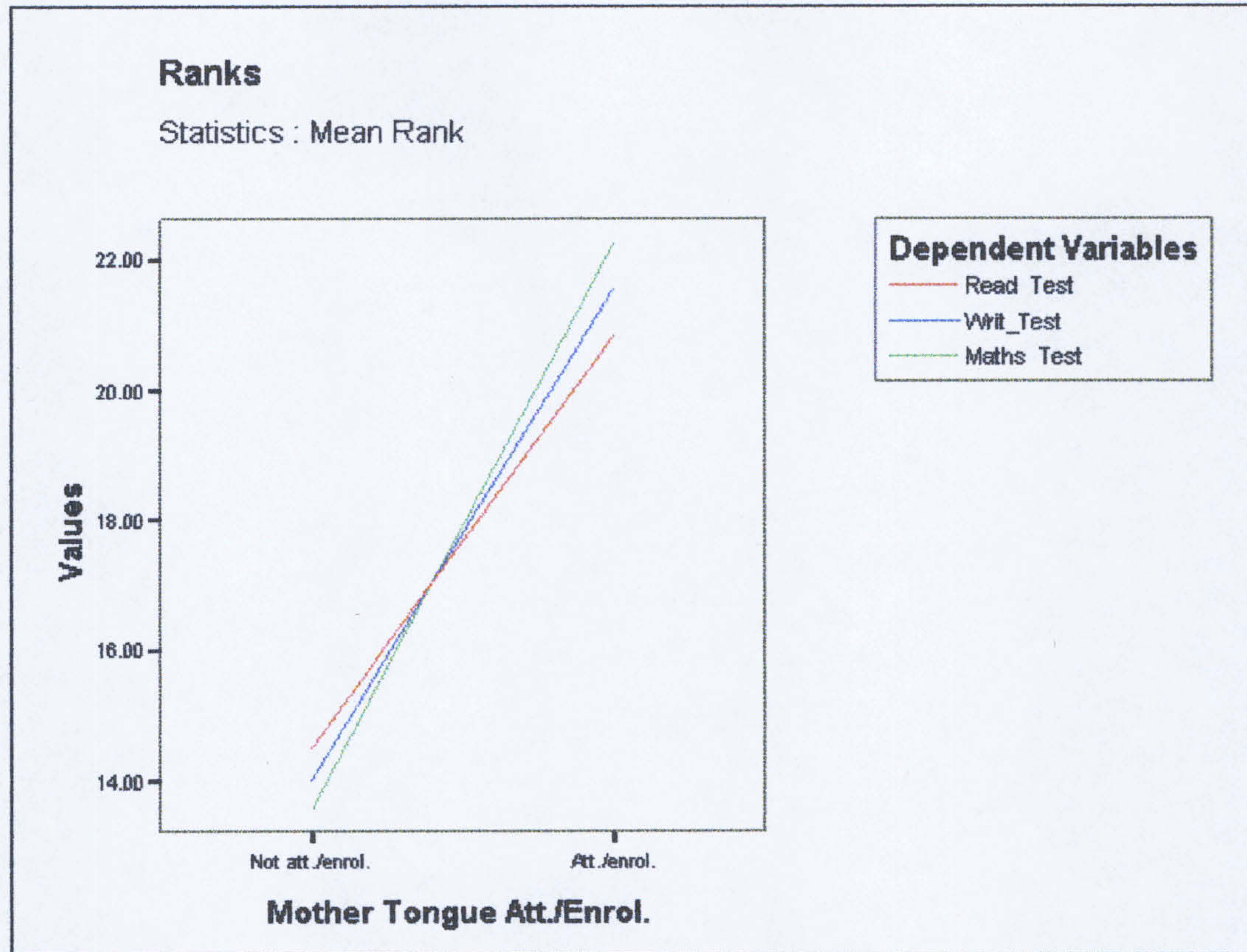
The following results were obtained for Key Stage 1:

Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks

	Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Read Test	Not att./enrol.	20	14.50	290.00
	Att./enrol.	13	20.85	271.00
	Total	33		
Writ_Test	Not att./enrol.	20	14.02	280.50
	Att./enrol.	13	21.58	280.50
	Total	33		
Maths Test	Not att./enrol.	20	13.57	271.50
	Att./enrol.	13	22.27	289.50
	Total	33		

Table 6. 1 - Mann-Whitney Test: Ranks (KS1)



Graph 6.1 - Mean rank (KS1)

The plot of the Mean Ranks obtained in the Mann-Whitney test confirms what was indicated by the earlier illustrations (Figs. 6.2 to 6.4) showing the distribution of the results obtained in the Reading, Writing and Maths tests: i.e. the group of children attending mother tongue classes appears to achieve higher results than the group not attending.

In order to assess whether this pattern could have been the result of chance alone, we determined the levels of significance⁵ as indicated in the test statistics below (Table 6. 2).

⁵ The asymptotic method assumes that the data set is reasonably large, and that tables are densely populated and well balanced. If the data set is small, or tables are sparse or unbalanced, the assumptions necessary for the asymptotic method have not been met and, according to SPSS Online Help (SPSS, v.9.0.1, 1999), the use of the Exact method is required. Therefore, whenever possible, an Exact significance was obtained.

Test Statistics ^b			
	Read Test	Writ_Test	Maths Test
Mann-Whitney U	80.000	70.500	61.500
Wilcoxon W	290.000	280.500	271.500
Z	-1.885	-2.265	-2.621
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.024	.009
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.068 ^a	.027 ^a	.010 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.020	.008
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.031	.012	.004
Point Probability	.002	.003	.000

a. Not corrected for ties.
b. Grouping Variable: Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.

Table 6. 2 - Mann-Whitney Test: Test statistics (KS1)

In the Mann-Whitney test performed with the Reading Test data (see Table 6.2, above), the level of significance obtained (0.059) is just above the cut out level of 0.05. Thus, this indicates that these results could conceivably occur by chance in a normal population. Nevertheless, the level of significance is not greatly exceeded and it is possible that, in a larger sample, the difference in mean ranks in the results attained between the groups of children would most likely be significant.

With regard to the Writing and the Maths⁶ tests, the levels of significance (p=0.020 and p=0.008, respectively) are well below what could be expected to occur by chance in a normal population distribution. For these two areas of knowledge, we can confidently reject the hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the results achieved by the groups. We can, therefore, say that the group of children attending mother tongue classes achieved significantly higher results in the Writing and Maths tests than the group not attending mother tongue classes.

Most children at the end of Key Stage 1 (Year 2) will have, nevertheless, attended mother tongue classes for only one year. Although these classes have

⁶ A strong association was also found (Chi-Square: Fisher's Exact test, 2-sided level of significance, 0.038) between the variables Attendance at mother tongue classes and Maths results.

a strong focus on the reading (particularly reading comprehension) and writing skills, there is no Maths input. The results achieved in this key stage could, therefore, reflect a high input from the parents in the early ages, helping at home, in Portuguese, with homework and teaching the basic skills to their children. Other factors, such as having time to take the children to the classes (and help them at home) as well as networks of support that make possible the transmission of useful information may also have contributed to these results. This will be further discussed in subsequent chapters.

6.2.2 Key Stage 2

At Key Stage 2, students' academic performance is assessed nationally on the main areas of English⁷, Maths and Science. Students' results are categorised into:

'Below the minimum expected level' (B) and Level 3, which represent achievement below the nationally expected standard for most 11 year olds;

Level 4 represents achievement at the nationally expected standard for this age group; and

Level 5 and above, representing achievement above what would be expected.

⁷ As it was not always possible to obtain a complete breakdown of the various components of the KS2 English Test results, only the Reading Comprehension (Reading test), and the Creative Writing (Writing test), as well as the global result (English test) are analysed separately here.

Reading Test:

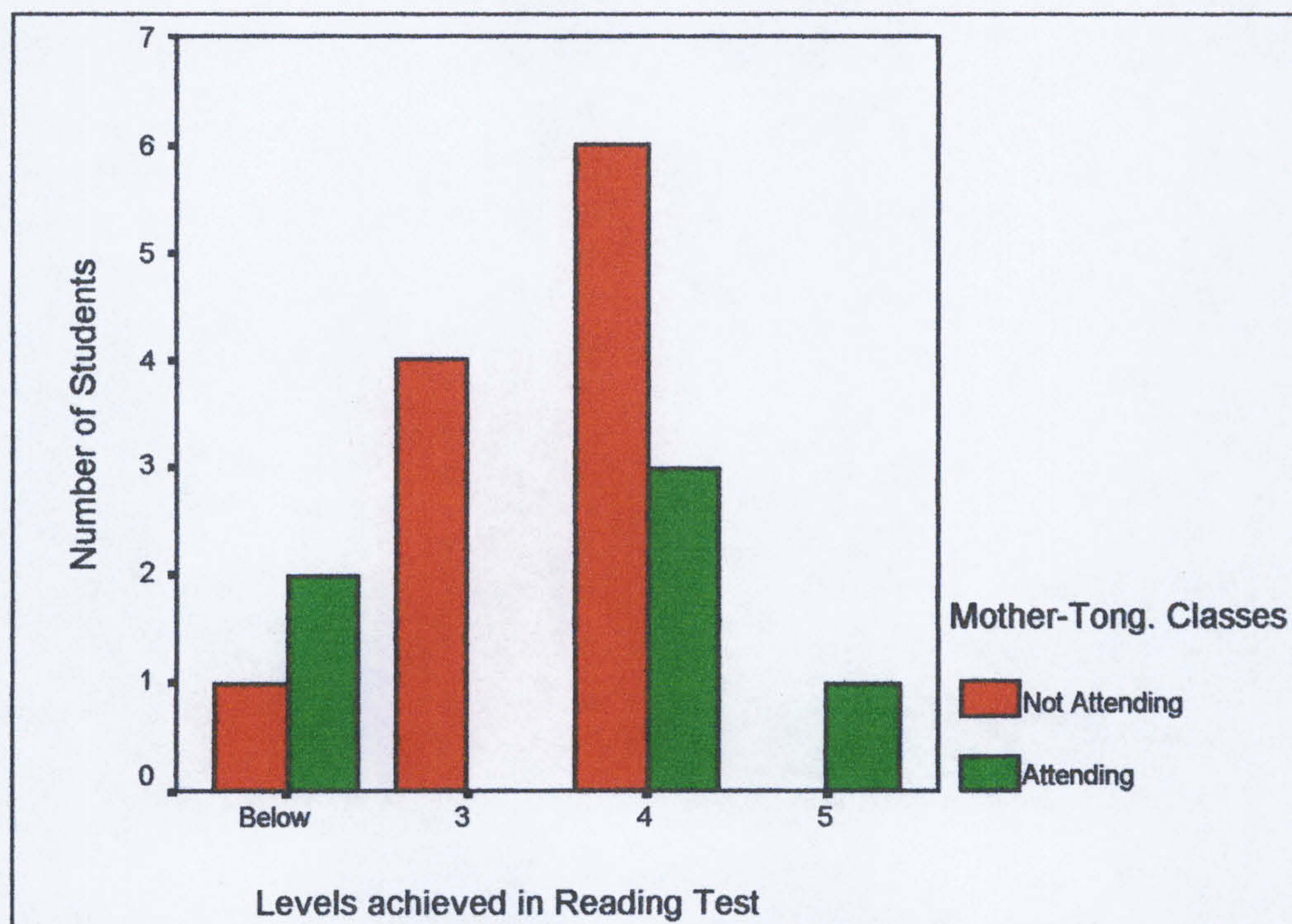


Figure 6. 6 - Number of students per level achieved in the Reading Test (KS2)

In this area of assessment, ten students (58%) achieve at or above the nationally expected Level 4. These results include both the children attending and those not attending mother tongue classes.

Of the students who do not attend mother tongue classes, only six (35%) have achieved the expected Level 4 in the Reading Test. However, none of the students not attending mother tongue classes achieved a level above the nationally expected.

Given the distribution of the results obtained by the two groups (see Figure 6.6), it is difficult to identify any patterns in the data. Nevertheless, it would appear that the results of the group attending mother tongue classes tend to be skewed towards the higher end of the scale.

Writing Test:

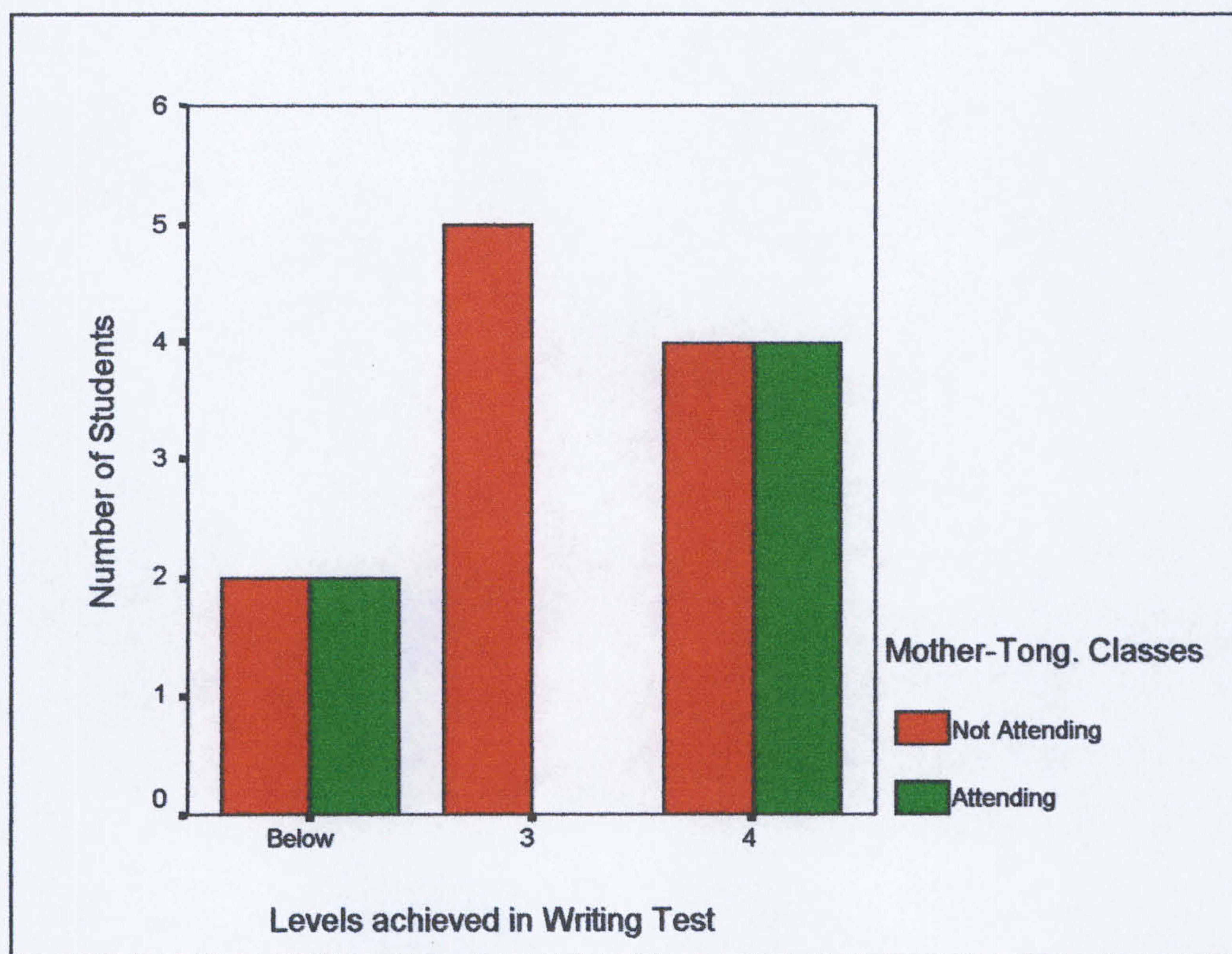


Figure 6. 7 - Number of students per level achieved in the Writing Test (KS2)

In the Writing Test, most students (seven students or 64%) in the group not attending mother tongue classes achieved below the nationally expected Level 4.

As was the case with the results of the Reading Test, the results of the group attending mother tongue classes appear divided. The majority of these students' results (4 students) are within the level expected. The remaining two, on the other hand, achieved results below the minimum expected. This division could be related to the date of entry into the country. Other factors, such as length of school attendance, could be affecting the results.

As a whole, in the Writing Test, the majority (9 out of 17) of the children in the sample achieved below the nationally expected Level 4.

English Test:

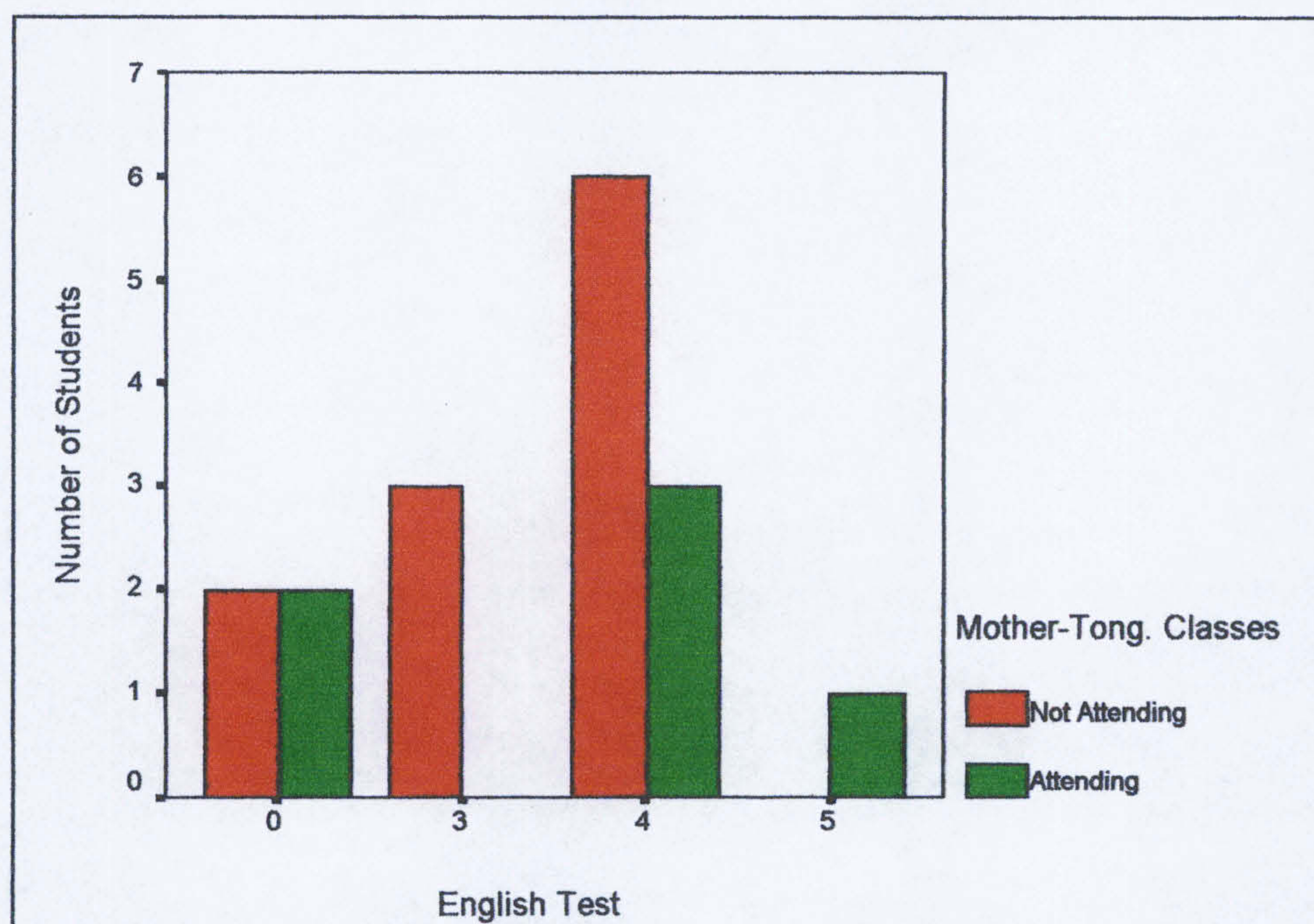


Figure 6. 8- Number of students per level achieved in the English Test (KS2)

The level obtained in the English test is a combined grade, resulting from the combination of various elements that include the Reading and Writing tests. Therefore, the pattern of distribution of the results achieved both by the group attending mother tongue classes and the group not attending, in Figures 6.6 and 6.7, is reflected on what we can see above (Figure 6.8).

Although we can see that most of the children attending mother tongue classes (67%) (against 55% of the children not attending) achieve at or above the expected Level 4, there does not seem to be a clear pattern to the distribution of the results. Through statistical analysis we are able to determine whether or not there is an association between the two variables: results achieved at the end of KS2 and attendance at mother tongue classes.

When the two groups are taken together, the results indicate that just over half of the children in the sample (59%) have attained at or above Level 4.

Maths Test:

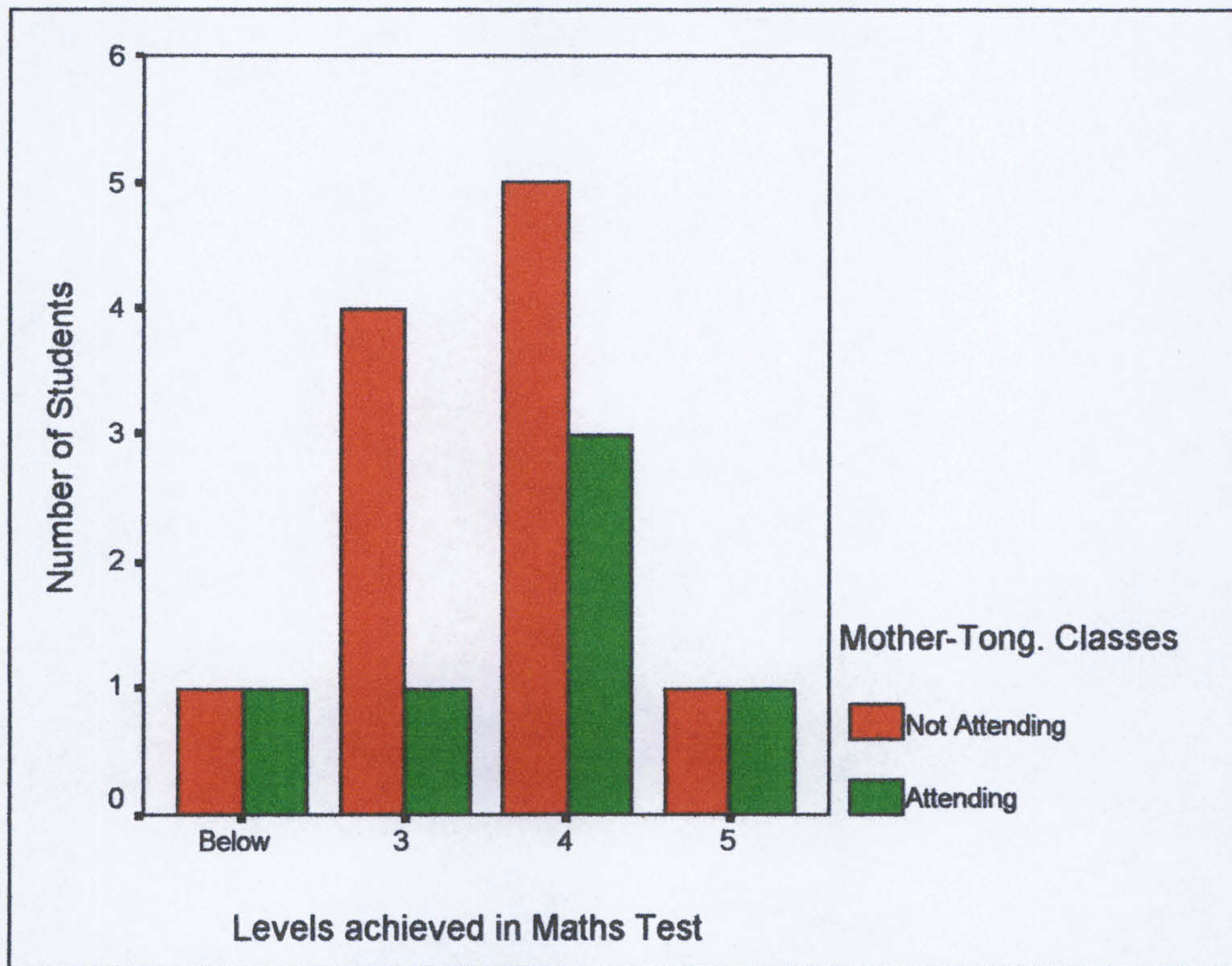


Figure 6. 9 - Number of students per level achieved in the Maths Test (KS2)

Science Test:

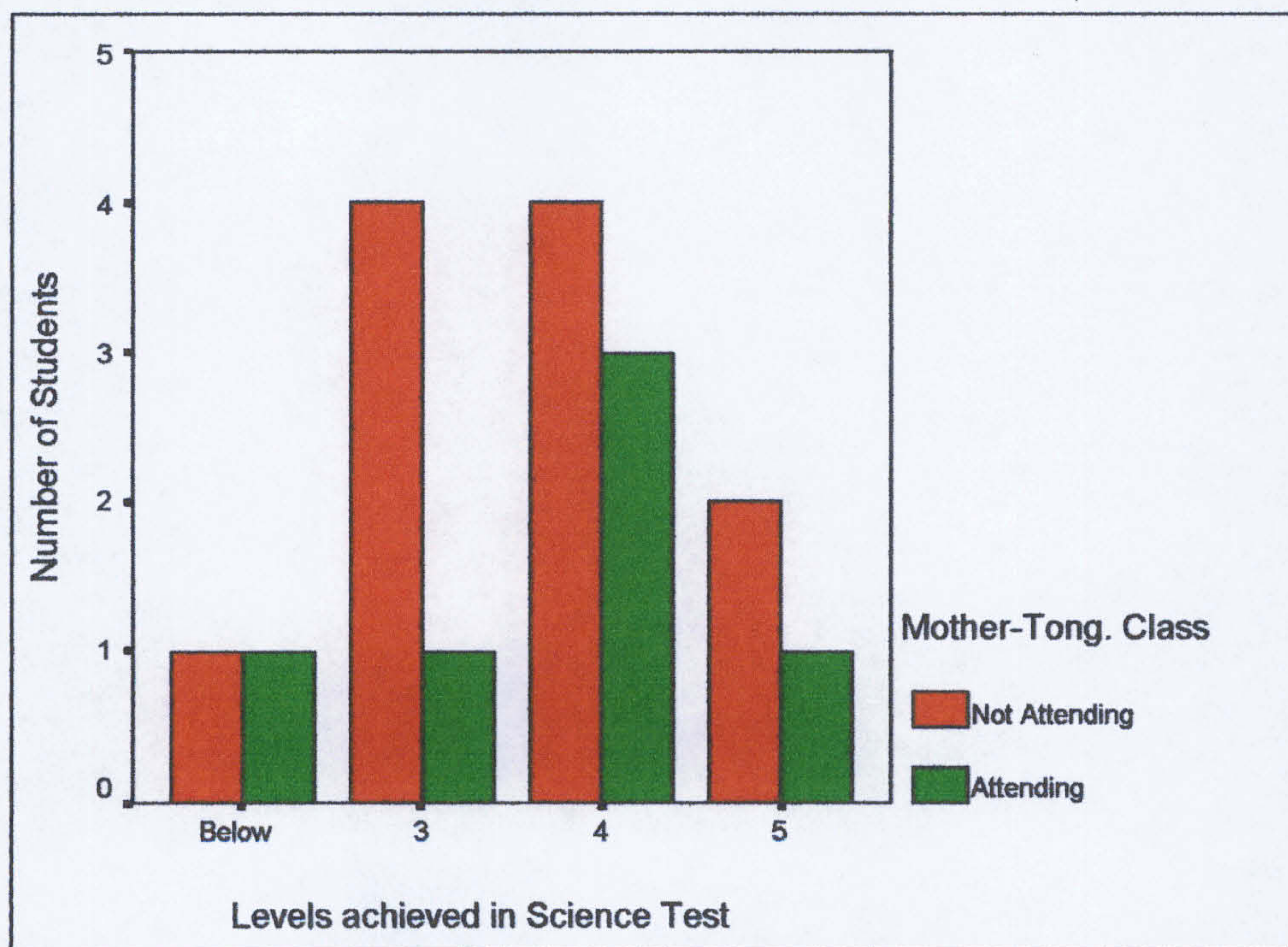


Figure 6. 10 - Number of students per level achieved in the Science Test (KS2)

Both in the Maths Test (59%) and in the Science Test (59%), the results indicate that the majority of students achieved at or above what was nationally expected for the majority of students of this age (Level 4 of National Curriculum for Key Stage 2). This applies to the two groups: attending (67%) and not attending mother tongue classes (55%).

There does not appear to be a markedly different distribution in the pattern of the results between the two groups in these areas of knowledge (Figures 6.9 and 6.10).

6.2.2.1 Comparison of results with borough and national averages

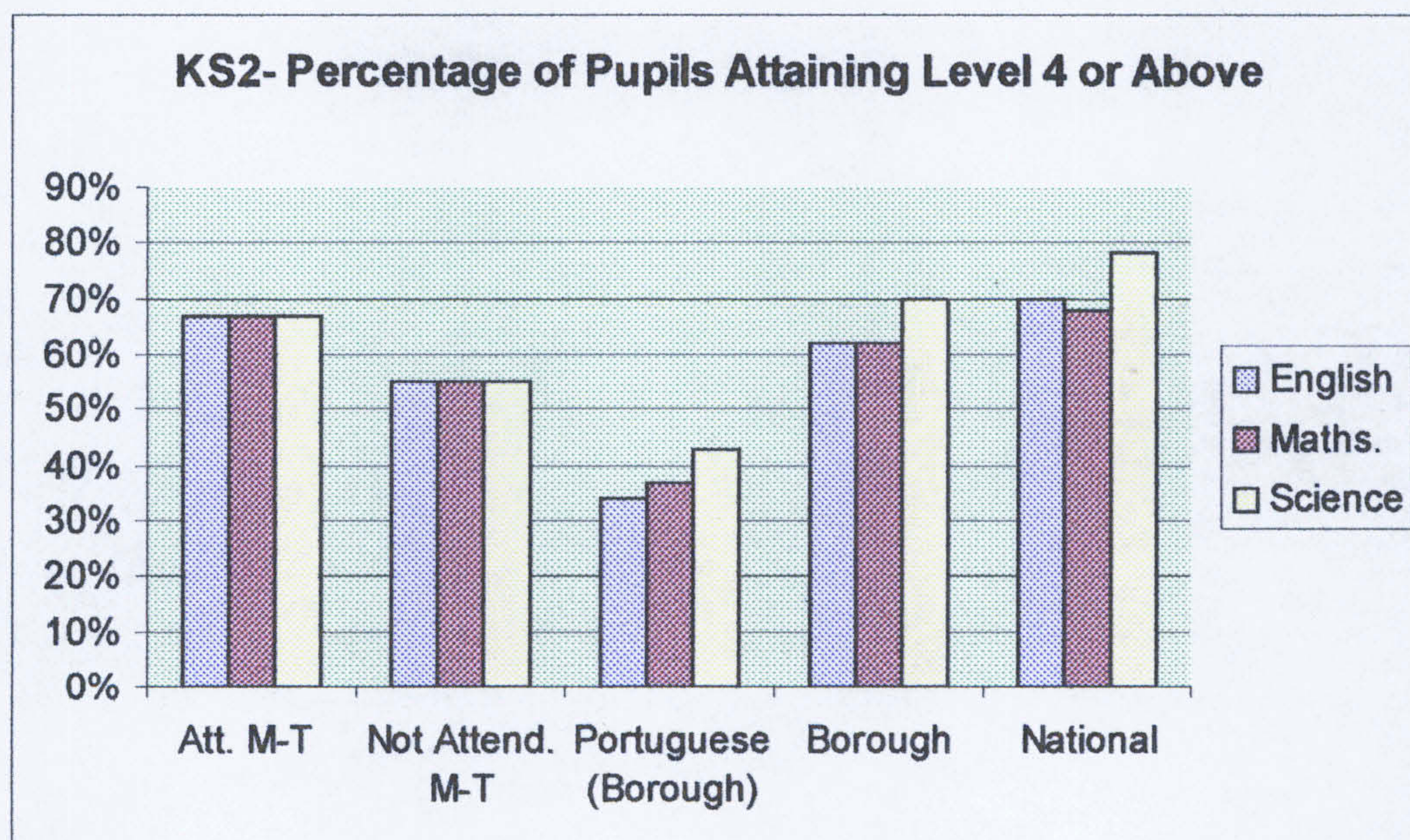


Figure 6. 11 – KS2 - Comparison with borough and national averages

The group of students who did not attend mother tongue classes attained results below those of the group attending these classes. The latter group achieved, in English and Maths, results that are above the Borough average⁸.

⁸ See Appendix 2.

Nevertheless, the average results of the Portuguese students, as a group, in the Borough appear well below those of either of the two groups (attending and not attending mother tongue classes) in this study's sample. This finding is probably due to the small number of students in both groups. In a larger sample of data it is likely that the students not attending mother tongue classes would show even lower level of achievement than that shown in the graph above.

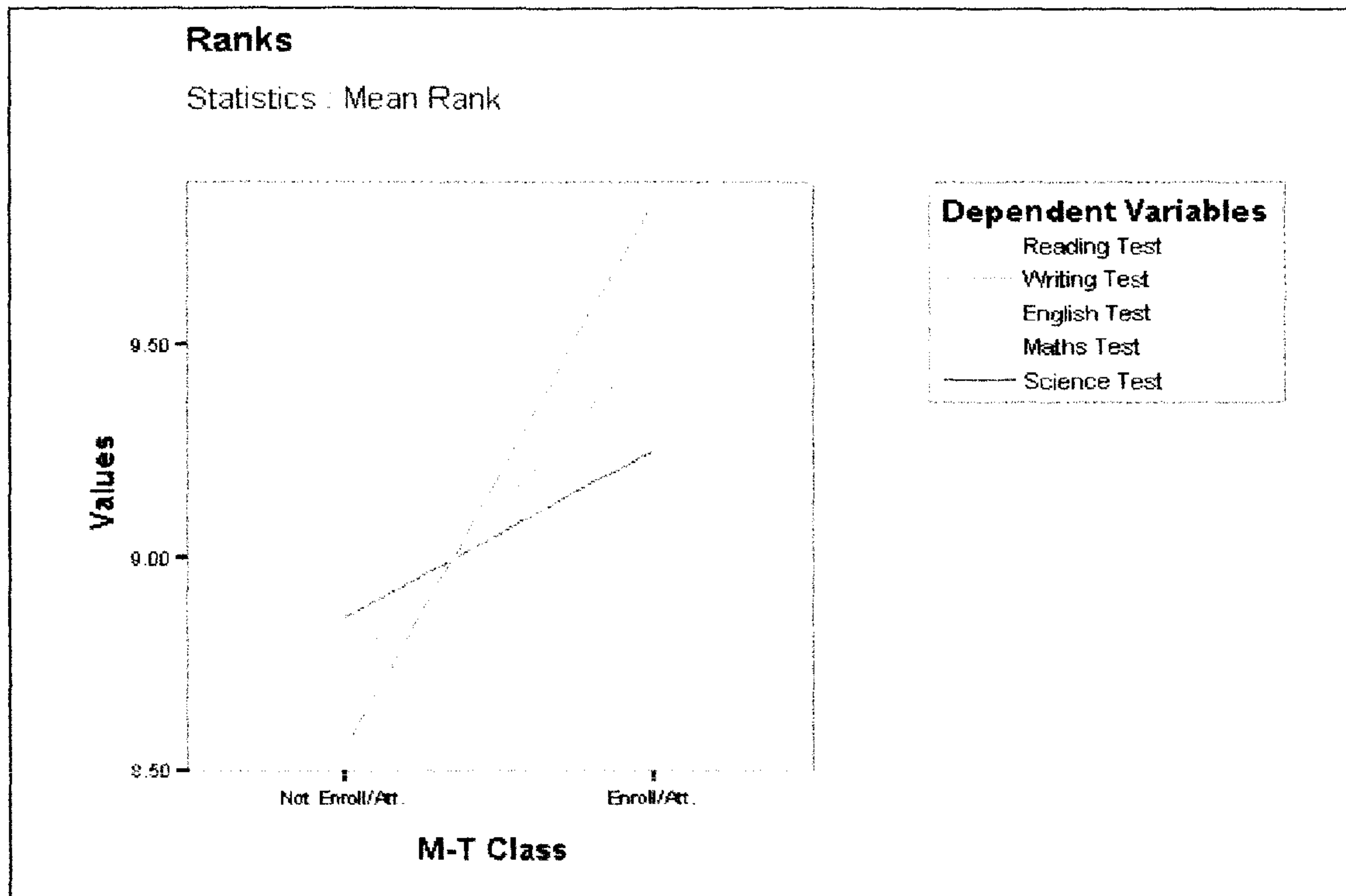
6.2.2.2 Statistical analysis

Statistical tests⁹ were performed in order to assess the association between the variables: test results and attendance at mother tongue classes. Because the data contain only 17 cases and a normal distribution could not be assumed, the result of a chi-square test would not be trustworthy (SPSS, 1999). When this is the case, the SPSS software computes the Fisher's exact test. The program calculates this test for independence when the sample size in a 2 X 2 table is 20 or less¹⁰.

No significant results were found in the Fisher's Exact test for the English test ($p=0.427$) (including the Reading ($p=0.116$) and Writing ($p=0.158$) tests). These results indicate that, in the sample of data available, there was no association between the results attained in these end of Key Stage tests and attendance at mother tongue classes. This also applies to the results of the Science test ($p=0.898$) and even more particularly so to the Maths test (level of exact significance is $p=1.000$). These results could be found by chance in any random sample from a population with a normal distribution. Therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no association between the two variables cannot be rejected.

⁹ The full cross-tabulation analysis (Chi-Square) and Mann-Whitney test for the end of Key Stage 2 results are shown in Appendix 2.

The results for the two groups (attending and not attending mother tongue classes) were also compared using a Mann-Whitney test. A graph plotting the mean rank for the various KS2 tests is presented below (Graph 6.2).



Graph 6. 2 – Mean rank (KS2)

As we can see from the graph above, there is a tendency for the group attending mother tongue classes to achieve higher results than the group not attending. This is the case, in particular, for the Writing test (part of the English test). Nevertheless, the difference between the two groups does not reach levels of statistical significance.

¹⁰ It is computed when a table that does not result from missing rows or columns in a larger table has a cell with an expected frequency of less than 5.

6.2.3 Key Stage 3

At Key Stage 3, most students are expected to achieve Level 5 of the National Curriculum or above. Nevertheless, given that a relatively large number of students in the sample attained results below those nationally expected levels, other lower levels are also discriminated in the data. Thus, for this analysis, the lower level discriminated in the data is level 3. The results of students' who achieved results below that minimum level were, as done previously for Key Stages 1 and 2, coded as a '0'.

Levels 7 and above are considered as being above the nationally expected levels for students of this age (14 years old). Only in the Science test, did one student in the sample achieve above the expected levels. No student in the sample achieved Level 8. That level is, therefore, not included in this analysis.

The graphs displaying the levels achieved per core subject at the end of Key Stage 3 also show the numbers of students who were not taking the tests as well as the number of absences from each test. These appear as 'N' (Not entered) and 'A' (Absent). The students (Not entered and Absent) were not included in the statistical analysis for that core subject.

English Test:

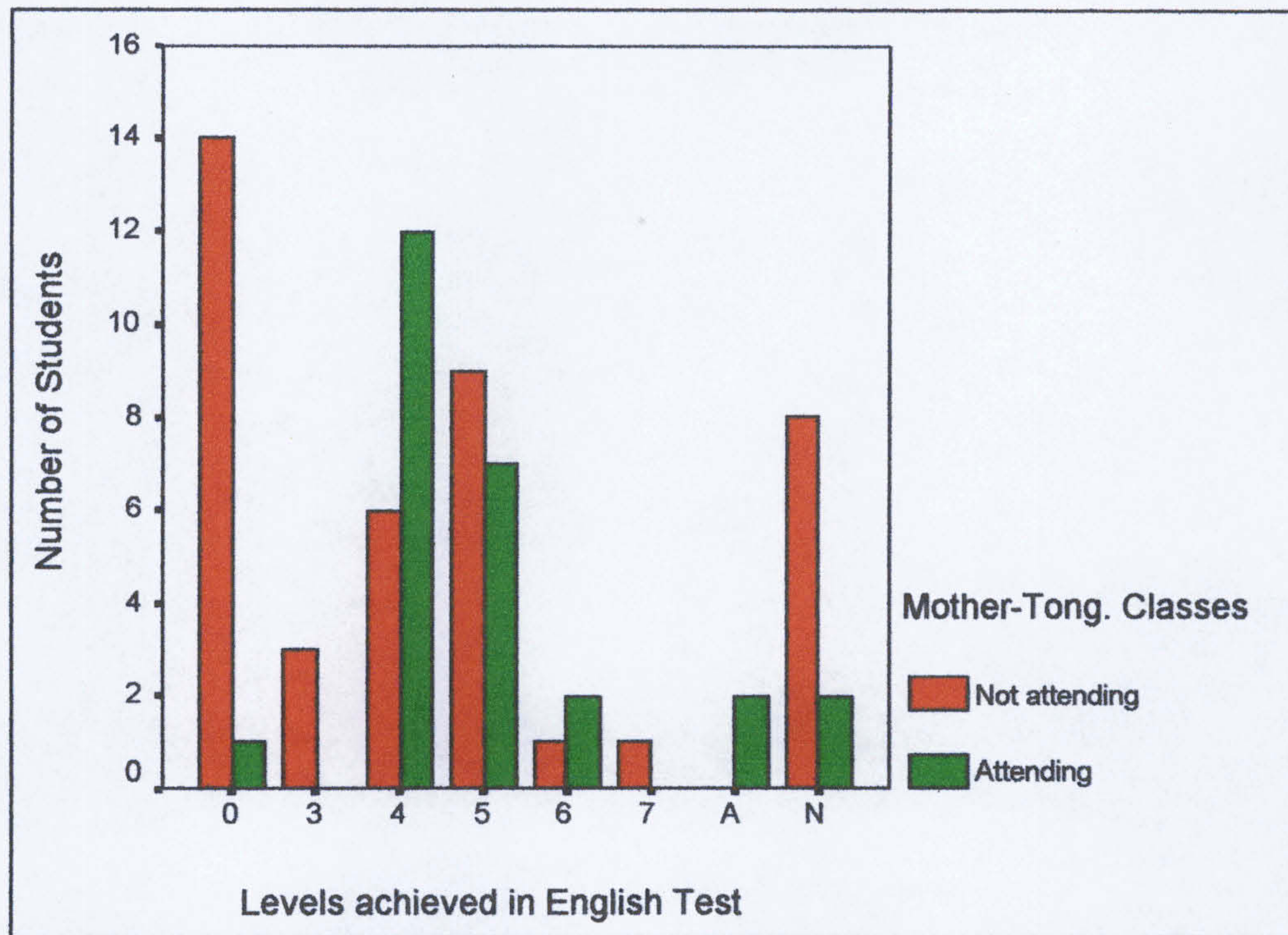


Figure 6. 12 - Levels achieved in the English Test (KS3)

It would appear from the data distribution (see Figure 6.12, above) that there is a tendency for students attending mother tongue classes to achieve higher results than their non-attending colleagues do. However, only nine students (41%) in this group achieved at or above Level 5.

Most of the students not attending mother tongue classes (68%) also achieve results that fall at or below Level 4. Altogether, the majority of the students in the sample (36 students or 64%) achieved results that are below what would be nationally expected for most students of this age group, i.e. they achieved at or below Level 4.

It is of interest to note the number of students achieving below the minimum expected level and not attending mother tongue classes. A number of 14 students, representing 25% of the total number in the sample for this test, achieved below Level 3. These could be students who, although not having been in the country for a relatively long period of time, have nevertheless

exceeded the 6-month 'period of grace' and, thus, must sit for the tests. A later analysis will focus on the possibility of a relationship between length of school attendance and school results (see, in this chapter, Section 6.3 - Effect of length of residence).

A small number of newly arrived students (therefore, not entered for the English test) attend mother tongue classes (2 students out of 10). This difference applies to the data regarding the Maths and Science tests as well (see Figures 6.13 and 6.14, below). The relationship between mother tongue attendance and length of attendance at mainstream school will also be investigated later in this Chapter (see, in this chapter, Section 6.4 - Attendance at Mother tongue classes).

Maths Test:

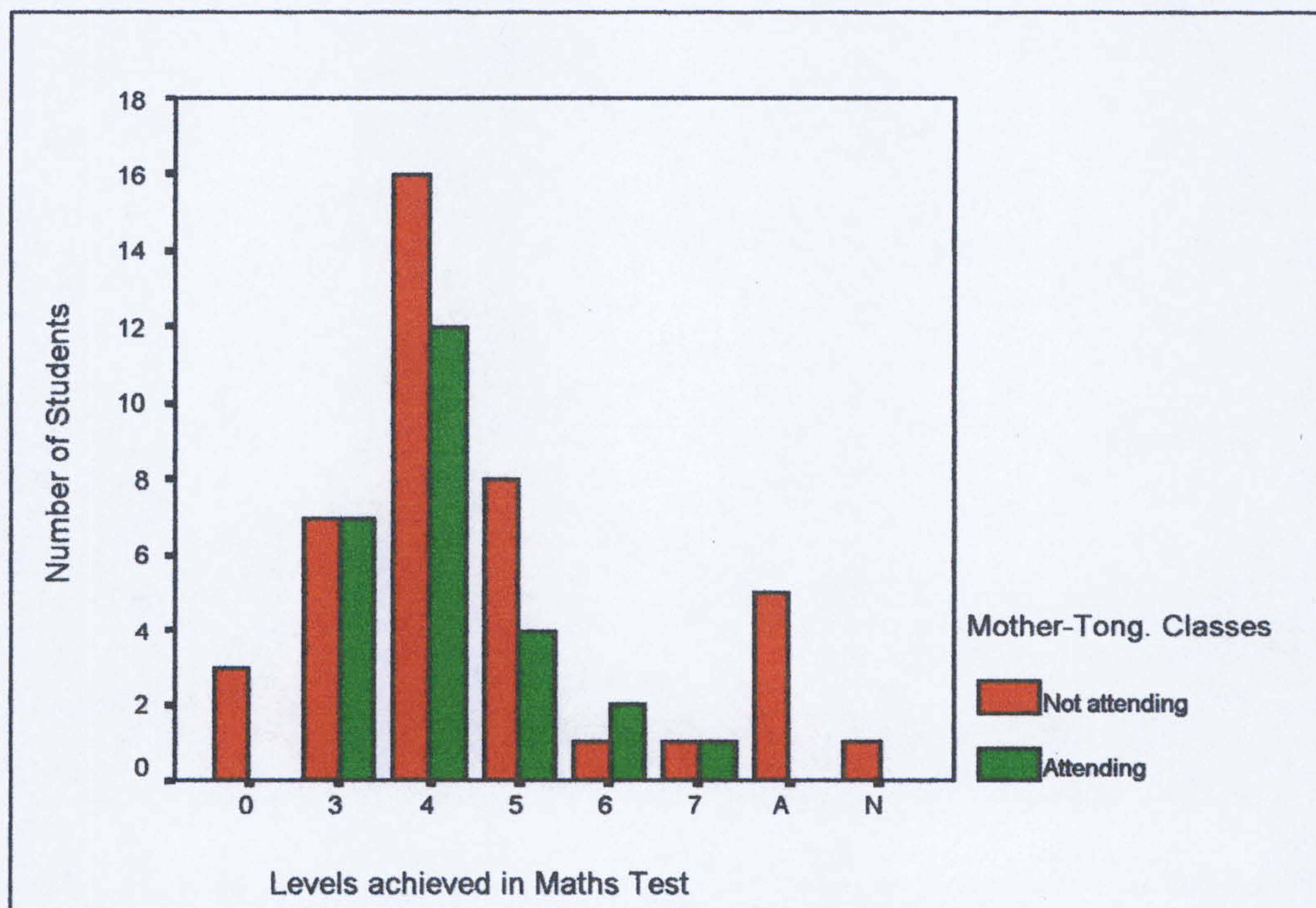


Figure 6. 13 - Levels achieved in the Maths Test (KS3)

There do not appear to be significantly different patterns emerging from the plot of the results for the Maths test between the groups attending and not attending mother tongue classes (Figure 6.13).

The plot of the results obtained show that the majority of the students, both attending (73%) and not attending mother tongue classes (72%), achieved at or below Level 4. In total, forty-five students (or 72%) achieved below the nationally expected levels (Level 5 or above) for students at the end of KS3.

Science Test:

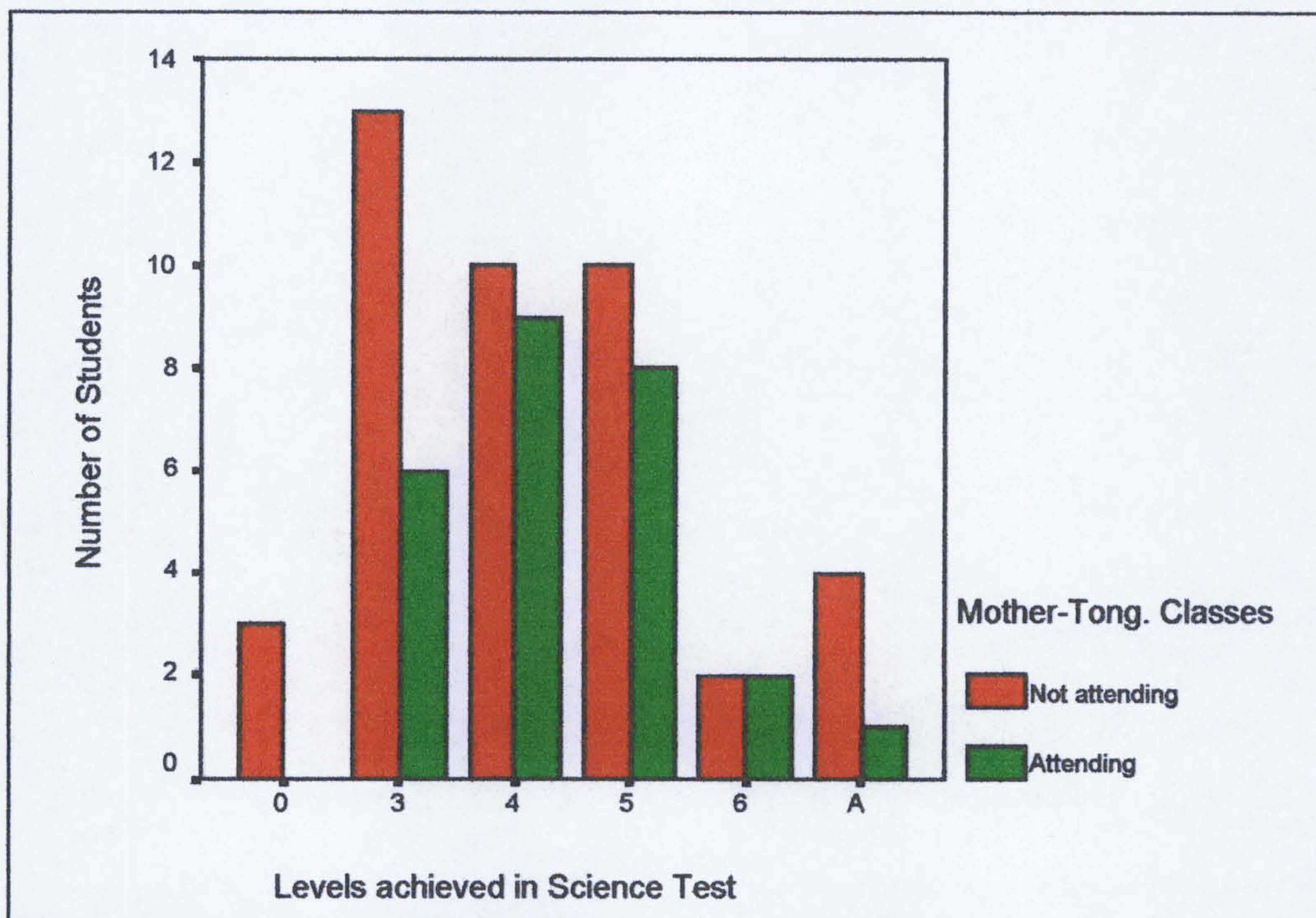


Figure 6. 14 - Levels achieved in the Science Test (KS3)

The Science test results of the students not attending mother tongue classes (Figure 6.14) appear skewed to the left-hand side of the scale of grades, which indicates a tendency for lower grades. A better distribution is described by the results achieved by the group of students attending mother tongue classes.

Students attending mother tongue classes achieved a slightly higher number of results in Levels 5 and above (40%) than those not attending (32%). With regard to the results achieved by the two groups combined, out of a total of 63 students only 22 (35% of the total sample) achieved at Levels 5 or 6.

6.2.3.1 Comparison of results with borough and national averages

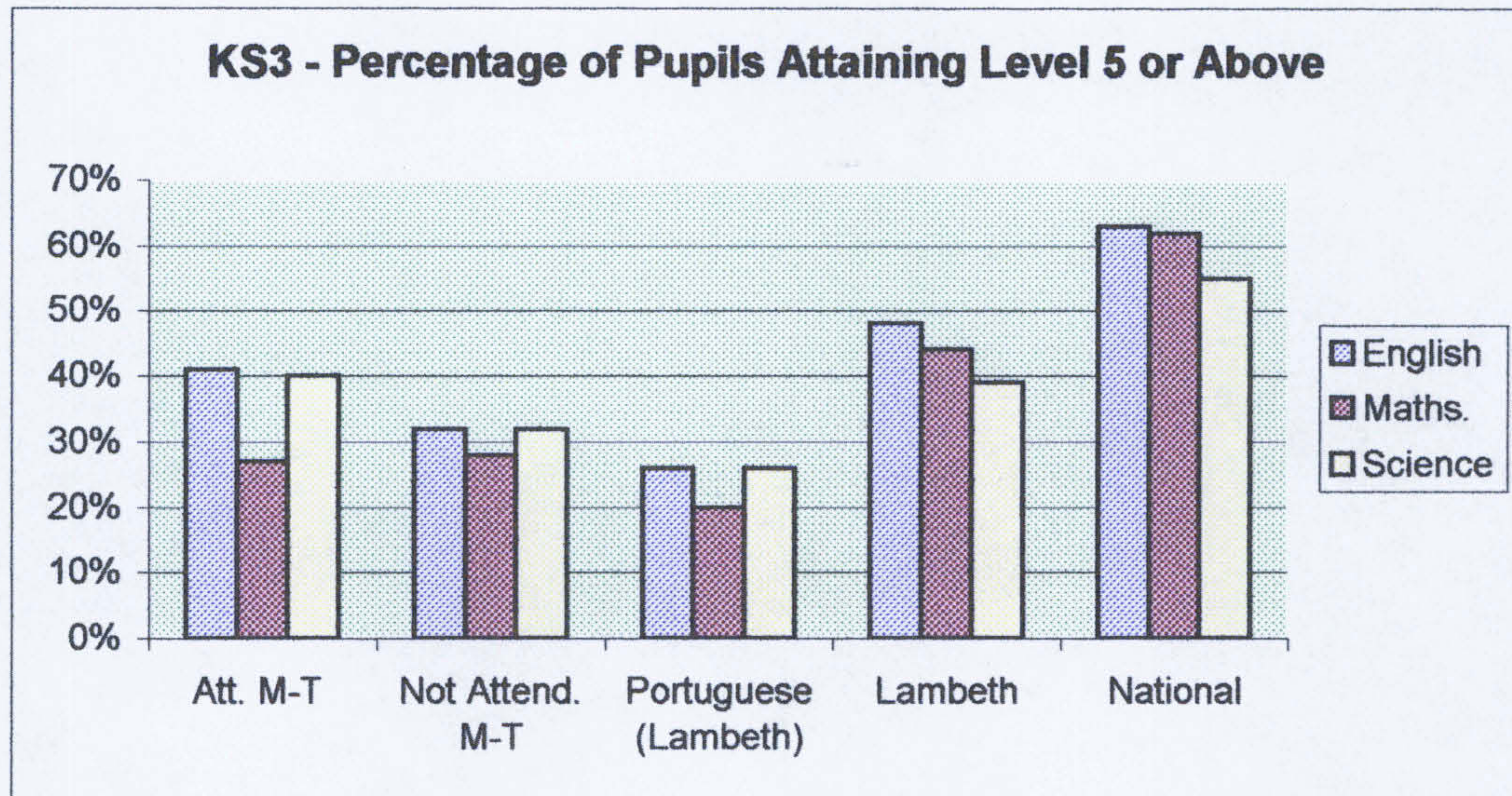


Figure 6. 15 – KS3 - Comparison with borough and national averages

The plot of results in Figure 6.15¹¹, above, confirms the results described in the previous 3 figures (Figures 6.12 to 6.14). Although students attending mother tongue classes achieve results in English and Science that are close to those attained in the Borough (average), these results are still well below the national average. Students not attending mother tongue classes, on the other hand, achieve below the local average on all three areas of assessment.

6.2.3.2 Statistical analysis

A statistical test was performed in order to compare the mean ranks of the results achieved by the two groups. The result of the Mann-Whitney Test is given below.

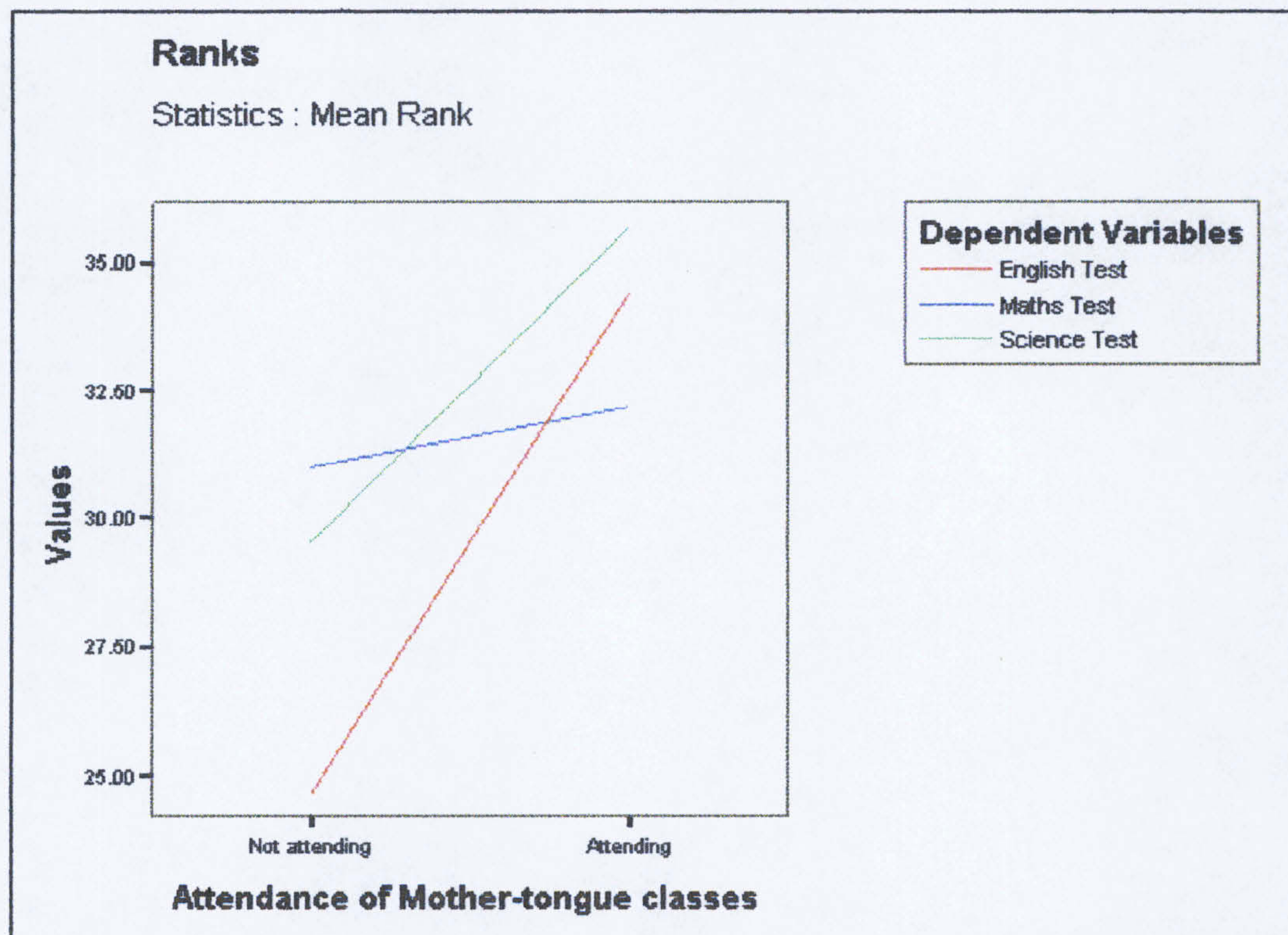
¹¹ See Appendix 3 for the data table.

Ranks				
	Attendance or enrolment	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
English Test	Not attending	34	24.66	838.50
	Attending	22	34.43	757.50
	Total	56		
Maths Test	Not attending	36	31.00	1116.00
	Attending	26	32.19	837.00
	Total	62		
Science Test	Not attending	38	29.55	1123.00
	Attending	25	35.72	893.00
	Total	63		

Test Statistics ^a			
	English Test	Maths Test	Science Test
Mann-Whitney U	243.500	450.000	382.000
Wilcoxon W	838.500	1116.000	1123.000
Z	-2.277	-.272	-1.361
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.785	.174
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.796	.171
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.011	.398	.086
Point Probability	.000	.002	.004

a. Grouping Variable: Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes

Table 6. 3 - Mean Rank and Test Statistics - Mother tongue classes (KS3)



Graph 6. 3 - Mean rank (KS3)

The statistical analysis of the results achieved by the two groups of students at the end of KS3 indicates a significant difference between the mean ranks in the English test ($p=0.023$). As can be seen from the plot of the mean ranks in Graph 3, the group of students attending mother tongue classes has significantly higher results in the English test than the group not attending these classes.

With respect to the Science test, there is a tendency for the group attending mother tongue classes to achieve a higher result. However, this result is not statistically significant ($p=0.171$). The confounding effect of children entering school during this key stage should, nevertheless, be taken into account (25 out of 68 students entered school during or after Yr.7). This affects differently the three areas of assessment: whilst only one student was not entered for the Maths test and 10 for the English test, all students, including the new arrivals, were entered for the Science test. Also, as pointed out below in this chapter (see Section 6.4), students who arrived recently are less likely to attend mother tongue classes.

The results achieved in the Maths test are very similar for both groups as can be seen in the plot of the mean ranks (see Graph 3, above). As expected from the plot of the raw data (see Figure 6.13), no statistically significant difference was found between the two mean ranks for this core subject ($p=0.796$).

A Fisher's Exact test (Chi-Square test) was also done using the data for the English, Maths and Science at KS3. The results confirm those displayed above. A level of exact significance (2-sided) of $p=0.002$ was found for the English test. The results of these tests can be found in Appendix 3.

6.2.4 Key Stage 4

The data for Key Stage assessment corresponds to the level (letter grade) achieved in each of the exams for which the students were entered. Comparisons will be made for the total number of exams entered. The results encompass the whole range of possible pass grades (A*-G). The restricted range of A*-C grades, however, is of a greater importance. These are the grades necessary for attending further and higher education institutions.

When the students were entered for subjects where there is a choice of Single or Double Award (e.g. Science), the results of the exam have been counted, respectively, as one or two GCSE results of the grade attained.

It is important to note that the results for the students in this Key Stage do not include their Portuguese GCSE (when taken). This result was not available for all of the students who had sat for it, as many prefer to take the exam in Year 10. Nevertheless, out of the 22 students known to attend Portuguese classes, 14 had achieved a result of either 'A' or 'A*' in their Portuguese exam. This contrasts with only 2 students (out of 10 believed to have sat for the exam) achieving such results for the Portuguese GCSE in the group not attending mother tongue classes (a total of 26 students).

6.2.4.1 Subjects taken

Figure 6.16, below, shows the choice of subjects (in percentage) for GCSE exams of the students attending and of those not attending mother tongue classes¹². Subjects that, in the two groups of students together, had been taken by less than 5 students were collated and appear as 'Others'¹³.

¹² A figure detailing the number of students per subject can be found in Appendix 4.

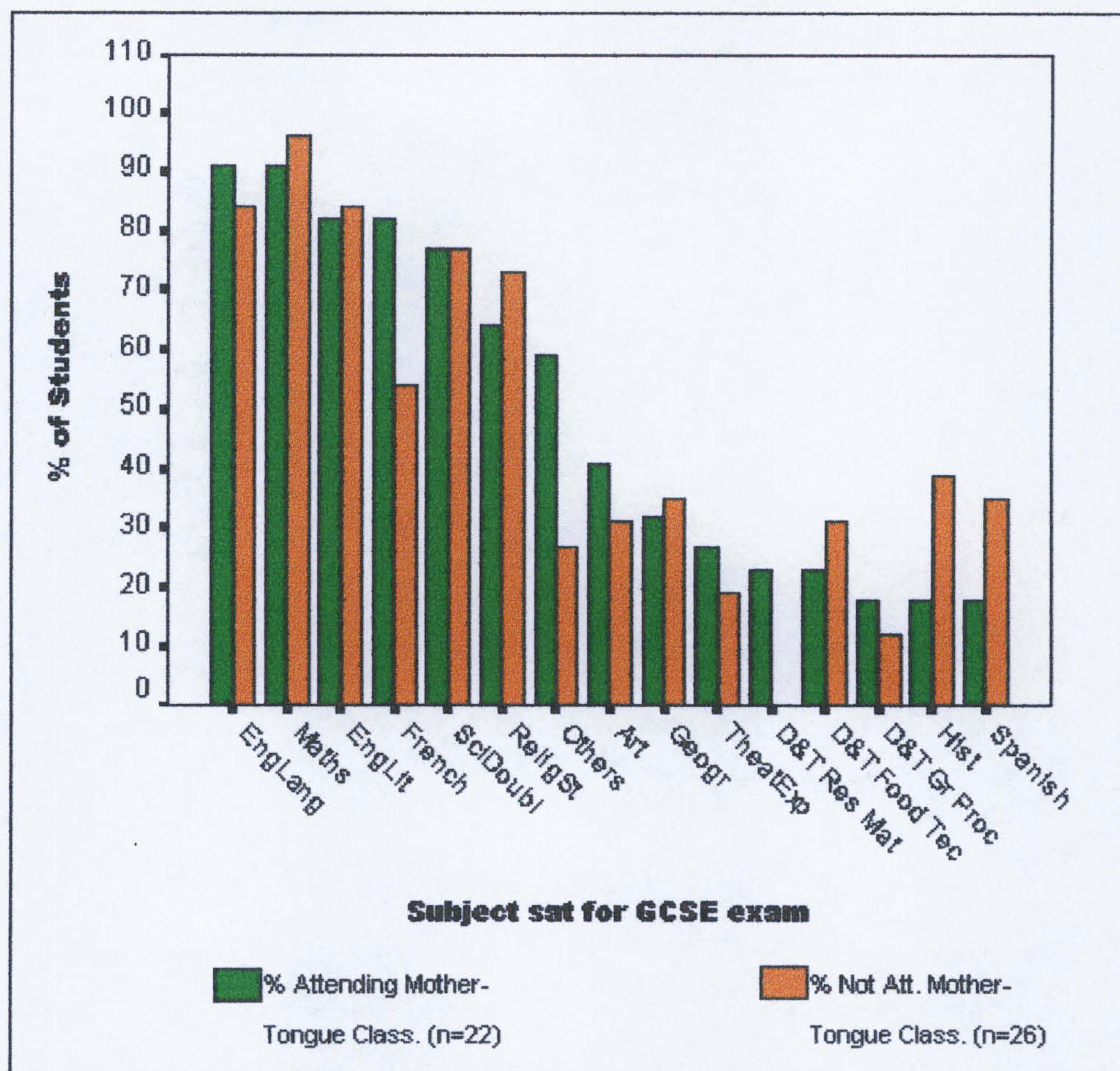


Figure 6. 16 – Subject preference of students taking GCSE Exam (KS4)

As we can see from Figure 6.16, there do not appear to be major differences in the choice of subjects taken in KS4 between the students attending mother tongue classes and those not attending. It is worth noting that most 'attending' students prefer French, whilst the group 'not attending' prefers to take the exam in Spanish. This raises the question: Could French be seen as a more difficult language by those not attending Portuguese mother tongue classes?

There is a noticeable difference between the two groups in the choice of History as an exam subject. Twice as many students not attending mother tongue classes take the History exam. Does this choice represent an inclination

¹³ These subjects are Business, Child Development, Design and Technology: Textiles, German, Health and Social Care, Information Technology, Music, Physical Education, Science (Single Award) and Sociology. The number of students taking Drama has been included in Theatre and Expressive Arts.

to the study of History in general, or to the study of History as viewed from a British point of view?

Another difference worth pointing out regards the choice of Design and Technology (D & T) option. More students attending mother tongue classes (than those not attending) chose this option. However, most students not attending preferred Food Technology and, lesser so, Graphic Processes, whilst their colleagues also manifested a preference for Resistant Materials.

Although a proportionally large number of students attending mother tongue classes have chosen other subjects, as seen in 'Others' above, it should be pointed out that the number of students per subject is very reduced with most of these subjects chosen by only one student in each group.

6.2.4.2 Grades achieved

On the following page, Figure 6.17 illustrates the distribution of grades achieved according to the attendance or non-attendance at mother tongue classes. In this graph, we can see the number of results achieved per grade (A*-G) when the results for all students of each group are pooled together. It is also possible to identify the number of students who were enrolled but were absent from the test and the number of students whose results were below Grade G and were, therefore, unclassified. There is a clear tendency for students attending mother tongue classes to achieve results that are closer to the right hand side of the display. Thus, students attending mother tongue classes appear to have achieved a greater number of higher grades than their non-attending colleagues.

Later, Figures 6.18 and 6.19 will show the comparison between groups (attending mother tongue classes or not) according to the number of GCSE exams passed in the two grade ranges A*-C and A*-G, whilst Figure 6.20 shows a comparison with the local and national averages.

End of KS4 (GCSE exams) results

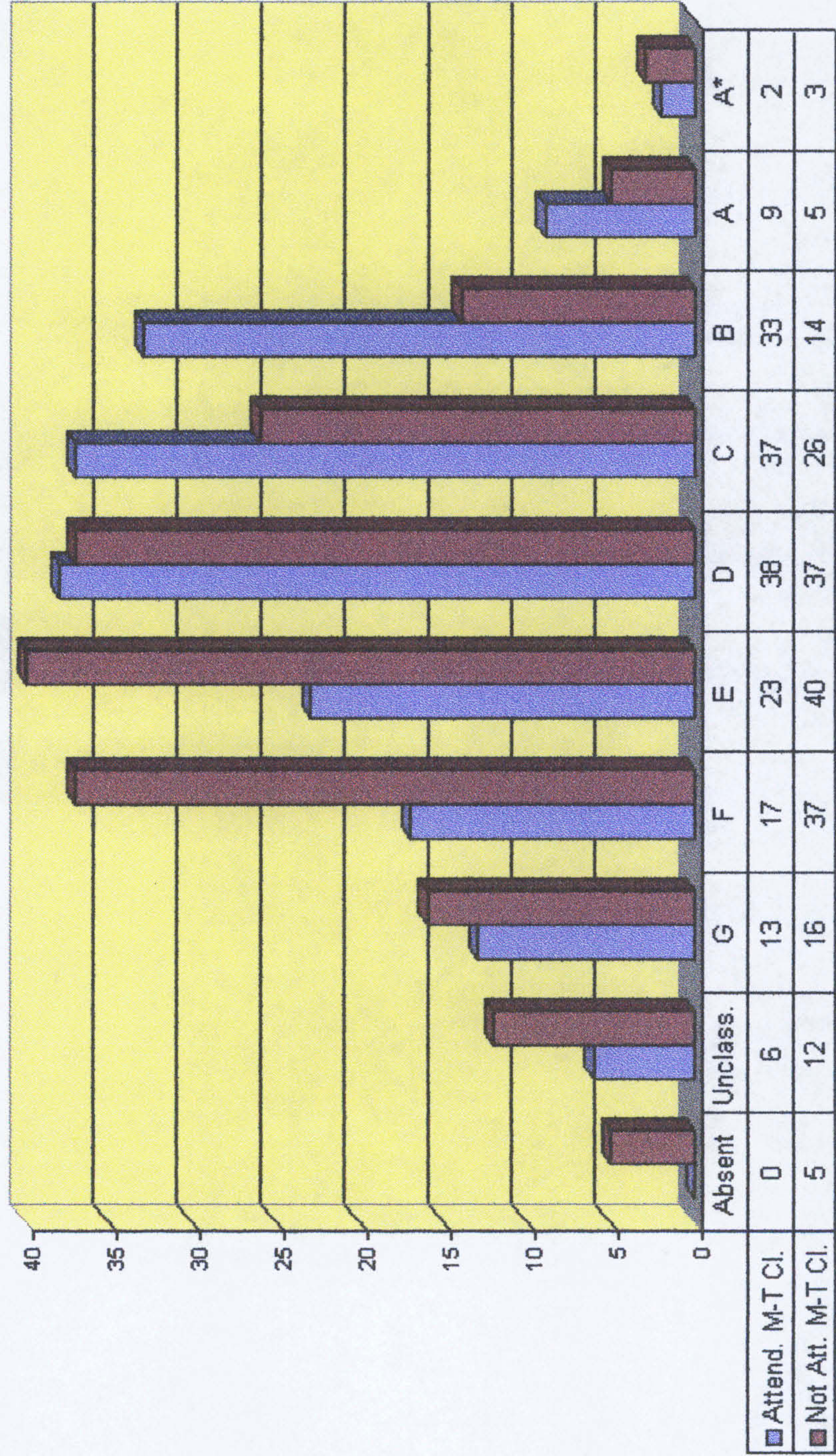


Figure 6. 17 – Grades achieved at GCSE exam (KS4)

At the end of Key Stage 4, the main question facing each student is "How many GCSE's have I obtained?"

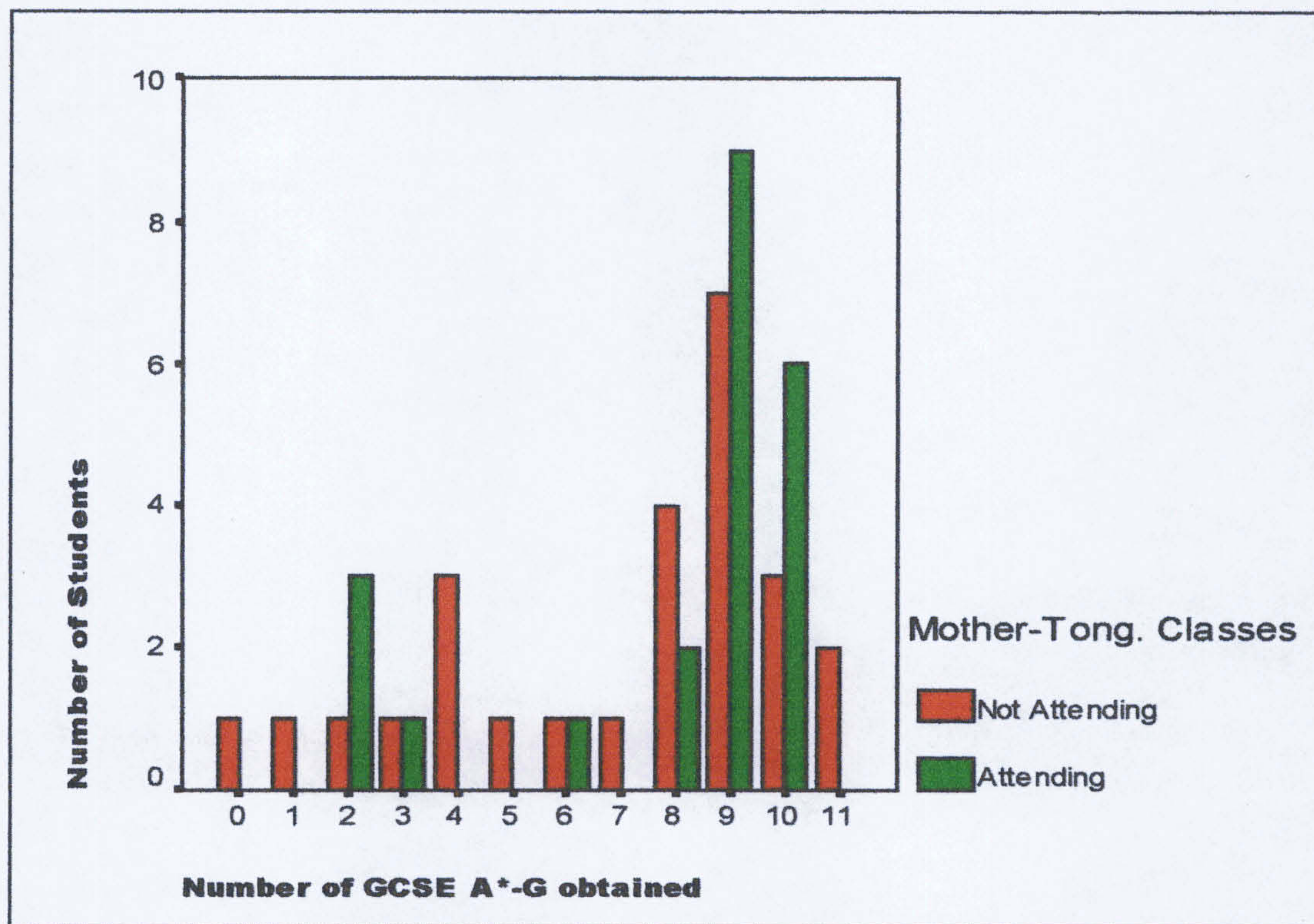


Figure 6.18 - Number of GCSEs obtained A*-G

We can see from Figure 6.18, above, that more students attending mother tongue classes obtain 9 and 10 GCSEs than students not attending. Nevertheless, there does not appear to be a clear pattern and a statistical analysis is needed to establish whether there is a significant difference between the groups in the number of GCSEs obtained.

When we do a plot of number of GCSEs obtained, limiting the results to the higher range of grades (A*-C), a different pattern emerges. We can see from Figure 6.19 (below) that the students attending mother tongue classes tend to have more GCSEs A*-C than the students who do not attend those classes:

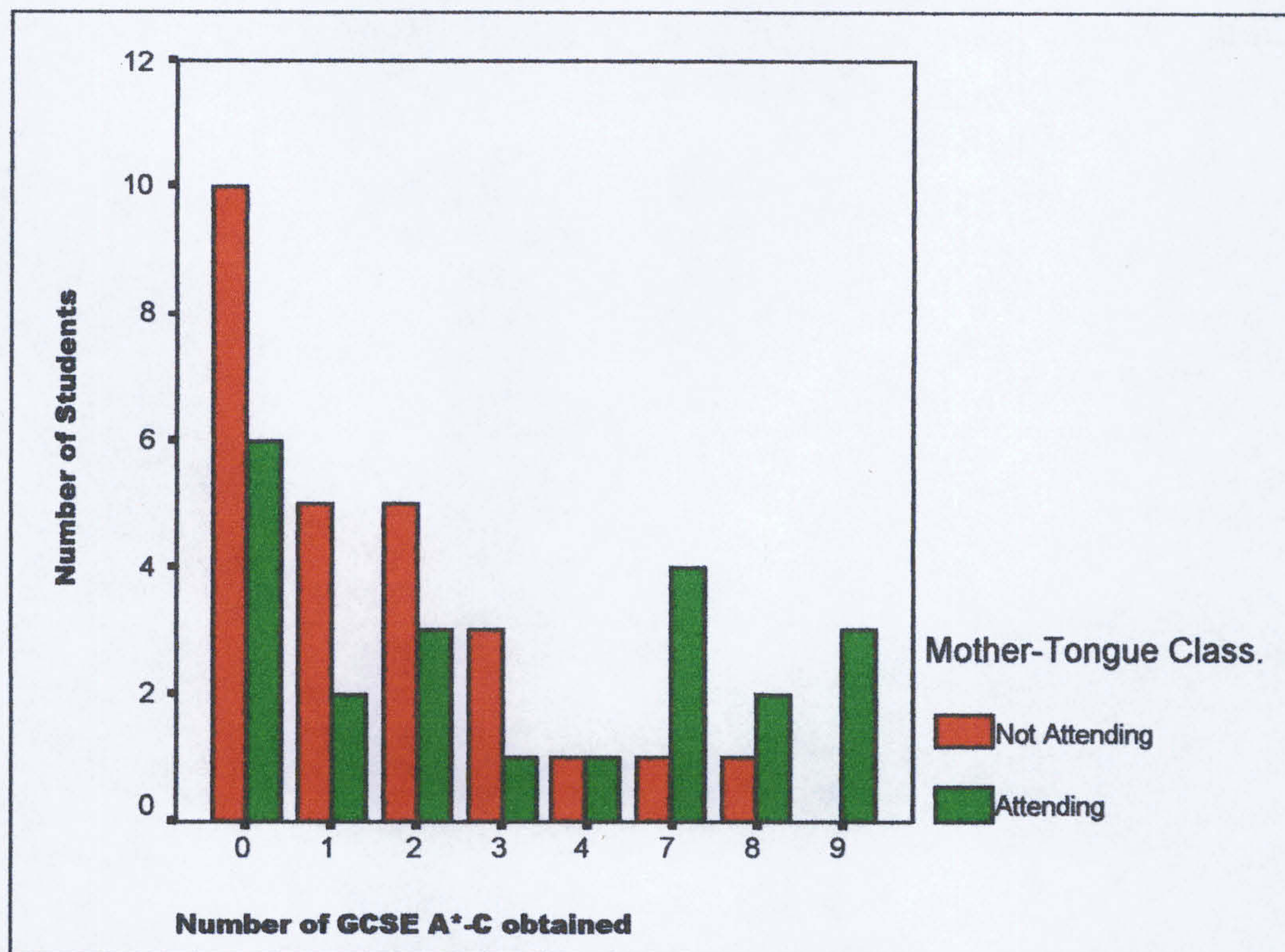


Figure 6.19 - Number of GCSEs obtained A*-C

6.2.4.3 Comparison of results with borough and national averages:

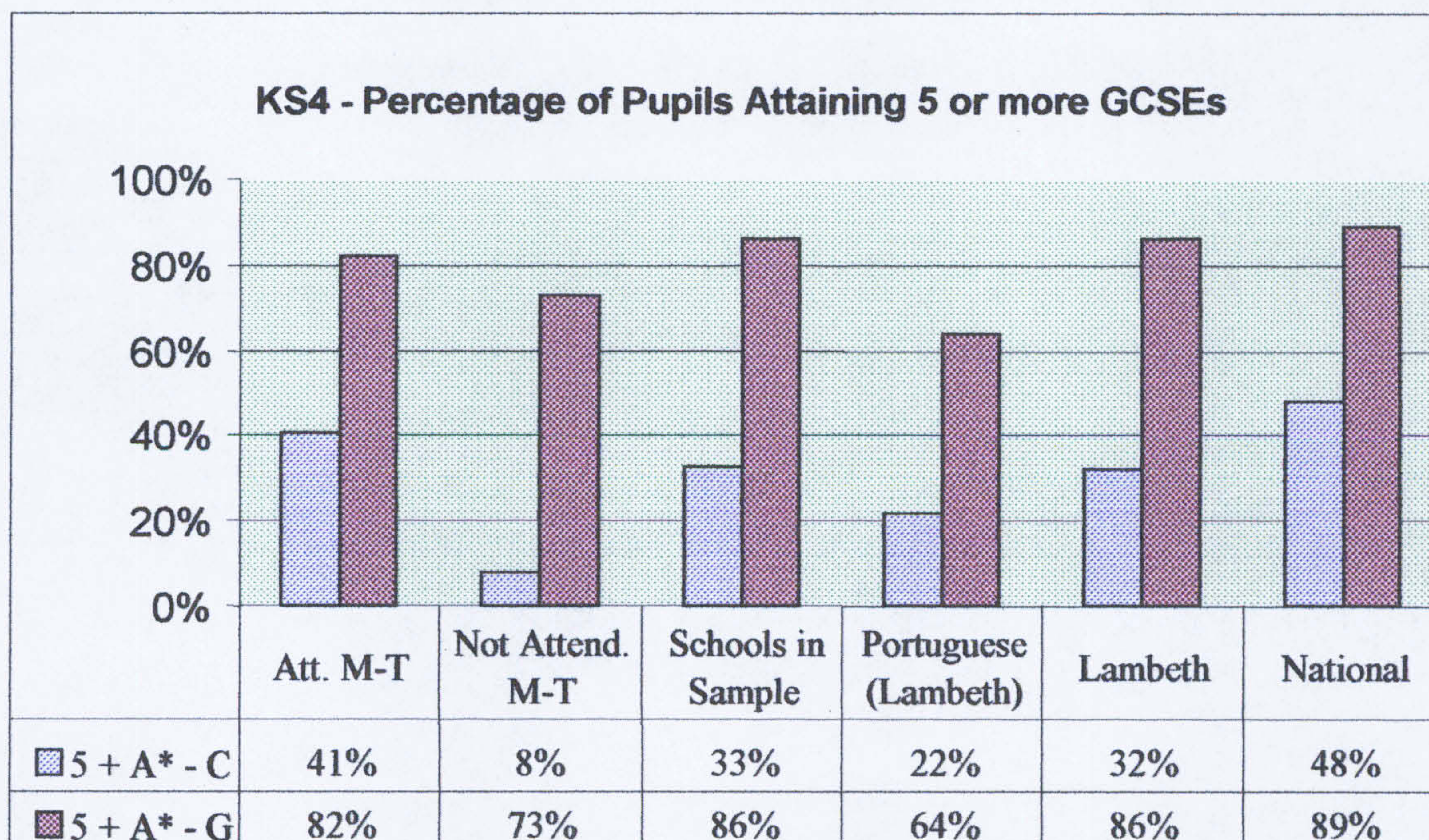


Figure 6.20 - KS4 - Comparison with borough and national averages

It is clear from Figure 6.20 that the students attending mother tongue classes achieve results (A*-C and A*-G) that are closer to both local and national averages. Students who do not attend these classes, on the other hand, achieve lower results, particularly so on the A*-C category.

When we compare the results obtained by the students in this sample with the average results for the schools taking part in the study the disparity is also obvious. Against the average for the 5 secondary schools (Schools in sample), students attending mother tongue classes achieve results above average whilst the results of those not attending fall well below.

We should, nevertheless, be aware that other factors that may be associated with the attendance at mother tongue classes could influence the results. Thus, although we recognise the apparent advantage of the 'attending' group, factors such as length of residence or date of entry to school can contribute to these results. Such factors will be considered in the next sections.

6.2.4.4 Statistical analysis

Non-parametric tests¹⁴ were conducted to compare the mean ranks of the data presented in Figures 6.15 and 6.16, i.e. the number of students achieving GCSE grades A*-G and A*-C, between the two groups of students: attending or not attending mother tongue classes.

In a (Chi-Square) Fisher's Exact test no statistically significant value was found for these two variables (GCSE grades A*-C, $p=0.292$; grades A*-G $p=0.405$). In a Mann-Whitney test, comparing the results of the GCSE exams (number of passes) taking into account the whole range of possible pass grades (A*-G), no significant difference between the mean ranks of the two groups of students was found (2-tailed exact significance level 0.295).

¹⁴ The statistical tests can be found in Appendix 4.

This can be interpreted as to mean that students attending mother tongue classes tend to pass the same number of GCSE exams as those not attending these classes. However, the distribution of those grades is not evenly distributed between the two groups of students.

When we restrict the comparison of mean ranks to the upper range of grades (A*-C), there is a significant difference (2-tailed exact significance level $p=0.048$). Students enrolled in mother tongue classes obtain a significantly higher number of A*-C GCSE passes than those students who do not attend such classes. As mentioned before, these are the crucial grades that will decide the choice of College and, later, entrance to further education.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that although there is a statistically significant difference between the grades attained by the two groups, the results of the Portuguese GCSE exam have not been included in this analysis. As mentioned before, 14 out of the 22 students attending Portuguese mother tongue classes had achieved a result of either 'A' or 'A*' in their Portuguese exam. These results, if added, could tip the balance, even more, in favour of the group attending mother tongue classes.

As the results stand, (without the Portuguese exam) it would be of interest to see which grades are affecting the division of the results. To that effect, one more Mann-Whitney Test was done. This time, each Grade was assessed as a separate variable. The results of this analysis are presented below.

The results indicate a significant difference between the mean ranks of the groups attending and not attending mother tongue classes in Grades D ($p=0.023$) and C ($p=0.020$). These are, therefore, the grades where students attending mother tongue classes show an advantage. These grades are also the critical breakpoint a) for a place in schools' league tables and b) for a young person's chance of further education and a better career.

6.3 Effect of length of residence: Children born in the United Kingdom, school entry and length of school attendance

Is there a significant difference (or association with the dependent variable), in the end of Key Stage results, between Portuguese children who were born in the UK and those who were not?

6.3.1 Key Stage 1

When we look at the results of the children who were not born in the UK, we can see that they tend to achieve results towards the lower end of the scale, compared to those who were born here. This is, perhaps, not surprising given that they will have had less exposure to the language on which, and through which, they are being tested. Not only will they have had less time to develop their language skills but also to learn the National Curriculum content. Figures 6.21 to 6.23, below, show the results achieved by the children in the 3 areas of knowledge assessed in this Key Stage. Children who were born in either 1991 or 1992 constitute the sample at KS1.

For the purpose of this analysis, they were grouped into:

children born in the UK;

children who entered the country before they were of school attending age¹⁵; and,

children who arrived in the UK and started school after the age of 5.

¹⁵ These children also started school either before or during the term when they were 5 years old.

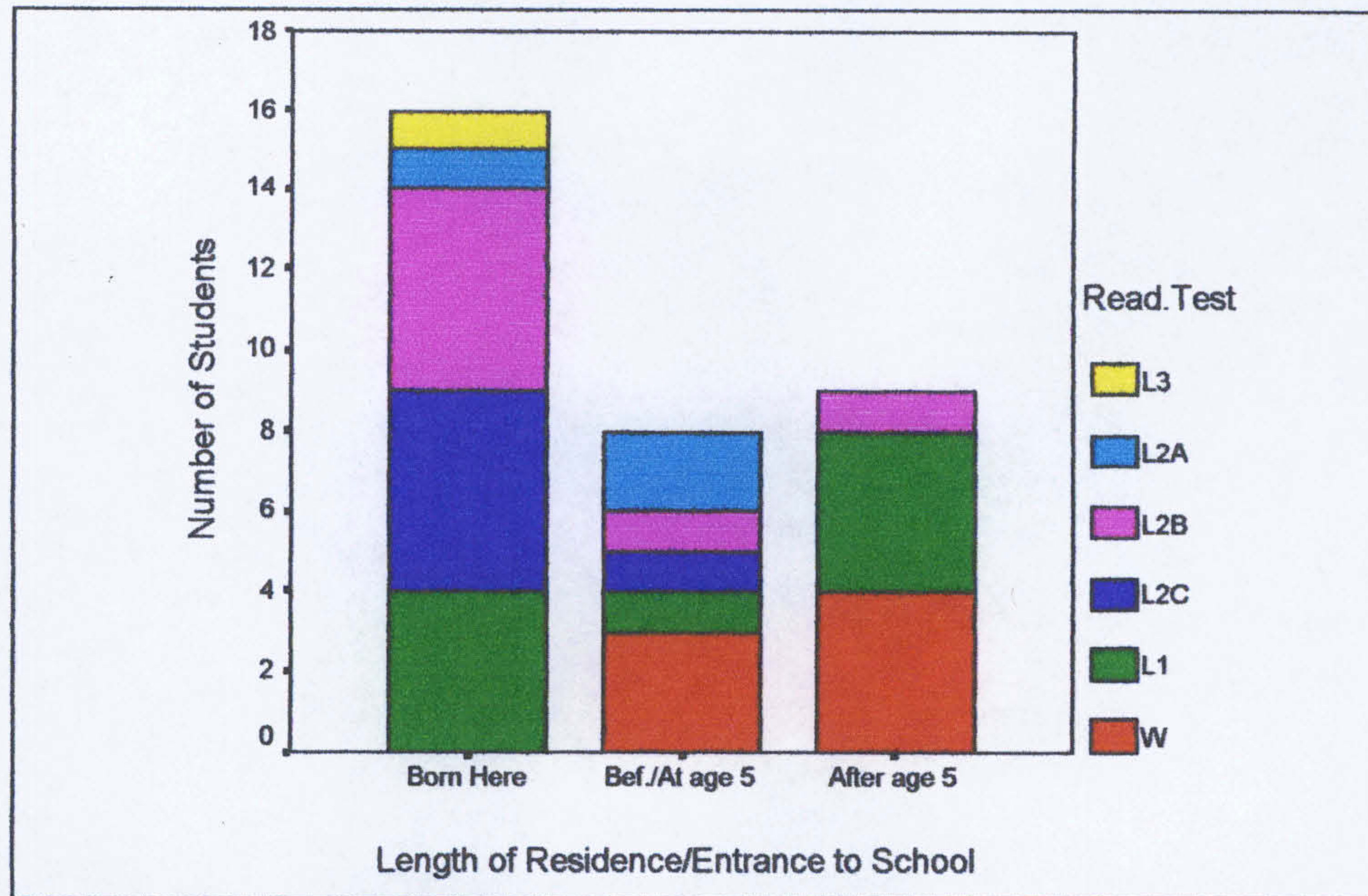


Figure 6.21 - Entry to UK - Reading Test (KS1)¹⁶

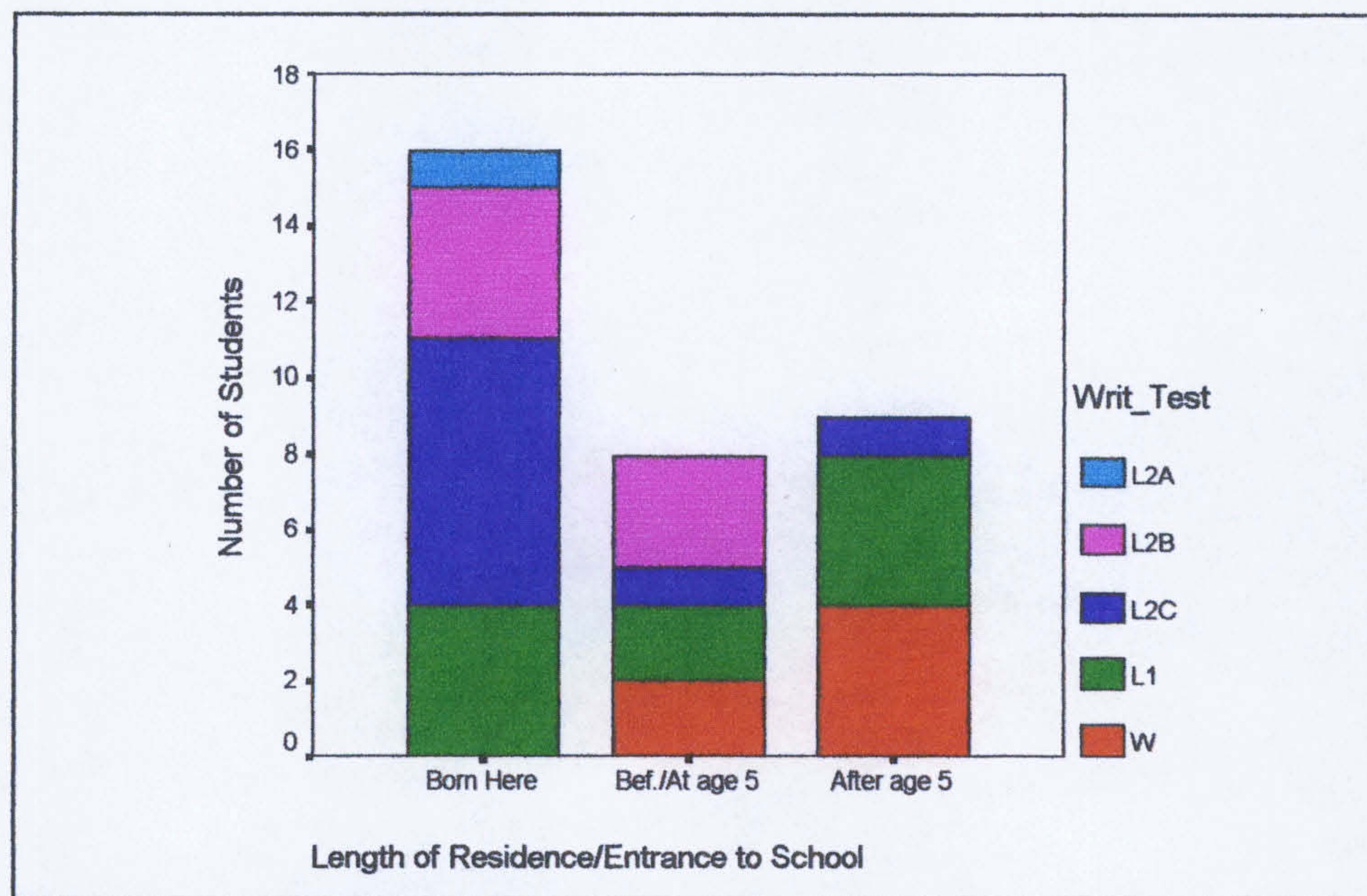


Figure 6.22- Entry to UK - Writing Test (KS1)

¹⁶ At Key Stage 1, students' results are categorised into: 'Working towards level 1' (W) and Level 1, which represent achievement below the nationally expected standard for most 7 year olds; Level 2 (L2) and grade B represents achievement at the nationally expected standard for this age group (L2C, L2B, and L2A); and Levels 3 and 4 represent achievement above what would be expected.

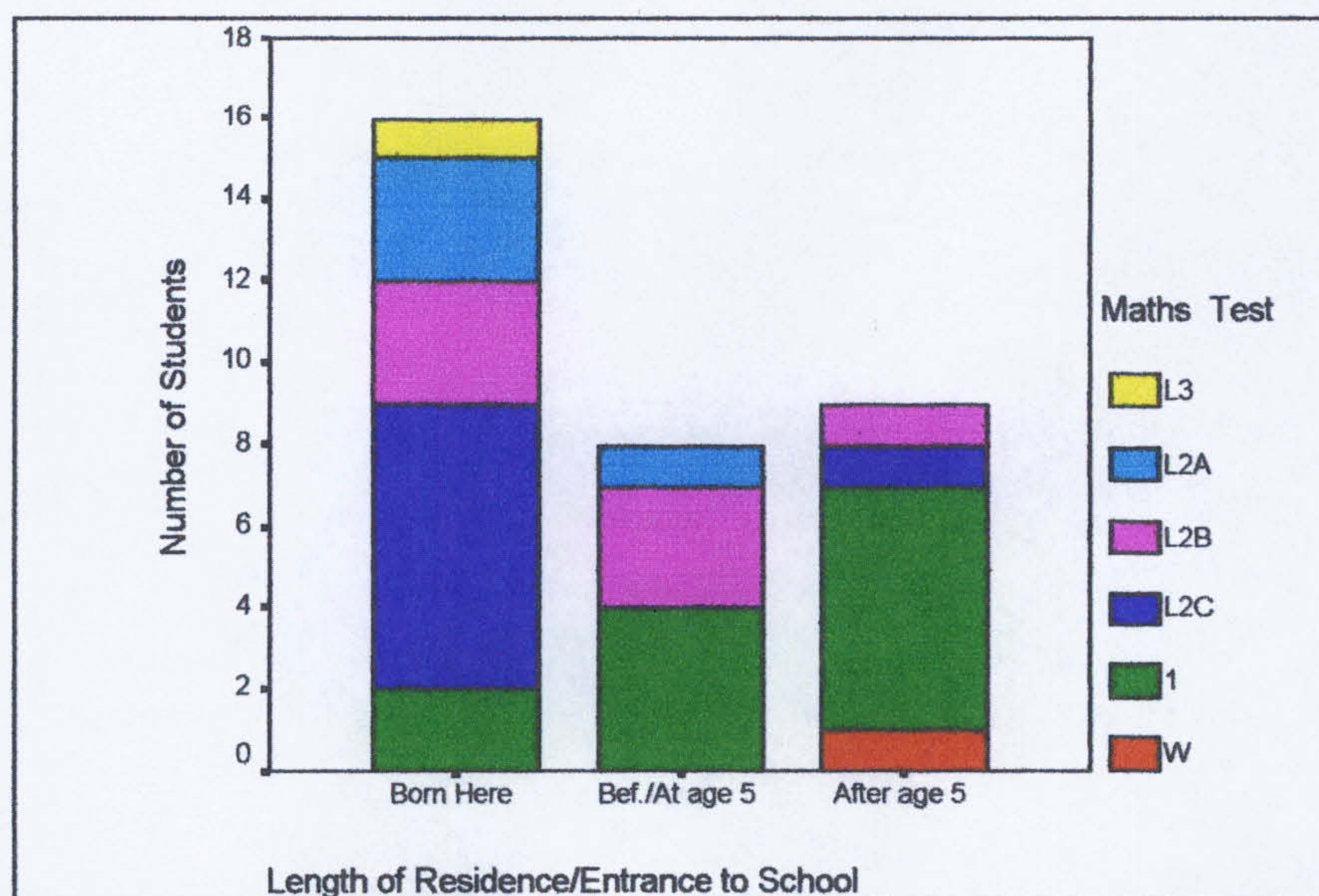


Figure 6. 23- Entry to UK - Maths Test (KS1)

The results of a Fisher's Exact test carried out on the above data indicate that there are statistically significant associations between the two variables¹⁷ in all three areas assessed. Thus, significant differences were obtained for the Reading test ($p=0.027$), for the Writing test ($p=0.030$) and for the Maths test ($p=0.029$). The grades achieved at the end of KS1 cannot be disassociated from the length of residence.

Using a Mann-Whitney test, a comparison was made between the mean ranks of the group of children who had been born in the UK and those who entered the country and started school after the compulsory age¹⁸. The levels of Exact significance between the group of children born in the UK and those who started school after the age of 5 were of $p=0.001$ (Reading), $p=0.001$ (Writing) and $p=0.002$ (Maths).

These results indicate that, in the end of Key Stage 1 assessments, children who did not have the full length of schooling will not have had the same chance to succeed as their peers who did.

¹⁷ The complete analysis can be found in Appendix 1.

6.3.2 Key Stage 2

To investigate the possibility of an association between the variable Entrance to school and the results achieved in the English Test the students were divided into groups: a) Born here, b) Entered UK before KS1, c) Entered UK during KS1 and d) Entered UK during KS2. Figures 1 to 5 below show a distribution of the data according to the various areas of knowledge tested (see Figures 6.24 to 6.28, below).

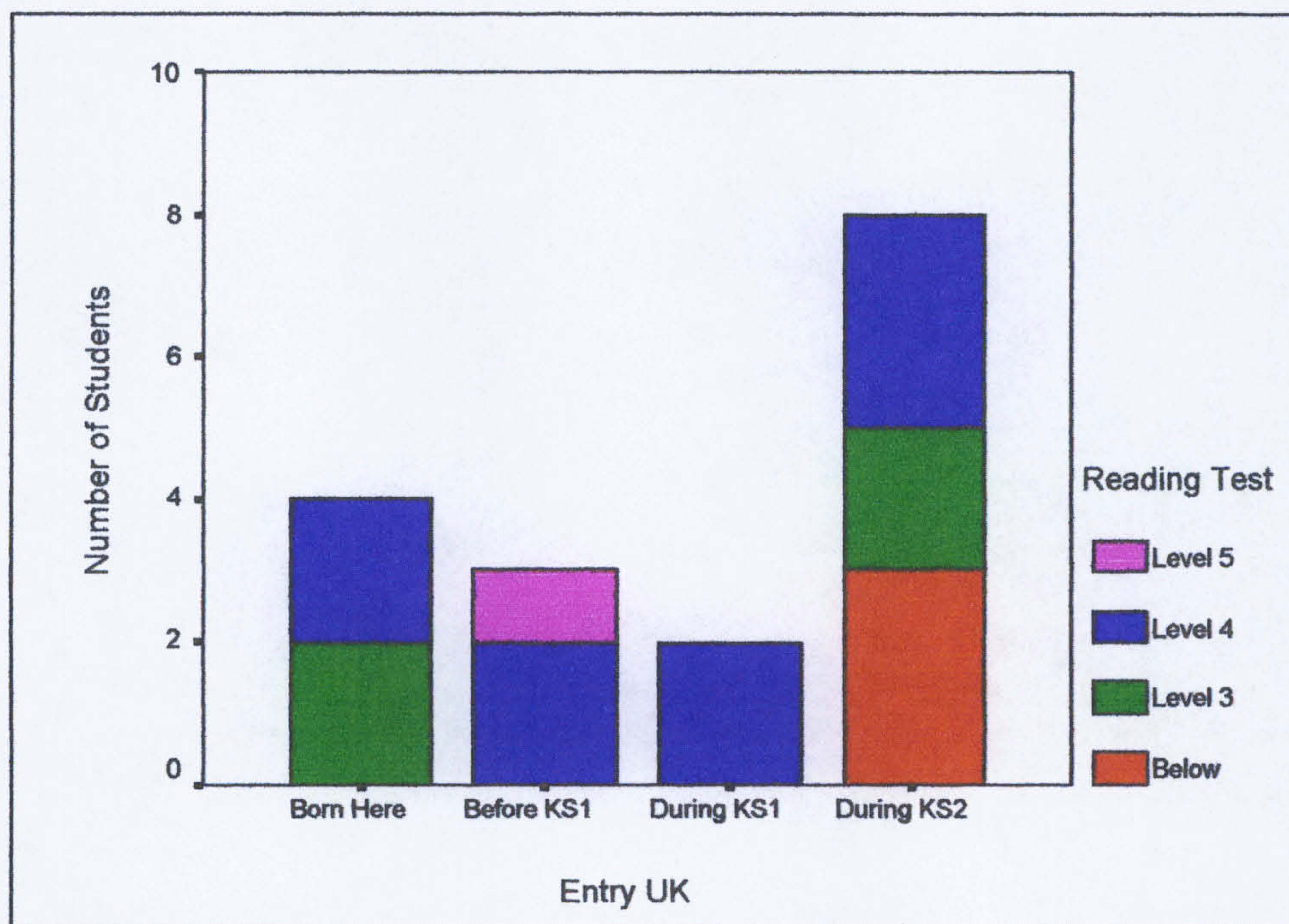


Figure 6. 24 - Entry to UK – Reading Test (KS2)

¹⁸ No statistically significant difference was found between the group born in the UK and those who entered the country before or who attended school from the beginning of KS1. The complete analysis can be found in Appendix 1.

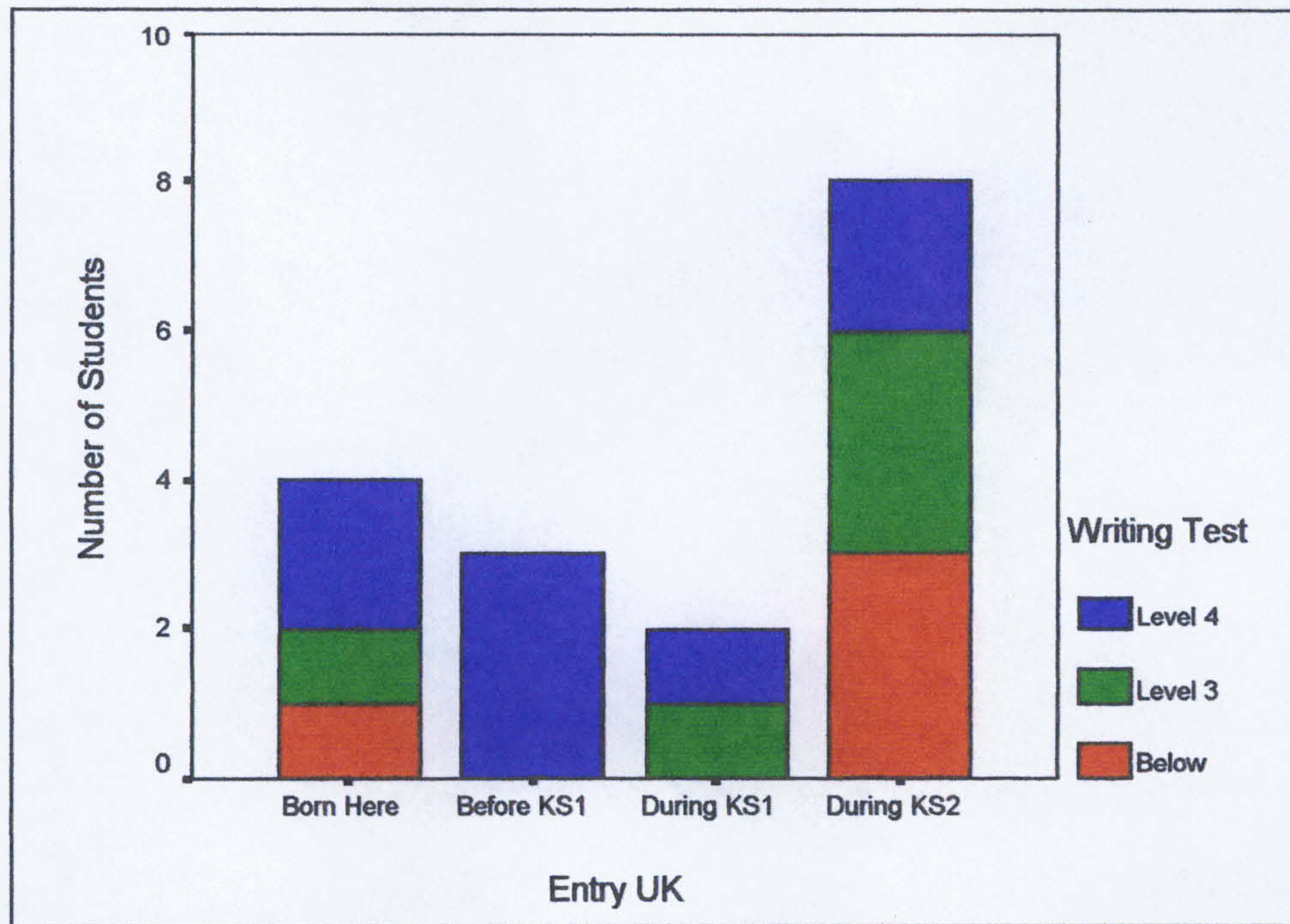


Figure 6. 25 - Entry to UK – Writing Test (KS2)

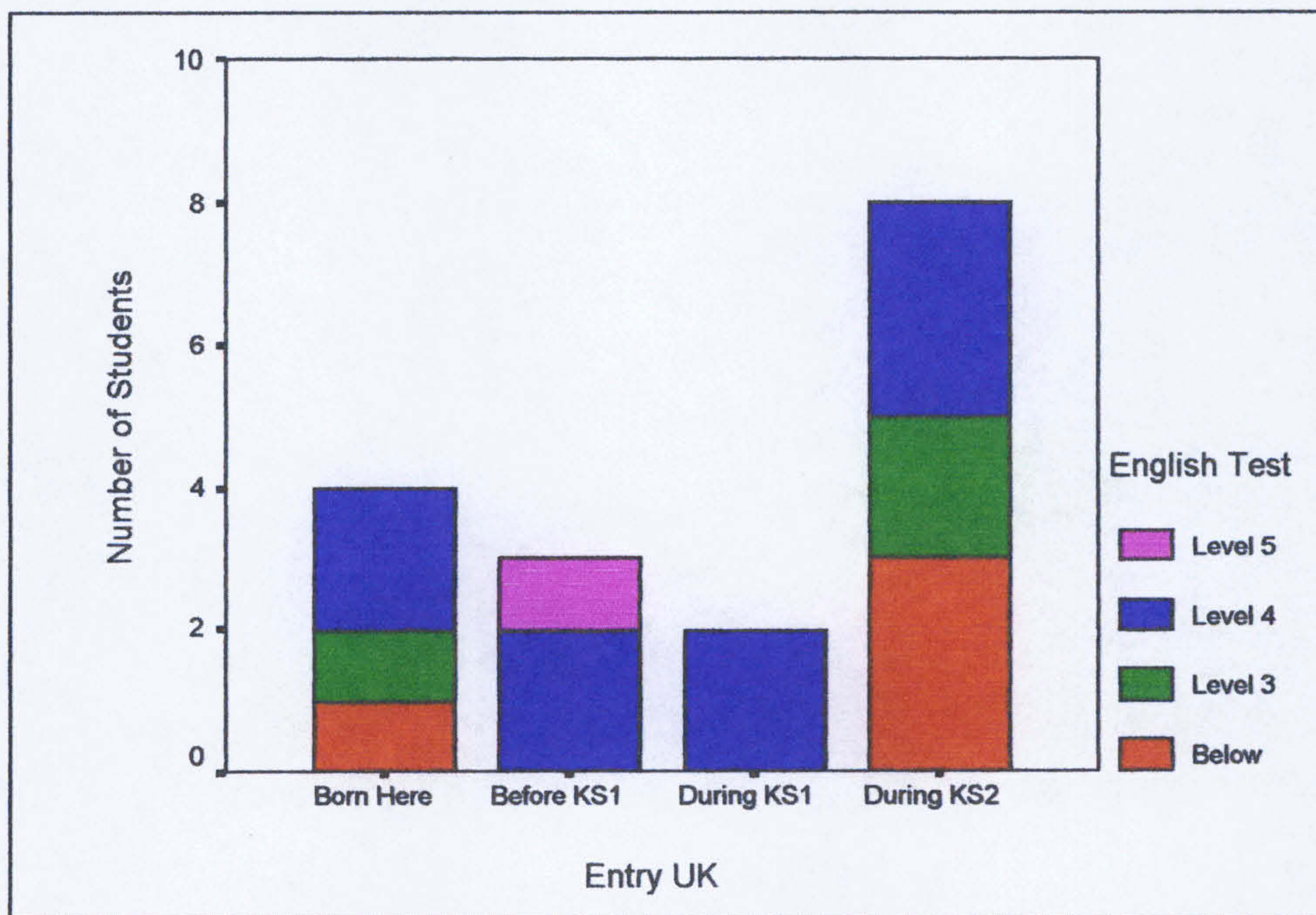


Figure 6. 26 - Entry to UK – English Test (KS2)

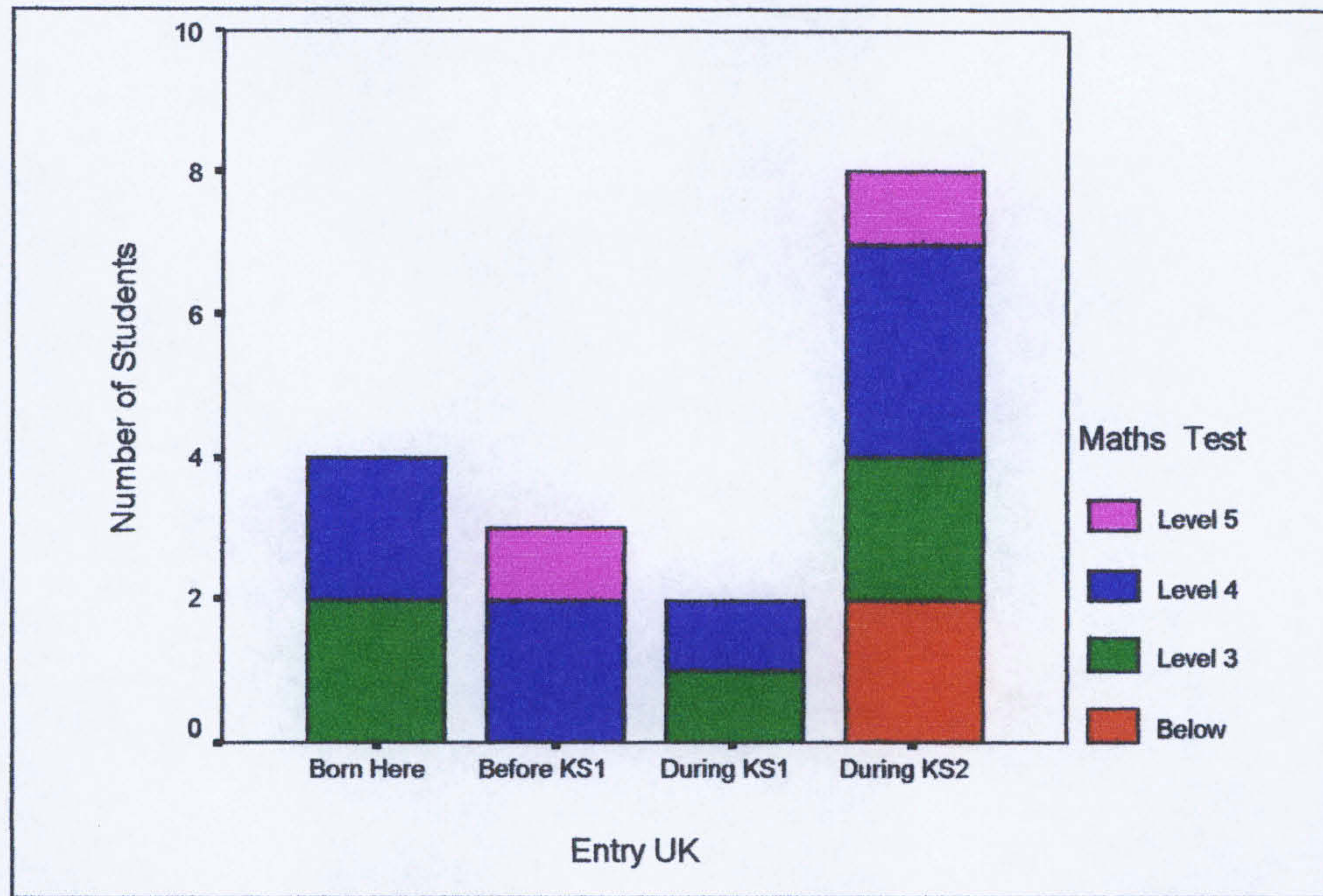


Figure 6. 27 - Entry to UK – Maths Test (KS2)

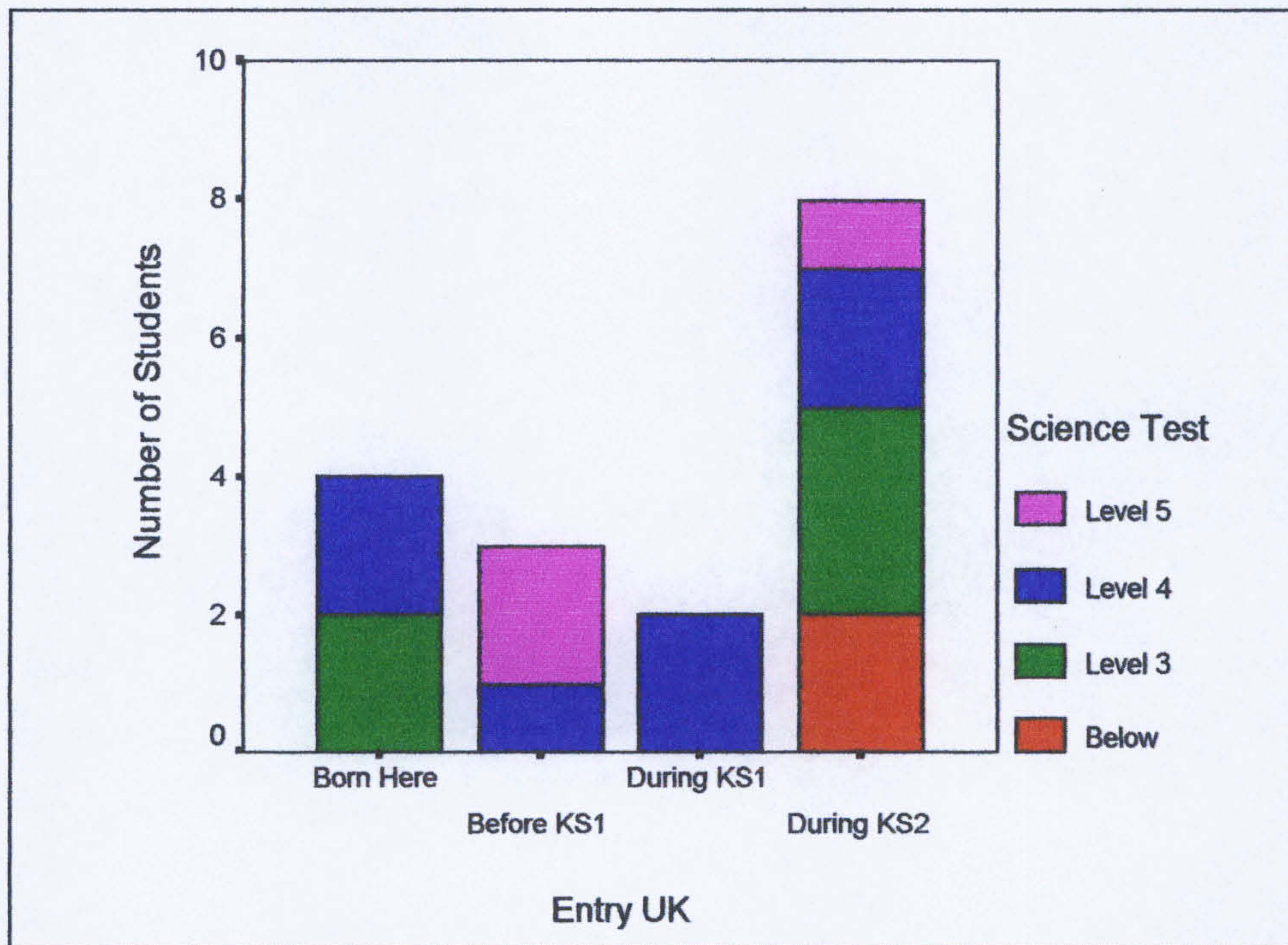
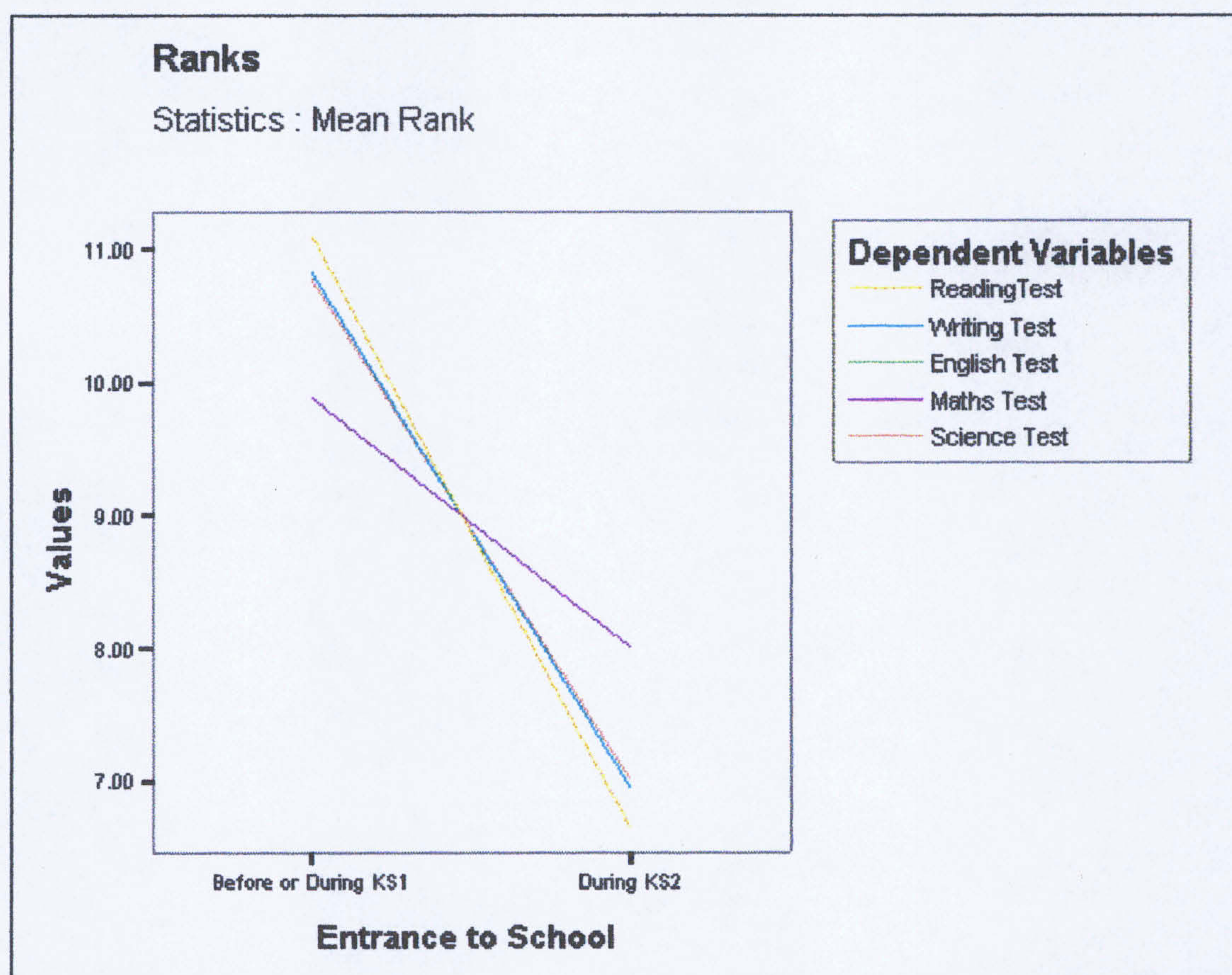


Figure 6. 28 - Entry to UK – Science Test (KS2)

No statistically significant association between variables (or difference regarding mean rank) was found for groups a, b, c and d (Born here, Before KS1, During KS1, During KS2).

This was also true when the sample was divided into two groups. One group comprised the students who had been born in the UK (4 children) and those arriving before or during KS1 (5 children). The children in this group had all attended the full length of schooling at KS2. The second group was constituted by the children who had arrived during KS2 (8 children).

Although there is a tendency for the group who has a longer period of school attendance to achieve higher results (see a plot of the Mann-Whitney mean rank below, Graph 6.4), this difference does not quite reach statistically significant levels (Reading test, $p=0.059$).



Graph 6. 4 - Entry to school (2 groups) (KS2)

It is possible that other factors such as children's Maths knowledge, acquired whilst at school in Portugal, and parental input through homework may be contributing to raise the attainment of students who started school during

KS2. The parents of these children may feel a greater need to help their children who were not born here. This would explain why the group who entered the UK before Key Stage1 appeared, in the plot of the test results, to fare better than those who were born here. As in KS1, parental support could be helping to boost the results of these children through help with numeracy skills, in Maths, where knowledge of the English language may not be so important.

6.3.3 Key Stage 3

As was done previously for Key Stages 1 and 2, a Chi-Square test, as a measure of association, and a Mann-Whitney test, to compare mean ranks, were used for statistical analysis.

Nevertheless, unlike the KS1 and KS2 schools, the secondary schools taking part in the study did not always have the date of entry in the country for the children who, although not born in the UK, had attended some or all of their primary schooling in this country. For this reason, the results of the students in KS3 were divided into three groups:

- a) children born in this country;
- b) children who attended school in the UK at least since the beginning of Year 7 (these children may have attended the full length of primary education in the UK) and;
- c) children who started school during or after Year 7.

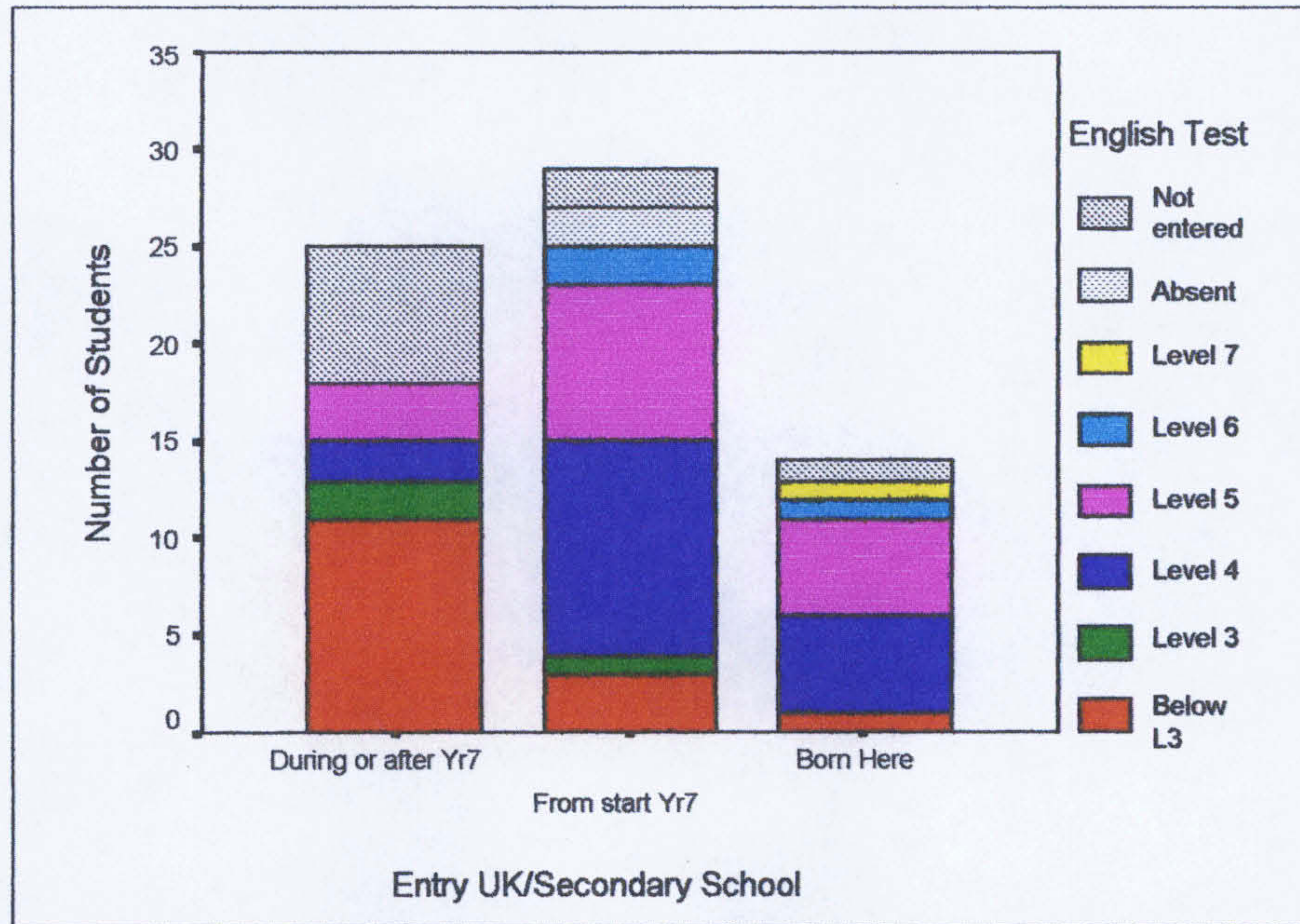


Figure 6. 29 - Entry UK/Secondary School (KS3) – English

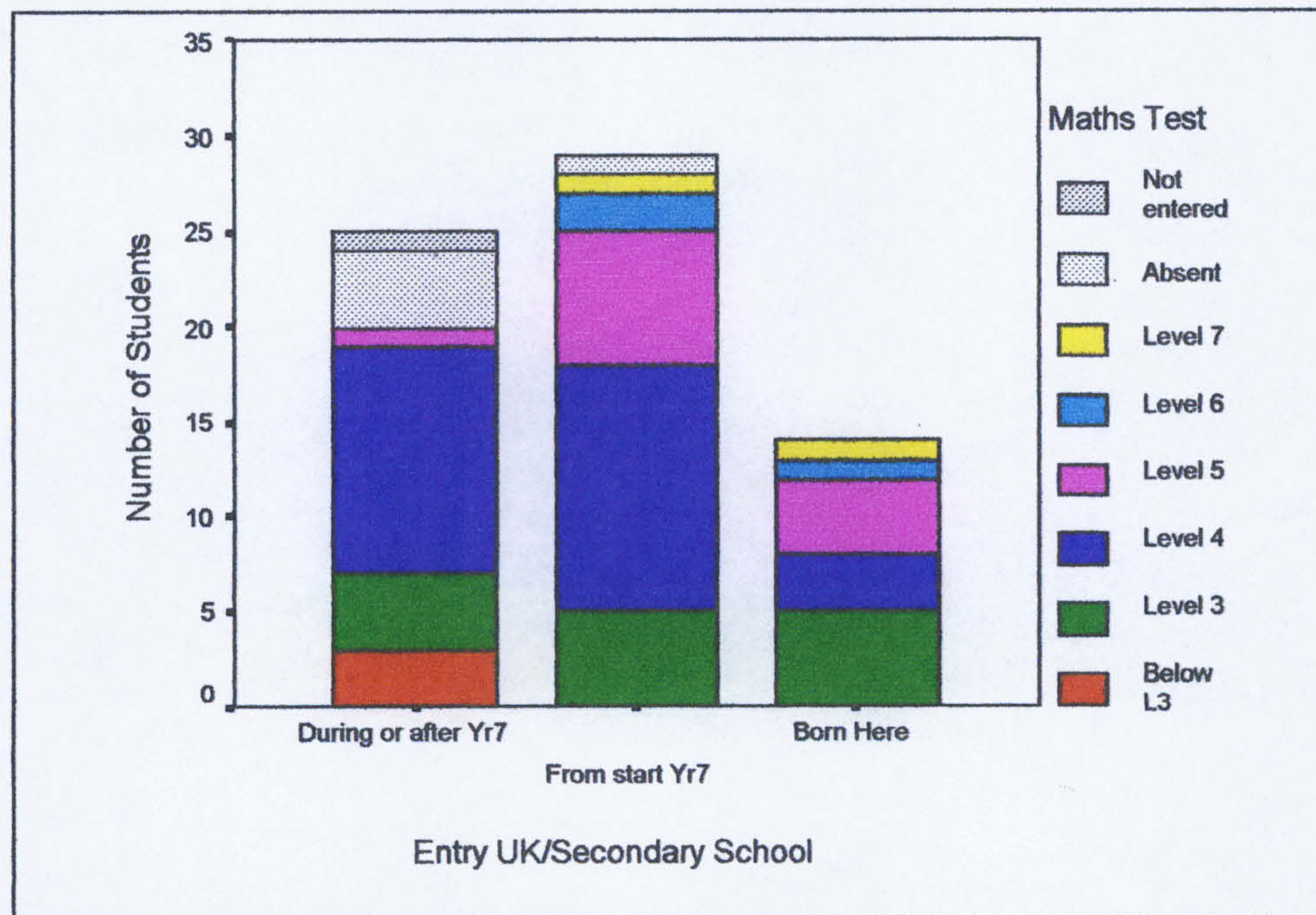


Figure 6. 30 - Entry UK/Secondary School (KS3) - Maths

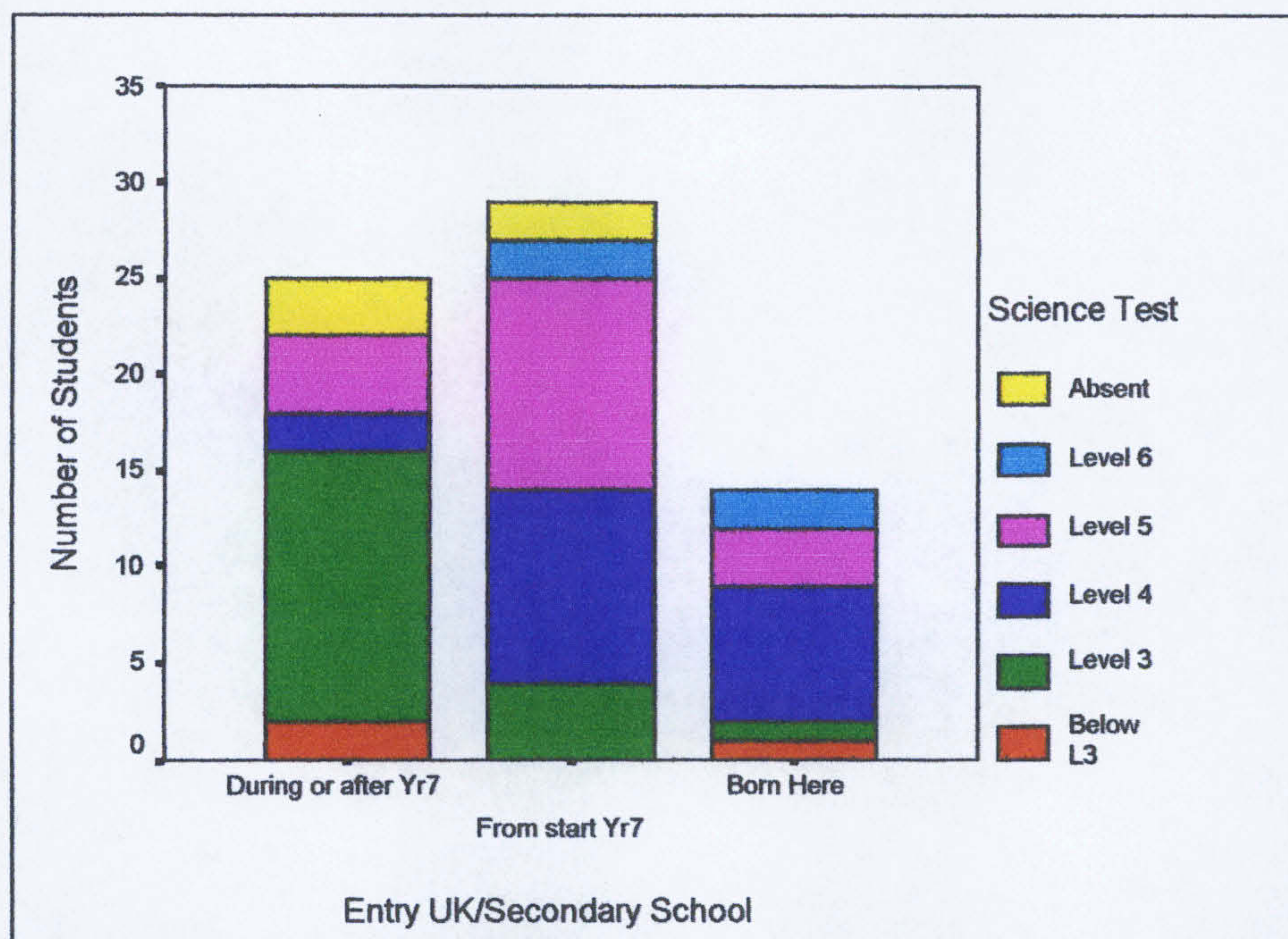


Figure 6.31 - Entry UK/Secondary School (KS3) - Science

As we can see from Figures 6.29, 6.30 and 6.31, there is a clear tendency for students who had less schooling time to achieve lower grades. Students who entered secondary school after the beginning of Year 7 attained lower grades than both their peers who had attended, at least, since the beginning of Key Stage 3 and those who were born here.

This tendency is confirmed by the statistical analysis. A Fisher's Exact test¹⁹ indicated high levels of significance for the association between the variables tested: length of schooling and results in the core subjects of English ($p=0.002$), Maths ($p=0.034$) and Science ($p<0.001$) (Table 6.4).

A comparison between the mean ranks for these groups was also carried out using a non-parametric test. The levels of Exact Significance can be seen on Table 6.4 below²⁰. The results yielded indicate a significant difference between the group who had 'Started school during or after Year 7' and the groups who had 'Attended secondary school from the beginning of Year 7' and 'Born in the UK' (with the exception of Maths for the latter).

¹⁹ Please see Appendix 3 for the complete statistical analysis.

²⁰ As note above.

No statistically significant difference was found between the mean ranks of the groups who had 'Attended secondary school from the beginning of Year 7' and 'Born in the UK'. It is important to note, however, that the former group includes children that may have attended school since the beginning of Primary education. Indeed, at least 7 of the 25 students in this group, whose results are being analysed, attended school in the UK since the age of 7 (1993) or before.

Levels of Exact Significance (2-sided) achieved in Mann-Whitney test	English Test	Maths Test	Science Test
During or After Yr.7 vs. From begin. Yr. 7	0.001	0.011	0.000
During or After Yr.7 vs. Born UK	0.001	0.123 (NS)	0.007
From begin. Yr. 7 vs. Born UK	0.339 (NS)	0.807 (NS)	0.702 (NS)

(NS) = Not significantly different.

Table 6. 4 - Core Subjects vs. Entry to UK/Sec. School (KS3) – Levels of Exact Significance

It is interesting to note that there is no statistically significant difference, for Maths, in the mean ranks of the students who were born here and those who came to the UK after the beginning of Year 7. This could be related to similarities in the Maths curriculum in Portugal and in the UK or/and less reliance on the use of verbal language.

Overall, the analysis confirms a profound disparity in the results achieved at the end of Key Stage 3 between those students who entered school already during this key stage and those who attended school in the UK from a younger age.

6.3.4 Key Stage 4

As it was the case in Key Stage 3, schools did not always have available the date of entry into the country of students not born here. This applied to students who had been attending a primary school in the UK before being admitted to a secondary school.

Therefore, the sample of students attending Key Stage 4 was divided into three groups:

- a) children born in this country;
- b) children who attended school in the UK at least since the beginning of Year 7 (these children may have attended the full length of primary education in the UK) and;
- c) children who started school during or after Year 7.

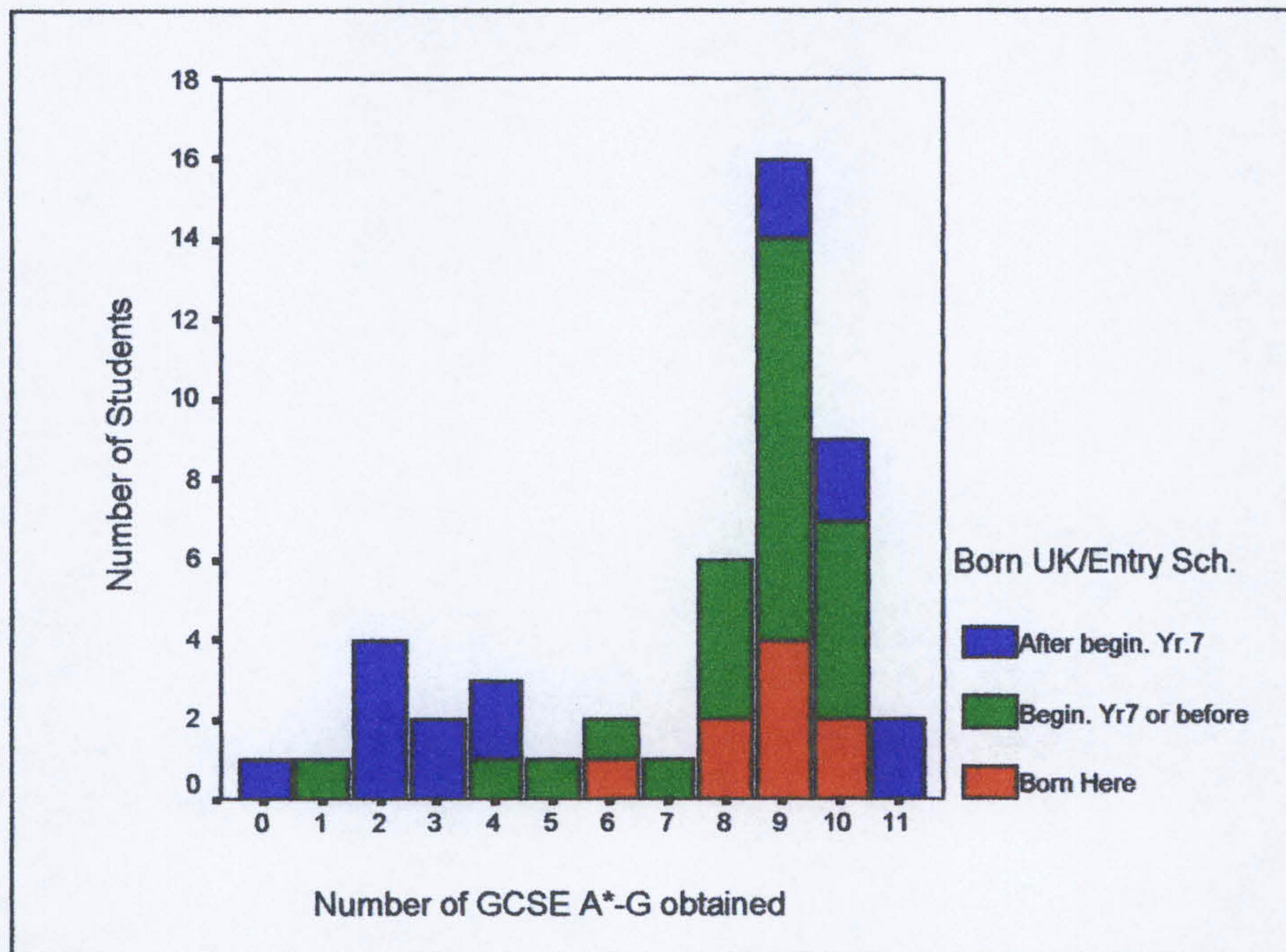


Figure 6. 32 - Number of GCSEs A*-G obtained according to Entry UK/School

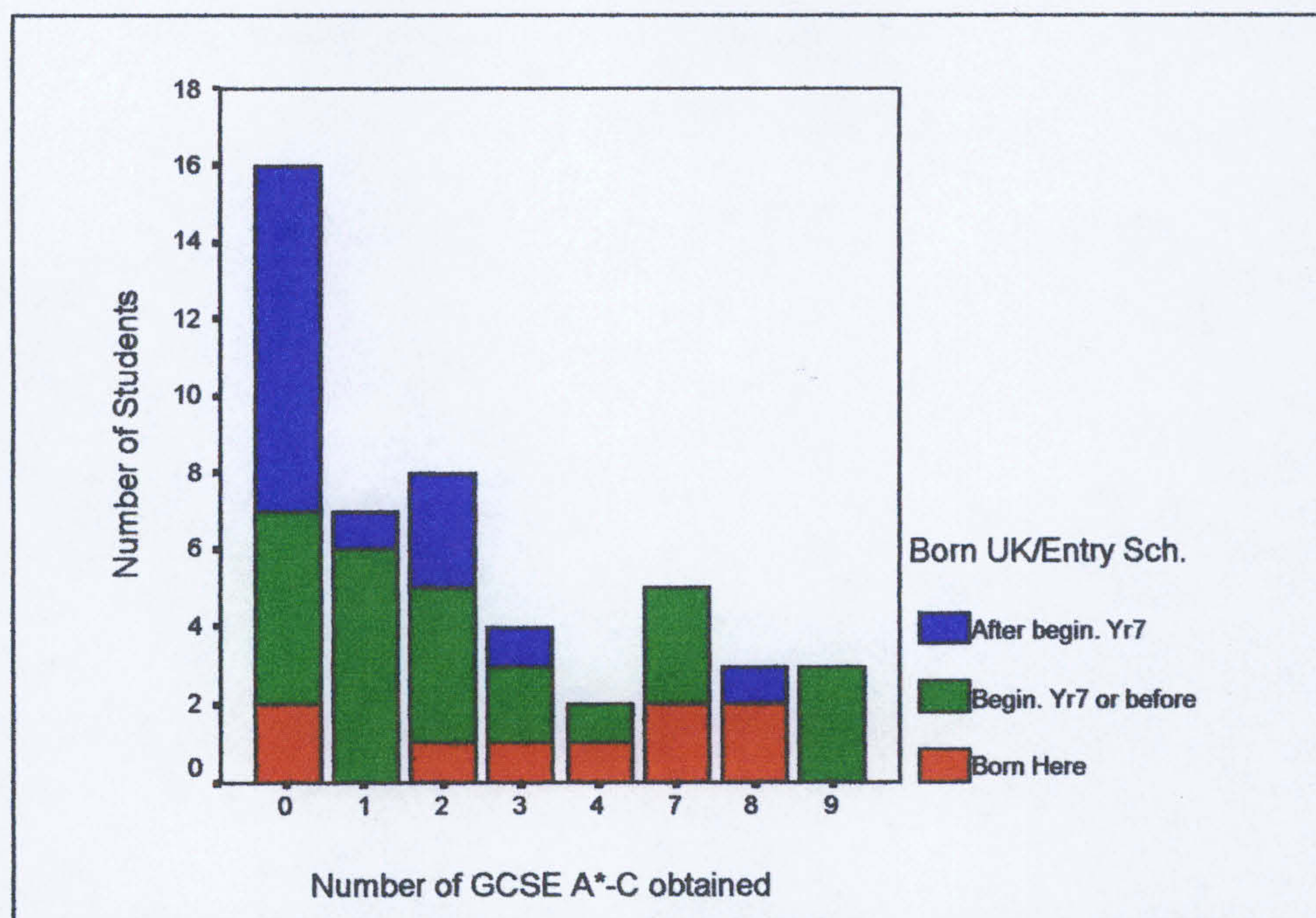


Figure 6. 33 - Number of GCSEs A*-C obtained according to Entry UK/School

As we can see from Figures 6.32 and 6.33, students who had attended school for, at least, the full length of both Key Stages 3 and 4, attained a higher number of GCSEs than those students who did not have that opportunity. The results of the students who entered school after the beginning of KS3 are skewed, i.e. of the fifteen students in this group, nine achieved 4 or less GCSEs, while the remaining six students obtained 9 or more. Although one might think that the results of this latter group reflect an earlier entry in Key Stage 3, this is not the case. These six students had entered the UK since 1996²¹ and they did not all belong to the same school. Other factors probably related to the individuals' abilities and previous school experience in Portugal may have influenced their achievement.

On the other hand, if we consider the number of GCSEs A*-C obtained, see Figure 6.33, the pattern is clearer. Students who entered school after the beginning of KS3 tend to achieve less high grades than their peers. In fact, the majority (nine out of fifteen) does not obtain any GCSE A*-C and only five students in this group achieve 3 or less GCSEs A*-C.

A Chi-Square test²² (Fisher's Exact) indicated an association (significance level of $p=0.026$) between the number of GCSEs obtained (A*-G) and the different groups with different entry points to school/UK or born here.

In the Mann-Whitney test, no significant difference in the mean ranks was found in the number of GCSEs A*-G between the group of students who entered school after the beginning of KS3 (Yr. 7) and

- those who were born here (Exact significance, 2-sided, $p=0.164$) and;
- those who entered school at or before the beginning of Yr.7 (Exact significance, 2-sided, $p=0.129$).

The skewedness, alluded to above, in the distribution of the results of the former group of students is, probably, the reason for this.

With regard to the number of GCSE grades A*-C, in the measure of association (Chi-Square: Fisher's Exact test), no significant association was found between the number of GCSEs attained (A*-C) and the length of school attendance ($p=0.068$).

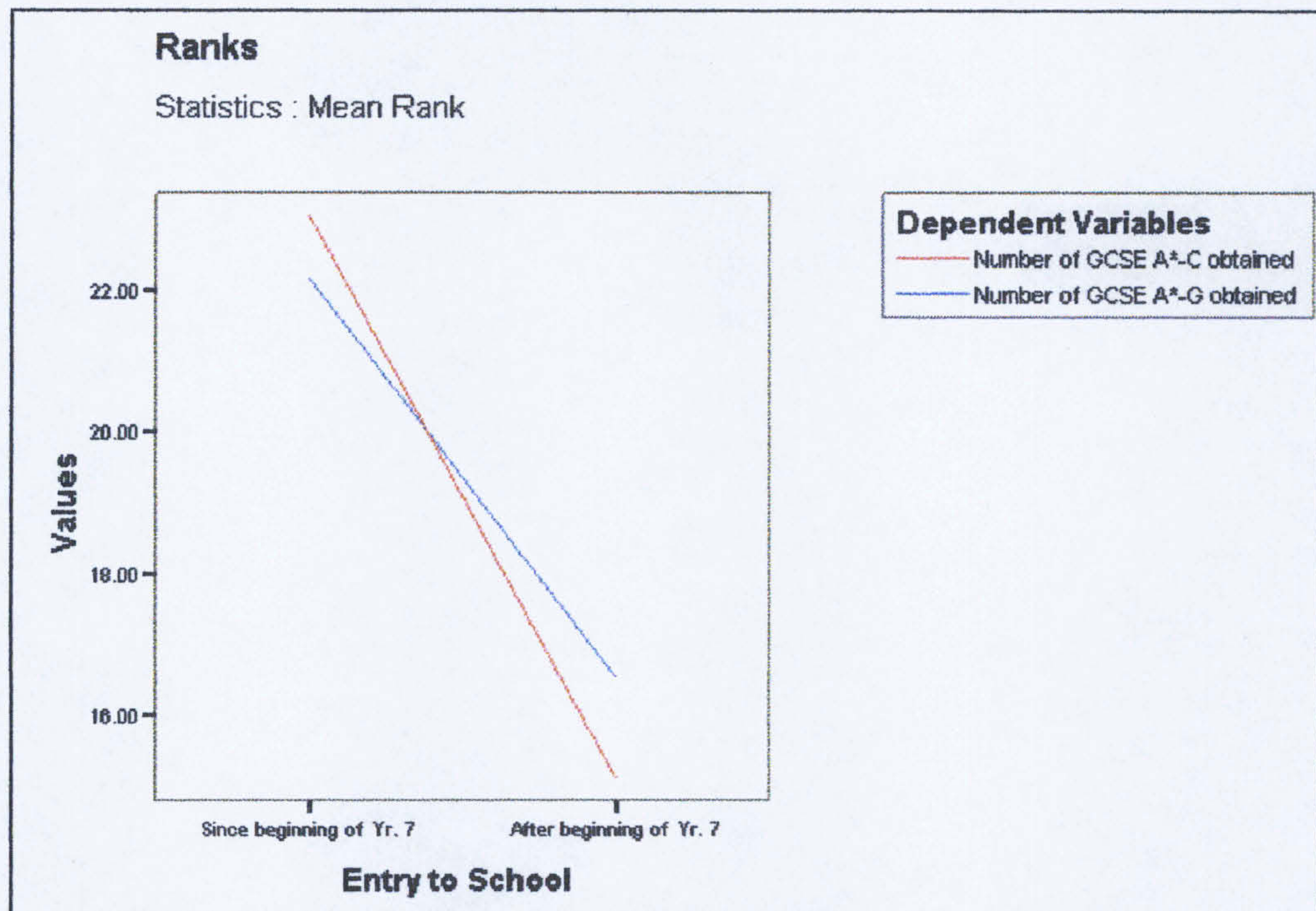
Statistically significant differences were found, however, between the mean ranks of the group that had started school 'After the Beginning of Yr.7' and

the group that started school from the 'Beginning of Yr.7 or before' (GCSEs A*-C, Exact significance (2-sided) $p=0.028$) (see Graph 6.5).

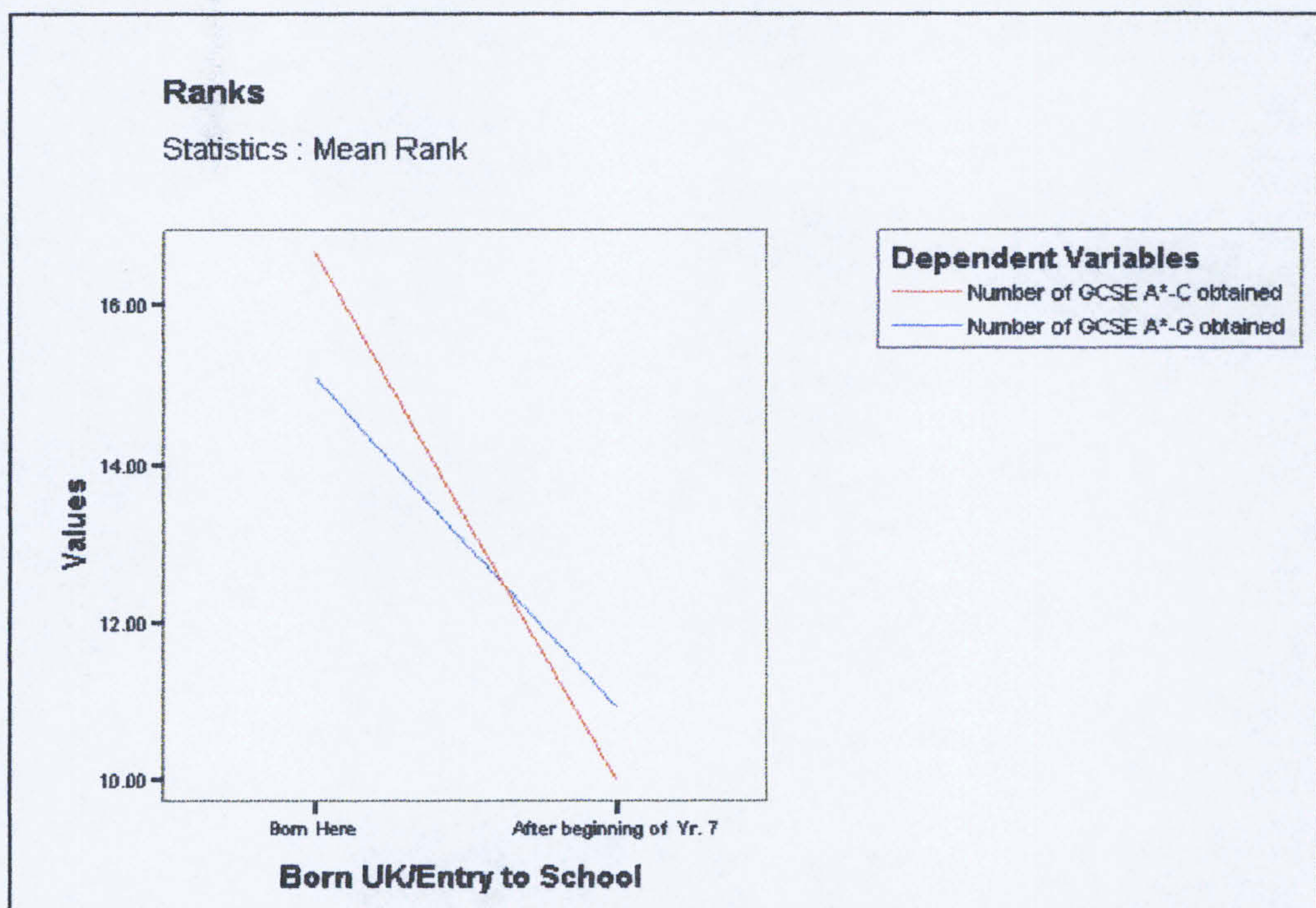
the group 'Born in the UK' (GCSEs A*-C, Exact significance (2-sided) $p=0.017$) (see Graph 6.6).

²¹ Two students had entered the UK in 1996, 3 in 1997 and 1 in 1998. The GCSEs achieved refer to school year 1998/99.

²² Please see Appendix 4 for the complete statistical analysis.



Graph 6. 5 - Mean rank - Entry to School (KS4)



Graph 6. 6 - Mean rank - Born UK/Entry to School (KS4)

In summary, the length of school attendance, conditioned by the period of time a student has resided in the UK, can be seen to have a positive effect upon the level of GCSEs obtained. Thus, although the students who had been longer in the country obtained a number of GCSE passes A*-G not significantly different from those students who had not, a proportional relationship was found regarding the number of GCSE A*-C obtained, whereby those students who have been in the country longer achieve a greater number of these grades.

6.4 Attendance at mother tongue classes

Is there an effect (association between variables or difference in the mean ranks) between length of residence in the UK and the number of children who attend/not attend mother tongue classes?

In this section, the number of children attending mother tongue classes will be compared according to their length of residence in the UK or whether they were born here (for those children where data are available). When date of entry into the UK is not available, the length of time the students have been attending school will be considered (school entry date). These comparisons will be made per Key Stage attended.

6.4.1 Key Stage 1

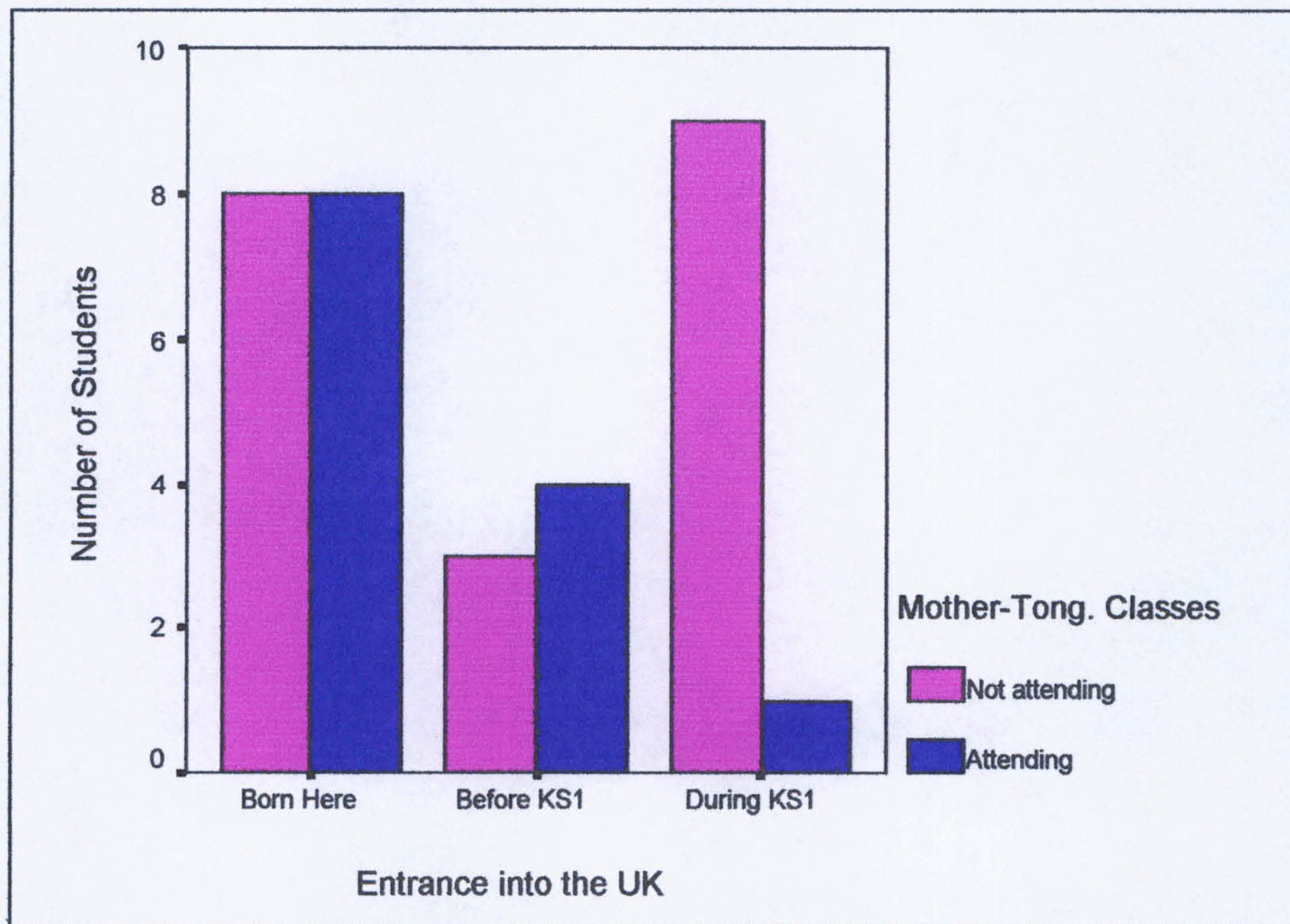


Figure 6. 34 - Attendance at mother tongue classes (KS1)

As we can see from the distribution of the data above, in Key Stage 1, the number of students attending mother tongue classes is smaller than that of students who do not attend.

With regard to the children who attend mother tongue classes, there seems to be a higher number of those who were born here or who entered the country early. Nevertheless, although we can see that the proportion of students attending mother tongue classes tends to diminish amongst the students who have arrived more recently, there is no significant association between entry into the UK and attendance at mother tongue classes (Fisher's Exact test (2-sided) level of significance $p=0.082$). It is possible, however, that there is a tendency that reflects a familiarity of the families with the social environment and the use of resources available to allow the attendance at the classes.

6.4.2 Key Stage 2

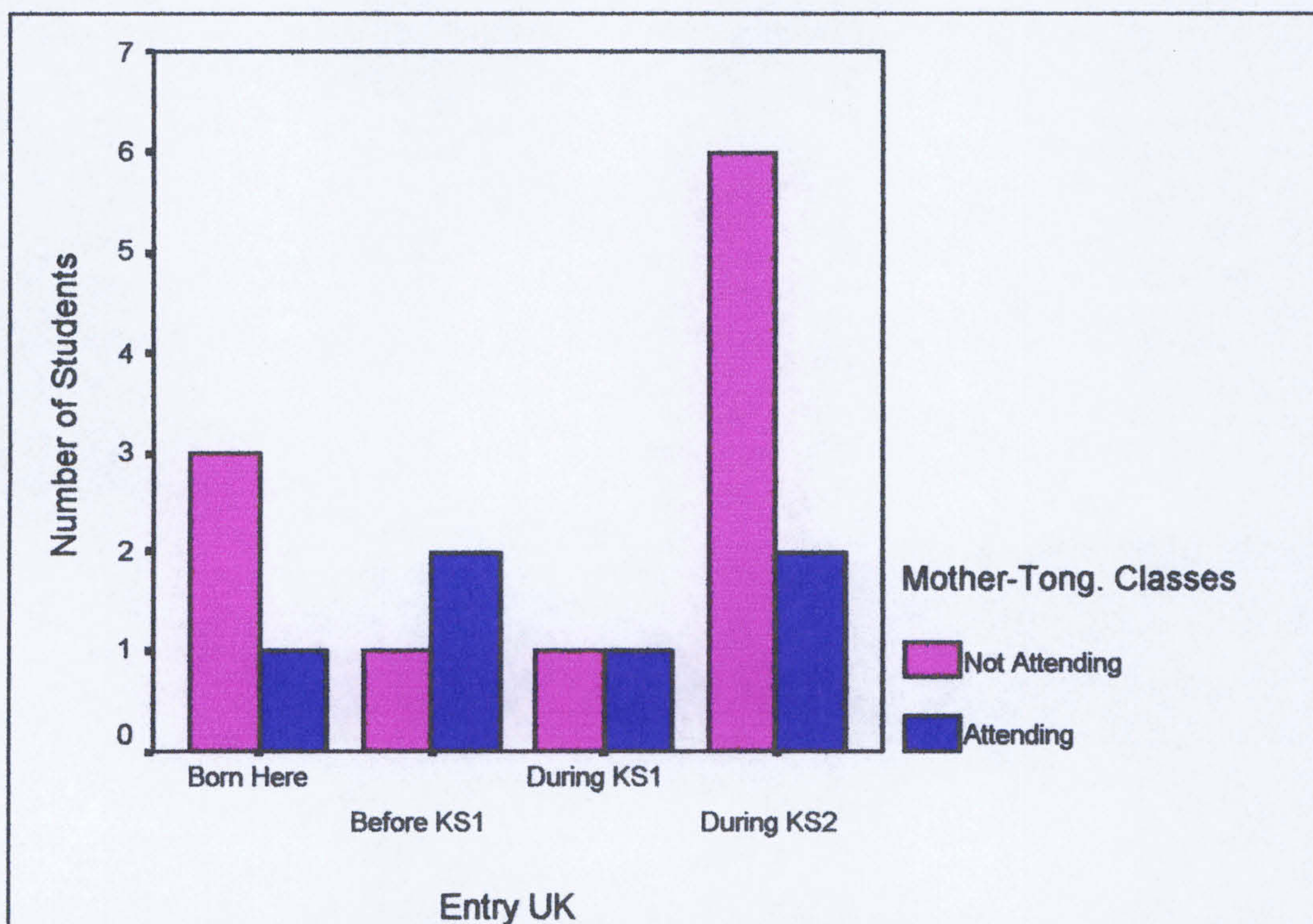


Figure 6. 35 - Attendance at mother tongue classes (KS2)

From the distribution of the data in Figure 6.35, above, there appears to be a tendency for the children who entered the UK during KS2 not to attend mother tongue classes.

In the statistical analysis no statistically significant association was found between the two variables: entry to the UK and attendance at mother tongue classes²³ (Chi-Square: Fisher's Exact test, 2-sided level of significance 0.661).

6.4.3 Key Stage 3

In this section, when a student not born in the UK has entered the country before the beginning of KS3 and a date of entrance into the UK is not available these students are categorised in 'During KS2 or before'.

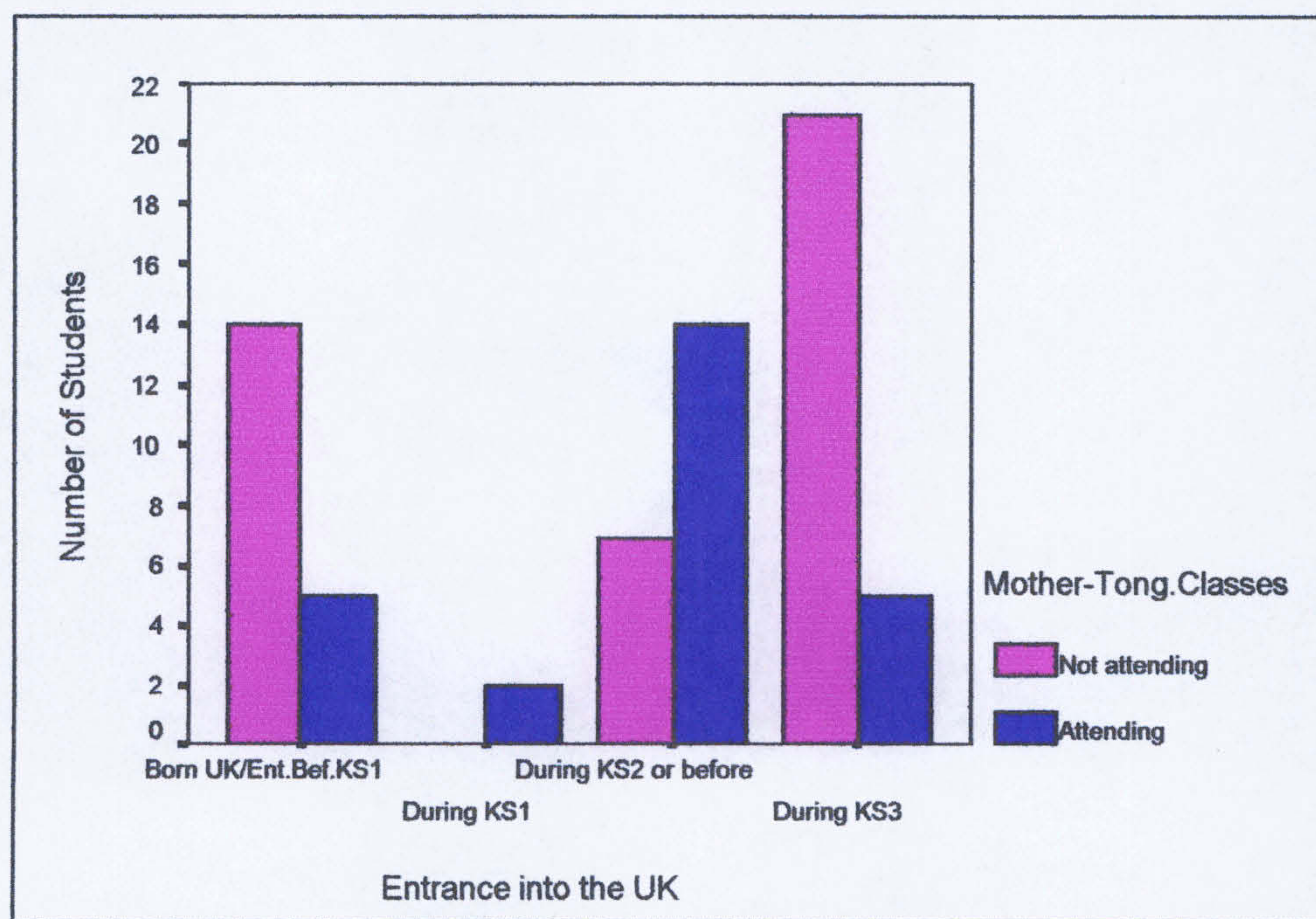


Figure 6. 36 - Attendance at mother tongue classes (KS3)

In a Chi-Square test, a statistically significant association was observed between the period of entrance into the UK and attendance at mother tongue classes (Fisher's Exact test (2-sided) $p=0.001$)²⁴. This would indicate that the

²³ For the statistical analysis relating to Key Stage 2 see Appendix 2.

²⁴ For the statistical analysis relating to Key Stage 3 see Appendix 3.

earlier the student has entered the country the more likely it is that s/he will attend mother tongue classes. Students born in this country, however, appear to constitute an exception to this rule.

6.4.4 Key Stage 4

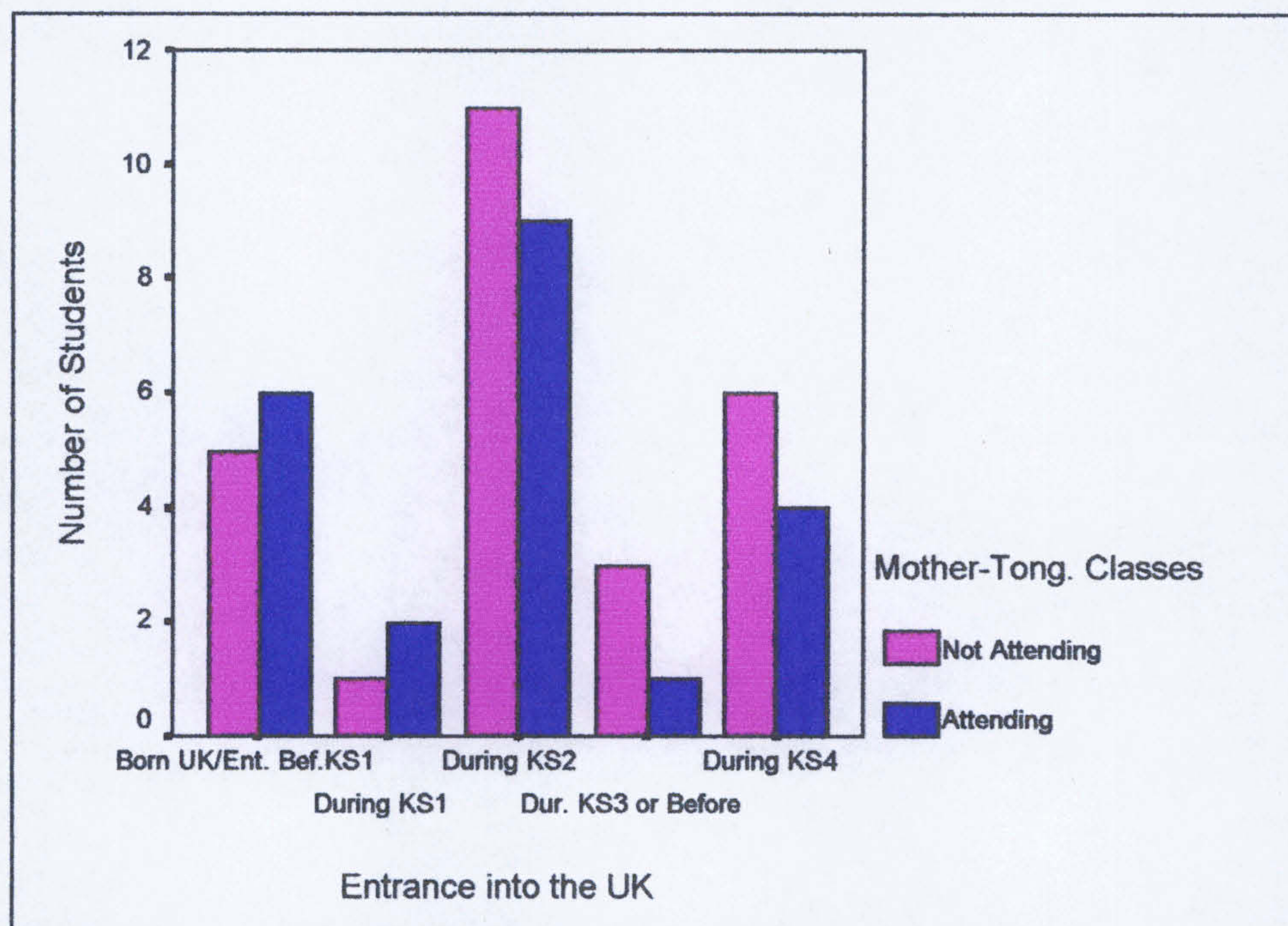


Figure 6. 37 - Attendance at mother tongue classes (KS4)

In Key Stage 4, the majority of the students who were born in this country as well as those who entered before or during KS1 attended mother tongue classes. This pattern, however, changes with respect to students who arrived in the UK during KS2 or afterwards. From KS2 onwards, more students appear in the group not attending classes than those who do attend. Given that these students would have started KS2 in 1990/91, could this reflect pressures from the introduction of the National Curriculum, e.g. extra homework?

In a statistical analysis²⁵, no association was found between the variables regarding the groups above (Figure 6.37).

It would appear from the above data that the attendance at mother tongue classes in Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 has one characteristic in common: Students who are recent arrivals tend not to attend mother tongue classes as much as those who have been in the country for, at least, a few years. In Key Stages 3 and 4, the highest proportion of students attending mother tongue classes can be found amongst those who entered the country during KS2. These are students who have already started primary school in Portugal. This could lead us to believe that the attendance at mother tongue classes is affected by factors other than the mere availability of classes, as the students who did not attend came from the same schools as those who did attend. The attendance at these supplementary classes is probably related to identity: maintaining and developing existing skills in mother tongue and to social factors such as networks of help. These findings will be explored through the qualitative data analysis carried out in subsequent chapters.

²⁵ See Appendix 4 for the statistical analysis.

6.5 Main points arising from this chapter

Is there a significant difference (or association with the dependent variable), in the end of Key Stage results, between Portuguese children attending mother tongue classes and those not attending?

a) In Key Stage 1, the data analysed indicates a significant difference between the results achieved by the two groups (attending vs. not attending). The group of children attending mother tongue classes achieved significantly higher results in the Writing and Maths tests than the group not attending mother tongue classes with the results for the Reading test falling just outside the level of significance ($p=0.059$).

The group of children attending mother tongue classes achieved academic results very close to the local and national averages.

b) In Key Stage 2, no statistically significant association was found (or difference between mean rank) regarding the attendance at mother tongue classes and the results attained. Although a plot of the mean rank indicated a tendency for children attending mother tongue classes to perform better in the tests this was not confirmed by the statistical analysis.

Students attending mother tongue classes achieved results above the borough averages in English and Maths.

c) At the end of KS3, the statistical analysis of the results indicates that the group of students attending mother tongue classes shows significantly higher results in the English test than the group not attending these classes.

There is a tendency for the group attending mother tongue classes to achieve a higher result in the Science test. However, unlike in the English test, this difference did not reach statistical significance. This could be due to a

greater number of recently arrived students being entered for the Science test but not being entered for the English test.

d) A very high proportion of the students attending mother tongue classes (14 out of 22) achieved a result of either 'A' or 'A*' in their Portuguese GCSE exam.

No significant difference was found between the group of students attending and not attending mother tongue classes regarding the number of GCSEs exams (grades A*-G). Students attending mother tongue classes can be expected to pass the same number of GCSE exams as those not attending these classes.

Students enrolled in mother tongue classes obtained a significantly higher number of A*-C GCSE passes than those students who did not attend such classes. Grades D and C represent a critical breakpoint where students attending mother tongue classes showed an advantage.

Is there a significant difference (or association with the dependent variable), in the end of Key Stage results, between Portuguese children who were born in the UK and those who were not?

a) An association was found between the length of school attendance and the end of Key Stage 1 results in the Reading, Writing and Maths tests. The difference in mean ranks regarding the above tests indicates a statistically significant difference between the children born in the UK and those who started school after the age of 5.

b) In Key Stage 2, no statistical association (or difference in mean rank) was found between length of schooling and results in the core subjects of English (including Reading and Writing), Maths and Science.

Factors such as previous school experience and parental support should be considered regarding the school attainment of the children who arrived during KS2.

c) Length of school attendance can be seen as influencing the end of Key Stage 3 results. At the end of this key stage, significant mean rank differences were found in the grades achieved in all three core subjects (English, Maths and English) between the group of students who attended school from the beginning of Yr. 7 and those who entered school after the beginning of KS3.

Significant differences were also found between the group of students who entered school during or after Yr. 7 and those who were born in the UK in the English and Science tests but not in the Maths test. This could be due to previous secondary school experience which students recently arrived from Portugal would have but would be lacking in those who had entered the UK at or before Yr. 7.

d) In Key Stage 4, a proportional relationship was found whereby students who have been in the country and attended secondary school for a longer period of time attained more GCSE A*-C grades.

Is there an effect (association or difference in the mean ranks) between length of residence in the UK and the number of children who attend/not attend Mother Tongue classes?

Only in Key Stage 3 was a statistically significant association found between the period of entrance into the UK and attendance at mother tongue classes. Nevertheless, although not statistically significant, there is a predominant tendency for students who are recent arrivals not to attend mother tongue classes when compared to those who have been in the country for some

time. The attendance at mother tongue classes is suggested to be related to other factors better explored through qualitative data (see following chapters).

Analysis of the data collected in the interviews with students and/or parents: Introduction and description of the group

As detailed previously in Chapter 4¹ - Methodology, the study included two samples: a larger sample² and a smaller sample, extracted from the first, from which data to be qualitatively analysed were collected. This chapter concerns the analysis of the data from the smaller sample obtained during interviews with students and/or parents.

The group that constituted this sample consisted of 15 children attending mother tongue classes and 13 children not attending, in Years 6, 9 and 11 of compulsory education (see Table 7.1 below), as well as their parents (generally, either the mother or the father). In three cases (Maria, Bernardo and Carla), the parents declined to take part in the interviews. In one case, Susie, the mother felt that it was not appropriate for her daughter to be interviewed. Nevertheless, this mother did not object to taking part herself over the phone.

Although the period of residence indicated in Table III.1 below refers to the child's residence in the UK (Time UK), the variation shown also corresponds to the variation in the period of time their parents have resided in the UK. There was a wide range in the length of time the families had been residing in the UK. Nevertheless, the majority of the children were first generation migrants. Only 5 of the 28 children that constituted the sample had been born in this country and only 2 parents had, themselves, attended compulsory education in the UK. Table III.1 below shows the distribution of students in the sample according to the school year they were attending and according to attendance at mother tongue classes.

¹ See Figure 4.1: Graphic representation of study sample structure

² Data collected in the form of end of key stage results and quantitatively analysed.

Attending Mother tongue classes		Not Attending Mother tongue classes	
Time UK Born here = *		Time UK Born here = *	
Yr. 6		Yr. 6	
Carmina	1	Ben	3
Matilde	5	José	2
Norberto	3	Joaquim	5
Sandra	11*	Teresa	8
Silvia	9		
Yr. 9		Yr. 9	
Filipe	9	Alexandra	6
Debbie	5	Augusto	5
Joana	14*	Inês	7
Madalena	2	Paulo	7
Pedro	4	Rita	10
Susie ³	14*		
Vitalina	3		
Yr. 11		Yr. 11	
Bernardo ⁴	10	Ana	15*
Carla ⁵	1	Clarisse	15*
Carlos	9	Eusébio	5
		Maria ⁶	2

Table III- 1 - Students' names and groups

As indicated in the previous page, the parents of Maria, Bernardo and Carla declined to be interviewed. With regard to Susie, although the student herself was not interviewed, the mother chose to take part and, therefore, only the mother was interviewed. In most cases (15 students), only the mother was interviewed and, in Paulo's case, only the father. There were three families where both the mother and the father were present (Sandra, José, Eusébio) and, in several instances, other family members as well such as siblings and members of the extended family (Carmina, Silvia, Madalena, Joaquim and Ana).

One of the objectives of this qualitative data analysis is to identify patterns between and within the two main groups of Portuguese children being studied: those attending mother tongue classes and those not attending. The

³ Only the mother was interviewed.

^{4,5,6} No parent was interviewed.

analysis also intended, wherever possible, to address issues raised by the quantitative analysis of the larger sample.

In order to identify patterns in the data, the analysis will start from a wider view of the whole group and then move on to compare sub-groups and sets within those sub-groups, as they emerge from the data.

Chapter 7 – Portrait of a community

CHAPTER 7 – PORTRAIT OF A COMMUNITY	234
7.1 Introduction	235
7.2 Area of origin	236
7.3 Reason for migration	239
7.4 Form of migration	244
7.5 Accommodation	248
7.6 First impressions	252
7.7 Obtaining employment	255
7.8 Summary	259

7.1 Introduction

Although demographic data and migration statistics relating to the community in London may be available elsewhere, these cannot give a description of the community, its people and their stories. From the interviews with the parents of the children in the sample come the human faces behind the numbers and the various facets that constitute day-to-day life.

Within the whole group, some factors appeared to be clustered, interacting among themselves and determining the characteristics of others. This is the case in the following:

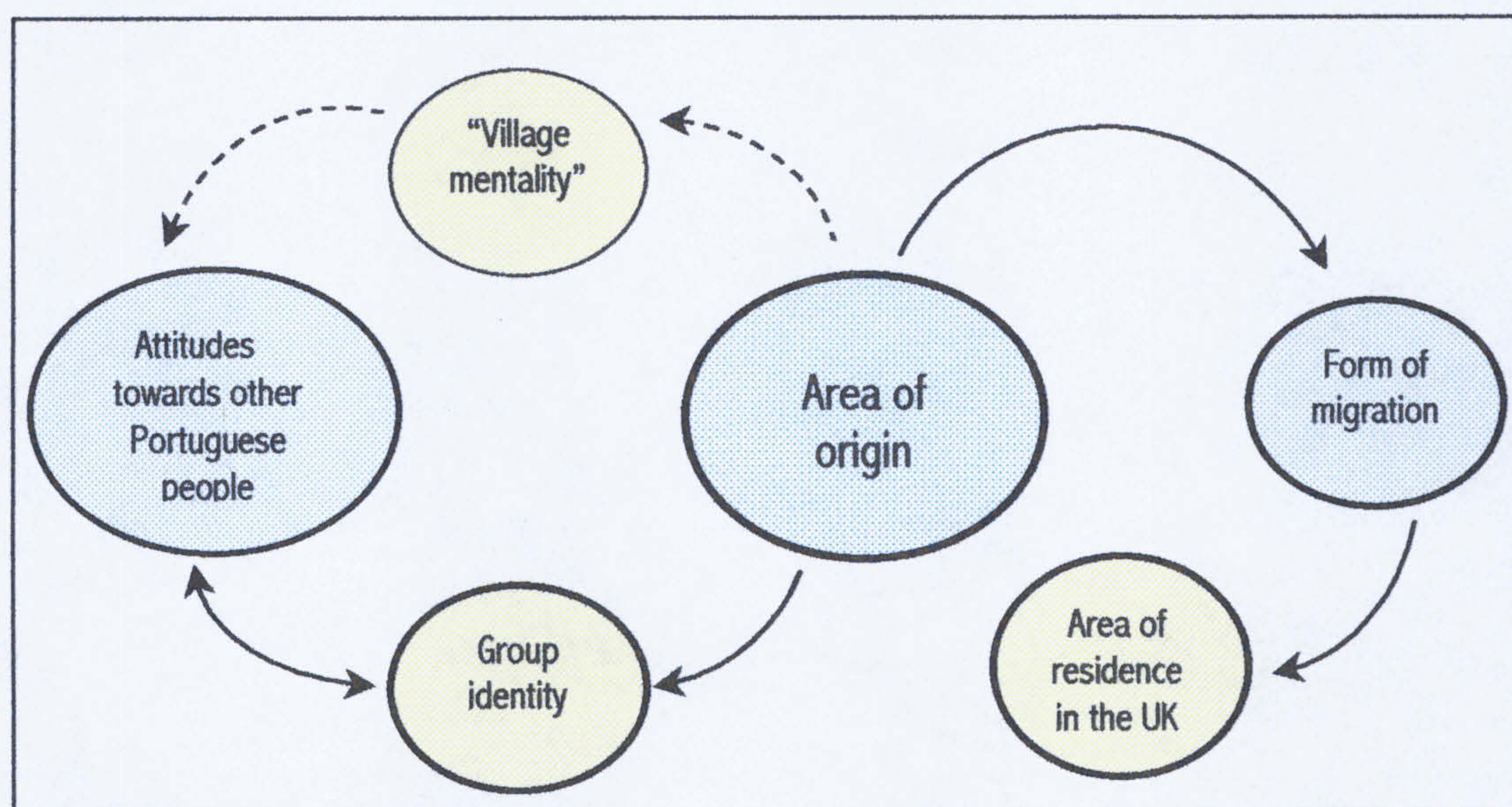


Figure 7. 1 – Factor interaction

The area of origin of the families appears to have a centralised role affecting other factors. As we shall see below, it can have a determining role in the area where the families come to reside, as most people leave their town in Portugal to come and join family members or friends they knew back home. Also, people develop (or reject) group identities according to their area of origin and that group identity affects the way they view other members of the community. Furthermore, as most people come from small village areas, patterns of mutual help and intimate knowledge about your neighbours can

easily lead to habits of discussing other people's private lives. Although this can be accepted as a matter of fact in a small village, the respondents' attitudes towards other members of the Portuguese community would indicate that reproducing such behaviour in an urban environment is not acceptable. In some cases, that may lead to individual rejection of the group identity.

7.2 Area of origin

Of the 28 families involved in the study, the single largest group according to area of origin is that of Madeira. Thirteen families came from Madeira. The remaining 15, although they came from Mainland Portugal, tend to be distributed into two larger groups: North (Coimbra and regions above) and Centre (Lisbon and surrounding areas, including Setúbal, south of the Tagus river); of these, the northern regions were the most represented. There were no participants from the South (Algarve and areas below Centre region) or from the Azores Islands.

When commenting on their area of origin and that of other Portuguese people living in London, participants responded with the following:

Clarisse: Half of Madeira is over here.

Filipe's mother: Madeirans must be the majority (here). Madeirans and from the area of Viseu. The majority is from Madeira and from Viseu. Albeit from the North now, there are quite a few, but the majority is from Madeira and Viseu. Those, the ones that take more of this region here, of Stockwell, around here is more the Madeirans. Towards Fulham, there are many from up there, from Montalegre. There, in the area of Fulham. In this area, there aren't many. Half a dozen of them.

Silvia's father: There are lots of people, lots of people from Trás-os-Montes here, people from Bragança. Here in Stockwell, then, there's the whole community. People from Trás-os-Montes, there are (gestures to mean a lot). But people from the Algarve, here in Stockwell, they are not very well regarded. There were a lot of people here to kill- , detainees, and drug addicts, all from the Algarve. So, the people here, we went down a bit.

Paulo's father: That happens even inside Portugal, doesn't it? It's natural that when they come over here they like to get together. They like to get together Madeirans with Madeirans, Azoreans with-that's normal, that's normal. That's normal because there in Portugal it is the Lisboeta (natural of Lisbon) with the Lisboeta, the Northerner with Northerner, the Alentejano (from the province of Alentejo) with Alentejano, but that is normal. That, I see it is correct that they do that inside Portugal. Not outside. Outside, we are all migrants. You see? Here, we don't have here, well, that thing of saying: I'm Madeiran, I'm Lisboeta. We are all here in a place that is not ours. This is not ours. You see? We are not in our country. We are in somebody else's country. And if we are in somebody else's country let's make just one nucleus. Just one nucleus is a push enough to move people forward. We could be, couldn't we? But unfortunately, we are not like that. It's each one for himself and God for all.

Pai da Silvia: Há muita gente, muita gente de Trás-os-Montes aqui, pessoal de Bragança aqui. Aqui em Stockwell, então, 'tá a comunidade toda. Gente de Trás-os-Montes, há (gesto a indicar grande quantidade). Mas a gente do Algarve, aqui em Stockwell, não são muito bem vistos. Apareceu aí muita gente para matar- presos, e drogados, é tudo algarvio. E assim, a malta aqui, foi um bocadinho abaixo.

Pai do Paulo: Isso acontece mesmo dentro de Portugal, não é? É natural que quando vêm p'ra'qui gostem de se encontrar. Gostam de 'tar juntos madeirenses com madeirenses, Açoreanos com- é normal. É normal. É normal porque lá em Portugal é o lisboeta com o lisboeta, o nortenho com o nortenho, o alentejano com alentejano, mas isso é normal. Isso, eu vejo que é correcto que eles façam dentro de Portugal. Não cá fora. Cá fora, somos todos emigrantes. 'Tá a ver? Aqui, não temos aqui, bem, aquela coisa de dizer: Eu sou madeirense, Eu sou lisboeta. Estamos todos num sítio que não é nosso. Isto não é seu. 'Tá a ver? Não estamos no nosso país. Estamos no país dos outros. E se estamos no país dos outros vamos formar só um núcleo. Só um núcleo é um empurrão suficiente para mexer as pessoas p'rá frente. Podíamos ser, não é? Mas infelizmente não somos assim. É cada um por si e Deus por todos.

The groups that are formed in the community according to the area of origin may correspond to strong group identities. In the case of people from the Madeira archipelago, group identity is often as strong as national identity. On the other hand, these strong identities may also result from lack of contact with other groups. This could lead, afterwards, to uneasiness and stereotyping

behaviour being attributed to groups from other regions of Portugal. The following comments were elicited by questions about various topics (such as identity, area of origin, life in London vs. life in Portugal, friends or watching Portuguese TV) but reveal participants' views of themselves, people from other regions and how they believe the others see them.

Olga: *Do you often go to Portugal?*

Carlos: *No, I go to Madeira because we are from Madeira.*

Susie's mother: *Oh, I always feel Portuguese. And if somebody asks me: what nationality are you? I am Portuguese. All the time. And I do not say that I am Madeiran. In fact, I say that I am Portuguese from Madeira. Because there are many Madeirans that say: I am not Portuguese, I am Madeiran*

José's father: *I worked with people from near Viseu, Leiria, Madeira... some of them come from a place that many come from there, what is it called? Can't remember the name now. Well, misery! Well, it is Viseu. It is the area of Viseu. (...) I am sincere. I was up to here. I was up to here (gesture 'up to the neck'). The only preoccupation in their life is like this: it is to know if you have more money than they do. If you have more than they do, then they will talk badly about you. They immediately have to talk and badly of you. This is the purest of truth. I am sorry for saying this and may be, at this moment, I am doing like they do, but this is true. (...). But, if you have less than they do, then, things change! They talk with you but they will even bring, for you to see, the photographs of the house that they built there. It has so many bedrooms. It cost I don't know how many million of escudos. It is always like that.*

Mãe da Susie: *Ah, Eu sinto-me sempre portuguesa. E se alguém me pergunta: qual é a tua nacionalidade? Eu sou portuguesa. Todas as vezes. E eu não digo que sou madeirense. Na verdade, eu digo que sou portuguesa da Madeira. Porque há muitos madeirenses que dizem: Eu não português, sou madeirense.*

Pai do José: *Eu trabalhei com pessoas d'ao pé de Viseu, Leiria, Madeira... algumas delas vinham d'um sítio que muitos vêm de lá, como é que se chama? Não me lembra o nome agora. Bem, miséria! Bem, é Viseu. É a área de Viseu. (...) Eu sou sincero. Eu estava até aqui (gesto 'até ao pescoço'). A única preocupação na vida deles é assim: é saber se você tem mais dinheiro do que eles. Se você tem mais dinheiro do que eles, então eles vão falar mal de si. Eles imediatamente têm que falar e mal de si. Isto é a mais pura da verdade. Eu tenho pena de 'tar a dizer isto e se calhar, neste momento, 'tou a fazer o que eles fazem, mas isto é verdade. (...) Mas, se você tiver menos do que eles têm, então, as coisas mudam. Eles falam consigo mas até vão trazer, p'ra você ver, as fotografias da casa qu'eles fizeram lá. Tem tantos quartos. Custou não sei quantos mil contos. É sempre assim.*

Maria: (Life in London) it's different. (Here) It's bigger than Madeira. And here people practically don't know each other. And there in Madeira, always, people know each other. And they, in Madeira, they criticise the way you dress. And here they don't mind. We have more freedom here than there, so I think it is a better place to live.

Maria: (A vida na Madeira) é diferente. (Aqui) É maior que na Madeira. E aqui as pessoas praticamente que não se conhecem. E lá na Madeira sempre as pessoas se conhecem. E eles, na Madeira, eles criticam a maneira que a gente se veste. E aqui eles não se importam. Temos mais liberdade aqui do que lá, por isso eu penso que é um sítio melhor p'ra se viver.

Clarisse's mother: This is a way of say- if I am home in shorts and a **T-shirt**, like, old, I'll go from here to there and I will not feel embarrassed. But instead, in Madeira, you wouldn't go to the corner shop (mercearia) like I've said. My God!! They talk about you!

Mãe da Clarisse: Isto é uma maneira de falar- s'eu 'tou em casa de calções e uma **T-shirt**, assim, velha, Eu vou daqui pr'ali e não vou ficar embaraçada Mas, em vez disso, na Madeira, não se vai à mercearia com'eu disse. Meu Deus!! É falada!

7.3 Reason for migration

All of those interviewed said they had left their country for economic reasons, to improve their standard of living. Whether they migrated in order to earn some extra money they could use to buy a house or because the living standards were so low that they did not earn enough to feed their children properly, money was the engine for change. Their view of life in Portugal is, therefore, not a rosy one.

Ana's Mother: Misery, the misery there in Madeira. Look at this... (laughs) if I had money, I wouldn't have come here. My place is my place.

Ben's Mother: We came here because we did not have a house there. It was rented. It was not ours. I don't have parents, nor does my husband. We came to try. In the beginning, had I known, my ticket was a return ticket, I would have gone back. I stayed. I kept on staying.

Mãe do Ben: Nós viemos para cá porque não tínhamos lá casa. Era alugada. Não era nossa. Eu não tenho pais, nem o meu marido. Viemos tentar. No princípio, se eu tivesse sabido, o meu bilhete era de ida e volta, tinha-me ido embora. Fiquei. Fui ficando.

Carla: In Portugal, only my mum was working and we were five people and it was not enough so we decided that we were coming over here.

Debbie's Mother: Necessity. (She laughs) Necessity, to be able to give my children what my parents could not give me. For them to have a better life, because here, however bad it is, you always live better. I am from Madeira and in Madeira there is a greater problem to find jobs than in Portugal.

Mãe da Debbie: A necessidade (ri-se). A necessidade, para poder dar aos meus filhos o que os meus pais não me puderam dar. Para eles terem uma vida melhor, porque aqui, por muito mau que seja, sempre se vive melhor que na Madeira e na Madeira há mais problema p'ra encontrar empregos do que em Portugal.

Eusébio: That was my father's thought. To come over here, to give us a different future, better. Because everything there is so expensive.

José's Father: Because my cousin, -there, I was working in a ship yard, as a metal worker. And she said: "you will earn a lot of money there. You will earn a lot of money there. Go there. Come there with us and you will earn a lot of money." So I: okay. It wasn't good there either. My idea was to buy a house and so... okay, I will try it.

Madalena's Mother: I mean, I came over here, because I didn't have anyone to help me. In Madeira, I didn't have anyone. (...) I didn't want to come. (But I was there) Living in just one room. My sister died. I was left with six children. I couldn't do anything.

Matilde's Mother: How we decided (to come here)? Difficulty. Difficulty because we were working for a company and the company and... Went into bankruptcy.
(...)

Matilde's Mother: We want to make our life here and we want to save some (money) to buy a house in Portugal. Which means that we end up having three lives in one: It's here, it's there and then it's (saving) to go on holidays.

Mãe da Matilde: Como é decidimos (a vir para aqui)? A dificuldade. A dificuldade porque a gente trabalhávamos numa companhia e a companhia e... deu-se à falência.
(...)

Mãe da Matilde: Queremos fazer a nossa vida aqui e queremos poupar algum (dinheiro) para comprar uma casa em Portugal. O que quer dizer que acabamos fazendo três vidas numa só: É aqui, é lá e depois é pra ir de férias.

Norberto's Mother: What made me come (to London)? It was like this. I was in Madeira with all of my children. (...) They are 10 (children). (...) He (father) stayed here for two years and he never sent me any money. (...) As I didn't have any money, I had to work to feed my children. I worked very hard. And my children were very little. (...) I told him: "Come back. We will manage somehow. We will not die of hunger. You will go and work with my father. We'll get by. (...)" I put all the girls in school. I would go to work and come back, the older girl would look after the little ones and I would go out to work. I would only come back at night. (...) I always fed them. Either a little food or a lot of food, I would give them something.

Pedro's Mother: A person comes over here to work, to earn money to... to win in life here and there. Because life is not only here. It continues there as well, do you understand?

Silvia's Father: I came over here because it was difficult to get money. Things there were a bit complicated and we needed the money.

Teresa's Mother: It's poor people's lives. We want to change to a better life. That's what my husband wanted. I never even imagined migrating. But my husband reached the point that he said: "I want to go abroad. I want to go...".

Vitalina's Mother: It's been over nine years that I came to this country, with my ex-husband. Now I am divorced. We came here, at that time, of course, with the intention of getting something. The life there, in Portugal, is somewhat difficult. We came with the idea of getting some money to buy, mainly that's what the Portuguese thing is, of getting a house.

Norberto's Mother: O que me fez vir (para Londres)? Foi assim. Eu 'tava na Madeira com os meus pequenos todos. (...) São 10. (...) Ele (Pai) ficou aqui dois anos e ele nunca me mandava dinheiro. (...) Como eu não tinha dinheiro tive que trabalhar p'ra dar comer aos meus filhos. Trabalhava muito. E os meus filhos eram pequeninhos. (...) Eu disse a ele: Rapaz, vem-te embora p'ra cá. Qu'a gente aqui se arranja. A gente nã(o) vai morrer à fome. Tu vais trabalhar com o mê (meu) pai. A gente se desenrasca. (...)." Eu pus as pequenas todas na escola. Eu ia trabalhar. Chegava a casa- a minha pequena mais velha tomava conta dos pequenos e eu ia trabalhar. Só chegava à noite. (...) Sempre lhes dava um comerzinho. Ou poucachinho ou muito, dava.

Mãe do Pedro: Uma pessoa vem p'raqui pra trabalhar, pra ganhar dinheiro pra... pra vencer na vida aqui e lá. Porque a vida não é só aqui. Continua lá também, entende?

In some cases, migrating had been intended as a short-term solution for a financial crisis. Parents would leave their children behind with family members and, later, realising they could not return as early as they had planned, children would come to join the parents abroad. By then, the children not only had to adapt to another country but also heal the wounds of separation.

Olga: How was it, to leave him there?

Pedro's Mother: It was like... you know how it is, for parents to leave their children. It is a mistake but, at that time, we had to be like that because- . We came to start a new life. Because, it is to start, here, isn't it? Without knowing where to turn to, where to go to. (...) It was difficult because- for Christmas, he would come here. On holidays, we would go there. But it is never the same thing, because a child should be always with his parents, isn't it? Although he is well with his grandparents and, from both parts, both my parents and his father's parents, he adores his grandparents, but parents are parents even if it is to give you a slap now and then, isn't it? Or a telling off. I think it is important for them and for the parents. But, well, everything has passed. But... these things stay forever. And now, that I have a... I hadn't even noticed it so much. Now I have a baby. And things- they seem to- how could I leave a child for so long? It's four years. It is not four days. It is a long time, four years. But at the time, the decision was like that and it had to be like that because- it is not easy, if the child needs a doctor, -or the parents. When it is just the parents, you can move more or less, but when it is the children... in the beginning, I think that... It was decided because of that. Because I didn't know any English whatsoever, (father's name) he didn't know either. So we decided like that.

Carla: She (mother) came also with- with my youngest brother and then, after some years, she brought over the other one. And it was just me there. And as I had started school there, I wasn't coming here, I finished everything continually. (...) It was hard. I was there alone. (...)

Olga: How did you feel with regard to your brothers coming over here and you staying there?

Carla: Quite jealous. Because they came here, and I was there alone, with my grandparents.

Augusto's Mother: I came on my own. I came on my own with my sister. And then he came afterwards. He (Augusto) came four years-four years and something after that. Because, in the meanwhile, I couldn't bring him because the divorce was going on. And all that. And it would have been so much more difficult if I had brought him with me than if he had stayed there with my mum. He stayed there with my mum. But then, in the meanwhile, I brought him over here because I thought it wouldn't be better the son to be away from the mother and the mother away from the son. Because it's good to have everything-if we have children it's to have them near us. So that we can see them growing up.

Mãe do Augusto: Eu vim sozinha. Eu vim sozinha com a minha irmã. E depois ele veio mais tarde. Ele (Augusto) veio quatro anos- quatro anos e qualquer coisa depois disso. Porque, entretanto, eu não o podia trazer porque o divórcio estava a correr. E isso tudo. E ia ter sido muito mais difícil se eu o tivesse trazido comigo do que se ele tivesse ficado lá com a minha mãe. Ele ficou lá com a minha mãe. Mas depois, entretanto, eu trouxe-o pr'aqui porque eu pensei que não ia ser melhor o filho estar afastado da mãe e a mãe afastada do filho. Porque é bom ter tudo- se a gente tem filhos é para os ter perto de nós. Para a gente os poder ver crescer.

Alexandra: At home, it was difficult. Because I was going to school by myself, because my mother couldn't. My mother had to go to work and my mother was working day and night. She was working from morning until midnight. And we were six years old and we were always staying at home. My neighbour was looking after us. I was six years old and she (younger sister) was four and our neighbour was looking after us, sometimes. Otherwise, we would have to stay at home. My father was here. He could not look after us. He was always unhappy (a patear-se).

Silvia's Mother: They (my two children) stayed there. Because- I came ahead because at that time, it was still difficult. (...) Two years. In the first year, we went there and they still stayed there. On the second year, we went there on holidays and Rosa came with us. And my son, as he was already attending primary school there, and he was good, we felt sorry. He was a good student and the teacher said it was a shame to have to take him. So we tried to bring the little girl and let the boy stay there. But the situation got worse. He was sad. He didn't have his sister there. He didn't have his parents there. He felt sad. And for us, as well, it was much worse to have one here and one there. So we went. The girl came in August and we went to get the boy in December. (...)

Olga: Was he staying with your family?

Silvia's Mother: Yes, with my mother. (...)

Silvia's Father: Stories- Sad stories.

Olga: It's not sad stories. It's life stories. Life is like this.

Silvia's Father: Life is a terrible thing.

Alexandra: Em casa, era difícil. Porque eu 'tava a ir p'rá escola sozinha, porque a minha mãe não podia-. A minha mãe tinha que ir trabalhar e a Minha mãe 'tava a trabalhar de dia e de noite. Desde manhã até à meia-noite. E nós tínhamos seis anos e estávamos sempre em casa. A minha vizinha tomava conta da gente. Eu tinha seis anos e ela (irmã mais nova) tinha quatro e a nossa vizinha tomava conta da gente, às vezes. Senão, a gente tinha que ficar em casa. O meu pai 'tava aqui. Não podia tomar conta da gente. Ele 'tava sempre a patear-se.

Mãe da Silvia: (Os meus 2 filhos) Ficaram lá. Porque- eu vim na frente, que naquela altura ainda era difícil. (...) Dois anos. No primeiro ano, nós fomos lá e eles ainda lá ficaram. No segundo ano é que fomos lá de férias e a Rosa veio connosco. E o meu filho, como ele já andava lá na primária e ele era bom, nós tivemos pena. Ele era bom e a professora disse que era uma pena estar a tirá-lo da escola. Nós tentámos trazer a menina e o miúdo ficar lá. Mas só que piorou a situação. Que o miúdo andava triste. Não tinha os pais lá. Andava triste. E nós aqui, também era muito pior, ter um cá e um lá. E então fomos. A miúda veio em Agosto e nós fomos buscar o miúdo em Dezembro. (...)

Olga: Eles 'tavam com a sua família?

Mãe da Silvia: Sim, 'tavam com a minha mãe (...).

Pai da Silvia: Histórias- histórias tristes.

Olga: Não são histórias tristes. São histórias da vida. A vida é assim.

Pai da Silvia: A vida é uma coisa terrível.

7.4 Form of migration

As a rule, and as indicated by the interviews in this sample, Portuguese migration to the UK corresponds to the migratory movements of extended families that come to join members already abroad. Occasionally, that movement is initiated by coming to join close family friends that are residing here and who offer a stepping stone in the form of guidance, accommodation and, even, money for the passage. Historically, a difference can be found between those who came before Portugal joined the, then, European Economic Community (1986) and those who came afterwards. Before that time, the bureaucratic difficulties imposed by the legislation to control the number of 'aliens' entering the UK impacted on the dignity and the sense of freedom of people who were trying to leave a country in the iron grip of a dictatorship:

Ana's Father: *When you got here, you were like a prisoner. The first four years when I came here, as you left the airport you already had to say what was your door's number. The police had already given me a book with a stamp saying you are going to such door. Because, when you came here, you already had to have an address when you came here. And if I moved from the door to next door, you had to go to the police and take that book to write again that you had moved to such door, do you understand? And work, six months, you were forced to stay for 6 months in that job, without changing work, otherwise you would go back to Portugal.*

Whether you liked it or not you had to stay there six months.

Ana's Mother: *In the beginning, it was very hard. (...)*

Ana's Father: *And we were forced to always carry that book in the pocket and I would take her and they would straight away ask for the police book to show you were free from the police. And you would show the police book to be able to stay in the country.*

Pai da Ana: *Quando a gente chegava-se aqui, era como um prisioneiro. Os primeiros 4 anos, quando eu entrei cá, quando se saía do aeroporto já era preciso dizer qual era o número da porta. A polícia já tinha dado um livro com um carimbo dizendo tu vais p'ra tal porta. Que quando se vinha p'raqui já tinha que ter uma direcção. E a gente, se cambiasse daquela porta p'ra outra porta a seguir, tínhamos qu'ir à polícia levar aquele livro, p'ra se escrever outra vez que tinha-se cambiado p'aquela porta, tá a compreender? E trabalho, 6 meses, era-se obrigado a 'tar 6 meses naquele trabalho, sem cambiar trabalho, senão ia-se de volta p'ra Portugal.*

Gostasse ou não gostasse, tinha-se que 'tar ali.

Mãe da Ana: *A princípio, era muito difícil. (...)*

Pai da Ana: *E a gente era-se obrigados a andar com aquele livro na algibeira e eu ia levar ela e perguntavam logo pelo livro da polícia, p'ra mostrar qu'estava livre da polícia, p'ra poder ficar neste país.*

Ana's Mother: if we didn't have the book, we couldn't...

Ana's Father: no, we couldn't be here. (You couldn't) talk back in those days, not to open your mouth to anything. It was like being a prisoner. During those four years, I felt somewhat... how do I say it? I felt tranquil because I had plenty to eat and drink, to tell the truth, but I really felt like a prisoner. Detained. That's why I was looking forward to those four years to go, to be free, as the English say "free".

(...)

Ana's Father: When I got to the airport, I had to go to a room, it was when- you- like when you go- how do you say it in Portuguese, I have forgotten it now, the 'Junta'. I went to a room with a doctor, you know when I came from Madeira, I had a paper as well. I had to go to a doctor to make me a paper, how do you say it, the x-ray.// that I was well.

Mother://x-ray.

Olga: A certificate (atestado).

Ana's Father: Yes, a certificate, that's it. And I brought that paper and I showed it to them. But here they don't care about that. I had to go through a medical inspection. Completely naked. As if it were a military inspection. All inside the airport. Before I left it, before I entered this place. (...) If they decided that I was not capable of entry I would have had to go back, even with a permit. I would have to go back. It's true. Oh! In those days!

Mãe da Ana: Se não se tivesse o livro, não se podia...

Pai da Ana: Não, não se podia 'tar. Refilar naquele tempo, não abrir a boca a nada. Era-se como um preso. Os primeiros quatro anos, senti-me assim, um pedaço, com' é que se diz? Sentia-me tranquilo, porque tinha comer e beber de fartura, p'ra falar a verdade, mas sentia-me mesmo como um prisioneiro. Preso. Por isso, 'tava sempre à espera que chegasse os quatro anos p'ra ir, p'ra ficar livre, como os ingleses dizem "free".

(...)

Pai da Ana: Quando cheguei ao aeroporto, tive qu'ir p'ra um quarto, era como quando- como quando se vai- com' é que se diz em Português? Esqueci-me agora, à Junta. Fui a um quarto com um doutor, sabe, quando vim da Madeira, tinha um papel também. Tive qu'ir a doutor p'ra me fazer um papel, com' é que se diz, o raio-x// qu'eu 'tava bem.

Mãe da Ana:// o raio-x.

Olga: O atestado.

Pai da Ana: Sim, o certificado, é isso. E eu trouxe esse papel e mostrei a eles. Mas eles aqui não querem saber disso. Fizeram uma inspecção médica. Todo nu. A mesma coisa que fosse uma inspecção militar. Tudo dentro do aeroporto. Antes de sair, antes d'entrar aqui. (...) S'eles decidissem qu'eu não 'tava capaz d'entrar voltava p'ra trás, mesmo com o permit. Tinha que voltar p'ra trás. É verdade. Ah! Naqueles tempos!

Joana's Mother: We are free. We are free from the police and everything. We are one of those that came- as they come now, they come in and they go as they please. For us to get in here, it was a work contract for my husband, then I came over, later on. And my husband had to have a police book and I also have it. And we have it. Sometimes, to do something it is needed.

Sandra's Father: It was other times. Portugal wasn't yet... it was difficult to enter (the country to work). And my father came with the contract and then he was lucky- the contract left (was fulfilled). Left and he was free. He was free in the country and then we came over. It was myself, my mother, my brother. (...) My brother came before me but he was sent back //because he wasn't allowed to pass.

Sandra's Mother: //They (immigration authorities) didn't let him pass.

Sandra's Father: And my father was here, legal. But, as the Mother wasn't coming with him, they thought that he was coming to stay here working. Do you understand? And so they only gave him one week to stay here, with his father. And then the father had to take him to the airport. (...) At that time he must have been... (...) some 17 years old or 18, more or less. (...) He went back. Then my father went on holidays and when he returned we all came. Because, by then, my father was already free. He had all the documentation. (...) In those days, it was difficult. (...) Those were difficult times. Now, yes, things are better. It's better. Well, we are in the EEC. You just go in. This is how our life is. This is our life.

Pai da Sandra: Foram outros tempos. Portugal ainda não estava... Era difícil entrar (no país para trabalhar). E o meu pai veio com o contrato e depois teve a sorte – o contrato saiu (cumpriu o contrato). Saíu e ficou livre. Ficou livre no país e depois viemos nós. Vim eu, a minha mãe, o meu irmão.(...) Mas o meu irmão ainda veio primeiro do que eu e foi de volta // que não o deixaram passar.

Mãe da Sandra: //Não o deixaram passar.

Pai da Sandra: E o meu pai 'tava aqui legal. Mas, como a mãe não vinha com ele, eles pensavam que ele que vinha p'ra já ficar a trabalhar. Entende? Então só lhe deram uma semana p'ra ele estar aqui, ao pé do pai. E depois o pai teve que o ir levar ao aeroporto. (...) Nessa altura devia ter... (...) pois, 17 ou 18 anos, mais ou menos. (...) Ele foi, regressou. Depois a seguir o meu pai foi de férias e quando foi viemos todos. Pois, aí, o meu pai já ficou livre. Já tinha a documentação toda. (...) Naquele tempo, era difícil. (...) Eram tempos difíceis. Agora, sim, está tudo melhor. É melhor. Vá, estamos na CEE. É em frente. E é assim a nossa vida. A nossa vida é esta.

Although, following Portugal's entry into the European Union, the bureaucratic hurdle is a lighter one, people still depend heavily on the help from family and friends:

Augusto's Mother: Because... it wasn't because it was England. I would have gone to England or France or Canada. It was the opportunity, that Mr Y. who works at the Portuguese embassy, (...) he sent us the tickets, so I came over here. I started to work and it went all right. And that is how it happened. Then I kept staying here.

Ben's Mother: It wasn't me who bought the tickets. I couldn't afford them. The person that called for us paid for them. I paid them back in pounds. (...) ...You don't know what you are coming for. I had never come here. We came to try. She called her aunt, my landlady, she said that at the place where her husband was working there was work. That it was for us to come if we wanted. And that's how it was. She booked the tickets. She sent them to us. We got the passports and we came. On the 21st of December. Three days before Christmas. And I'm still here.

Debbie's Mother: There was a couple from Madeira, that the wife was the sister of my sister-in-law, the one that stayed with my little one. And the husband, he helped my husband. He gave him a place to sleep. And then my husband, of course, he got the job. Then, we sorted ourselves out. We talked with Portuguese, Spanish, Italian people, and things like that.

Matilde's Mother: And my brother in law, who is his brother, went there on holidays and he told it to the brother. And the brother said: "well, if you want to, we will take you there. Well, if we are there and we live, you can also live there." At the time my husband didn't think about it. He didn't even want to come. It was me that sometimes would say "your brothers are there earning money and we are always here working in the fields. It is the worst work that we have." And he would say "for me to work, I will work in my country. If I have to die, I will die in my country." My brother-in-law and his wife went there, things were going wrong. One day he got home fed up with his mates and his work and he said "I'm going to call my brother and we will go there. It will be what God wills."

Paulo's Father: I came through a cousin of mine that was here, that advised me to come over here, given the conditions that I had over there, in Portugal. So he brought me over here. He gave me the first steps here in England. And, so, first I came on my own. And then, after I had my situation more or less solved, then my children came over. And they both came and I'm here with them, the two on their own. And only after one year, then my parents came to join me.

Mãe do Ben: Não fui eu quem comprou os bilhetes. Eu não podia. A pessoa que chamou por nós, pagou. Eu paguei de volta em libras. (...). Não se sabe p'ró que é que se vem. Eu nunca tinha cá vindo. Viemos tentar. Ela ligou à tia dela, a minha senhoria, disse que no sítio onde o marido dela 'tava a trabalhar havia trabalho. Que era p'ra nós irmos se quiséssemos. E foi assim. Ela marcou os bilhetes. Mandou-nos. Tratámos dos passaportes e viemos. No dia 21 de Dezembro. Três dias antes do Natal. E ainda aqui estou.

Mãe da Matilde: E o meu cunhado, que é o irmão dele, foi lá de férias e ele contou ao irmão. E o irmão disse: "então, se tu quiseres, a gente leva-te p'ra lá. Então a gente 'tamos lá e vivemos. Vocês também são capazes de viver lá." Na altura o meu marido nã(o) pensou. Ele nem queria vir. Eu, às vezes, é que dizia "os teus irmãos 'tão lá a ganhar dinheiro e a gente anda sempre aqui a trabalhar ao campo. É o pior trabalho que temos". E ele dizia "eu, p'ra trabalhar, trabalho no meu país. Morrer por morrer, morro no meu país. Os meus cunhados foram lá, aquilo começou a dar p'ró torto. Um dia, chegou saturado com os companheiros e com o trabalho e disse "vou chamar o meu irmão e vamos p'ra lá. Há-de ser o que Deus quiser".

Sometimes, friendship comes with a price tag attached and, other times, things just go wrong. Fortunately, these appear to be the exceptions to the rule:

Silvia's Father: *Well, I had a friend here that tried to get me through, in the beginning. But I had to pay. You can put it down there in your interview. I paid 180,000 escudos (around £600) for him to get me my first job. 180,000 escudos, which was very difficult at that time, in Portugal. I came over here because it was difficult to get money. Things there were a bit complicated and we needed the money. And when I got here, and I had to pay 180,000 escudos to someone just to get me a job. That happened to me. It happened to my sister. It happened to several people.*

Eusébio's Father: *And then a friend of mine turned up, his brother was here and his brothers in law and he started telling me: it would be good for you to go to England, because in England it's so easy for you to find work as a gardener. And you will earn a lot of money. You will earn X. And then, I never had much interest, but he kept on and on until one day I decided to go. (...) And I came over here. But those people that were to come over here- they knew that I was coming over. I phoned them to go and pick me up at the airport. I got to the airport, I didn't know anyone. The Gatwick one. Without anyone. They didn't go to pick me up. Then I had their address, and their phone number. I rang, I rang, and there was no one at home. And then, together with that address, I was lucky enough to have the number of another person, a distant cousin of mine and I called him and I said: James, I'm here. And I'm completely lost. And he said: where are you? And I said: I'm in Gatwick. And I was completely disoriented. I was crying.*

7.5 Accommodation

The pattern of mutual help that comes through when leaving the country appears to continue when it comes to initial accommodation. People rely on the kindness of family and friends to put them up through the initial period. Often, this will mean whole family units sleeping together in the same room. As the family becomes financially independent, they move into bedsits or to rooms in shared houses. Given the high cost of the London housing market, there does not seem to be a widespread practice of renting whole flats or houses by the people interviewed. Rather, the next step up from renting individual rooms tends to be social housing, mostly council accommodation. It is also common for families to, frequently, have to move address either because the landlords do not allow the overcrowded situation that can easily be created or between

several Bed & Breakfast accommodation and hostels whilst waiting for a council flat.

With time, people acquire knowledge about the society where they are now living as well as financial stability. All of the five families of children born in this country are living in owner-occupied accommodation. Of the remaining 23, only three families (Silvia, Eusébio and Filipe) have bought their own homes.

Ana's Father: *It was a bed, a cooker in that corner. These days, it would be a bit more difficult. Afterwards, cooking was forbidden. In our time, there was that, but now, from some 10 or 15 years ago, the government started to forbid that, cooking and sleeping in a bedroom. In those houses, they started to check the houses. We had a toilet bowl, a cooker and we would sleep in the same bedroom. (...) The first four years, how do you say it, it was a life of slave. (...)*

Olga: *How long did you stay living in one bedroom?*

Ana's Father: *Oh! At least five years.*

Olga: *And then you were lucky enough to find the flat.*

Ana's Father: *My boss' flat. And then I stayed for seven years with him and after those seven years I went to the... the council house and I stayed there for eight years. And it was then that I bought this house here.*

Pai da Ana: *Era uma cama, um fogão naquele canto. Hoje em dia, 'tava um pedacinho mais difícil. Depois, foi proibido, fazer comer. Mas, no nosso tempo, havia aquilo, mas agora, daqui a uns 10 anos p'ra cá ou 15, o governo começou a proibir essa, fazer comer e dormir num quarto. Nessas casas, começaram a verificar as casas. A gente tinha uma pia, um fogão e dormia-se dentro do mesmo quarto. (...) Os primeiros 4 anos, com'é que se diz, foi uma vida de escravo. (...)*

Olga: *Quanto tempo é que vocês 'tiveram a viver num quarto?*

Pai da Ana: *Ah! 'Tivemos uns cinco anos pelo menos.*

Olga: *E então tiveram a sorte de arranjar o apartamento.*

Pai da Ana: *O apartamento do meu patrão. E depois 'tive 7 anos com ele e depois desses 7 anos é qu'eu fui p'rá casa do council ('côncil') e 'tive lá 8 anos. E foi então que comprei aqui a casa.*

Olga: *At that time, were you living with your brother in law?*

Matilde's Mother: *Yes, we lived with them for five months.*

Norberto's Mother: *We (6 children and 2 adults) were living down there in one room.*

Augusto's Mother: *I rented a studio flat but it was such a bad place because I was sleeping on the floor and the children on the bed. It was quite hard. Then, I put in the papers to have a house, but it took quite a while. Between putting in the papers and getting the place it took roughly about one-year and a half. And then I went to the council, I went to do a lot of papers. Then I got ill. I couldn't breathe. Because I was sleeping on the floor. I had never slept on the*

floor. But I had to put my children on the bed. And it was very difficult to get the (council) house.

Eusébio's Father: I had two bedrooms. I was paying £90 a week. Every Saturday she (landlady) would go there to collect the money. And I was here earning £160 or £170 per week, and every week I had to pay £90 and feed my children. It was really tight. (...) My children were not allowed to leave the bedroom. But it was such a small bedroom. We had to cook downstairs. She forbade my wife, she could only cook once a day.

Eusébio's Mother: That's true. Downstairs in the kitchen. Once a day. She didn't even allow us to watch TV.

Eusébio's Father: Can you imagine? Four children. For us to have a bath, we had to pay 50p each. And if she did cook for lunch then she wasn't allowed to cook in the evening. And the house had a little backyard. The children weren't allowed to go in the backyard and play

Pai do Eusébio: Eu tinha dois quartos. Eu estava pagando £90 por semana. Todos os Sábados ela (senhoria) ia lá p'ra ir buscar o dinheiro. E eu estava aqui ganhando £160 ou £170 por semana, e todas as semanas tinha de pagar £90 e dar comida aos meus filhos. Era mesmo apertado (...) Os meus filhos não podiam sair do quarto. Mas era um quarto tão pequeninho. Tinhamos que fazer o comer lá em baixo. Ela proibiu a minha mulher, ela só podia cozinhar uma vez ao dia.

Mãe do Eusébio: É verdade. Lá em baixo na cozinha. Uma vez ao dia. Ela nem deixava a gente ver televisão.

Pai do Eusébio: Consegue imaginar? Quatro crianças. P'ra gente se tomar banho, tinha que pagar 50p cada um. E se ela cozinhasse p'ró almoço então já não podia cozinhar pró jantar. E a casa tinha um quintalzinho. As crianças não podiam ir p'ró quintal brincar.

Inês' Mother: We went to a room. Then, in that room, that building was not in a condition for a person to live in there. So, they went there to see the living conditions and they gave us a house. To us and to the other people that was living there. We went to three hotels. Then they gave us a house in Streatham, but, as it was very far away and I couldn't get a School for them either, then they gave us another one, right next to this building. There were two houses at the same time. It was this one and it was one that... the buildings are all the same, here. And then, after I was there for about two months, they said that we had to leave, to make repairs. Then I stayed here. I didn't want to move out again.

Rita's Mother: We lived in a room, all of us. During some three years. We lived in a small room (num quartinho pequenino).

Teresa's Mother: In that room we stayed for six months. Then we moved to a flat also there, in Clapham, but it was private. Then we went to Streatham, to a hotel of the council. The council sent us to a hotel, in bed and breakfast. (...) We stayed for two months at the hotel and then they moved us to a temporary flat, there in Streatham. We stayed there for six months more. And then we moved in here. We have been here for five years now, in this house. It was five years in February. (...) in the rented flat that we were in Clapham, we stayed there for one year and a half, in that flat, after the room. We stayed there for one year and a half, but we were paying a lot for the rent.

Olga: And you lived there for nine years, you said?

Bernardo: In the same place.

Olga: *In the same bedroom?*

Bernardo: *Yes. It was tiny. At that time, we managed because it was just the four of us: myself, my parents and my grandmother, because my sister hadn't been born yet. Then my sister was born and we came to live here. We had to find a new home, a flat, to have more space. To have space for everyone. This is much better here. And here we've been for four years, I think.*

Carlos' Mother: *And then we were living at his brother's house, because it was a flat and we were sharing. It was a two bedroom flat. They had their bedroom and we had ours, but ours was very small. You couldn't even fit two beds in there. We had to put the children sleeping on the floor. Everybody in the same bedroom. And that was it. (...) It was difficult. So we were always moving. We didn't like it that much, to have to be always moving. (...) (The council) They asked so many questions. But that if we wanted to go to... one of their flats, that we had to live first in a **bed and breakfast** whilst we were waiting that they found us a flat. And, as we had to leave that house, we accepted. We were living like that, for seven months, in a-it was like a hotel, of them. And we had to move three times. (...) There, it was the last time-I mean it was the last time we stayed, then they came and they showed us this flat. So, when we came here to see the flat, really, I liked it. Because, you get here, you see such a big space, comparing to a room where you were living. A person will say: Oh, it's like paradise.*

Mãe do Carlos: *E depois estávamos a viver em casa do irmão dele, porque era um apartamento e estávamos dividindo. Era um apartamento de dois quartos. Eles tinham o quarto deles e a gente tinha o nosso, mas o nosso era muito pequenino. Nem se conseguiam pôr duas camas lá dentro. Tivemos que pôr os miúdos a dormir no chão. Toda a gente no mesmo quarto. E era assim. (...) Foi difícil. Então estávamos sempre a mudar. Não gostávamos muito, ter de estar a mudar. (...) (O 'council') Faziam tantas perguntas. Mas que se a gente quisesse ir para... um dos apartamentos deles, que primeiro tínhamos que viver num **bed and breakfast** enquanto estávamos à espera que nos arranjassem um apartamento. E, como tínhamos que sair daquela casa, aceitámos. Estivemos a viver assim, por sete meses, num- era como um hotel, deles. E tivemos que mudar três vezes. (...) Ali, foi a última vez- quer dizer foi a última vez que ficámos, depois eles vieram e mostraram-nos este apartamento. Então, quando viemos aqui ver este apartamento, na verdade, eu gostei. Porque, quando se chega aqui, vê-se este espaço tão grande, comparado com um quarto onde se estava a viver. Uma pessoa vai dizer: Ah, isto é como o paraíso.*

From the above extracts, one can easily gauge the level of economic difficulties these families have to go through and the sacrifices made to keep the family together as a unit. However, as educators, another point must also be highlighted. I refer to the educational consequences of this type of difficulties. How can we expect these children who, for years, do not have a physical environment where they can sit down and study, who are continually changing home, to attain as much as those who have those conditions, let alone to show

their academic best? There are implications for what is expected of these students and their parents and for how the schools should help them. These implications are not only in terms of how to support their academic learning and language development but also in terms of offering physical conditions for homework without stigmatising students already disadvantaged.

7.6 First impressions

Changing countries implies changing life. It means leaving behind everything you know and all points of reference that prop your life. Most parents had to create a stable basis for their children in this country whilst they themselves were feeling that sense of drift and trying to get hold of some reference points in their life.

Eusébio's Father: *And I was completely disorientated. I was crying. Completely- a person who has never left his place and comes to another place, oh man! It is so difficult! It is very difficult! (...) I would finish my work and I would cry. I would get home and cry. I would phone my wife in Madeira and all my children would start crying on the phone. "Dad come over, Dad come back!" It was very, very difficult. Only those who go through it can believe it!*

Eusébio's Mother: *I cannot speak any English. I suffered a lot, a lot! And I continue to suffer. A person that cannot speak, nothing, nothing! And at that time, when I came over here without knowing anyone, I cried so much. I suffered so much. (...) I am always suffering. But what will I do? Throw myself down the stairs? I must have patience and keep going on.*

Pai do Eusébio: *E eu estava completamente desorientado. Eu estava a chorar. Completamente- uma pessoa que nunca saiu da sua terra e vem p'ra outro sítio, ai, homem! É tão difícil! É muito difícil! (...) Eu acabava o meu trabalho e eu chorava. Eu chegava a casa e chorava. Eu telefonava à minha mulher na Madeira e os meus filhos todos começavam a chorar ao telefone. "Pai, venha p'ra cá. Pai, volte p'ra cá!" Foi muito, muito difícil. Só aqueles que passam por isso é que acreditam!*

Mãe do Eusébio: *Eu não sei falar nada de Inglês. Eu sofri muito, muito! E continuo a sofrer. Uma pessoa que não sabe falar, nada, nada! E, naquela altura, quando eu cheguei aqui sem conhecer ninguém, chorei muito. Sofri tanto. (...) 'Tou sempre sofrendo. Mas o que é que eu vou fazer? Atirar-me das escadas abaixo? Tenho de ter paciência e continuar.*

Teresa's Mother: *So when I went down there to Streatham I felt really strange because I didn't have with whom to talk. Now, I have more family here because they have brought my nieces over here, we socialise. I already have some more people with whom to socialise. But, at that time, I didn't have. And*

Teresa was still little, as well. It was a bit more... my husband was working at night. He does two shifts. He works in the morning and at night. And so... at night, I would be more-thing... because I didn't have with whom to talk. (...) It is only the same problems that everyone has when they come over here. Once you leave your own country and you go abroad, I think everybody is like that. Other people live worse. Other people must live worse. (...) Because in the beginning, I didn't know how to say anything, English. I would only go. If I was going to do an office (ofício) or something, I would just go and come back. I didn't speak with anyone, isn't it? In the beginning, I didn't know how to say anything.

Matilde's Mother: I have worked very much. My husband as well. My daughters also suffered a little, in the beginning. Myself, I don't even mention it. And the father. But then, today we are, as the saying goes, we are all right. (...) The other one accepted it better. Maybe because she's older. Now, this one... It was the worst. I thought that we would have to go because of her. (...) She would cry a lot. She cried and made me cry many times. She would kneel at my feet and put her hands up: "mum!" And she would tell me in both languages. If I didn't understand in one I would have to understand in the other. "Please, please! Take me back to Portugal! I do not like being here!" She only liked being here when she was in the lessons. Because she could play, they would go out to the playground and play. When she got home, it was four walls. That's it. A person... you go with them a little bit to the park but you also have to work. (...) But it is very difficult for us leave our country. I cried many tears, even here (in this flat).

Mãe da Matilde: Eu tenho trabalhado muito. O meu marido também. As minhas filhas também sofreram um pouco, no princípio. Eu, nem se fala. E o pai. Mas, então, hoje estamos, como vai o ditado, estamos bem. (...) A outra aceitou melhor. Talvez por ser mais velha. Agora, esta... Foi do pior. Pensei que tínhamos que ir por causa dela. (...) Ela chorava muito. Chorava e fez-me chorar muitas vezes. Punha-se de joelhos aos meus pés e de mãos postas: "mãe!" E dizia-me nas duas línguas. Se eu não percebesse numa tinha que perceber na outra. "Please, please! Leva-me de volta p'ra Portugal. Eu não gosto de 'tar aqui!" Ela só gostava de 'tar aqui quando 'tava nas aulas. Porque podia brincar. Podiam sair p'ró recreio e brincar. Quando chegava a casa, eram quatro paredes. É isso. Uma pessoa... vai-se ao parque um bocadinho com elas mas também é preciso trabalhar. (...) Mas é muito difícil p'rá gente sair do nosso país. Eu chorei muitas lágrimas, mesmo aqui (neste apartamento).

Norberto's Mother: When I got here I was like a mad woman. Now, my life has improved a lot. When you get here, I didn't know anything. Even to go out of home to buy a bag of bread, I couldn't go because I didn't know anything. My husband would go out to work and I had to go and fetch milk and bread. I had to get food for the children. And when he went out to work I would be inside the bedroom, locked in like a dog, with my children.

As we can see from the above, if the first times are difficult for everybody, they are particularly difficult for the women, especially when they have young children. In the beginning, men are more likely to go out to work whilst the women may have to stay at home in order to take the children to school and collect them. Only later, when more social contacts have been established, are the women more likely to go out and have some paid work. Nevertheless, in the initial period of employment, it does not mean that they will develop social contacts at work, given the nature of their occupation, cleaning offices outside normal work hours and, later on, private homes, as will be shown below. Furthermore, even when women go out to work, they are also faced with all the housework and the care of the children:

Alexandra's Mother: *I think it is easier for a man. For women, it is more difficult. Because, how can I put it?, well, there are the Portuguese bars and those things. Men will more easily go into a bar, whilst women- in my own case, I can be dying for a tea or coffee, I can be dying of thirst, I am not capable of going by myself into a bar. (...) But, that it is easier for men, that it is. They always chat and talk amongst themselves. Men, they will always have- Now, for a woman, no. A woman will either stay at home and stays at home, and there are the children- she doesn't have that thing... (...) They have the football. They contact because of the football. Even if they fight or argue, but there is always some communication. Whilst a woman, what is she going to talk about what? When she gets here, she doesn't know anyone. Whilst a man, he may not know anyone but "that guy from Benfica, he did this or he did that" or from Sporting, or something else. There is already some communication. They can talk. They may even become friends.*

Mãe da Alexandra: *Eu penso que é mais fácil p'ra um homem. P'ras mulheres é mais difícil. Porque, como é que eu digo?, bem, há os bares portugueses e essas coisas. Os homens vão mais facilmente a um bar, enquanto as mulheres- no meu caso, posso estar a morrer por um chá ou um café, posso estar a morrer de sede, não sou capaz de ir sozinha a um bar. (...) Mas que é mais fácil pr'os homens, é. Eles sempre conversam e falam entre eles. Os homens vão sempre ter- Agora, pra uma mulher, não. A mulher ou vai ficar em casa e fica em casa, e há os filhos- não tem aquela coisa... (...) Eles têm o futebol. Contactam por causa do futebol. Mesmo se lutam ou discutem, mas sempre há alguma comunicação. Enquanto que uma mulher, vai falar de quê? Quando ela chega aqui, não conhece ninguém. Enquanto um homem, pode não conhecer ninguém mas "aquele gajo do Benfica, fez isto ou fez aquilo" ou do Sporting, ou outra coisa qualquer. Já há alguma comunicação. Podem falar. Até podem vir a ser amigos*

Pedro's mother: *I think it is more difficult for women. (...) I speak for myself. Because, my husband, he started to work with Portuguese people... I don't know. Firstly, it was Portuguese people. He was always in contact with them, although it is not very good, but- but in the beginning, it helped. (...) I think it is*

more difficult for the woman, because the woman doesn't have just one job. (...) The jobs that I have, you need English. Although, if we go into private homes, the ladies, they are English. And it was very difficult. For him, it wasn't as difficult as for me. Now, now he has changed jobs. Now he is working with English people, he already has to speak (in English). But, in the beginning, no. He didn't have to speak (in English). He was always in contact with Portuguese people. It was never necessary. He was learning, the years were going by and he learnt it all the same, but without worrying as much as I had to worry. He did not have the same difficulty that I had.

7.7 Obtaining employment

As a rule, people rely on family members and friends in order to obtain information about available jobs. Most people depend on this 'grapevine' job service and only a few will go to employment agencies. Some Portuguese agencies are mentioned but they are avoided whenever possible as the job seeker has to pay the agency a fee for information on a job that may turn out to be unsuitable or no longer available. Word of mouth is, therefore, the choice source of information. Consequently, the type of job obtained is usually unskilled, manual and low-paid.

Debbie's Mother: *It was through friends, people you knew. Generally, everyone is like that when you get here. The person who got work for me, at first, was a neighbour of mine (from Madeira) (...). She was the one that got me my first little job. Then, when you are doing a job, another turns up, when you are already saying some little thing in English, then better ones start to turn up. It wasn't a great thing, but to start with...*

Mãe da Debbie: *Era através dos amigos, pessoas conhecidas. Em geral, toda a gente é assim quando se vem p'raqui. A pessoa que me arranhou trabalho, a princípio, foi uma vizinha minha (da Madeira) (...). Ela foi quem m'arranjou o meu primeiro trabalhinho. Depois, quando se está a fazer um trabalho, aparece outro, quando já se está dizendo qualquer coisinha em inglês, então começam a aparecer outros melhores. Não era grande coisa, mas p'ra começar...*

There seems to be a gender differentiation in the type of jobs obtained: men tend to work in the catering service whilst women do cleaning jobs. The reason for this is, probably, linked to childcare arrangements. The women will work very early in the morning whilst the husband is still at home and can, therefore, look after the children. Hers is a more flexible timetable, even if more insecure and even less well remunerated. When she returns, he can leave for

his job. His, is, thus, in more regular employment, with fixed hours, although, often, men work more than one shift per day, in order to save some money. If the children are of school age, then, women can arrange employment in private homes where work hours are more normal. This type of employment, on the other hand, means that little or no social contact is established with people outside that little group to which they belong. Furthermore, what we take for granted as 'family time' is often working time for one or more key members of these families.

Carlos: *(My father) He works from... (...) from Monday to Wednesday, it is from five to midnight. Then, on Thursday, he has the whole day off. And then on Friday, it's from 10 until three, and then he goes again from five to midnight. (...) And also on Saturday, it's like on Friday. And on Sunday, it is from midday to one and then he goes again from three to midnight.*

Madalena's Mother: *I went to work in a laundry (2 years ago). I worked there. I started at 8 AM and finished at 7 PM. (Mother laughs at my expression of surprise) It was heavy. I've got knots on my back for being always curved. (...) We, knowing, like, a Portuguese person, who has been here for many years, who can speak English. We ask them. And they say "look, this woman, she can't speak English, but work, she can work. She can do so." And we stay, working. They like the work of the Portuguese. Many English people in hotels, they like the work of the Portuguese. They say that the Portuguese have a touch for being ... cleaner (said in English) and those things. And we stay. We ask and we go to work. Because I don't know-I can't read or write. We get by, by speaking with the Portuguese. And they (other Portuguese people) are working there, they get (us) something.*

Carlos: *(O meu pai) Ele trabalha das... (...) de Segunda até Quarta, é das cinco até à meia-noite. Depois, na Quinta, ele tem todo o dia off. Depois na Sexta, é das 10 até às três, e depois ele vai outra vez, das cinco até à meia-noite. (...) E também no Sábado é igual como na Sexta. E no Domingo, é do meio-dia até à uma hora e depois ele vai outra vez das três até à meia-noite.*

Mãe da Madalena: *Fui trabalhar numa lavandaria (Há dois anos atrás). Eu trabalhei aí. Eu começava às 8 da manhã e acabava às 7 da noite. (Mãe ri-se da minha expressão de surpresa). Era pesado. Eu tenho nós nas minhas costas de 'tar sempre curvada. (...) A gente, conhecendo, assim, uma pessoa que 'tá cá há muitos anos, que sabe falar inglês. A gente pede-lhes. E eles dizem "Olha, esta mulher, ela não(o) sabe falar inglês, mas p'a trabalhar, ela pode trabalhar. Ela pode fazer." E a gente fica, a trabalhar. Eles gostam do trabalho dos portugueses. Muitos ingleses, nos hotéis, eles gostem (sic) do trabalho dos portugueses. Eles dizem que os portugueses têm jeito p'a... cleaner e essas coisas. E a gente fica. A gente pede e vai-se trabalhar. Porque eu não(o) sei- Eu não(o) sei ler nem escrever. A gente safa-se, falando com os portugueses. E eles (outros portugueses) 'tão a trabalhar lá, eles arranjam qualquer coisa.*

Matilde's Mother: I reached the point of working three months without resting. Maybe then, they (children) were feeling my absence. And the father the same. He was working at night. Then, during the day, he wanted to have a little rest. They wanted to go to the park. He took them but he had to rest because he was going to work at night. (...) I worked for one year like that, but then: "no. I have to think of my daughters because..." Four little hours on Saturdays, I did that. But more than that, no. Saturday and Sundays are for me to be with them. And bank holidays, that, it is over. But I had one tough year. I worked very much to climb up a bit. (...)

Mãe da Matilde: Eu cheguei a trabalhar três meses seguidos sem descansar. Talvez aí elas achassem a minha falta. E o pai igual. Trabalhava de noite, ele. Depois, durante o dia, queria descansar um pouco. Elas queriam ir ao parque. Ele levava-as mas tinha que descansar porque tinha que trabalhar de noite. (...) Trabalhei um ano assim, mas depois: "não. Eu tenho que pensar nas minhas filhas, porque...". Quatro horitas ao Sábado ainda fiz. Agora, mais, não. Sábado e ao Domingo é p'ra eu estar com elas. E feriados, isso acabaram. Mas tive aí um ano duro. Trabalhei muito para subir um pouco. (...)

Silvia's Father summarises the working conditions of the typical migrant and the functioning of the Portuguese job agencies:

Silvia's Father: The main problem with the jobs here is that you to have a job, you have to go to the agency. If you want a job, you have to go to the agency. You pay. You pay for the job. And he picks out the phone and he says "I have a 'Portuga' here. He is a terrible worker (I think he means terrific). He is a nice guy". And you pay. He has to have the money in front of him, you pay. You know it's going to cost 40 or £50. And then you go there and he (employer) says: "okay. I like your face." But if he doesn't like your face then he'll say "sorry, the place is already full." It's like that. You are nice or you are ugly, bye. And then he will only pay you for the holidays if he wants to. If he doesn't want to, he doesn't pay. They play with you in a certain way. With regard to women, it is a terrible thing. Many of the women here, they have jobs. Others they have a 'patroa' (the person who employs a cleaner to clean her home).

Pai da Silvia: O principal problema dos empregos aqui é que você p'ra ter um emprego tem que ir a agência. Se quer um emprego, tem que ir à agência. Paga. Paga p'ró emprego. E ele lá pega no telefone: "Olha, tenho aqui um 'Portuga'. É um trabalhador terrível (terrific??). É um gajo 'nice'." E paga. Ele tem que ter o dinheiro à frente dele. Você paga. Já sabe que lhe vai custar 40 libras ou 50 libras. Depois, ao fim, vai lá, ele olha p'ra si: "okay, até gosto da tua cara". Mas se não gostar da cara: "desculpa lá, o sítio já está cheio". É assim. Ou és bonito, ou és feio, tchau. Depois só te paga as férias s'ele quiser. Se ele não quiser, não paga. Brincam assim contigo de uma certa forma. Em relação às mulheres, é uma coisa terrível. Muitas das mulheres aqui trabalham, têm empregos. Umas têm patroas.

They go to their homes to do ironing, dust or something like that. As there are no papers signed, they sack you (dão o saco) when they want. Most of the people who do that, they don't feel safe. They don't feel safe with the work they do because at any time: "sorry but the next week I don't need you" That's it. She's had it. Then she has to go around distressed, trying to find another job to cover for those hours. To find someone else (for whom) to do those hours. The money at the end of the week is really needed. It's a terrible thing. That's why I say, when my children (a minha canalha) are stable, zzzt (gesture representing a plane taking off).

Vão lá a casa passar a ferro, limpar o pó. Mas como não há papel nenhum assinado, dão o saco quando realmente querem. A maioria das pessoas que fazem isso não se sentem seguras. Não se sentem seguras com o trabalho que têm porque de uma hora p'rá outra; "Desculpa lá, p'rá semana não preciso de ti." Pronto. Já está. Toca de andar aí aflitinha a arranjar outra pessoa que cubra aquelas horas. A arranjar outra pessoas que faça aquelas horas. O dinheirinho no fim da semana é realmente necessário. É uma coisa terrível. É por isso que eu digo, quando a minha canalha estiver estável, zzzt (gesto de levantar vôo).

7.8 Summary

The topics focused upon in this chapter portray crucial facets of the everyday life of the Portuguese community as represented by the families in this sample. Their stories, as migrants, affect not only their patterns of employment and, therefore, their socio-economic status in society, but also how they see themselves a fully participating member of that society.

The area of origin of the families seems to correspond to community groupings in the host area. This is due to the pattern of migration of the families described, characteristic of the Portuguese form of migration, to join families or close friends. For the group that constitutes this sample, it would appear that migration, both for those who have left Portugal before the creation of the European Union and for those who have done so more recently, is motivated by economic reasons.

Accommodation can become a problem, given the pattern of reliance on the extended family, leading to overcrowding. There appears to be a strong predominance for relying on the local authority as a landlord.

People depend on other members of the community to obtain employment. Agencies, for their charging of prospective employees, are viewed with distrust. There appears to be a dichotomy between male and female employment, both in terms of hours and type of work performed. This appears to be related to childcare arrangements. Nevertheless, although it may solve childcare problems, it puts a strain on family life and on parent-child relationships.

Chapter 8 – View of Mother Tongue Classes

CHAPTER 8 – VIEW OF MOTHER TONGUE CLASSES	260
8.1 Introduction	261
8.2 Opinion of mother tongue classes: Children attending	261
8.3 What do you learn in Portuguese classes?	268
8.4 Opinion of mother tongue classes: Children not attending	272
8.5 Critical comments about M-T classes	274
8.5.1 Children attending mother tongue classes:	274
8.5.2 Children not attending mother tongue classes:	277
8.6 Appropriate age to start learning Portuguese at school	279
8.7 Role of mother tongue in the mainstream classroom	281
8.7.1 Children attending mother tongue classes	281
8.7.2 Children not attending mother tongue classes	283
8.8 Summary	288

8.1 Introduction

The description of the group of students and their families, as shown in the introduction to this section, highlights the similarities of the group. These are traits that make this, at least in socio-economic terms, a group that could be considered homogeneous. They share the same pattern of migration, they rely on structures of mutual help and they tend to share the same difficulties with regard to accommodation. What traits, then, can we find that distinguish families of children attending mother tongue classes from those not attending mother tongue classes? What advantages do these families put forward as reasons to send the children to mother tongue classes? In this chapter, the following aspects will be reflected upon, following a division into two groups according to attendance at these classes:

Mother tongue classes:

- Opinion of classes;
- What is taught in Portuguese classes;
- Critical comments about these classes;
- Appropriate age to start learning Portuguese at school.

8.2 Opinion of mother tongue classes: Children attending

For the group of parents whose children attend mother tongue classes, there appear to be three main reasons compelling the families to enrol and keep the commitment to learning Portuguese in a formal classroom environment. Although these reasons are echoed in the children's opinions, the importance attributed to those reasons does not always coincide with that given by the adults.

The first of these motives concerns the cultural heritage and the affective links with the family here and back in Portugal.

Sandra's Father: It is good, because it is our language.

Sandra's Mother: She already can read a text. She can write. Sometimes she will write a little letter to her grandmother. It is always good. And if she didn't go she wouldn't know anything. And she always... and doesn't forget so much, to speak. It is important. One day that we go there, even during the holidays and everything. It is important to be able to speak, something like that. I think it is important. We make the effort and it costs very much.

Susie's Mother: I wanted my daughter to, if we were going to Madeira, to be able to speak with the grandparents, with the cousins and the uncles, etc, that are there. And so I put her in the lessons- in Portuguese school. (...) And, even when she goes to Madeira, she speaks well with the cousins and the grandparents. Here, she does not want to speak very much.

Olga: Why go to Portuguese lessons?

Carmina's Mother: I think it's good for them, isn't it? At least, so as not to forget and to learn everything about our country. This is not our country. For me, I think it is good for them. I came here and I enrolled them, because, they are not yet of full age, that I think that it is important for them to know Portuguese.

Only three children explicitly focus on being able to communicate with their families as a goal. Portuguese classes are seen as a way of not forgetting their language and, implicitly, their culture:

Joana: If I didn't know how to speak Portuguese, how could I communicate with my mum?

Carlos: yes, (Portuguese lessons will have been useful) because when I go to Portugal and when I want to write letters to my mum, if I'm not near her, like that. For that, yes. But for work, I don't think so. I don't think it will be.

Olga: what do you think of the Portuguese lessons?

Carmina: they are good. (...) so as not to forget the Portuguese. (...) to learn more, something else, of Portuguese. (...) Because when we go back to

Pai da Sandra: É bom, porque é a nossa língua.

Mãe da Sandra: Ela já sabe ler um texto. Sabe escrever. Às vezes, ela vai escrever uma cartinha à avó. É sempre bom. E se não fosse não sabia nada. E ela sempre... e não se esquece tanto, do falar. É importante. Um dia, quando lá formos, mesmo durante as férias e tudo. É importante saber falar, qualquer coisa assim. Eu penso que é importante. Nós fazemos o esforço e custa muito.

Mãe da Susie: Queria que a minha filha, se fôssemos à Madeira, soubesse falar com os avós, com os primos e os tios, etc, que lá estão. E então pus ela nas aulas- na escola portuguesa. (...) E, mesmo quando ela vai à Madeira, ela fala bem com os primos e os avós. Aqui, é que não quer falar muito.

Portugal then we can't speak Portuguese, we speak in English. And then they can't understand us. (...)

Silvia: *It is good because the Portuguese children when they go to the English (school) they always speak in English and they might even forget the Portuguese. So, it is good to go to the Portuguese school.*

Carlos: *yes, it (going to Portuguese classes) helped. Because before I couldn't speak Portuguese very well that, with the school, I can speak better and I can write as well. And read, which I couldn't do very well. But now I can read 'O Diário' (daily newspaper), to speak, like-I don't yet speak-there are some words that I can't say properly. But I can also write. It's not that everything is correct. But I know a lot more than before.*

Carlos: *sim, (ir às aulas de Português) ajudou. Porque antes eu não sabia falar Português muito bem que, com a escola, 'tô a falar melhor e a escrever também. E a ler, que eu não sabia ler bem. Agora, consigo ler "O Diário" (jornal diário de distribuição nacional), falar, assim- ainda não falo- há certas palavras que não sei dizer bem. Mas eu posso também escrever. Não é que seja tudo direito que eu faço. Mas sei melhor que era dantes.*

The cultural heritage and affective links with the family are, of course, important elements that help define who you are. In this sense, they are strong components shaping the children's identity. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the family's and the student cultural identity is put across as a factor cited by parents as having a considerable role in determining mother tongue attendance:

Debbie's mother: *And there are many children, sons and daughters of Portuguese that even for the English school, they don't want to go. And some of them don't go (...) to the Portuguese. (...) Debbie has already asked me: "mum, why do I always have to go to Portuguese school?" When she started liking the English school more. And I said "because your father is Portuguese, you are Portuguese, and you are Portuguese." And one-day, one-day you never know what will come until that day comes. One day you may need the Portuguese, and knowledge does not take up space, knowledge is never too much, as my grandmother used to say.*

Mãe da Debbie: *E há muitas crianças, filhos e filhas de portugueses que mesmo p'rá escola inglesa, eles não querem ir. E alguns deles não vão (...) à portuguesa. (...) A Debbie já me perguntou: "mãe, porque é qu'eu tenho sempre que ir à escola portuguesa?". Quando ela começou a gostar mais da escola inglesa. E eu disse "porque o teu pai é português, tu és portuguesa e tu és portuguesa." E um dia, um dia a gente nunca sabe o que vai vir até esse dia chegar. Um dia podes precisar do Português, e o saber não ocupa lugar, o saber nunca é demais, como a minha avó costumava dizer.*

Carmina's mother: (...) to learn everything about our country. This is not our country. (...) Because I think that the Portuguese, - they are Portuguese- I think it is good for them to learn the Portuguese.

Filipe's mother: It is our language, isn't it? And, for the best, one day, we will go back to Portugal. And it is good for them to be able to speak the language, their language. It was there that they were born. It was their first language.

Carlos' Mother: Oh! I think that it is very important that a person put their children to learn Portuguese, because many Portuguese children cannot speak Portuguese. Especially those that were born here. The parents have to work, and they have to leave their children with minders and normally, those are people that speak in English to them. Of course, the children will begin to learn the English language, not the Portuguese. Although they speak Portuguese at home, but it is so little. It is not enough to learn. And I think it is very important that the children go to school to learn. (...) of course, to continue speaking our language. I think it is important that our children learn the same language as their parents. For me, I think that is very important because-it is a very beautiful language and then, one day, when they go on holidays-

Vitalina's Mother: Simply because I wanted her to do Portuguese lessons. She did not want to go there. But I told her: no. You are Portuguese. It does not make any difference, once or twice a week. Therefore, it is always convenient for you to continue your Portuguese.

For the students, the concept of identity is also strongly associated with the mother tongue classes. Interestingly, for the older students, the Portuguese classes become a haven from school life. Here, they can be themselves. They can be with other people who share similar life stories and problems, who share the same culture and laugh at the same jokes. It is, perhaps, to the sense of group identity that Carlos refers when he says:

Olga: Why is it better to be with the Portuguese than with the English?

Carlos: Because they can speak our language and it is easier to speak with them because we can speak in Portuguese and they know more or less what we suffer... the problems that we had and all of that and... they've also already been through that and we also do things that... because we know better each other, the things that we have done, and everything.

Olga: So, it is as if they already knew what is going on with you.

Carlos: yes. Almost like that.

Olga: Porque é que é melhor estar com os portugueses do que com os ingleses?

Carlos: Porque eles sabem falar a nossa língua e é mais fácil de falar com eles porque a gente pode-se falar em português e eles já sabem mais ou menos o que é que a gente sofre... os problemas que tivemos e isso tudo e já também passaram nessa coisa e também fazemos coisas que ... que a gente conhece-se melhor cada uns, das coisas que fizemos, e tudo.

Olga: Portanto, eles é como se já soubessem o que é que se passa com vocês.

Carlos: Sim. Quase como isso.

Olga: *what are the advantages you have in continuing going to the lessons?*

Carla: *which ones? Portuguese? ... I don't know. You learn more than what you knew.*

Olga: *do you think that a person feels better at school?*

Carla: *I think so because you are all day- all day involved with the English (people) and that hour that you have Portuguese, I think that a person feels better. You feel more at ease, you're with the others.*

Madalena: *I like having Portuguese lessons. (...) Because it is my language. You can speak. You can laugh.*

Carlos: *I don't know how to explain. Some of them (Portuguese people who don't attend classes), they don't like-maybe they don't want to... anything to do with Portugal or Portuguese. They just want to know how to speak in English and maybe they think that Portuguese is not involved in what they want to do in the future.*

Bernardo: *They (parents) think the children must learn Portuguese. They cannot lose Portuguese. Because it is where they come from and what they want to do. And the parents had to learn it so they have to make the children learn it as well.*

Madalena: *Eu gosto de ter lições de Português. (...) Porque é a minha língua. Pode-se falar. Pode-se rir.*

Carlos: *Eu não sei explicar. Alguns que eles (pessoas que não vão a aulas de Português)- eles não gostam – talvez não querem ... nada a ver com Portugal ou Português. Querem só saber e falar inglês e talvez pensem que o Português não 'tá envolvido naquilo qu'eles querem fazer no futuro.*

Bernardo: *Eles (pais) pensam que os filhos têm que aprender Português. Não podem perder o Português. Porque é donde eles vêm e o qu'eles querem fazer. E os pais tiveram que aprender por isso têm que fazer os filhos aprender também.*

For the parents of the children attending mother tongue classes, these lessons constitute an academic investment, which, although not guaranteed, may offer future benefits. At best, knowing Portuguese will be an advantage in the future, at worst, it will do no harm. As Carmina's mother puts it: *"I think that for us, to learn a little bit of everything, it doesn't harm anyone."* For this mother, the reason other parents don't enrol their children in Portuguese classes *"it is people's stupidity. Because they think that knowing English they have everything in life. Because I have colleagues of mine here and they say: "they know English. What are they going to need the Portuguese for?" No, but it is a bit inconvenient for the child because one day, when they go to Portugal, they go with their eyes covered, just like ours came here"*.

This is a view shared by others in the group, as we can see below:

Carlos' Mother: *But he did that exam. And I was very happy because he got an 'A'. (...) Carlos never really liked it very much. He would go because we wanted him to go, but he never liked it very much. (...) You never know what tomorrow will bring. They might need to go to Portugal, to work. And, like this, they will know. I think it is important.*

Joana's Mother: *I would tell him: "never mind, son. You will go. If you don't pass this year, you will pass next year." It was always like this that I would say. And so, he kept on staying and I would tell him: "stay until you get a certificate. When you get a certificate, mum will be happy. Should anything happen, in our town, if we have to go back to Madeira, you can get a job with that." And so he stayed. He got a certificate.*

Matilde's Mother: *She already was bringing some schooling from Portugal but it is not like... like Matilde that... started here, because she did not have any Portuguese schooling, Matilde. Now Zara, she had. Therefore, it doesn't surprise me that she has got an 'A' in Portuguese. I tell her that many times. If she hadn't got an 'A' in Portuguese, I do not know where you would have got it from.*

Vitalina's Mother: *For her future, it is convenient for her to have the Portuguese language. It is not just French or English. If she decides to go for Languages, she will need the Portuguese. And I want her to continue. I don't know.*

Mãe da Vitalina: *P'ró futuro dela, é conveniente p'ra ela ter a lingua portuguesa. Não é só o Francês ou o Inglês. Se ela decidir ir p'ra Línguas, vai precisar do Português. E eu quero que ela continue. Não sei.*

A small number of children expressed the opinion that their knowledge of Portuguese would be useful for them, later, in their professional life:

Bernardo: *Last year, I didn't want to do Portuguese. But, with time, I saw that it was better. It counted as an exam. A GCSE. It would help in the College. And I also started to enjoy the things we were doing in the lesson. And that was better.*

Joana: *I think that the people who can speak two languages, it is important. There are people that can only speak English and that's it. Myself, I can speak Portuguese and English. (...)*

Olga: *do you think that being able to speak, read and write in Portuguese, (...) will be useful in the future?*

Silvia: *yes. (...) Because, in the future, I want to be an air hostess.*

Nevertheless, there were other advantages that could accrue from attendance at mother tongue classes. These were:

a) help with academic life in the English school:

Olga: Do you think that, pulling everything together, do you think that the Portuguese lessons were useful for you?

Carla: I think so (the Portuguese lessons were useful) because the teacher, there were some lessons when he gave some sheets where the text was in Portuguese and the questions I had to answer in English. And he would help me with the English. When I did not understand I would go and talk to him and he would explain it to me.

Olga: Do the Portuguese teachers help with the topics/content of the other subjects?

Carla: I do not know because I never asked for their help but my colleague, she needs and, she was doing I don't know what in art and she asked for the opinion of the teacher and he helped.

Olga: What about the fact that you can speak and you can read and write in Portuguese and in English, in what ways does that affect you at school?

Bernardo: It helps a lot. Because when I don't know a thing in English I try to do it in Portuguese. And the things that I learned at home, and with my grandparents, that helps better. And if I have to do something about Portugal or something to do with Portuguese, I think, there, I have a better chance of being able to do that work because I know the language. I can read and write. I can do it all. That's why I think it's better.

Olga: Do you think that what you are learning in the Portuguese lessons, do you think that it helps you in any way with the English school?

Carmina: yes.

Olga: How? How is it going to help in the English school?

Carmina: Because when I go to the English school and I have something to do that I have done in the Portuguese school, then it is easy! All I have to do is translate it! (...) (People who don't go to Portuguese classes) they don't learn more. Because, like this, they could know something. All they had to do was to translate it. And, this way, they have to use their head and ask the teachers how it is (done).

Olga: Achas que o que tu 'tás a aprender nas aulas de Português, achas que te ajuda de alguma maneira com a escola inglesa?

Carmina: Sim.

Olga: Como? Como é que vai ajudar na escola inglesa?

Carmina: Porque quando eu vou à escola inglesa e tenho qualquer coisa p'ra fazer que eu já fiz na escola portuguesa, então é fácil! É só traduzir! (...)

(As pessoas que não vão a aulas de Português) Não aprendem mais. Porque, assim, já podiam saber qualquer coisa. Era só traduzir. E, assim, têm que puxar pela cabeça e perguntar aos professores como é (que se faz).

b) a sense of achievement:

Olga: *What do you think about the Portuguese lessons?*

Norberto: *It's good. Because sometimes you have good work and I am the first to finish. And sometimes I'm there trying to see if I can do it. And I do it. I don't need help.*

Olga: *In the Portuguese lessons, you can do things without needing help, is that it?*

Norberto: *Sometimes, I do- I tell the teacher. When I can't read a very big letter, a word. I tell the teacher and the teacher reads it for me.*

Olga: *Have you ever taken your (Portuguese) writing books for your English teacher to see?*

Norberto: *(I took) some. But he didn't see them.*

Olga: *What did you think of that?*

Norberto: *(It was) bad.*

8.3 What do you learn in Portuguese classes?

The view expressed on what is taught on mother tongue classes denotes two main aspects.

Firstly, the academic content of mother tongue classes denotes a very strong focus on literacy skills. It is on these skills that parental and students' comments tend to converge. Nevertheless, although this focus is clearly recognised there is no mention of those skills being transferred to learning in the English school. The only person to allude to this was Carmina, in the previous section but her comment refers to content rather than skills.

Secondly, the teaching style varies with the teacher. Formal and non-diversified teaching styles will lead, on classes based on voluntary attendance, to absenteeism.

Debbie's Mother: *The Portuguese one, it is to learn to write, verbs, to be able to read and write, to know how to speak. Those things like that. They don't do other things.*

Filipe's Mother: *They learn to write and to read in Portuguese and I think it's very good. They don't teach them much more.*

Sandra's Mother: *It is only to learn to read and write and history of Portugal. Well... they learn to read.*

Bernardo: *You'll learn about Portugal as a country and Portuguese as a language.*

Carmina: (We learn) things about the Romans, the Moors (North African invaders), about what it was like in the olden days, about the kings.

Paulo (Carmina's brother, 14 yrs old): in Portuguese class, they only speak about... how can I put it? Things that are traditional and characteristic of Portugal. It's not a great support. (...) I think that they should teach more grammar and things like that.

Filipe: Things about Portugal.

Carlos: It's about Portuguese history and... to write and... read. Read and to know how to speak properly in Portuguese. But I know how to do (that).

Matilde: You learn like, to read and write. And to speak. But we don't learn maths. Only to read. (...) It is not very difficult.

Silvia: They (the lessons) are good. Some children (unintelligible) they speak in English to the Portuguese teachers. Then the teacher says that this is Portuguese, it is not English. And we do, like, papers, we write questions, questions and we do that.

Pedro: It gives you a little help with the grammar, verbs, culture... culture, well... we read the texts, we do worksheets, and... It helps.

Vitalina: This year we've been talking about Vasco da Gama. We've been learning about the travels of Vasco da Gama. We've been doing everything about Portugal and the journey to India, how they past. Well, for next year we chose a subject, I think that is going to be about St Valentine. Our subject for the whole year, but that will be just one topic for us to study. We do grammar.

Carlos: I think... I shouldn't say this, but it is **boring**. (...) Before, we had a teacher, before that she was doing the classes. She used to do amusing things. We always liked to go because she used to the things that we liked. It wasn't just all like work. It was...- she used to do **crosswords** and all that so that we would stay there and didn't lose interest. But then we had a new teacher and she's older and she concentrated more on things - normal. (...) She doesn't like to do amusing things. Even on the last day, when we play games and everything, she makes us do work and everything and we go all like: "oh..." and now the class, before we had some 20 or 30 students, and now there must be some five or ten students.

Carlos: Eu acho... Eu não devia dizer isto, mas é **boring**. (...) Antes, a gente tinha uma professora, antes que fazia as aulas. Ela costumava fazer coisas divertidas e a gente sempre se gostava de ir porque fazia coisas que a gente se gostava e tudo. Não era tudo só trabalho. Fazia assim...- ela fazia **crosswords** e isso assim p'ra gente não se ficar e perder o interesse. Mas depois tivemos uma nova professora e ela já é mais velha e concentra-se mais em coisas ...- normais. (...) Não gosta de fazer coisas divertidas. Mesmo no último dia que a gente joga-se jogos e tudo, ela faz a gente fazer trabalho e tudo. E a gente ficamos todos assim "oh...", e agora a classe, antes haviam uns 20, 30 alunos e agora esses já deve haver uns 5, 10 alunos.

Given that the attendance at the classes is voluntary, enrolment and attendance at Portuguese mother tongue classes is a parental decision that the children will follow (or not) to the best of their abilities. On the other hand, as Bernardo (Yr. 11) points out, misbehaviour and rudeness on the part of colleagues may be interpreted as a refusal to accept that decision:

Bernardo: *I have, well, I have friends that they would go. And they would only be there because their parents made them go. The parents thought that they had to do Portuguese. And they force the children to do Portuguese. And then their children there in the classroom, they made the teacher's life-, then the life of the students who wanted to learn, they made their life difficult. They were going there, but because they didn't want to be there, they made everything they could possibly do to leave it. And that would take the teachers' help away from those that wanted to learn. And the parents should think whether the children want to be there or not. And the parents should think what they are doing whilst the children are in the lesson.*

Nevertheless, for the parents, making their children attend Portuguese classes is viewed as part of their role as parents. Portuguese classes may be an unsavoury medicine, but it still is medicine and you have to take it:

Carmina's Mother: *I came here and I enrolled them, because, they are not yet of full age, that I think that it is important for them to know Portuguese.*

Carlos' Mother: *Carlos never really liked it very much. He would go because we wanted him to go, but he never liked it very much.*

Sandra's Father: *They (friends of the family) were attending Portuguese school and they ended up giving up. They gave up but it was the parents fault as well. They didn't force them to go to school. Because if the parents really wanted them to attend the Portuguese school they would say: you are going to Portuguese school and you are going to Portuguese school. But, as the father didn't care much and the mother didn't care much either, of course... Myself, if I didn't care either, Sandra would not go to Portuguese school, but I want her to go to Portuguese school.*

Silvia's Mother: *Then, if their children don't want to go to Portuguese school, they don't force //them to go. (Silvia's Father: // they don't force them to go.) Whether they learn or they don't, I always made them go to the Portuguese school.*

Mãe da Silvia: *Depois, se os filhos não querem ir à escola portuguesa, eles não os // obrigam a ir. (Pai da Silvia: // Não os obrigam a ir.) Quer aprendam, quer não aprendam, eu sempre os obriguei a ir à escola portuguesa.*

Silvia's Father: *The father doesn't like to go to work either. To go early in the morning to work. But, work is work and cognac is cognac. Dear, you are tired and so am I. Now you will have to go, it's just one little hour. (...) but you have to go.*

Pai da Silvia: *O pai também não gosta de ir trabalhar. Sair de casa de manhã para trabalhar. Mas, trabalho é trabalho e conhaque é conhaque. Querida, tu estás cansada e eu também estou. Agora vais ter que ir, é só uma horita. (...) mas tens que ir.*

Vitalina's Mother: *simply because I wanted her to go to the Portuguese lessons. She did not want to go there. But I told her: no.*

Olga: *Why does someone here learn Portuguese?*

Debbie: *Because their parents are Portuguese. They learn the language, to speak.*

Olga: *Is that why you go or because your parents make you go?*

Debbie: *That's why I go (the latter), otherwise I wouldn't go. Because I already can speak, I can read.*

For Carla (yr. 11), it is acceptable not to go to mother tongue classes if you have recently come from Portugal (her situation), and have a good grasp of Portuguese:

Olga: *what makes a person not to choose Portuguese?*

Carla: *the fact that they already know Portuguese, because they have learned in Portugal and here they want to develop more the English.*

8.4 Opinion of mother tongue classes: Children not attending

Four of the children not attending mother classes (Alexandra, Ana, Eusébio and Joaquim) had, some time before, been enrolled in those classes. Just like in the group attending mother tongue classes, enrolment had been the initiative of, at least one, of the parents. However, unlike the previous group, the parents of these children did not impose continued attendance. Several reasons are given for this. Mainly, it is the children's enjoyment of the lessons that comes across as the main factor. Other factors such as the timetable, location and time availability add to explain why it is not possible for these children to attend mother tongue classes.

Alexandra's Mother: *I took her out of the Portuguese (lessons). And because I also saw that she didn't want to do Portuguese. She only wanted to continue the English.*

Ana's Mother: *But since the first day, that Nora said that she didn't like it, she didn't like it. And she did it on purpose and she wouldn't take any interest, she didn't care and that's why she never learned. But she reads a little bit as well. (...) And then she said that there was almost no time. That it was a waste of time, just to get tired. That there wasn't any time to learn anything. (...)*

Ana's Father: *Yes, I said go if you want to. You're here in England, you're learning English not Portuguese.*

Mãe da Ana: *Mas desde o primeiro dia, que a Nora começou a dizer que não gostava, que não gostava. E fazia a propósito. Não ganhava interesse, não se importava e por isso é que nunca aprendeu. Mas ela lê uma coisinha, também. (...) E depois ela dizia que não era tempo nenhum. Que era uma perda de tempo, só p'ra se cansar e que não dava p'ra aprender nada.*

(...)

Pai da Ana: *Sim, eu disse vão se quiserem. 'Tão aqui na Inglaterra, 'tão a aprender Inglês não Português.*

Eusébio's Father: *I was working and then it was very late. (...) They had to stop the Portuguese lessons. And then the other thing, they didn't like very much the Portuguese lessons.*

Teresa's Mother: *But she (Teresa) never liked Portuguese. She never liked it. And every time I talked about it (Portuguese lessons), she starts going round...*

Maybe because emphasis is put on the children's preference, Augusto's mother, whose son also does not attend Portuguese classes, believes it should

be "compulsory. And they should have one Portuguese teacher in all English schools, where there was a Portuguese person".

Mother tongue classes are viewed primarily as something you attend to learn to speak in Portuguese, although you are also expected to learn to read and write and, maybe, acquire some knowledge of the country's history. Therefore, if you believe your child already has good oral skills in Portuguese, the need for mother tongue classes is not pressing. It can wait until secondary school, when it is suggested that it be incorporated in the curriculum as a Modern Foreign Language or, even, that learning Spanish will, in part, substitute learning Portuguese.

Ana: *Because I can't speak. I don't like to speak in Portuguese.*

Ana's Father: *she is shy.*

Ana's Mother: *And she has- she keeps saying she doesn't like the Portuguese. And she has that embarrassment.*

Ana's Father: *It's more the embarrassment (shyness).*

Ana's Mother: *That's what makes her- what makes her not to speak well in Portuguese. But, apart from that, the reading and the writing, that she knows.*

Clarisse's Mother: *She never went to Portuguese school, because at that time, was just one hour. It was not convenient to go. It was... it was just one day and then- the bother- of going-picking her up from school, then to the Portuguese school. Then I had to go-she- . You know, at school, we don't see what they eat. To come home, make the food, and like this I never put them in the Portuguese school, but they speak Portuguese well. (...)*

Clarisse: *Speaking is not that much...*

Clarisse's Mother: *Well! You speak well! If you want to, you speak well. And it's like that.*

Mãe da Clarisse: *Nunca foi à escola portuguesa, porque na altura era uma hora só. Nã(o) me convinha ir – Era – era um dia só e depois- a maçada- d'ir-ir buscá-la- à escola, depois ir prá escola portuguesa. Depois tinha d'ir-ela - Já sabe que, na escola, a gente nã(o) vê o qu'ê qu'eles comem. Vir pra casa, fazer o comer, e assim nunca pus eles na escola portuguesa, mas eles falem (sic) bem o Português. (...)*

Clarisse: *Falar não é assim muito...*

Mãe da Clarisse: *Bem! Falas bem! Se quiseres, falas bem. E é assim.*

Eusébio's Mother: *Our second son has forgotten (the Portuguese language). The others don't know. (...) They only know -English.*

Eusébio's Father: *I am sincere in saying. I don't know if I am right or wrong. If we had intention of staying here for just one more year, or two or three, we would try that they went to the Portuguese school, but practically, our life is already built here, do you understand?*

Joaquim's Mother: But they already have the Spanish there. Why don't they put the Portuguese. It is an EEC language. They could put as an option. As there are many Portuguese in this country... they could do that as well. Now in secondary school, he has options but he does not have Portuguese. So, he is going to choose Spanish because Spanish is similar to Portuguese, isn't it? It is a help.

Mãe do Joaquim: Mas eles já têm o espanhol lá. Porque é que não põem o Português? É uma língua da CEE. Podiam pôr como opção. Como tem muitos portugueses aqui neste país...podiam fazer isso também. Ele agora, na secundária, tem opções, mas não tem Português. Por isso, ele vai escolher o espanhol porque o espanhol é parecido com o Português, não é? Já é uma ajuda.

8.5 Critical comments about M-T classes

8.5.1 Children attending mother tongue classes:

For the parents of the children attending mother tongue classes, their main criticism is the reduced number of hours timetabled during the week. For these parents, the number of hours their children are in a formal classroom environment is not sufficient.

Silvia's Mother: My daughter finishes school and she gets home at 5 to 4. The Portuguese school starts at four o'clock. She comes from one place tired and she has to go to the other. It finishes at five o'clock. It's just one hour. That hour doesn't count, because it's the time that they sit down and it is almost time to go. And it is only twice a week. It's nothing.

Silvia's Father: what she has learned, it is our effort here at home. When she gets home she has to do her problems (homework). And I sit here with her, helping her. Otherwise, what she has done there, it's gone. It's only one hour (...).

Mãe da Silvia: A minha filha sai da escola e chega a casa às 5 p'rás 4. A escola portuguesa começa às 4 horas. Vem d'uma cansada, tem de ir p'rá outra. Às 5 horas acaba. É só uma hora. Essa hora não conta porque é o tempo que eles sentam-se e mais são horas de sair. E é só duas vezes à semana. Não é nada.

Pai da Silvia: O que ela tem aprendido, é o nosso esforço aqui em casa. Quando ela chega a casa, 'tá fazer os problemas. E eu sento-me aqui com ela, a ajudá-la. Porque, senão, o que ela aprendeu ali, já foi. É só uma hora (...).

Joana's Mother: Because she was to start when she was seven and she only started when she was eight. (...) I think that they are doing little time in the Portuguese school. They should stay for at least two hours or more.

Matilde's Mother: Sometimes I tell her: "Matilde, you don't know anything." But, one hour and a half in a day. Three hours per week. It is very little! There should be more... one hour and a half, but it should be every day. Isn't it? (...) But there should be... at least three days. It would be one hour and a half more. (...)it is a long time without lessons and a little time when they are in the lesson..

Pedro's Mother: And here, he is at Portuguese school, but it is not the same thing because, well, they do what they can. But it is not enough. It is not enough what they learn here.

Sandra's father: yes, the days and the hours that they go, they do a lot, isn't it? They do a lot because it is very little time, isn't it?

Vitalina's Mother: The time that they are in the Portuguese school, it's not ideal. It should be much more.

Although only one student, Pedro (yr. 9) complained overtly about the short time, the reversed point of view is also put across:

Pedro: My colleagues went to Portuguese. My colleagues from the English school also went to Portuguese, to study Portuguese. They had Portuguese lessons after school. That's nothing. It is only one hour and a half.

Debbie: Portuguese lessons. I don't like them, no. (...) Because I have English school from 9 until half past three and I have so much work. And I still have to go to Portuguese lessons until six. (...) The English school is until half past three. Then I have to wait there until five.

Although Debbie's mother takes her daughter opinion into account, she points out another factor contributing to children's interest (or lack of) in mother tongue classes: the curriculum and associated activities. This is a point closely related to teachers and teaching styles as mentioned before in this chapter.

Debbie's Mother: And, I mean, the Portuguese school, it's such little time. I don't criticise it being little time, it's that what they like to do more in the English. Its music lessons. They like going to music (lessons). It's going to museums and other places. It's everything in the English school. In the Portuguese, there's nothing like that. She even says that she thinks the English school is easier than the Portuguese one.

Carlos' Mother: But there are also cases where, when there are some that are good, that have to go away. That's what happened with Carlos. He was for several years in a row with the same teacher. He liked her very much. That was (teacher's name). And I also liked her very much. He liked her so much that when this teacher came, he did not want to go to school.

Sandra's Mother: *if it were always one teacher it would be easier for the children.*

Sandra's Father: *she (teacher) already knows the difficulties that the child has. And some work- //*

Sandra's Mother: *//I think it is easier for everybody.*

Sandra's Father:- *like for example... there is always the child that has more difficulty in some things than in others. Well a teacher, always being the same teacher, already knows that that child needs to have more attention.*

Mãe da Sandra: *se fosse sempre uma professora era mais fácil p'ras crianças.*

Pai da Sandra: *ela (professora) já sabe as dificuldades que a criança tem. E algum trabalho-//*

Mãe da Sandra: *// Eu acho que é mais fácil para todos.*

Pai da Sandra:-*como por exemplo... há sempre a criança que tem mais dificuldade numas coisas do que noutras. Bem, uma professora, sendo sempre a mesma professora, já sabe que aquela criança precisa de ter mais atenção.*

Joana: *I don't mind learning, but... I like going, but sometimes. I don't know. I do understand, but there are sometimes... I get lost. They either speak fast or they use words that I don't know. Like trying to figure out what they saying. When I get the paper, then I read it: all right, kind of get it now.*

From the above quotes, we can see that parents see teachers' continuity as beneficial for their children's development. It would appear to be positive for both the parents and the children as, not only would the teachers know the children's abilities and how to help them best but also the children can get used to a teacher's teaching and speaking style. Furthermore, that knowledge could be used to advise in other matters extraneous to the mother tongue classes:

Olga: *Do you think then, that the Portuguese teachers can give that help guiding// the parents towards the right schools?*

Silvia's Father :*// oh, yeah!*

Silvia's Mother: *Yes. Yes, because they know very well which ones are the good schools and the bad ones. And also because if the student is good in the Portuguese language is also good in the other.*

Olga: *Vocês acham, então, que os professores portugueses podem dar essa ajuda a encaminhar// os pais na direcção das escolas certas?*

Pai da Silvia:*// oh, yeah!*

Mãe da Silvia: *Sim, sim, porque elas sabem bem quais são as boas escolas e as más. E também porque se o aluno é bom na língua portuguesa, também é bom na outra.*

Paulo: (Carmina's brother, 14 yrs old): It's only now and then (that we have Careers advice). I think that we had it some five times this year. And he talks about the jobs, like-jobs and he explains the things. That's all. You only understand some things.

Olga: Do you think that there could be any chance of your Portuguese teacher, in the Portuguese lesson, to explain something about those options?

Paulo: Yes, that would be a good idea. We would understand things better than in English.

Paulo: (Irmão da Carmina, 14 anos) É só de vez em quando (que temos Careers Advice). Acho que tivemos umas 5 vezes, este ano. E ele fala de empregos, assim como- empregos e explica as coisas. É tudo. Só se entende algumas coisas.

Olga: Tu achas que podia haver a possibilidade da tua professora portuguesa, na aula de Português, explicar qualquer coisa acerca dessas opções?

Paulo: Sim, isso era uma boa ideia. Entendíamos melhor as coisas do que em inglês.

Safety considerations were also raised. In an area of high crime incidence, young children attending evening classes sometimes don't feel safe.

Sandra: I like to go. It is only that... there should only be one school where, for example, Shakespeare Road is a school but it is very dangerous. There should be a school where only, where you only spoke Portuguese, because it would be much better for the students. For example, it would be a school just-

Sandra's Mother: A school just for the Portuguese.

Sandra: Yes. Because, like this, it is dangerous, for little girls and boys to go to a big school where they can be mugged or something like that.

Sandra: Eu gosto de ir. É só que... devia só haver uma escola onde, por exemplo, Shakespeare Road é uma escola mas é muito perigosa. Devia-se ter uma escola onde só se falava Português, porque era mais melhor para os alunos. Por exemplo, uma escola só-

Mãe da Sandra: Uma escola só p'ros portugueses.

Sandra: Sim, porque assim, é perigoso, p'ras meninas e meninos pequenos ir a uma escola grande onde podem ser roubadas ou uma coisa assim.

8.5.2 Children not attending mother tongue classes:

For the parents of the children not attending mother tongue classes, the main criticism concentrates on the logistics of mother tongue classes. The reduced availability of books and parents' work hours mean it should take place within the secondary mainstream education and be treated as a modern foreign language. This would also meet the needs of those children whose language skills in Portuguese are not as developed as to allow them to follow the work their colleagues are doing in evening classes.

John: Three hours per week. And then they give the list of books and there aren't any there. I mean, it is the difficulty. The students spend the year with borrowed books. They don't have any one there. They don't have the Grandma or the aunt. We never go there. It's like that, there are no books. If they have the record there for 500 students, the consulate should order to books and then tell the teachers in each school : we have the books here.//to pay, isn't it? That's how it should be. I think that there are also many Portuguese who give up and lose the interest in the Portuguese school precisely because there is not much incentive, I think.

Joaquim's Mother: //and distribute them at school for the parents to pay.

John: Três horas por semana. E depois dão a lista com os livros e não há ali. I mean, é uma dificuldade. Os alunos passam o ano com livros emprestados. Não têm lá ninguém. Não tem a avó, não têm a tia. A gente nunca vai lá. É assim. Não há livros. Se há o registo de 500 alunos, o consulado havia de mandar vir 500 livros e depois dizer às professoras em cada escola: nós temos aqui os livros// a pagar, não é? Assim é que devia de ser. Eu penso que também há muitos portugueses que desistem e perdem o interesse na escola portuguesa precisamente porque não há muito incentivo, eu penso.

Mãe do Joaquim: //e distribuir nas escolas p'ros pais pagar.

Teresa's Mother: That, reading, she reads a little bit in Portuguese because she watches a lot of Portuguese TV and... For writing, she doesn't know anything. (...) My husband would pick her up from school, at 3.30, isn't it? And he would leave her at my nieces house and then, when I came from work, I would always go and pick her up from there. But, of course, at school it would be different because someone would have to pick her up from school. Only if I asked someone to go and pick her up from there, but it's another... you must understand, isn't it? It another... you have to ask for favours. You owe other people. People have to go from their homes to go there and pick her up. And we never asked anyone.

Augusto's Mother: If the teachers wanted to do anything, they could ask for more teachers and create a bigger Portuguese community-

Augusto: they can ask but it doesn't mean that they will have.

Augusto's Mother: Portuguese. But to give really the Portuguese school, seriously. Not school only for those who want to go there. (...) compulsory. And they should have one Portuguese teacher in all English schools, where there was a Portuguese person.

Augusto: but not all schools have the money to put a Portuguese teacher there.

Augusto's Mother: but they should have. But I might be wrong.

Rita's Mother: And now she doesn't even want to go to Portuguese school. She says that she's too big. That the others make fun of her. That she can't say anything. (...)

Rita: I think that there should be lessons, like that, different.

Rita's Mother: yes, because the lessons that they do there in Portugal is the same that they do for the children here. And the children that have come from Portugal, they have developed more than those that are here, isn't it? They

should give more hours during the week, or more times during the week. I don't know. Or do a different type of teaching, but it is the same.

Ana's Father: Every day they would come home and complained to me that the lesson was very advanced for them, as this one used to say. But she was right. The teacher should have put them in a lower lesson and beginning from...

Ana's Mother: (unintelligible) it wasn't worth it.

Ana: But if they were to put us in a smaller (lower grade) class, our friends wouldn't be there.

Pai da Ana: Todos os dias elas chegavam a casa e aventavam comigo qu'era muito alta a classe p'ra elas, com'esta dizia. Mas tinha razão. A professora devia pôr elas numa classe baixinha e depois começavam de...

Mãe da Ana: (ininteligível) Não valia a pena.

Ana: Mas se eles pusessem a gente numa classe baixinha, as nossas amigas não iam 'tar lá.

8.6 Appropriate age to start learning Portuguese at school

The opinion appears to be divided as to when be the best time to start mother tongue classes. For the parents of the children attending these classes, indication is that the sooner they acquire literacy skills in their mother tongue the better, as Matilde's mother puts it:

Because this daughter (Matilde), I have had problems with her. Not now, she's already going... but she mixed up the letters very much. Maybe because she didn't have Portuguese lessons first. I think it was that. If it was the 'a' she would say it was 'e'. The problem of mixing up the English. I told her many times: "you are in the Portuguese (lesson). You have to learn Portuguese. The name of the letter is this one". But... because it was little time. It was very hard and she's still a little behind. The teachers says that she is a little bit behind. (...) She started when she was seven, nearly eight, in the Portuguese school.

As seen before, for Carmina, a recent arrival, Portuguese lessons eased her integration into the English system:

Carmina: because when I go to the English school and I have something to do that I have done in the Portuguese school, then it is easy! All I have to do is translate it! (...) (People who don't go to Portuguese classes) they don't learn more. Because like this they could know something. All they had to do was to translate it. And, this way, they have to use their head and ask the teachers how it is (done).

On the other hand, for the parents of the children not attending Portuguese classes, there is a view that English skills will have to be well developed before developing literacy in Portuguese. It is almost a fear that there may not be enough capacity for two languages. One language will cause undesired interference with the other and hinder the child's overall language development.

Alexandra's Mother: *When I came over here, she (Alexandra) had passed from year two to year three, and this one had passed to year one-year two (of schooling in Portugal). What is the Portuguese of year two? I mean, it's nothing. It's nothing, I mean, they come here, they start in English school and then later on I will put her in Portuguese school. We say 'a e i o u' (in Portuguese), here they say 'a e' (in English). That's already different. They would start making mistakes in the Portuguese and making mistakes in the English. What did I have to do? I had to take her out of one of them. I took her out of the Portuguese (lessons). And because I also saw that she didn't want to do Portuguese. She only wanted to continue the English. And even today, she still makes spelling mistakes in English. And it is always that mistake, the 'a' and the 'e' and the 'i', that she puts in the wrong places. Here, at home, we always speak in Portuguese. We don't speak in English.*

Mãe da Alexandra: *Quando eu vim pr'aqui, ela (Alexandra) tinha passado do segundo p'ró terceiro ano e esta tinha passado do primeiro p'ró segundo (ano em Portugal). O que é o Português do segundo ano? Quer dizer, não é nada. Não é nada. Quer dizer, elas vêm pr'aqui, começam na escola inglesa e depois mais tarde eu ponho-as na escola portuguesa. Nós dizemos "a e i o u" (em Português), aqui eles dizem "a e" (em Inglês). Já é diferente. Elas começavam-me a dar erros no Português e a dar erros no Inglês. O que é que eu tive que fazer? Tive que tirá-las d'uma. Tirei-as da portuguesa. E porque eu também vi que ela não queria fazer o Português. Ela só queria continuar o Inglês. E ainda hoje ela dá erros no Inglês. E é sempre aquele erro, o "a" e o "e" e o "i", que ela põe nos sítios errados. Aqui em casa, fala-se sempre em Português. Não se fala em Inglês.*

Ben's Mother: *He's going to have French, there is the English. If I put him in Portuguese-I think that his mind will not be enough to grab the three of them. So, we speak in Portuguese. He writes, I help him in what I can. It's not to force it. It's... slowly. When he has the capacity to attain more, then he can choose what he wants.*

Joaquim's Mother: *I thought that there should be a time for them to start the Portuguese lessons, so as not to have confusion in their heads. This is what I say, if they were learning English, they have to integrate first in the English and then, when I saw that they were perfect, I would put them in the Portuguese school. Last year, when I went to the school, his teachers said, his teacher said: "now, until he leaves here, he will be really perfect at writing and reading and all that in English." And I thought that now was the time because it was not going to make confusion for them. Because I thought that if they mix the two languages, it would make a lot of confusion for them. Either they had to be*

good that one thing or they had to be good at the other. Do you understand? So, as they were children and all that, it would create confusion in their heads. So I thought that they, well, first they will learn English well and then I will put them in the Portuguese school.

Rita's Mother: She was going to the English school-she was attending Portuguese, but she was making a lot of confusion (...). Even for the Portuguese school, she was making a lot of confusion. She was in year four and she didn't know almost anything. Now, she knows a little bit more because at the English school, now, in secondary school, she has chosen Spanish.

8.7 Role of mother tongue in the mainstream classroom

The information and advice received from the English mainstream teachers could contribute to the dichotomy of opinion mentioned above. There does not appear to be a clear, uniform, policy coming across to the parents or children with regard to the role of mother tongue in children's development. When mother tongue use is considered in the classroom, it appears to be only as a transition period to the exclusive use of English:

8.7.1 Children attending mother tongue classes

Norberto's Mother: And the teacher would tell me: "don't you have someone who can speak in English with the children? An aunt or their father?" Their father can't speak English. I also know very little. (...) He (Norberto eldest brother) was in Shakespeare school, where my children are, for one year. One year and a month but he-he missed his year, because he wanted to speak more Portuguese than English.

Mãe do Norberto: E a professora me dizia: "não tem ninguém que possa falar em Inglês com as crianças? Uma tia ou o pai deles?" O pai deles não sabe falar Inglês. Eu também sei muito pouco. (...) Ele (irmão mais velho) andou na escola de Shakespeare, onde estão os meus filhos, por um ano. Um ano e um mês, mas ele- ele perdeu o ano, porque ele queria falar mais Português do que Inglês.

Matilde: They speak in Portuguese because, sometimes, **yeah**, I didn't know English things. (...)

Olga: but, for example, if you are doing maths work and you are talking about the work you had to do, you could speak in Portuguese or you had to speak in English if you knew?

Matilde: English. (...)

Olga: so, you could only speak in Portuguese if you didn't know how to speak in English?

Matilde: yes. Then the people that can-like my Portuguese friends, that could speak in English, they could tell the teacher what I was saying. (...) I would tell them in Portuguese what I didn't know how to say in English and then they tell the teacher. (...) They helped me.

Carlos: Because I remember, at school, in **year five**, in primary school, my friends, they would say that I had learnt English very quickly and that I can read and write well. And in the SATs exam, in year 9, at school, I had-my **grades** were five, I had **grade five**, which is the second highest you could have. And my English teachers were happy because there were saying that as I am not from this country, (...) they were surprised that I did so well and it was not my first language.

Olga: When they said to pull herself up, did they say what she should do to pull herself up?

Matilde's Mother: Yes, they said to read a lot, to write, even if it was in Portuguese. This one (teacher) of my Matilde told me the same, even if it was Portuguese. (...) And my older one, they also told me: to read a lot. Now, where they had most difficulty, both of them, was in the reading. Reading and writing. (...) But, it's the case like that... for them to study, to read, even if it is in Portuguese, well, because it already helps a lot the child to read and to write. That's what they (English teachers) told me as well.

Olga: Quando eles dizem 'ela puxar por si mesma', eles diziam o que é que ela devia fazer p'ra puxar por si mesma?

Mãe da Matilde: Sim, eles diziam ler muito, escrever, nem que fosse em Português. Já esta aqui (professora) da minha Matilde me disse o mesmo, mesmo que fosse Português. (...) E a minha mais velha, também me diziam: ler muito. Agora, onde elas tinham mais dificuldade, tanto uma como a outra, era no ler. Ler e escrever. (...) Mas o caso é que... p'ra elas estudarem, lerem, nem que seja que seja em Português, bem, porque já ajuda uma criança a ler e escrever. Era o que eles (professores ingleses) me diziam.

Olga: If you were in the classroom doing work and a Portuguese boy or a girl, who cannot speak in English well yet, can they speak with you in Portuguese or do you have to speak in English?

Filipe: They can speak in Portuguese.

Olga: So you can speak in Portuguese if you want. The teachers don't mind?

Filipe: No.

Sandra's Mother: When we go to school to talk with the teacher, that is arranged with the Portuguese, that they are there. Then they ask what language we speak at home. We say that at home we only speak Portuguese with our children. Sometimes they go with us and help as interpreters. If there's anything (unintelligible), they are the ones who do it. And they (teachers) find it strange. They (children) enter the school gate and forget the Portuguese and only speak in English. And they go out of the school gate, they forget the English and only speak in Portuguese. And the teacher even told me, that deep there, for them, that they find it strange how they (children) can do it. Do you understand? At school they only speak in English and outside and at home, they only speak Portuguese.

8.7.2 Children not attending mother tongue classes

Alexandra: The teachers will probably say: try to speak in English. Sometimes the teachers don't like us to be speaking in another language. But some don't mind because the teachers, they- as they have one teacher that is English but he speaks Spanish. He speaks in Spanish with the Spanish people. So, when he is speaking in Spanish with the friends, we take the opportunity to speaking Portuguese. Because if he can speak (in Spanish), then we can also speak (in Portuguese). That's why.

Ana: In the primary school? (...) There was a teacher, **Miss Santos** (English pronunciation). (...) She would just come and talk to the children, to see if everything was okay.

Ana's Mother: Yes, she helped to teach to read. She helped in the school. She helped to put the drawings that they made, on the walls. Yes, she helped.

Olga: You, when you were in that school, was there any chance of doing work in Portuguese, or was it everything in English?

Ana: No, it was in English.

Olga: everything was in English? What about speaking in Portuguese? Could you speak in Portuguese in school?

Ana: No, only sometimes, (...) only with that teacher.

Olga: And what about speaking in Portuguese when you are at school?

Ben: I speak during the break time.(...) They don't say: "don't speak in Portuguese because this is an English school. They don't say that. They let us speak in our language with our friends.(...)

Olga: You said that at school, you couldn't speak Portuguese.

Paulo: Now we can, but before we could not speak in Portuguese with a person who couldn't speak English.

Olga: Why couldn't you speak in Portuguese with a person who didn't speak English?

Paulo: So that he would learn.

Olga: Who would say that you couldn't speak?

Paulo: The teacher. (...) My form tutor.

Teresa's Mother: One day, one teacher asked me: "can she speak Portuguese?" And I said "yes". "How nice! She can speak both languages and she's so young!" (Mother laughs). (...) Now, the English, for her, it was... I don't mean that she was-that she knows more than the others children and everything, but she learnt well. Because she-she speaks both languages. And the teacher once told me: "that is more difficult for her." But she learns well, because she speaks both languages at the same time.

Olga: The teacher said that it would be more difficult for her to learn English, also speaking the Portuguese?

Teresa's Mother: She once told me. Just me with her, but I understood it. That, once that she knew both languages, she spoke both languages, as she (Teresa) spoke Portuguese as well, that it would even be- it was more difficult.

But she learnt well. That she learnt well the English and that she learnt easily the English, after she knew how to speak Portuguese as well, that she learnt well the English. And that she was also writing the English and everything. Maybe that for writing in English, that it was worse. Like this, as she could speak the Portuguese, that it should be maybe more difficult but that she learnt well and that... she could have some difficulty, like in writing and like that, but that she was going well.

Teresa: *They (English teachers) said not to speak in Portuguese, because it was to speak in English, for them (teachers) also to know.(...) If we were in class and we had to speak in Portuguese, they (English teachers) would say not to speak.*

Teresa's Mother: *Because it's in class, it's important to speak only in English.*

Teresa: *Because they wanted us to speak in English because the school is English, they said that.*

Teresa: *Eles (professores ingleses) disseram p'ra não falar em Português, qu'era p'ra falar em Inglês, p'ra eles também saberem. (...) Se a gente estava na classe e tinha que falar em Português, eles diziam p'ra não falar.*

Mãe da Teresa: *Porque é na classe, é importante falar só em Inglês.*

Teresa: *Porque eles queriam que a gente falasse só em Inglês, porque a escola é inglesa, eles disseram isso.*

Joaquim's mother describes an even more worrying scenario. This refers to the language policy in an institution where teaching practice is taking place. It is not clear how far it reflects widespread practice or whether it is specific to the nursery school in question:

Joaquim's Mother: *I was practising in a nursery (in 1998) and they were many-of course, there in Shakespeare Road, it's all Portuguese, isn't it? So I went to a nursery there and they were many Portuguese children.*

(...)

Joaquim's Mother: *But they don't like it very much that you speak in Portuguese (at school), isn't it?*

(...)

And as they wanted the children to learn to speak in English, she (teacher at nursery school) advised me not to speak in Portuguese with them. There, at school. I mean, it's good for them to speak another language but they speak at home. There they have to speak in English to integrate in the group. Because, like that, it's more difficult for the teachers work.

Mãe do Joaquim: *Eu estive a praticar numa creche (em 1998) e tinha muitos- claro, ali em Shakespeare's Road, é só portugueses, não é? Então, eu fui p'ra lá p'ra uma creche e tinha muitos miúdos portugueses.*

(...)

Mãe do Joaquim: *Mas eles não gostam muito que falem em Português (na escola), não é?*

(...)

E como eles queriam qu'os miúdos aprendessem a falar Inglês, ela (a professora da creche) ela aconselhou-me a não falar em Português com eles. Lá na escola. Quer dizer, é bom eles falarem outra língua, mas falam em casa. Ali eles têm que aprender Inglês p'ra se integrar no grupo. Porque, assim, é mais difícil o trabalho dos professores.

Olga: Therefore, when you were doing your work, your work practice, you were asked to speak in English with the Portuguese children.

Joaquim's Mother: In English with the Portuguese children. But there were many children there that were not- that couldn't speak in English. (...) Many times, I noticed the teacher saying "this word starts with this." And the children (...) instead of saying in English... they understood but, as they couldn't say in English, they would say in Portuguese. And of course, sometimes they would say "a word starting with P." and a little girl said Paulo, who was her uncle. And the teacher asked in English "who is the uncle?". She understood what the teacher was saying. (...) I mean, it's those things. But once, there was a child talking to me in Portuguese and she said that she didn't advise it because we want, I mean, the children don't integrate into the school group. They have to learn to speak English. They didn't like the children to speak Portuguese there. (...) The teacher explains, because now I left there and now there was no one there to explain the children what it was. The children need to learn English. It is true that they need to keep their language but they need to integrate in the group at school. And if they don't learn the English then they will never integrate. They will always feel inferior to the others. If they have to remain here, then they have to learn the English. It's the basic, isn't it?

Olga: Portanto, quando estava a fazer o seu trabalho, o seu estágio, pediam-lhe para falar em Inglês com as crianças portuguesas?

Mãe do Joaquim: Em Inglês com as crianças portuguesas. Mas havia lá muitas crianças que não 'tavam- que não sabiam falar Inglês. (...) Muitas vezes eu notava a professora a dizer "esta palavra começa por isto" E os miúdos (...) em vez de dizerem em Inglês... eles entendiam, mas como não sabiam dizer em Inglês, eles diziam em Português. E, claro, às vezes, eles diziam "uma palavra começada por P". E uma miúda disse Paulo, qu'era o tio. E a professora perguntou em Inglês e "quem é o tio". Ela percebeu o que a professora 'tava dizendo. (...) Mas uma vez, 'tava lá um miúdo a falar Português comigo, e ela disse que não aconselhava porque nós queremos- quer dizer, os miúdos não integram no grupo da escola. Eles têm que aprender a falar Inglês. Eles não gostavam que falassem Português lá. (...) A professora explicou, porque agora que eu saí de lá, já não tinha lá ninguém que explicasse aos miúdos o que é que era. Os miúdos precisam de aprender o Inglês. É verdade que eles precisam de manter a sua língua mas eles precisam de se integrar no grupo da escola. E se eles não aprendem o Inglês nunca mais se integram. Eles vão sempre se sentir inferiores aos outros. Se eles vão se manter aqui, então têm qu'aprender o Inglês. É o básico, não é?

It is, thus, not surprising that these attitudes filter down to the playground and the children (both attending and not-attending Portuguese classes) are the object of comments such as:

Carlos: They (Non-Portuguese colleagues), when we were speaking in Portuguese, they would get all cross or jealous (arranhados). 'Speak in English'. Because they thought that sometimes we were talking about them. They kept being jealous: "look, speak in English. This is not Portugal." But they thought that we were doing well in staying together, because staying together, we would be united, the Portuguese. They thought it was good what we were doing. But there were some that would say to speak in English, even if we were together, to speak in English. But we would always speak in Portuguese. (...)

Carlos: Eles (colegas não portugueses), quando a gente falava-se em Português, eles ficavam todos zangados ou arranhados. 'Falem em Inglês.' Porque eles pensavam qu'a gente- a gente 'tava-se falando deles. Ficavam arranhando: "olha, falem em Inglês. Isto não é Portugal." Mas eles achavam que a gente se- a gente fizemos bem, a gente 'tar juntos, porque a gente 'tar juntos, porque assim 'tá-se a ficar unidos, os portugueses. Achavam que foi uma coisa boa que fizemos. Mas havia uns que diziam para falar em Inglês, mesmo se 'tivessemos juntos, para falar em Inglês. Mas a gente sempre falava-se Português. (...)

Paulo: Some (English speaking colleagues), some don't like them (Portuguese youngsters). But, in the beginning they don't like, then they start to like them.

Olga: How do you notice that?

Paulo: Sometimes, there are colleagues that they say: "go and speak your rubbish Portuguese, here it is English, this is the English land. It is not Portuguese." And I get in on that, "I'm also Portuguese. Why don't you tell me that?" "But you are different." They say that.

Ben: I prefer those colleagues, like, that are not really English because some English, sometimes, they start to make fun of people. So, I like more those like, other countries, more than those really English.

Olga: Do you think that those really English sometimes are unfair to the others?

Ben: Yes, because sometimes they start making fun of the language.

Joana: At school, we have girls that tell: "Oh! You're Portuguese." At school there's a group of Spanish girls, one-year above us, (...), and there's the proper English people. So they start interfering. Because they're different. Because you're different, you can't be liked. You speak another language...

Sandra: I think it is good to say in Portuguese but... he shouldn't be afraid because that person could understand. Because when he tells me something in Portuguese, the other people will say "he said something about me. He said something about me. He talked about me".

Olga: They get suspicious?

Sandra: Yes.

Olga: And what do you tell them?

Sandra: I just tell them "no. He was asking me something."

Others try to turn the situation into their advantage:

Alexandra: *There are some- there are some that say: speak in English. Sometimes they play jokes or things like that. They try to speak in Portuguese. They start saying little words, joking. And sometimes we teach them words or sentences, something like that. But also, when I am with my Spanish friends, they speak in Spanish and I speak in Portuguese with my friend. So, we get by.*

Clarisse: *In my class alone, in my form, we had some- some 10, in- and in a class there's 28. So my class was like half Portuguese. It's good though, 'cause you sit there, in registration and there were 3 boys and me and some other girl and two- two Spanish girls. You know they- they understand a bit. So- we used to sit talking about everyone in Portuguese. No one would understand us. It was quite funny. Used to have a lot of fun- in the morning. It was quite good. That's it.*

8.8 Summary

The reasons given by the participants as to why they attend mother tongue Portuguese classes centre around the family's cultural heritage and the affective links with the family here and back in Portugal. The student's cultural identity is a factor cited by parents as having a considerable role in determining mother tongue attendance. This is also true for the students, particularly, the older ones. Further, for the parents of the children attending mother tongue classes, these lessons constitute an academic investment to be reaped in the future and, therefore, the earlier you start the better. For the parents of children who are not attending mother tongue classes, there is a view, often perceived as supported by the mainstream schools, that English skills need to be well developed before developing literacy in Portuguese. It, thus, feels appropriate for these parents for Portuguese to be integrated in the curriculum as a modern foreign language. However, this would run against the interests of those parents whose children attend classes in the present system as they argue for more time in the week which would not be possible to incorporate in the mainstream timetable.

Chapter 9 – Factors Affecting Parental Decisions with Regard to Mother Tongue Classes

CHAPTER 9 – FACTORS AFFECTING PARENTAL DECISIONS WITH REGARD TO MOTHER TONGUE CLASSES	289
9.1 Introduction	290
9.2 Going back to Portugal	290
9.3 Parental view of own education:	
Interaction with period of residence in the UK	295
9.3.1 Group attending mother tongue classes	296
9.3.2 Group not attending mother tongue classes	302
9.4 Summary	308

9.1 Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, the family's cultural heritage and the student's cultural identity are factors cited by parents as having a considerable role in determining mother tongue attendance. In the present chapter, I shall identify two other factors that are also crucial in determining whether the family will choose that their children attend mother tongue classes: a) intention of returning to Portugal and b) parents' opinion of own schooling. Furthermore, following the results obtained in the quantitative analysis I shall investigate whether there is an interaction with the length of residence in the UK.

9.2 Going back to Portugal

One other factor that figures strongly in the characterisation of the families whose children attend mother tongue classes is the parents' intention of returning to Portugal either in the near future or later in life. In fact, in this respect, there is a marked difference between the two groups. Only one of the (15) parents whose children attend mother tongue classes consider the possibility of not returning to Portugal and this for economic reasons. In 12 cases, the answer was a definite 'yes'.

Olga: *Do you think you will go back to live in Portugal?*

Silvia's Father: *Yes! With lots of hope. (...) What I do want is to die down there, caramba! I do not want to die here!*

Olga: *Acha que vai voltar a viver em Portugal?*

Pai da Silvia: *Sim! Com muita esperança. (...) O que eu quero é morrer lá em baixo, caramba! Não quero morrer aqui!*

Olga: *Are you planning to go back to Madeira?*

Debbie's Mother: *Of course! After my children- (...) Whilst I can work, that I am not old, I'll be staying around. (...) I am here in a closed flat and I have there a big house with front and back garden. Am I going to be here all my life?*

Carmina's Mother: *(...) I hope not to stay and die here.*

Carlos' Mother: *Oh! I think so! If I don't die before that. But that is my dream.*

Joana's Mother: My dream is to return to my country. (...) He (my husband) would say that he never wanted to have a house here. Because he did not want to be here for many years. He never liked London. (...) And he said: "if it were not for my girl, I would sell this up and go back to my country."

Olga: Are you planning to go back to Portugal?

Matilde's mother: (takes a deep breath) I would go back today. But there are two things to think of. Firstly, my daughter's future. And then mine.

Olga: You have created roots.

Filipe's Mother: I don't know. We are not (planning) to stay here forever. (...) I will go. I don't think I will stay here forever.

Pedro's Mother: But eight years have gone by, and I am still here. I don't know for how long more because my husband now wants to go back. Now, it is Pedro who will decide. (...)

Pedro: I think so. If they don't go back, I will. (...)

Pedro's Mother: That is the likelihood. It comes to a point that you are also tired of it, this life, you know? Always in this routine. Rich, I think no one ever gets rich. From being poor, you don't get unstuck.

However, the ideal of returning to a better life may create itself a circle of migration, as Sandra's father clearly indicates:

Sandra's Father: When ours (our parents) pass away, we have our things there, we will have to go. Like it happened to my father. My father, when his parents were alive, when they were going on holidays, they were always saying: "next year, we are coming for good". And one-year past, and two years, three years, and four years and they never did. But then, isn't it?, when they passed away, they had their things there. They had no one to look after them, they had to go. They really had to go. And we had to stay. We had to stay and now, to us, it's the same thing happening. Whilst we have them there, looking after the things, we keep staying. When they pass away, we will have to go there to look after our things. And then they (children) will stay in our place. And it goes on.

Pai da Sandra: Quando os nossos (pais) faltarem, nós temos as nossas coisas lá, teremos que ir. Como aconteceu ao meu pai. O meu pai, enquanto os pais dele foram vivos, quando iam de férias, diziam sempre "p'ró ano, a gente vem de vez". E passava-se um, passava-se dois, passava-se três e passavam-se quatro e nunca iam. Mas então, não é? Quando faltaram, eles tinham lá as coisas deles. Não tinham ninguém que lhes olhasse por elas tiveram que ir. Tiveram que ir mesmo. E nós tivemos que ficar. Nós tivemos que ficar e agora a nós acontece-nos igual. Enquanto os tivermos lá a eles, que nos olhem pelas coisas, a gente vai ficando por aqui. Quando eles nos faltarem, teremos que ir p'ra lá para tomarmos conta das nossas coisas. E depois eles ficam no nosso lugar. E vai andando.

Only in two cases, for economic difficulties, the thought of returning does not constitute a definite possibility on the horizon:

Olga: *Do you think that you will ever go back to live in Portugal, to Madeira?*

Madalena's Brother: // Yes.

Madalena's Mother: // No. I don't have a house there. It's a misery there.

Sister-in-law: She doesn't have a house. Where would she go?

Madalena's Mother: I don't have anything. Where should I go?

Olga: *Acha que alguma vez vai voltar a viver em Portugal, na Madeira?*

Irmão da Madalena: // Sim.

Mãe da Madalena: //Não. Eu não(o) tenho casa lá. É uma miséria lá.

Cunhada: Ela não(o) tem casa. P'ra onde é qu'ela vai ir?

Mãe da Madalena: Eu não(o) tenho lá nada. P'ra onde é qu'eu vou ir?

Norberto's Mother: *That's why Norberto says that it is better here than in Madeira. Because he knows what he suffered when he was little, in Madeira. Poor child! Sometimes he wanted to eat something and he didn't have it. The children suffered a lot. The children don't want to go to Madeira. (...) You see, I don't... in my mind, I will still go there, but on the other hand I don't.*

This portrait of a group focused on the return to Portugal, where the idea of 'not dying here' is an aim, contrasts with a view of settling here to stay presented by the parents in the group not attending mother tongue classes. In this group, a small minority contemplates the possibility of returning to Portugal, whilst the majority hovers on a definite 'no return' or 'maybe one day'.

Only in three of the 13 families of children not attending mother tongue classes is there an indication of an active plan to return to their home country, though this does not necessarily include returning to the area of origin:

Ana's Father: Madeira, no! Because I am from Madeira, but I don't like Madeira.

Ana: But Dad has already said that he was going to Portugal when we were-

Ana's Mother: When they already are... I don't know.

Ana's Father: When I can, I'll go... I'll go.

(...)

Ana's Father: And I have told my daughters; it's not for being my daughters- if they go there, what are they going to do?

Ana's Mother: If they don't go to there, I won't go there. What will I be doing there?

Ana's Father: This is my place now. I go there on holidays

Pai da Ana: A Madeira, não! Que eu sou da Madeira mas eu não gosto da Madeira.

Ana: Mas o Pai já disse que vai a Portugal quando a gente já-

Mãe da Ana: Quando tiverem já... Não sei.

Pai da Ana: Quando puder, eu vou... Vou.

(...)

Pai da Ana: E eu já disse às minhas filhas, não é porque são minhas filhas- s'elas vão p'ra lá, o que é que vão p'ra lá fazer?

Mãe da Ana: Se elas não forem p'ra lá, eu não vou p'ra lá. O que é que vou 'tar lá fazendo?

Pai da Ana: Esta é a minha terra agora. Vou p'ra lá de férias.

From this group (children not attending) a view that comes strongly is of integration (or assimilation) into the host country.

Ben's Mother: We have never been (since we came here, nearly 4 yrs before). (...) And, in all of these years, I have not missed Portugal. Never. I used to say: one day that I go on holidays, I'm going to a place that I don't know. In Portugal there is nothing to pull me, from there.

Joaquim's Mother: We kept staying, staying. And now it is difficult to go back. Neither do they want to. They are here at school. They have all the friends. And now I see it as very difficult to live in Portugal. (...). I don't think of going back. Only if some catastrophe happens. Some war or something like that. Otherwise, no. I do not think of going back.

Mãe do Ben: Nunca estivemos lá (desde que viemos, há quase 4 anos). E, em todos esses anos, não senti falta de Portugal. Nunca. Eu costumava dizer: um dia que vá de férias, vou a um sítio que eu não conheça. Em Portugal, não há nada que me puxe, de lá.

Mãe do Joaquim: Fomos ficando, ficando. E agora é difícil voltar. Nem eles querem. 'Tão aqui na escola. Têm todos os amigos. E agora já vejo muito difícil de viver em Portugal. (...) Não penso voltar. Só se for acontecer alguma catástrofe. Alguma guerra ou coisa assim. De contrário, não. Não penso voltar.

Paulo's Father: I would go to Portugal only if I had a house paid for, that I didn't have to pay for the rent. Then, yes. I would go back to Portugal. (...) To leave this to go back to Portugal and start a new life again, no.

Teresa's Mother: For the moment, we are not planning to go back for good. To go on holidays and like that. (...) When we have a house then I will go there for a month or two, during the holidays with the children. Now going there for good, we are not thinking of going.

José's Mother: When I came to this country, the first thing that I said was: to Portugal I will never go again. And I have been here for three years. And am going because of my husband. Otherwise, I wouldn't go.

José's Father: no. Not that. That is out of question. I have never been to Portugal in these three years- (...) Going to (live in) Portugal is out of the question. When my children were still there, I went a bit soft. I started thinking: I can't stand being here. But she never. With regard to that, she grabbed this more than I did. And today, she goes to Portugal because I do. Because if I didn't go, she...

José's Mother: I wouldn't go. No one takes me from here. This is paradise.

Eusébio's father and Rita explicitly make a link between the intention of moving back to Portugal and attending mother tongue classes. For others, although the possibility of a definitive return is not excluded, it does not constitute a realistic scenario:

Eusébio's Father: I am sincere in saying. I don't know if I am right or wrong. If we had intention of staying here for just one more year, or two or three, we would try that they went to the Portuguese school, but practically, our life is already built here, do you understand?

Olga: Do you think you will go back to live in Portugal?

Rita's Mother (widow): Myself? I wish! If I could, as soon as I could, I would go. But I don't know if I will have the (financial) possibilities to live there. Because I don't have a job there. I don't have the means to live there. (...)

Rita: I don't want to do Portuguese because I think I am going to stay here. I don't want to go to Portugal. I like Portugal but I want to stay here, because I understand it better here. That's why I don't want to do Portuguese. (...)

Olga: Rita, do you think that your mum is really going back to live in Portugal?

Rita: I think so. Maybe when I am grown-up, when my mum doesn't need to, like, make my food and everything, she wants to- she can maybe go to Portugal. And maybe she doesn't because she cannot live without us.

Alexandra: We do not have a house there. (Soft voice) It was destroyed by-in the winter. (...)

Alexandra's Mother: In the beginning, yes, I was (thinking of returning). But now... I don't know. (...) But it is difficult. I say I leave here and I go to Madeira. But what am I going to do there? I will spoil their future. I will spoil their future. I have to think about that as well. Because if I go over there, this one (youngest) has little Portuguese. This one (eldest), she can get by in Portuguese. She can write. She makes some mistakes but she can always write a letter. Whilst this one, she doesn't say a thing. It is a misery.

Clarisse's Mother: *(hesitatingly)* Yes. At a later day. I would like to go and live in my own country. We have a better life than we have here. Sunshine, good weather, it's a different life, but, would you know?, it will be very, very difficult for me, to adapt to my own country.

Mãe da Clarisse: *(hesitante)* Sim. Um dia mais tarde. Eu gostava d'ir p'á minha terra viver. Temos melhor vida que temos aqui. Sol, bom tempo, é uma outra vida, mas, sabe uma coisa?, vai-me custar muito, muito, p'ra m'adaptar na minha terra.

As can be easily seen from the above, there appears to be a clear cut division between the families whose children attend mother tongue classes and of those who don't when it comes to intention of returning on day to their country of origin. However, as shown in the following section, other factors are also at play here.

9.3 Parental view of own education: Interaction with period of residence in the UK

Apart from the difference in the two groups' views with regard to returning to Portugal, other factors also emerge in the decision to attend mother tongue classes. The results obtained in the statistical data analysis indicated a significant association in Key Stage 3 between the period of entrance¹ into the UK and attendance at mother tongue classes. Although not statistically significant, a predominant tendency for students who are recent arrivals not to attend mother tongue classes as much as those who have been in the country for some time was also found.

Given the statistical associations mentioned above, it is important to try and identify factors that can possibly affect the choice of mother tongue attendance and parental views of such classes. In order to establish a separating line for longer residents as opposed to more recent ones, a median for the sample was obtained. This corresponds to a length of time of six years. All those students who had lived in the UK for a period equal to or above six years were considered longer residents, whilst those who had been in the

country for 5 or less years were included in the group of more recent residents. Bearing in mind this distinction, the sample was, thus, divided into four sub-groups:

Interviews	Longer residents	Recent residents
Attending mother tongue classes	Sandra, Silvia, Filipe, Joana, Susie, Bernardo, Carlos.	Carla, Carmina, Debbie, Madalena, Matilde, Norberto, Pedro, Vitalina,.
Not attending mother tongue classes	Teresa, Alexandra, Inês, Paulo, Rita, Ana, Clarisse.	Ben, José, Joaquim, Augusto, Eusébio, Maria.

Table 9. 1- Groups of students according to length of residence

9.3.1 Group attending mother tongue classes

Set 1. a) Longer residents attending mother tongue classes

From the interviews with the parents in this set whose 7 children attend mother tongue classes comes a strong and clear resentment at not having been able to achieve one's full academic possibilities. It is a group of people who, for economic reasons, faced with severe adversity in life, did not have the possibility of studying. Some of the parents finished school at 11 years of age - a length of study that, by today's standards, is woefully inadequate as a point to start a working career. Yet, this was not very long ago; these are people of my own generation, in their late thirties and forties. Others (3 of 14) completed compulsory education, two of those already in the UK. Nevertheless, they all express dissatisfaction with their own schooling and the opportunities for academic development that life has dealt them. They have experienced great economic difficulties and a very early start in their working lives and are conscious of the social disadvantage that this constitutes. In a way, they are projecting onto their children their own desires to have studied, to have been given a true opportunity to succeed.

¹ This period of residence refers to the children, not the whole family.

Joana's mother: I want it. To Portuguese school, I want my daughter to go. Just because I did not learn, I want my children to do so. (...) Because I cannot read or write properly, nor can my husband. (...) I did not have the possibilities for that and I feel very sad about that. (...). I mean, the school, we went to. But you had to wear shoes and the white coat (bata) and we would go barefoot and those that had shoes would make fun of us. And sometimes I would tell my mother "barefoot, I am not going there because they make fun of us." (...) It was like- to go to school you had to go through woods. We were afraid. During winter we almost didn't go because it was dark and rainy. And for us to go through you had to cross wide streams of water, the water would reach about halfway up our legs, so we didn't go. (...) And a little bit that I know of reading and writing it's because I paid for, for me to learn. Because I always liked it. I thought what a beautiful thing it was to be able to read and write.

Susie's mother: I thought I was too adult to go to the (Portuguese mother tongue) class where I had to go to. (...) I thought that I would be too adult to go to year two, so I never went. I was embarrassed.

(...)
But, even many years ago, I didn't go to Portuguese school, but many of my friends did. And, therefore, I don't know, I got married. I had my daughter. And I thought to myself, when she grows up I will put her there (in Portuguese lessons) so that she knows, no?

Mãe da Joana: Eu quero. À escola portuguesa, eu quero que a minha filha vá. Só porque eu não aprendi, eu quero que os meus filhos aprendam (...) Porque eu não sei ler nem escrever como deve de ser, nem o meu marido. (...) Eu não tive possibilidades p'ra isso e sinto-me triste. (...) Quer dizer, à escola, a gente ia. Mas tinha-se que se usar sapatos e bata e a gente ia descalços e aqueles que tinham sapatos faziam pouco da gente. E, às vezes, eu dizia à minha mãe: "descalça, eu nã(o) vou lá, qu'eles fazem pouco da gente". (...) Era como- p'ra ir à escola, tinha-se que atravessar as matas. Tinha-se medo. Durante o Inverno, quase que não íamos porque estava escuro e chovia. E p'ra gente se ir, tinha que se atravessar ribeiras d'água, e a água chegava até meio das pernas, então a gente não ia. (...) E um pouco qu'eu sei de ler e escrever é porque eu paguei, p'ra eu aprender. Porque eu sempre gostei. Eu pensava que coisa linda era ser capaz de ler e escrever.

Mãe da Susie: Eu pensava que eu era muito adulta p'ra ir p'rá classe (de Português) p'ra onde eu tinha de ir. Eu achava qu'eu ia ser muito adulta p'ra ir p'rá segunda classe, por isso, eu nunca fui. Tinha vergonha.

(...)
Mas, mesmo há muitos anos, eu não fui à escola portuguesa, mas há muitos amigos meus que foram. E, portanto, sei lá, casei-me. Tive ela. Tive a minha filha. E depois pensei, quando ela for grande, vou pôr ela (nas aulas de Português) para ela saber, não?

Sandra's father: I went up to 16 years old (in London), which is compulsory to go to. Then I finished school and my life...

Sandra's father: Oh, if I went back some 20 years, I would like to study. (...) Because my parents also told me to study. They would say "go and study." But my head was no good for that. My mind wasn't in there. (...) I gave up school. (...) I did four years working in a bar. It was the time (I was) at school. To see if I could get any money, isn't it? To blow it away like everybody else... During school time... because my parents didn't have it (money) to give it to me. (...) They would give me (money), yes, but it was for what I needed at school. To eat and things like that, but not for outings (borgas, não). So I had to, thing.... It was like that.

Silvia's father: Look, I attended school up to the age of 11. I did up to year two and then I went two years to a seminary. (...)

Silvia's mother: I was supposed to go to year six (now year 10) and I didn't go. And now I regret it. Because, at that time, I could have done the year six and year 7 and I could have done a course or be a nursery nurse, a nurse or something. (...)

Silvia's father: And I stayed there and all that... but I could hear already that it was a big expense. And then I left the seminary and I came home and I did years five and six. (...) So I did years five and six and when I was 11 years old I went to work. (...) Now if I were to go back in time, I tell you, I would study. I would study. Today, without a course (qualification), you don't earn anything.

Pai da Sandra: Andei até aos 16 anos (aqui em Londres) que é obrigatório andar. Depois acabei a escola e a minha vida...

Pai da Sandra: Ah, se eu voltasse atrás uns 20 anos, eu gostava de estudar.(...) Porque os meus pais também me mandavam estudar. Diziam "vai estudar". Mas, a cabeça não dava p'ra isso. A minha cabeça não 'tava p'ra isso.(...) Fiz quatro anos a trabalhar num bar. Foi o tempo todo (que estive) na escola. Para ver arranjava algum dinheiro, não é? Para o estoirar como todos... Durante as aulas... porque os meus pais não tinham p'ra me dar (...) Davam-me, sim, p'rós gastos da escola. Para comer e coisas assim, mas p'ra borgas, não. E eu então, tinha que, coisar... Era assim.

Pai da Silvia: Olhe, eu andei à escola até aos 11 anos. Fiz até ao 2º ano. Depois fui dois anos p'ró seminário. (...)

Mãe da Silvia: Eu era p'ra ter ido p'ró 6º ano e não fui. E agora estou arrependida. Porque, naquela altura, podia ter feito o 6º ano e o 7º ano e já podia ter um curso ou ser educadora infantil ou enfermeira ou alguma coisa. (...)

Pai da Silvia: E eu fiquei lá e isso tudo... só que eu já ouvia que a despesa que era grande. E depois eu deixei o seminário e vim p'ra casa e fiz a 5ª e a 6ª classe. (...) Então, eu fiz a 5ª e a 6ª classe e com 11 anos fui trabalhar. (...) Agora, se eu voltasse atrás, eu digo-lhe, eu estudava. Eu estudava. Hoje, sem o curso, não se ganha nada.

Bernardo: *My mum-, my mum, I think she also left early. Also, she had me when she was 16 years old and she left school to look after me. They want me to continue with my studies and that I get a good job. Because my father left school very early. He left when he was 16. And I think he doesn't want me to do that. If I can continue studying then I will not leave that 16, I can do a bit more.*

Carlos' mother: *I only studied up to the age of 13. That is I went up to year 4 then I didn't go anymore. It wasn't that I did not like it. (...) We were eight siblings. (...) Then she (my mother) said that I, as I was the eldest one, I had to help her. (...) I still enrolled myself to continue studying, to go to year one (of secondary school). I enrolled myself, and I even managed to go one day to school. My teacher from year 4 (primary school) she really wanted me to continue studying. She even sent for me to my home, for me to go. (...) But then my mother didn't allow me to go. And that was it. She said: "no, no. You're not going to study. You have to stay at home". And that was it. I had to help her.*

Filipe's mother: *As I did not have the possibility of study. He has that possibility. He can use it better. (...)*

Olga: *in Portugal, up to what age did you go to school?*

Filipe's mother: *up to 11 years old. I did year 4. (...) I stayed at home, working in the fields. (...) When you live in the countryside it's not very easy.*

Sandra's mother: *I went up to 14 years old. I did the second year (of 2nd cycle). Year six. And then I left. (...) My mother wanted me to study but I didn't. (...) But I thought that my mind wasn't good enough. I was going there to spend money and I did not have good grades. I felt ashamed. Because it seemed that I felt ashamed of not having the grades like my colleagues. And I felt sad.*

Set 1. b) Recent residents attending mother tongue classes

The same regret at not having had the chance of studying comes across in the group who has been in the country for a shorter period of time. Like those previously quoted, the parents in this group are also conscious of the limited opportunities their education offers them:

Madalena's mother: I wanted to go to school, but my parents, at that time, they were poor. They didn't have... to give me, for books. (...) I was still in school at 13. But I wouldn't go. Sometimes, I would go one day only. Because I would get sad. (...) I would go with a book and a writing book. I would go barefoot. We didn't have shoes, at that time. We were poor. I used to get really sad. They would make fun of me. They would beat me up, hurt my knees and break my pencil. I would get upset and walk away. That was it.

Mãe da Madalena: Eu queria ir à escola, mas os meus pais, naquele tempo, eram pobres. Nã(o) tinham... p'ra me dar, p'ra livros. (...) Eu, aos treze anos, 'inda 'tava na escola. Mas eu não ia. Às vezes, ia só um dia. Porque eu ficava triste. (...) Eu ia com um livro e um caderno. Eu ia descalça. Não tínhamos sapatos, naquele tempo. Éramos pobres. Eu ficava mesmo triste. Eles faziam pouco de mim. Batiam-me, feriam-me os joelhos e partiam o meu lápis. Eu ficava aborrecida e caminhava. Era só isso.

Nevertheless, Madalena's mother tried to go to school already in the UK:

Madalena's mother: But I was embarrassed. Truly. I was sad. I would get sad. I was ashamed. I would tell myself: now, after I am old², I'm going to school. (She laughs) This is true. I was at school. I paid for it and everything. I enrolled and paid £2.50. There was all these people looking at me, I couldn't even hold the pencil properly. The following day, I didn't show up anymore. I was ashamed. That's true, I was ashamed (she laughs).

Mãe da Madalena: Mas eu tinha vergonha. Verdade, Eu 'tava triste. Eu 'tava envergonhada. Dizia p'ra mim: agora, depois de velha, vou p'ra escola. (Ela ri-se) Isto é verdade. Eu 'tava na escola. Paguei p'ra isso e tudo. Inscrevi-me e paguei £2.50. 'Tavam lá estas pessoas todas a olhar p'ra mim, eu nem sabia pegar no lápis como deve de ser. No dia a seguir, já não apareci lá. É verdade, eu 'tava envergonhada (ela ri).

² At the time of the interview, Madalena's mother was 36 years old.

Carmina's mother: *As I never had the possibility of studying, I think that it is needed. I would have loved to study because I did not have that chance because I am also-my father was a sick person. My father died when I was still young and I didn't want my children to say tomorrow: "I didn't study because my mum didn't let me, because my mum couldn't." I would like to work and give them the best. If they wanted, either doctors or nurses, who knows? Whilst I can help them, if they want to continue, that's what I give them. It was something that I was never able to have. I left during year four, because I had to leave at age 11, to work. To help my younger siblings. We were 9 siblings. And when my father died six of us were under age. We had to bring up the younger ones. And that's what I didn't want to give my children. I wanted to give them, yes, a better life.*

Debbie's mother: *I studied up to- I got year five, as they call it now. I passed to year six, but I didn't go anymore. I should have gone into year six, but my mother... we were in nine, in Portugal. And we were living in a time of crisis. My father, he couldn't give us- he couldn't give studies to one, he couldn't give studies to another. And as I was one of the youngest, I could have had a little more chance. My eldest brother could help but he didn't want to. He said: you didn't give to one, you don't give to any one. So we stayed like that.*

Matilde's mother: *And so, I tell them many times, you are very lucky because when I was your age I had probably been for three or four years, side-by-side with the women, doing the same work that they were doing. And she goes "oh, I know that story." So, I went to the fields. And I went to the fields... the worst work that there is. (...) That is what I tell my daughters: I am giving to you what my parents could not give to me.*

Pedro's mother: *Myself, I only have the first year of Telescola³, unfinished. It is not even finished! I left school. Even if I want to help him more, I can't. I don't know. So... I can't do it. That's it.*

Based on the data collected with the set of parents whose children attend mother tongue classes, three premises seem to emerge:

- a) ***Not having a proper school qualification means my chances in life are very limited.***
- b) ***I did not study because the financial situation of my family did not allow it.***
- c) ***I will make sure that my child has better chances of pursuing an academic career than I did.***

When these premises are coupled with a strong desire to return to Portugal, as expressed by all the parents interviewed in this group, the

attendance at mother tongue classes for these children becomes almost certain. These parents want to assure that their children have a good possibility of academic success both in the UK and in Portugal should that situation arise.

However, how does this compare with the group of parents whose children do not attend mother tongue classes?

9.3.2 Group not attending mother tongue classes

Set 2. a) Longer residents not attending mother tongue classes

As we saw earlier, for the parents in this set, the intention of returning to Portugal is far from determined, as opposed to what is the case for the parents whose children attend mother tongue classes. Here, the parents' view of their own academic attainment and the reasons for that achievement also offer great diversity.

The attitudes presented by parents in this set when considering their own academic careers can be categorised as:

- d) *Considering those times, I did well.***
- e) *It was my own fault, really!***
- f) *I didn't do much, but what matters in life is to get a job, isn't it?***

And, in one single case (Joaquim):

- g) *Hey! I didn't give up yet!***

Rita's mother is of the opinion that the qualification she (mother) achieved in childhood was a reasonable one, an opinion she shares with Ana's Father. The latter considers the knowledge he acquired in 4 years of primary school to be superior to what his own children have learnt in primary school. There is also, in these and the remaining opinions quoted in this section, an

³ The second cycle of compulsory education was taught on less accessible areas with the help of video

underlying view of education as a functional preparation for a remunerated activity. Schooling is seen as a means of acquiring the skills necessary for everyday life, rather than developing one's academic abilities and giving a broader view of the world. Education is a means to getting employed rather than, as Joana's mother puts it, being "a beautiful thing":

Rita's Mother: *I did up to year four (primary school). At that time, it was very good. I think all my brothers did year four, as well. (...) We had to do the exams. Difficult. For us, at that time, they were difficult. So many used to go to the exam and then fail. We had to go twice. We had to do the admission exam and then the oral exam, I think it was. It was very complicated.*

Ana's Mother: *I would like them to go to university. But my husband, he says she is going to be at school all her life. After she's grown-up, after she leaves college, she goes to work. She is going to be in school all her life.*

(...)

Ana's Mother: *(I studied up to) year four, at 12 years of age I left school.*

(...)

Ana's Father: *Myself, I left school at 11, with year four. In my view, at 11, I knew more than this one (he refers to daughter). These days, I mean nowadays, myself, when I was 11 years old, with four years at school, I knew more than my daughter. (...) They've been here for what? Fourteen years, 11 years at school and I know more than they do, just with four years.*

(...)

Ana's Mother: *Because my father had seven children. Now, if he had had money for us to study after year four (...). But, in those days, even if I wanted to study, my father didn't have it (money). You could not study.*

Mãe da Ana: *Eu gostava qu'elas fossem p'rá universidade mas o meu marido 'tá sempre a dizer que é a vida toda na escola. 'Tando grande, quando deixar o colégio vai é a trabalhar. Vai 'tar toda a vida na escola.*

(...)

Mãe da Ana: *(Estudei até à) quarta classe, com 12 anos saí da escola.*

(...)

Pai da Ana: *Eu saí da escola aos 11, com a quarta classe. Eu, a meu ver, com 11 anos sabia do qu'esta (refere-se à filha). Hoje em dia, eu digo, hoje em dia, eu, com 11 anos, com quatro aninhos na escola, eu sabia mais do que a minha filha. (...) Elas já 'tão há quê? Catorze anos, onze anos na escola e eu sei mais do que elas, só com quatro anos.*

(...)

Mãe da Ana: *Porque o meu pai teve sete filhos. Agora, se ele tivesse tido dinheiro para nos pôr a estudar depois da quarta classe. (...) Mas, naquele tempo, 'inda que eu quisesse estudar, o meu pai não tinha. Não se podia estudar.*

Interestingly, Ana's mother, who, unlike her husband, voices her dissatisfaction at her own schooling, enrolled the two daughters in mother tongue classes. Soon after, though, the girls stopped attending:

Ana's Father: (...) And I said... if you want to give up, you give up.

Mother: If it were for me, they would not have given up.

(...)

Ana's Father: Yes, I said go if you want to. You're here in England, you're learning English not Portuguese.

Pai da Ana: E eu disse se quiserem desistir, desistam.

Mãe da Ana: Se fosse por mim, não tinham desistido.

(...)

Pai da Ana: Sim, eu disse vão se quiserem. 'Tão aqui na Inglaterra, 'tão a aprender Inglês não Português.

In Clarisse's mum's view, the main reason why she did not achieve more than grade 4 (year 4) was not the financial circumstances of her family, but the lack of a tight control from her parents with regard to school attendance. After her age made it impossible to study in 'normal' schooling, she was still able to attend evening classes. Later, being able to check her daughter's attendance was an important factor in the choice of secondary school:

Clarisse's Mother: I only went up to the year four, because I was never good for school. I was never good for school, I mean, it's the same thing. I did not have the parents to- that went- that had more strength (pulso) for the children. Like saying: you go to school and you really are going to school. Or to go, like I did, to take that one to school (she refers to Clarisse). (...) And the years went by and I wouldn't pass this year. I would have to repeat one more year and you reach a point when you have to finish school. At 12 years old, 11 years old, we had to leave school. 11 or 12, I can't remember properly. Even though I did yr four, but it was in evening classes. I had to go and study in the evening. I did only yr four.

Mãe da Clarisse: Eu tenho só a quarta classe, porque eu nunca fui boa p'rá escola. Nunca fui boa p'rá escola, isto é, é a tal coisa. Não tinha os pais que me – que fossem- que tivessem mais pulso p'ros filhos. Que dissessem: tu vais p'rá escola e vais p'rá escola mesmo. Ou ir, como eu levei, levava aquela (Clarisse) p'rá escola (...). E os anos foram-se passando e eu não passava este ano. Tinha que ficar mais um ano e chega a uma certa altura que a gente temos que terminar a escola. Aos 12 anos, 11 anos, tínhamos de sair da escola. 11 ou 12, já não me lembra bem. Até que eu dei a quarta classe, mas já foi à noite. Tinha que ir à noite estudar. Tirei a quarta classe só.

From what transpires in the following quotes, the parents' experience of schooling does not leave an important mark and is not viewed as a missed chance. Rather, education is a step towards getting a job and the knowledge acquired should be functional for use in everyday life:

Olga: *You studied up to what age?*

Inês' Mother: *Myself? I did year four.*

Olga: *If you could go back in time, what things would you do differently?*

Inês' Mother: *I don't know. To study, I wouldn't study, because it was something that I never liked. And liking the work, I would do the same thing that I did.*

Alexandra's Mother: *(...) The chance that I did not have, but... it doesn't mean that my daughters will not have it. I would like them to have the chance. (...) I studied only up to year two (now year six). (...) Well, I don't know. Because one thing is for sure, -it doesn't mean that I will say "when you are 16, you will leave school and get a job." No. If they have the chance to go, that's fine. But also, it is difficult, for them to be studying and studying until they are twentysomething years old, 23 and 24, studying to get a course. Sometimes they have the course, but they don't have work.*

Olga: *Você estudou até que idade?*

Mãe da Inês: *Eu? Fiz a quarta classe.*

Olga: *Se pudesse voltar atrás no tempo, que coisas fazia de maneira diferente?*

Mãe da Inês: *Não sei. Estudar, não estudava, porque é uma coisa que nunca gostei. E gostando do trabalho, fazia a mesma coisa que fiz.*

Mãe da Alexandra: *(...) A chance que eu nunca tive, mas ... não quer dizer que as minhas filhas não a vão ter. Eu gostava de lhes dar essa chance. (...) Eu só estudei até ao segundo ano (agora, sexto ano). (...) Bem, não sei. Porque uma coisa é certa,- não quer dizer que eu vá dizer "quando tiveres 16 anos, saís da escola e arranjas um emprego." Não. Se tiverem a chance de ir, isso é óptimo. Mas também, é difícil, elas estando a estudar e a estudar até terem vinte e tal anos, 23 ou 24, a estudar p'ra terem um curso. Às vezes, têm o curso, mas não têm trabalho.*

Alexandra's mother did not have the chance to study up to the end of compulsory education. Although her children have the possibility of doing so, continuing in education after this age is not viewed by the mother as a certainty, as something that she will make sure they do if she possibly can.

Set 2. b) Recent residents not attending mother tongue classes

The same characteristics as those described for the previous group of non-attendants apply to this sub-set. Nevertheless, we can see in the families who have arrived more recently, that some have tried to continue their studies in order to obtain a professional qualification:

Olga: *There, you attended school up to what age?*

José's Father: *Up to year 9. Up to what age? I went to school until-, between giving up and studying in the evenings, I finished school when I must have been 18 or something like that. Then, I met my wife. No, really finishing, it was when I was 22. It was my best year of school in my life, it was when I gave up. Really! When I got- I have said this so many times- (...) I was at my best. But, in the meanwhile, I fell ill. I always had health problems. I fell ill. It finished. If I had finished my course at that time, I would have got qualifications to become a lab assistant. And possibly to do something more afterwards. But, I was never intelligent. (...) I could have grades of 20 or of 18 (out of 20) but I was not intelligent. I have told this to my wife many times and made my son see this. But I was not intelligent. If I were intelligent I would have finished. I would have finished with more or less sacrifice, but I would have finished. But I was not intelligent and one day I simply said: forget it. Just forget it.*

Olga: *O senhor, lá, andou à escola até que idade?*

Pai do José: *Até ao 9º ano. Até que idade? Andei na escola até-, entre desistências e voltar a estudar à noite, já terminei a escola com alguns 18, talvez. Depois, conheci a minha mulher. Não terminar, terminar, já tinha 22 ou que era. Foi mesmo o meu melhor ano de escola na vida, foi quando desisti. A sério! Quando eu cheguei- Eu tenho dito isto tantas vezes- (...) Eu estava no meu melhor. Mas, entretanto, adoeci. Tive sempre problemas de saúde. Adoeci. Acabou. Se terminasse o curso na altura, ficava com habilitações para ajudante de laboratório. E possivelmente, depois, fazer mais. Mas, nunca fui inteligente. (...) Podia ter notas de 20 ou de 18 (de 20) mas não fui inteligente. 'Tou farto de dizer isto à minha mulher tantas vezes e fazer ver ao meu filho. Mas não fui inteligente. Se eu fosse inteligente, eu tinha terminado. Eu tinha terminado com mais sacrifício ou menos sacrifício, eu tinha terminado. Mas eu não fui inteligente e então um dia, simplesmente, disse: Esquece. Esquece, simplesmente, pronto.*

Augusto's Mother: *I studied up to 14 years old. But I didn't go much forward. I only managed to do Year 4. (...) (In the UK) I didn't have time to go to the school. It was either the school or my children. And so, one day, when I get old, may be I will go (she laughs) but I don't think so. But I like to learn things. If there was socialising for Portuguese people-*

Olga: Did you attend any school here to study English?

Ben's Mother: No. I enrolled to start studying, but no, I ended up not going. There was a time when I was unemployed and I had the choice of studying English (...). But I gave up. I preferred to go and work again. (...)

Olga: In Portugal, you studied up to what age?

Ben's Mother: Up to grade one (year 5). I did year four. (I was) 11 or 12 (yrs old).

It is quite clear that the reason given by José's father for his not having finished the course where he had enrolled and which would have given him the possibility of getting a different and better paid job lies within himself. Although he mentions his health problems and the fact that he was a mature evening student, married and with a child, in a low paid job, those factors do not rate high in his justification. He still blames himself for not having been able to finish.

Joaquim's mother was the only parent in the whole sample to have achieved a qualification and to study with that objective in the UK.

Joaquim's Mother: I also did a course here, for nursery nurses. I finished last year. I have been working already but I am going to open a day nursery.

(...)

Olga: So, in Madeira, you studied up to what age?

Joaquim's Mother: I studied- I got married very early. And when I finished, I already had both of them (children). I finished, in the evenings, the year 12. I did year 11 and I wanted to do year 12. This was... about six years ago. I'm going to be 33. I must have been 26 years old. I must have been 26 years old when I finished because I stayed for some time without studying, because of them. I went back in the evening and I finished then. At 26.

Mãe do Joaquim: Eu fiz também um curso aqui, de educadora. Acabei o ano passado. Já 'tive trabalhando mas agora vou abrir uma creche.

(...)

Olga: Então, a senhora, lá, estudou até que idade, na Madeira?

Mãe do Joaquim: Eu estudei- Eu casei muito cedo. E quando terminei, já os tinha aos dois (filhos). Terminei, à noite, o 12º ano. Fiquei com o 11º e quis tirar o 12º. Isto foi há... seis anos atrás. Eu faço 33. Deve ter sido com 26 anos. Devia ter 26 anos quando terminei porque tive uns tempos sem estudar por causa deles. Voltei à noite e acabei então. Aos 26.

Interestingly, this mother also comments:

Joaquim's Mother: The only thing that I feel remorse about is of them not going to Portuguese school.

Mãe do Joaquim: A única coisa que eu me arrependo é de não os ter posto na escola portuguesa.

9.4 Summary

The intention of returning to Portugal is an important factor in determining the attendance at mother tongue classes. Ten of the 13 families of children not attending mother tongue classes do not seem to have an active plan to return to their home country, against 2 in 15 of the families of children attending those classes.

Parental dissatisfaction with own schooling was strongly voiced by the families of children attending mother tongue classes, both longer and recent residents, and appears to constitute a strong factor in determining attendance. Crucially, these parents clearly recognise that academic qualifications are very important for later chances in life.

Period of residence in the UK does not appear as a critical factor in determining M-T attendance. Rather, it may reflect the fact that more recent residents belong to elements of a generation that have had more chances to improve their own academic qualifications than other members of the community.

The intention of returning to Portugal coupled with parental dissatisfaction with regard to their own schooling appears to be crucial in ensuring the children attend mother tongue classes.

Chapter 10 – Discussion of the results

CHAPTER 10 – DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS	309
10.1 Introduction and overview of chapter	310
10.2 Differences, in terms of academic results, between students attending mother tongue classes and those not attending	311
10.3 Factors contributing to choice of attendance and, therefore, to differences between the groups	315
10.4 In conclusion	322

10.1 Introduction and overview of chapter

The present study investigates the academic achievement of Portuguese students in the London Borough of Lambeth. This investigation took the form of a double focus analysis as both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to shed light onto the following research questions:

Why do parents make the commitment of taking their children to Portuguese classes?

What differences can we find, in terms of academic results, between Portuguese students attending mother tongue classes and those not attending?

What factors can be identified that contribute to students' choices to attend?

In this chapter, I will consider how the results and data obtained can be considered and justified in the light of existing theories and models of bilingual development. Social factors affecting the life of Portuguese children will also be considered. In this perspective, arguments will be presented to try and link both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study.

10.2 Differences, in terms of academic results, between students attending mother tongue classes and those not attending

As previously described in Chapter 6, statistically significant differences were found for the end of Key Stage results between the group of children attending Portuguese classes and those of the group not attending. Children attending Portuguese classes achieved significantly higher results at the end of Key Stage (KS) national assessments than those not attending in KS1 (Writing and Maths), KS3 (English) and KS4. In the latter Key Stage, children attending Portuguese classes attained a significantly higher number of GCSE passes in grades A* to C (41% of students attending Portuguese classes achieved 5 or more of these grades against only 8% of the students not attending).

Although the results published in the London Borough of Lambeth indicated that the Portuguese children, as a group, were achieving end of Key Stage results that were well below both the Borough and National averages, this study indicates that reporting a whole group result may hide significant differences. In fact, at the end of KS1, the group of students attending Portuguese classes achieved results close to the borough averages. This study shows that it is the performance of students not attending that falls well below those averages. Students attending Portuguese classes also achieve results similar to the Borough averages in KS2, in KS3 (except Maths) and in KS4.

Such results are consistent with the model proposed by Cummins (2000) of a *common underlying proficiency*. This refers to the interdependence of concepts, skills and knowledge that make possible transference across languages. Although Cummins' model refers to the student's development in bilingual programmes and, therefore, integrated within mainstream education, the results obtained appear to indicate that the Common Underlying Proficiency can also be developed through complementary classes.

Thus, the Portuguese children attending these classes will have developed what Cummins (2000) refers to as specific conceptual and linguistic

knowledge whilst, at the same time, developing individual attributes such as cognitive and linguistic abilities. They learn about language and, through their language, they acquire new knowledge, new concepts. By developing their language skills, these students create a solid basis upon which their academic development both in L1 and in L2 can flourish.

A focus on the student's language development in both languages is also, as described in the Prism Model, an essential factor of Thomas and Collier's (1997) conceptual model of second language acquisition for school. For the students described in this study, who continue to attend Portuguese classes, the linguistic development of their first language/mother tongue is continued to a high cognitive level. The students who do not attend the classes, on the other hand, do have a communicative knowledge of the spoken language but do not explore its written system. The formal aspects associated with literacy in a language, such as metalinguistic knowledge, are not developed. Their knowledge of Portuguese across several language domains is, therefore, much more limited.

If, as Thomas and Collier (2002) propose, the deeper a student's level of L1 cognitive and academic development is, including the development of proficiency in L1, the faster a student will progress in L2, then Portuguese classes could be contributing to the advantage shown by the groups attending them.

In Key Stage 2, however, although there was a tendency for the students attending Portuguese classes to perform better in the assessment, this difference did not reach statistical significance. A similar result was found in the comparison of results achieved by the children who had attended the full length of Key Stages 1 and 2 schooling and those who had not. This could be the result of a small sample size as well as of short-term gains¹ as described by Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002). Furthermore, in the case of children who had arrived in the UK during KS2, it could reflect the knowledge acquired whilst at

¹ See Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.

school in Portugal. This would also explain why, in KS3, there was no statistically significant difference between the Maths results achieved by the group of students who entered the country recently (i.e. during KS3) and those who had been here for longer. Nevertheless, as Thomas and Collier point out, these students would have been chasing “*a moving target*” (Collier, 1995b, p.5) resulting in a cumulative achievement gap. Thus a difference in achievement according to length of residence can be noticed as early as in KS1, although it does not reach levels of significance in KS2. However, when the students reach KS3, this gap reaches levels of statistical significance (with the exception noted above) and that can also be clearly seen at the end of KS4. Thus, the majority of the Year 11 students (nine out of fifteen) who entered school in the UK after the beginning of KS3 did not achieve any GCSE grades A*-C. These findings have strong implications for teachers and those involved with the education of students who are late entries to school. These implications refer not only to the academic and linguistic support that educators provide in terms of access to the curriculum but also to planning an educational career path in order to allow these students opportunities for the future.

The research conducted by Thomas and Collier (2002) indicates that the best educational programmes for bilingual children are those (dual language, bilingual programmes) that foster academic, linguistic and cognitive development in the student’s first and second languages, in a positive social and cultural environment. However, Portuguese classes are complementary classes, taught outside the mainstream and do not contemplate subjects such as Science, Maths, Technology or Visual Arts. How, then, can the Portuguese classes contribute to that effect?

To try and answer this question, I shall focus again on Thomas and Collier’s (1997) Prism Model and its four interdependent components: socio-cultural, linguistic, academic and cognitive processes. We have already seen how Portuguese classes can contribute to linguistic development in L1 and despite these classes aiming at maintaining and developing linguistic competence in Portuguese, other aspects may also be considered. These will

highlight the role of the *Cursos de Língua e Cultura Portuguesas* (Courses of Portuguese Language and Culture) in developing students' academic and cognitive processes.

As described in Chapter 1, Portuguese classes follow, up to Year 5², a specific curriculum. This curriculum is focused not only on linguistic aspects but also on aspects such as Geography and History of Portugal. It contemplates issues such as cultural aspects of the various regions of Portugal, their traditions and events whilst studying the history of the country. This curriculum allows children to look at historical facts through different perspectives and develop a critical appreciation of them. In this aspect, what the children are learning are not just abstract concepts but culturally relevant knowledge. These are concepts that the children can relate to. The work becomes, as described by Cummins (1984), context disembedded and cognitively demanding. Children are forced to compare, criticise, discuss, extrapolate and analyse different viewpoints and approaches to knowledge and concepts.

Furthermore, as the manuals used are those published and used in mainstream education in Portugal, the texts they contain provide age appropriate literacy materials. At the same time as their linguistic skills are developed in a classroom context and shaped towards appropriate use in academic settings, the discussion and analysis of the content in the materials used will promote cognitive development. The students are forced to use higher level skills not only to identify information in a given text but also to explain, hypothesise, question and justify events and opinions.

² Although there is not a specific curriculum for the teaching of Portuguese abroad for grades 6 and above, textbooks from Portugal continue to be used in these lessons and strongly influence their content.

10.3 Factors contributing to choice of attendance and, therefore, to differences between the groups

Both the models proposed by Cummins and by Thomas & Collier focus on the importance of maintaining and developing higher language and cognitive skills in the students' L1. However, whilst Cummins' work seems to focus more on the classroom environment, Thomas and Collier bring into the equation other equally strong factors: social and cultural processes. These processes refer not only to the school micro-cosmos but also to individual student variables as well as community and societal aspects. Socio-cultural processes bring into play factors such as students' view of own identity and use of language as well as parental views and expectations. What determines student achievement is not restricted to the classroom. Their school attainment is influenced by factors related to their family and to the society where they are living.

In this study, the powerful and permeating effect of socio-cultural processes can be clearly seen through the data obtained in interviews with the parents. As a group, they come from low economic backgrounds: most parents come from families that, when they were children, hardly earned enough for day-to-day living and therefore could not afford to send them to school. It was very hard to complete 4 years of primary education and even harder to achieve further education. In their adult life, they continued to face great economic difficulties and that is the reason given for migrating: to improve their life. It is also worth considering that, at a wider social level, their presence in the UK was made to feel unwelcome. Thus, before Portugal joined the (then) EEC, in order to enter the country, they were forced to go through strict and often humiliating and cruel bureaucratic procedures. Regulations often forced families to separate and work restrictions created a feeling of not being free in the host country. After Portugal joined the EEC, the bureaucratic restrictions eased but economic difficulties continued. Many families continued to live in overcrowded conditions. In order to obtain council accommodation, they had (and still have) to wait years and move through several places of accommodation. This is an important factor that must be taken into account by teachers and educators.

The physical environment at home affects how students do the homework that is expected of them and how they work and behave at school. The school can be a haven of stability or a source of more stress depending on how these social and economic difficulties are faced. Arrangements must be made to support children's academic and language development without stigmatising students who may not have a 'typical' home situation. Teachers' expectations of the students' work must take these factors into account.

Despite the easing of work restrictions in recent years, job insecurity continues. More importantly, little social contact, particularly for women, the main care providers for the children, means a reduced social network. For people brought up in a society that relies in networks of mutual help, a *providence-society*, as Sousa Santos (1995) puts it, this leads to being left with little or no social capital. This end result is not surprising since the relations they enjoyed in school and in the community, in Portugal, have been broken and need to be re-established (see Coleman, 1988). These *society-providence* ties, constituting social capital back home and extending to the UK in their form of migrating and of obtaining employment, can be seen as an advantage. On the other hand, this means that the members of the community will remain collectively isolated in their niche of close acquaintances and not reach out into the wider society. Thus, these parents become detached from the rights and obligations that being part of society's communities and organisations involves (see Room, 1995). In everyday life, parents do not have a secure basis to explore their social and physical environment. At the same time, they (parents) have to provide a stable environment at home for their children to adapt to a new life: different school routines, new faces, new language, different roles and expectations.

The characteristics of the community being portrayed here fit with Portes and MacLeod (1999) analysis of the modes of incorporation and their resilient effects in the character of ethnic groups. For this Portuguese community, albeit citizens of a European Union country, their mode of incorporation into the host society does not appear to be positive. For these parents, their children's

education is not a *fait accompli*. It is something that they are struggling to achieve. This can be clearly gathered from the families of children who have truanted or have been taken off-roll. These parents faced not only economical difficulties associated with migrating but also, and above all, the social difficulties of an adverse structural host context. They were powerless at exercising parental control over their own children and unable to demand their rights from social institutions such as the school.

Notwithstanding, for the whole group of parents, there is the objective of giving their children a future with more choices and opportunities than the ones they were given. For some of these parents, the intention of returning to Portugal is an ever-present aspiration and goal in their lives. For this sub-group, the family's cultural heritage and identity often comes across as an explicit reason for attendance at Portuguese classes. These parents are also conscious that their academic achievement is insignificant by today's standards and their knowledge of their own culture is not valued in this society. Their human capital is of little value outside their country of origin (Coleman, 1988). They want their children to recognise the value of Portuguese culture and, therefore, their own (parents') cultural knowledge. Therefore, it is part of their duty as parents to make sure that their children go to Portuguese classes, so that they "know Portuguese". For these parents, the sooner they start attending Portuguese classes, the better. Thus, whilst taking part in the mainstream culture through the education system, these students are maintaining their cultural identity, developing academic and linguistic skills in their mother tongue. As proposed by Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995), this kind of bicultural adaptation, in line with Gibson's (1988) 'accommodation without assimilation' leads to raised cultural and social capital.

On the other hand, the parents of those children who don't attend Portuguese classes tend to compare their own academic achievement to the standards of the society of that particular time and place where they were brought up rather than those of the society where they live now. It could be that, because high academic achievement was less of a priority for them, they tend

to project fewer academic expectations onto their children even though, like the parents in the group of children attending Portuguese classes, these parents want their children to achieve success in the dominant culture. Nevertheless, they tend to see the transmission of the dominant culture through linguistic competence as an exclusive way into academic success. They have, therefore, become more vulnerable to the influence of messages from society as to the role of English as 'the one and only language' in order to obtain success in the UK. As seen in the previous chapter, these messages often come loud and clear from representatives of the dominant culture, be it in everyday contacts such as with teachers or from political figures such as the Home Secretary (Blunkett 2002). For, as Smyth (2001) clearly showed in her study of teachers' beliefs, a cultural view of bilingualism as a deficit is still present. In her study, teachers' practice was informed by a belief that bilingual pupils need to become monolingual in order to succeed. Although Smyth's work refers to Scottish teachers' views (Strathclyde), the data presented here would appear to support that this cultural model is not restricted to that area.

Other studies have noted the effect of different parental attitude vis-à-vis the use of home language in a formal school context. As seen before, parents' involvement in their children's education was greater in dual-language, late-exit programmes (Ramírez 1992) and students (grades 3- 6) whose parents showed a positive attitude towards bilingual education progressed faster (Beykont 1994).

Could it be that, by promoting their child's development in their mother tongue, parents are trying to fight the linguisticism present in the mainstream education? Could parents, by helping their children achieve a good grade in Portuguese GCSE, be taking as a weapon the same instrument used as an element of prestige in a monolingual society: being able to speak and achieving qualifications in a 'foreign' language? In so doing, they (parents) would be indirectly achieving recognition for their own knowledge through their children Portuguese GCSE. As the parents of children attending Portuguese classes are conscious of their very limited human capital, this relationship of knowledge in

the family could be a form of raising their social capital. Parental knowledge would be valued, thus facilitating relationships in the family and raising parental expectations for the child's education.

Furthermore, we need to consider whether the attendance at Portuguese classes can promote the development of relationships and supportive ties which, according to Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch (1995), would substitute for the voluntary and spontaneous social forms of support that supplied social capital to youngsters in previous generations.

Figure 10.1, below, proposes a representation of the way the social factors related to the attendance at Portuguese classes can affect students' academic results. It should be noted that the factors suggested affect each other and are interdependent. They should, thus, be taken as contributing together to raising the family's social capital. This is, however, merely a conceivable explanation. The data obtained in this study can only point in this direction. Further work is necessary to shed light on the interaction of factors involved in this process.

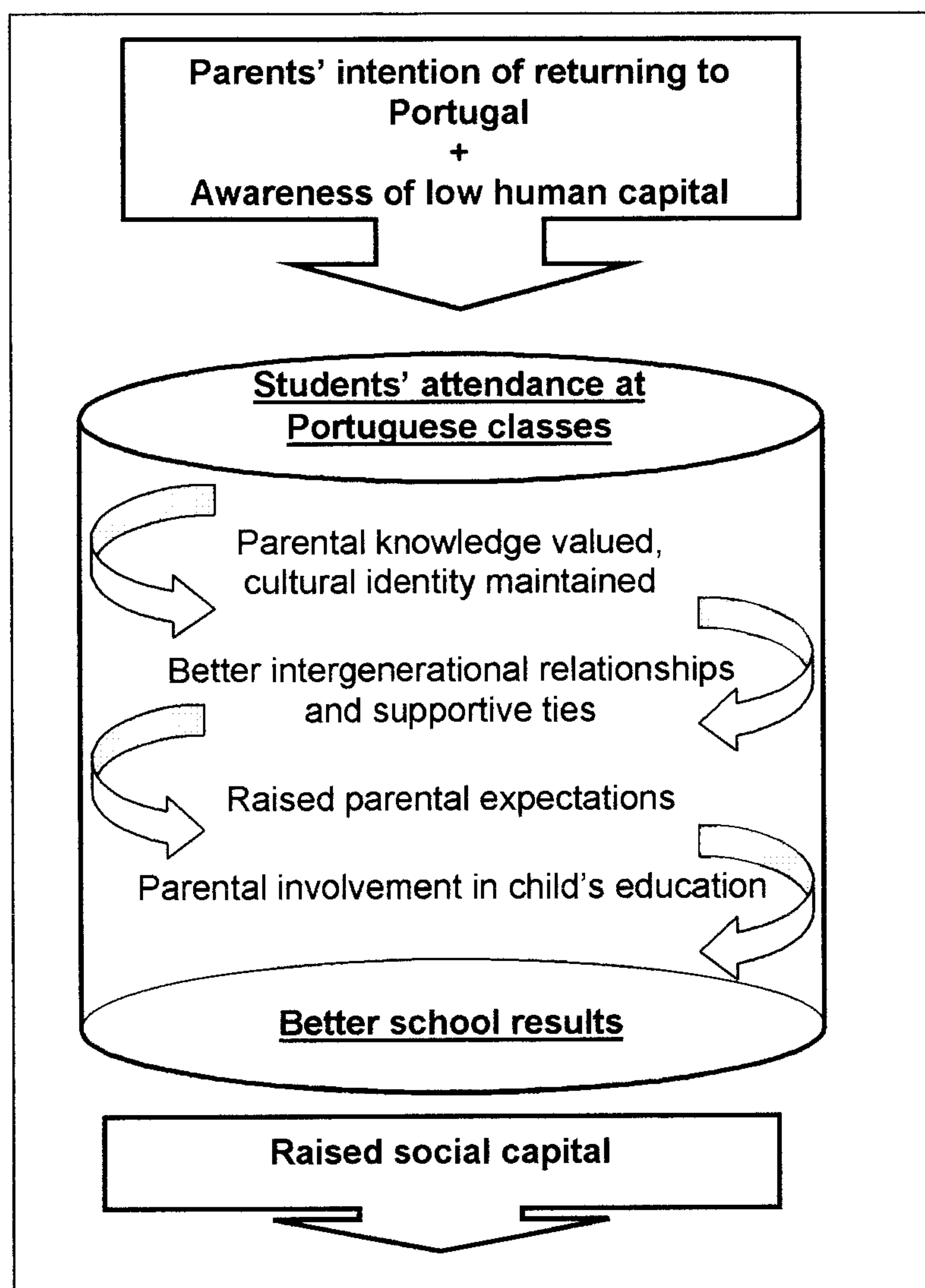


Figure 10. 1 - Likely effect of attendance at Portuguese classes on families' social capital

When Portuguese classes are integrated into the mainstream school timetable, the students' attendance at Portuguese classes does not necessarily imply parental involvement and expectations. This was the case for some of the students who had tranted and/or abandoned school. For this group, there was little or no parental contact with the school. Furthermore, these classes become Portuguese lessons, rather than Portuguese Language and Culture (Cursos de Língua e Cultura Portuguesas). Their content will focus more on Portuguese language and less on culture and their organisation will involve more mixed-ability groups. This will make it more difficult to create stimulating and age-

appropriate lessons for the students. These disadvantages could, perhaps, be compensated by links to the students' work in the other subjects. Nevertheless, this was not the case. There was no initial assessment or consideration of (late entry) students' abilities in work preparation whilst their competence in English did not allow them to keep up with the group.

One other aspect that would warrant further investigation is for how long and to what point these students received EAL support. Given that, as discussed above, limitations in the organisation of the Portuguese lessons would make it difficult to develop of activities associated with cognitively demanding language skills, it would be important to see how these were facilitated in their English language development. For, as Wallace (2001) noted, inclusion in mainstream education represents little if it does not mean full participation in learning opportunities.

What is described above highlights the need for mainstream education to see Portuguese Language and Culture courses as a partner in the education of Portuguese children. Full inclusion in mainstream education and full equality of opportunity for these children appears to imply the need for all those involved: family, school and community, to collaborate as equal partners.

10.4 In conclusion

Parental factors have emerged as crucial in the decision of whether children will attend Portuguese Language and Culture courses. Parents' intention of returning to Portugal coupled with an awareness of low human capital appears to push parents to try and have their cultural capital recognised through their children. This attitude may contribute to the raising of the academic expectations they hold for their children and to promote better intergenerational relationships. Parents of children attending Portuguese classes could, in this way, enter a process of raising the family's social capital. This process would contribute to the positive academic results attained by the children who attend Portuguese classes. At different points in their school career, these students achieved significantly higher academic results than their Portuguese colleagues not attending such classes. This difference becomes striking at the end of compulsory education.

Notwithstanding the factors mentioned above, these (attending) students are also receiving extra academic input in Portuguese, thereby, promoting their cognitive development and taking their knowledge of that language to higher levels in an academic context. As this study demonstrates, within the available sample, the Portuguese students who attended Portuguese Language and Culture (LC) courses achieved better academic results than those who did not attend. This conclusion appears to fit the models proposed by Cummins (1984) and Thomas and Collier (1997). The analysis of how Portuguese LC courses facilitate students' development should be the aim of further, deeper, enquiries, which were not the aim of this work. In the same way, the role of EAL in mainstream education in supporting the later stage of English language development for these students should be contemplated. It is also important to explore in future studies the role of Portuguese classes in the development of networks of support and the affirmation of a distinct cultural identity as factors facilitating social inclusion in the society.

The above mentioned issues affect not only the Portuguese community in Lambeth but also other communities whose children are in a similar position. That is, having to attend complementary schools in order to develop what should be basic rights for every bilingual child: to develop and to learn through their mother tongue.

Part IV – Conclusion

Chapter 11 – Conclusion

325

Chapter 11 - Conclusion

This study arose from my practice as a teacher of Portuguese Language and Culture Classes. It aims to shed light onto questions such as: What differences in academic achievement are to be found between students from the Portuguese community attending Portuguese Language and Culture classes and those not attending? What factors contribute to choice of attendance? Why do parents take on this long-term commitment?

Such questions imply different types of answer and require different types of data. In a society where academic achievement is measured and quantified, quantifiable measures were needed to assess academic success. These came in the form of mainstream education end of Key Stage assessments. However, the reasons that make parents take their children to complementary lessons for years are best understood by making sense of the values and descriptions attributed to those reasons. They are very difficult to understand (if at all possible) in terms of quantifiable measures. In order to understand the processes and effects involved in the attendance (or not) of Portuguese mother tongue classes as well as the reasons that made students leave compulsory education, a combination of methodologies was required. Only by combining quantitative and qualitative perspectives of data analysis could it be possible to answer both the 'What' and 'Why' questions.

The study, thus, developed from a need to know more about the community and the students, both the ones that attended the classes and those who did not. In trying to find out more about the factors that influence their academic life and achievement, I came to realise that these are not limited to the school environment. Rather, school life is but a reflection of their lives. School achievement is one facet of the crystal constituted by the Portuguese students in this sample and cannot be dissociated from the societal context in which they live. Social, economic and historical factors affecting the Portuguese community reflect on the relations of power that the members of the community

are exposed to in their daily life. Consequently, they play a role in the access to institutional resources that these people have, particularly those provided by the school. The life experiences of the people that form the community represented and the mode of integration within the host society had, therefore, to be contemplated in this study.

The life-stories told by the members of the Portuguese community taking part in this study offer what appears to be a negative mode of integration. However, whilst some members have found a way of transforming their situation into a positive one, others have not managed to do so. This is particularly true for the group of students who truanted and/or abandoned compulsory education. These students appear caught in a spiral of disadvantage without being able to call upon existing resources in mainstream education. Both they and their families are rendered powerless: the students without being able to express their needs and the parents unable to demand the help they are entitled to.

The students in mainstream education who do not attend Portuguese classes are also at a disadvantage. Although they do not face a situation as adverse as the previous group, at the end of compulsory education, their academic results are very low. Their qualifications do not appear sufficient to raise significantly the family's human and social capital.

On the other hand, for the students attending Portuguese classes and for their families, these classes constitute a means of improvement. It is a whole family investment with returns in the short (better family relationships, parental involvement in the child's education, higher expectations), medium (transference of academic knowledge, cognitive and linguistic skills) and long terms (identity, development of the family's social capital and future opportunities).

Therefore, the school, while an instrument of cultural transmission within the wider society, needs to re-think its role in the education of bilingual children. The development of bilingual individuals cannot be limited to:

- a) acknowledging their linguistic proficiency in other languages by allowing them to sit for an exam at the end of compulsory education or
- b) giving them access to materials in their language or related to their culture as a transition to a state of total separation from that cultural and linguistic heritage.

The results obtained lend support to existing theories on the development of bilingual children. They highlight the need for continued development of the child's linguistic skills in his/her mother tongue and for cognitive and academic development in that language. This study showed that, for this sample of children, the Portuguese students attending mother tongue classes achieved results comparable to those attained to the borough and national averages.

Linguistic and academic knowledge acquired in Portuguese can be transferred to mainstream education. Yet, for many, this knowledge and resource remains untapped and undeveloped. The responsibility for developing this 'other side' of bilingual children rests upon the parents and community organisations. Those same parents who are often expected by mainstream teachers to speak to their children in English so as not to hinder their development.

Furthermore, another issue raised in this study is the amount of time it takes a non-English speaking child to catch up academically with his/her peers. Students who do not enter the education system at the beginning are trying to 'board a moving train'. Without academic and cognitive development in their mother tongue, they may never catch it.

What can be done? We are still a long way from changing social institutions but small changes can be pursued. Research has an important role to play by focusing on these areas and creating a body of evidence that can be used to demand those changes. There is a need to shed light on the inherent disadvantages that bilingual/bicultural (or multilingual/multicultural) children face in the existing system. By divulging research results to various parties such as teacher training institutions and schools, community organisations, the media and even to the policy makers themselves, we can try and inform practice. More work is needed to help identify positive areas in bilingual children's development so that they can constitute a basis for development at school.

Thus, this study has strong implications for schools and is of direct interest for teachers working with children from minorities who do not speak (only) English at home. They need to consider the importance of mother tongue development for their pupils' academic success. Furthermore, for those students who join the system late in their school career, there is a strong need to build on existing knowledge and consider carefully future opportunities and career paths.

By creating links with local organisations that can allow parents and children to access existing resources, we can help give them a voice with which to demand their rights and have a say in children's mainstream education. Projects like the Young Portuguese Support Project or the Community Engagement Project, taking place in the Lambeth area, have been directly influenced by the work described in this study and constitute an example of how research can contribute to benefit the local community. Also, schools in places such as Boston, Lincolnshire, where Portuguese workers are establishing new communities and face problems such as those described here (Costa 2004), can have a basis on which to base a plan of action to prevent and to cope with them.

This is, nevertheless, an exploratory study. A lot more remains to be done. We need to understand better how complementary schools contribute to

help children develop their potential. How can this potential be better achieved in mainstream education? How can we link the two, mainstream and complementary education? These are issues that affect not only the Portuguese community in Lambeth but also others in other parts of the United Kingdom and that further research will need to address.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 1	350
Appendix 2 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 2	361
Appendix 3 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 3	379
Appendix 4 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 4	390
Appendix 5 – Letters sent to schools and to parents	402
Appendix 6 – Questions prepared as starting points in the interviews	408
Appendix 7 – National Curriculum Key Stages	412

Appendix 1 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 1

A1.1 Variables tested: Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes vs. Reading, Writing and Maths Tests' results

A1.1.1 Attainment at KS1 – Comparison with Borough and National averages

Subject:	Reading				Writing				Mathematics			
Groups:	Attend.	Not Att.	Borough	National	Attend.	Not Att.	Borough	National	Attend.	Not Att.	Borough	National
Grades:												
Working Towards L. 1	8%	30%	7%	3%	8%	25%	8%	6%	0%	5%	4%	3%
Level 1	23%	30%	16%	15%	15%	40%	16%	11%	15%	50%	14%	10%
Level 2	69%	35%	53%	53%	77%	35%	67%	75%	85%	40%	62%	65%
Level 3	0%	5%	23%	29%	0%	5%	19%	29%	0%	5%	19%	21%

Portuguese Students (Borough average)	Reading	Writing	Maths	Pupils
Level 2+	48%	54%	60%	99

Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.
Source: Lambeth Education Statistics, 1999.

Appendix 1 - Table 1: KS1 – Comparison with Borough and National averages

A1.1.2 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

a) Reading test

Read Test * Mother Tongue Att./Enrol. Crosstabulation

Count

		Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.		Total
		Not att./enrol.	Att./enrol.	
Read Test	W	6	1	7
	L1	6	3	9
	L2C	4	2	6
	L2B	2	5	7
	L2A	1	2	3
	L3	1		1
Total		20	13	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	6.673 ^a	5	.246	^b		
Likelihood Ratio	7.220	5	.205	.322		
Fisher's Exact Test	6.367			.264		
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.920 ^c	1	.087	.100	.058	.024
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 11 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is 1.709.

b) Writing test

Writ_Test * Mother Tongue Att./Enrol. Crosstabulation

Count

		Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.		Total
		Not att./enrol.	Att./enrol.	
Writ_Test	W	5	1	6
	L1	8	2	10
	L2C	4	5	9
	L2B	3	4	7
	L2A		1	1
Total		20	13	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	6.320 ^a	4	.176	^b		
Likelihood Ratio	6.911	4	.141	.179		
Fisher's Exact Test	5.990			.184		
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.165 ^c	1	.023	.024	.016	.010
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 8 cells (80.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is 2.273.

c) Maths test

Maths Test * Mother Tongue Att./Enrol. Crosstabulation

Count

		Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.		Total
		Not att./enrol.	Att./enrol.	
Maths Test	W	1		1
	1	10	2	12
	L2C	5	3	8
	L2B	3	4	7
	L2A		4	4
	L3	1		1
Total		20	13	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	10.986 ^a	5	.052	^b		
Likelihood Ratio	13.292	5	.021	.030		
Fisher's Exact Test	10.365			.031		
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.066 ^c	1	.014	.017	.010	.006
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 11 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is 2.463.

A1.1.3 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks

	Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Read Test	Not att./enrol.	20	14.50	290.00
	Att./enrol.	13	20.85	271.00
	Total	33		
Writ_Test	Not att./enrol.	20	14.02	280.50
	Att./enrol.	13	21.58	280.50
	Total	33		
Maths Test	Not att./enrol.	20	13.57	271.50
	Att./enrol.	13	22.27	289.50
	Total	33		

Test Statistics^b

	Read Test	Writ_Test	Maths Test
Mann-Whitney U	80.000	70.500	61.500
Wilcoxon W	290.000	280.500	271.500
Z	-1.885	-2.265	-2.621
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.024	.009
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.068 ^a	.027 ^a	.010 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.020	.008
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.031	.012	.004
Point Probability	.002	.003	.000

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.

A1.2 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. Reading, Writing and Maths

Tests' results

A1.2.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

a) Data tables per year of entry into the UK

Crosstab

Count		Read Test					Total	
		W	L1	L2C	L2B	L2A		L3
Entry into the UK	Born Here		4	5	5	1	1	16
	1991					1		1
	1992	1						1
	1993				1			1
	1994		1			1		2
	1995	1						1
	1996		1	1				2
	1997	2	2					4
	1998	2	1		1			4
	1999	1						1
Total		7	9	6	7	3	1	33

Crosstab

Count		Writ Test					Total
		W	L1	L2C	L2B	L2A	
Entry into the UK	Born Here		4	7	4	1	16
	1991				1		1
	1992	1					1
	1993				1		1
	1994		1	1			2
	1995	1					1
	1996		1		1		2
	1997	1	3				4
	1998	2	1	1			4
	1999	1					1
Total		6	10	9	7	1	33

Crosstab

Count		Maths Test						Total
		W	1	L2C	L2B	L2A	L3	
Entry into the UK	Born Here 1991		2	7	3	3	1	16
	1992		1		1			1
	1993					1		1
	1994		1		1			2
	1995		1					1
	1996		1		1			2
	1997		3	1				4
	1998	1	2		1			4
	1999		1					1
	Total		1	12	8	7	4	1

b) Reading Test

Crosstab

Count		Time Sch			Total
		Born Here	Bef./At age 5	After age 5	
Read Test	W		3	4	7
	L1	4	1	4	9
	L2C	5	1		6
	L2B	5	1	1	7
	L2A	1	2		3
	L3	1			1
Total		16	8	9	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	17.338 ^a	10	.067	.049		
Likelihood Ratio	21.921	10	.016	.027		
Fisher's Exact Test	16.551			.027		
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.321 ^b	1	.007	.007	.003	.001
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 18 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

b. The standardized statistic is -2.706.

c) Writing Test

Crosstab

Count

		Time Sch			Total
		Born Here	Bef./At age 5	After age 5	
Writ_Test	W		2	4	6
	L1	4	2	4	10
	L2C	7	1	1	9
	L2B	4	3		7
	L2A	1			1
Total		16	8	9	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	14.520 ^a	8	.069	.051		
Likelihood Ratio	18.621	8	.017	.026		
Fisher's Exact Test	14.338			.030		
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.583 ^b	1	.002	.001	.001	.000
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 15 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

b. The standardized statistic is -3.096.

d) Maths Test

Crosstab

Count

		Time Sch			Total
		Born Here	Bef./At age 5	After age 5	
Maths Test	W			1	1
	1	2	4	6	12
	L2C	7		1	8
	L2B	3	3	1	7
	L2A	3	1		4
	L3	1			1
Total		16	8	9	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	17.159 ^a	10	.071	.040		
Likelihood Ratio	20.365	10	.026	.030		
Fisher's Exact Test	16.087			.029		
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.471 ^b	1	.006	.005	.003	.001
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 17 cells (94.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

b. The standardized statistic is -2.733.

A1.2.2 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

Difference in the means of the results (Reading, Writing and Maths) achieved by the three groups of children:

- ◆ Born in UK,
- ◆ Not born in UK but started school at or before age 5,
- ◆ Started school after age 5.

a) Groups Born in UK vs. Not born in UK but started school at or before age 5

Ranks

	Time Sch	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Read Test	Born Here	16	13.44	215.00
	Bef./At age 5	8	10.63	85.00
	Total	24		
Writ_Test	Born Here	16	13.34	213.50
	Bef./At age 5	8	10.81	86.50
	Total	24		
Maths Test	Born Here	16	13.44	215.00
	Bef./At age 5	8	10.63	85.00
	Total	24		

Test Statistics^b

	Read Test	Writ_Test	Maths Test
Mann-Whitney U	49.000	50.500	49.000
Wilcoxon W	85.000	86.500	85.000
Z	-.939	-.860	-.947
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.348	.390	.344
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.383 ^a	.417 ^a	.383 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.378	.398	.381
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.189	.205	.198
Point Probability	.004	.022	.053

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Time Sch

b) Groups Born in UK vs. Started school after age 5

Ranks

	Time Sch	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Read Test	Born Here	16	16.28	260.50
	After age 5	9	7.17	64.50
	Total	25		
Writ_Test	Born Here	16	16.53	264.50
	After age 5	9	6.72	60.50
	Total	25		
Maths Test	Born Here	16	16.13	258.00
	After age 5	9	7.44	67.00
	Total	25		

Test Statistics^b

	Read Test	Writ_Test	Maths Test
Mann-Whitney U	19.500	15.500	22.000
Wilcoxon W	64.500	60.500	67.000
Z	-3.061	-3.321	-2.935
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001	.003
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.002 ^a	.001 ^a	.004 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.001	.002
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.001
Point Probability	.000	.000	.000

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Time Sch

c) Groups Not born in UK but started school at or before age 5 vs. Started school after age 5

Ranks

	Time Sch	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Read Test	Bef./At age 5	8	10.31	82.50
	After age 5	9	7.83	70.50
	Total	17		
Writ_Test	Bef./At age 5	8	10.94	87.50
	After age 5	9	7.28	65.50
	Total	17		
Maths Test	Bef./At age 5	8	10.81	86.50
	After age 5	9	7.39	66.50
	Total	17		

Test Statistics^b

	Read Test	Writ_Test	Maths Test
Mann-Whitney U	25.500	20.500	21.500
Wilcoxon W	70.500	65.500	66.500
Z	-1.062	-1.565	-1.574
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.288	.118	.115
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.321 ^a	.139 ^a	.167 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.304	.131	.139
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.150	.061	.076
Point Probability	.014	.019	.042

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Time Sch

A1.3 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes

A1.3.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

Time UK * Mother Tongue Att./Enrol. Crosstabulation

Count

		Mother Tongue Att./Enrol.		Total
		Not att./enrol.	Att./enrol.	
Time UK	Born Here	8	8	16
	Before KS1	3	4	7
	During KS1	9	1	10
Total		20	13	33

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	5.296 ^a	2	.071	.b		
Likelihood Ratio	6.008	2	.050	.075		
Fisher's Exact Test	5.357			.082		
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.505 ^c	1	.061	.070	.046	.029
N of Valid Cases	33					

a. 3 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.76.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is -1.872.

Appendix 2 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 2

A2.1 Variables tested: Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes vs. Reading, Writing, English, Maths and Science Tests' results

A2.1.1 Attainment at KS2 – Comparison with Borough and National averages

Achieving Level 4+	English	Mathematics	Science
Attending M-T. Classes	67%	67%	67%
Not Attend. M-T. Classes	55%	55%	55%
Portuguese* (Borough)	34%	37%	43%
Borough Average	62%	62%	70%
National Average	70%	68%	78%

*Number of Portuguese pupils in Year 6 in 1999 = 93.

Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Lambeth Education Statistics, 1999.

Appendix 2 - Table 1: KS2 – Comparison with Borough and National averages

A2.1.2 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

a) Reading test

Crosstab

Count

		M-T Class		Total
		Not Enroll/Att.	Enroll/Att.	
Rd	0	1	2	3
Test	3	4		4
	4	6	3	9
	5		1	1
Total		11	6	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	5.323 ^a	3	.150	.116		
Likelihood Ratio	6.798	3	.079	.103		
Fisher's Exact Test	4.856			.116		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.302 ^b	1	.583	.580	.309	.056
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 7 cells (87.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .35.

b. The standardized statistic is -.549.

b) Writing test

Crosstab

Count

		M-T Class		Total
		Not Enroll/Att.	Enroll/Att.	
Writ#	0	2	2	4
Test	3	5		5
	4	4	4	8
Total		11	6	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.864 ^a	2	.145	.158		
Likelihood Ratio	5.439	2	.066	.132		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.802			.158		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.033 ^b	1	.856	.910	.459	.047
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 5 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.41.

b. The standardized statistic is -.182.

c) English test

Crosstab

Count

		M-T Class		Total
		Not Enroll/Att.	Enroll/Att.	
Engl	0	2	2	4
Test	3	3		3
	4	6	3	9
	5		1	1
Total		11	6	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.864 ^a	3	.277	.427		
Likelihood Ratio	5.072	3	.167	.357		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.470			.427		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.035 ^b	1	.851	.916	.457	.052
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 7 cells (87.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .35.

b. The standardized statistic is -.188.

d) Maths test

Crosstab

Count

		M-T Class		Total
		Not Enroll/Att.	Enroll/Att.	
Math	0	1	1	2
Test	3	4	1	5
	4	5	3	8
	5	1	1	2
Total		11	6	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	.908 ^a	3	.824	.910		
Likelihood Ratio	.940	3	.816	.910		
Fisher's Exact Test	1.480			1.000		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.002 ^b	1	.966	1.000	.553	.124
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 7 cells (87.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .71.

b. The standardized statistic is -.042.

e) Science test

Crosstab

Count

		M-T Class		Total
		Not Enroll/Att.	Enroll/Att.	
Scn	0	1	1	2
Test	3	4	1	5
	4	4	3	7
	5	2	1	3
Total		11	6	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	.882 ^a	3	.830	.898		
Likelihood Ratio	.918	3	.821	.898		
Fisher's Exact Test	1.337			.898		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.027 ^b	1	.870	1.000	.509	.131
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 8 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .71.

b. The standardized statistic is -.164.

A2.1.3 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks

M-T Class		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Rd Test	Not Enroll/Att.	11	8.73	96.00
	Enroll/Att.	6	9.50	57.00
	Total	17		
Writ# Test	Not Enroll/Att.	11	8.55	94.00
	Enroll/Att.	6	9.83	59.00
	Total	17		
Engl Test	Not Enroll/Att.	11	8.64	95.00
	Enroll/Att.	6	9.67	58.00
	Total	17		
Math Test	Not Enroll/Att.	11	8.68	95.50
	Enroll/Att.	6	9.58	57.50
	Total	17		
Scn Test	Not Enroll/Att.	11	8.86	97.50
	Enroll/Att.	6	9.25	55.50
	Total	17		

Test Statistics^b

	Rd Test	Writ# Test	Engl Test	Math Test	Scn Test
Mann-Whitney U	30.000	28.000	29.000	29.500	31.500
Wilcoxon W	96.000	94.000	95.000	95.500	97.500
Z	-.330	-.542	-.440	-.377	-.159
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.742	.588	.660	.706	.874
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.808 ^a	.660 ^a	.733 ^a	.733 ^a	.884 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.768	.581	.641	.726	.887
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.375	.292	.335	.394	.468
Point Probability	.020	.034	.041	.090	.085

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: M-T Class

A2.2 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. Reading, Writing, English, Maths and Science Tests' results

A2.2.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

A2.2.1.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test (2 Groups of students)

a) Reading Test

Crosstab

Count		Time Sch		Total
		Before or During KS1	During KS2	
Rd	0		3	3
Test	3	2	2	4
	4	6	3	9
	5	1		1
Total		9	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	4.958 ^a	3	.175	.254		
Likelihood Ratio	6.506	3	.089	.236		
Fisher's Exact Test	4.559			.254		
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.577 ^b	1	.032	.044	.029	.022
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 8 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .47.

b. The standardized statistic is -2.139.

b) Writing Test

Crosstab

Count

		Time Sch		Total
		Before or During KS1	During KS2	
Writ#	0	1	3	4
Test	3	2	3	5
	4	6	2	8
Total		9	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.152 ^a	2	.207	.263		
Likelihood Ratio	3.282	2	.194	.263		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.017			.263		
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.298 ^b	1	.130	.134	.082	.046
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 6 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.88.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.516.

c) English Test

Crosstab

Count

		Time Sch		Total
		Before or During KS1	During KS2	
Engl	0	1	3	4
Test	3	1	2	3
	4	6	3	9
	5	1		1
Total		9	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.286 ^a	3	.350	.409		
Likelihood Ratio	3.733	3	.292	.409		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.173			.409		
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.360 ^b	1	.124	.126	.078	.043
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 8 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .47.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.536.

d) Maths Test

Crosstab

Count

		Time Sch		Total
		Before or During KS1	During KS2	
Math	0		2	2
Test	3	3	2	5
	4	5	3	8
	5	1	1	2
Total		9	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	2.650 ^a	3	.449	.631		
Likelihood Ratio	3.420	3	.331	.631		
Fisher's Exact Test	2.569			.677		
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.732 ^b	1	.188	.272	.148	.063
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 8 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .94.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.316.

e) Science Test

Crosstab

		Time Sch		Total
		Before or During KS1	During KS2	
Scn	0		2	2
Test	3	2	3	5
	4	5	2	7
	5	2	1	3
Total		9	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.773 ^a	3	.287	.392		
Likelihood Ratio	4.583	3	.205	.392		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.448			.444		
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.103 ^b	1	.078	.101	.064	.041
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 8 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .94.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.762.

A2.2.1.2 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test (4 Groups of students)

a) Reading Test

Crosstab

		Entry UK				Total
		Born Here	Before KS1	During KS1	During KS2	
Rd	0				3	3
Test	3	2			2	4
	4	2	2	2	3	9
	5		1			1
Total		4	3	2	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	11.727 ^a	9	.229	.259		
Likelihood Ratio	12.418	9	.191	.304		
Fisher's Exact Test	9.169			.422		
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.831 ^b	1	.092	.100	.053	.016
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 16 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .12.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.683.

b) Writing Test

Crosstab

Count

		Entry UK				Total
		Born Here	Before KS1	During KS1	During KS2	
Writ#	0	1			3	4
Test	3	1		1	3	5
	4	2	3	1	2	8
Total		4	3	2	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	5.844 ^a	6	.441	.511		
Likelihood Ratio	7.468	6	.280	.545		
Fisher's Exact Test	5.255			.608		
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.064 ^b	1	.302	.324	.169	.029
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 12 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .47.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.031.

c) English Test

Crosstab

Count		Entry UK				Total
		Born Here	Before KS1	During KS1	During KS2	
Engl	0	1			3	4
Test	3	1			2	3
	4	2	2	2	3	9
	5		1			1
Total		4	3	2	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	9.071 ^a	9	.431	.514		
Likelihood Ratio	9.645	9	.380	.636		
Fisher's Exact Test	7.782			.724		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.826 ^b	1	.364	.387	.205	.034
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 16 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .12.

b. The standardized statistic is -.909.

d) Maths Test

Crosstab

Count		Entry UK				Total
		Born Here	Before KS1	During KS1	During KS2	
Math	0				2	2
Test	3	2		1	2	5
	4	2	2	1	3	8
	5		1		1	2
Total		4	3	2	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	6.357 ^a	9	.704	.831		
Likelihood Ratio	8.148	9	.519	.817		
Fisher's Exact Test	6.393			.923		
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.196 ^b	1	.274	.330	.174	.036
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 16 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.093.

e) Science Test

Crosstab

Count		Entry UK				Total
		Born Here	Before KS1	During KS1	During KS2	
Scn	0				2	2
Test	3	2			3	5
	4	2	1	2	2	7
	5		2		1	3
Total		4	3	2	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	12.048 ^a	9	.211	.211		
Likelihood Ratio	13.129	9	.157	.322		
Fisher's Exact Test	8.925			.428		
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.689 ^b	1	.194	.227	.119	.029
N of Valid Cases	17					

a. 16 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.300.

A2.2.2 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test (4 Groups of students)

Difference in the means of the results (Reading, Writing, English, Maths and Science) achieved by the four groups of children:

- ◆ Born in UK,
- ◆ Entered UK before beginning of KS1,
- ◆ Entered UK during KS1
- ◆ Entered UK during KS2.

a) Groups Born in UK vs. Entered UK before beginning of KS1

Ranks

Entry UK		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Rd Test	Born Here	4	3.00	12.00
	Before KS1	3	5.33	16.00
	Total	7		
Writ# Test	Born Here	4	3.25	13.00
	Before KS1	3	5.00	15.00
	Total	7		
Engl Test	Born Here	4	3.00	12.00
	Before KS1	3	5.33	16.00
	Total	7		
Math Test	Born Here	4	3.00	12.00
	Before KS1	3	5.33	16.00
	Total	7		
Scn Test	Born Here	4	2.75	11.00
	Before KS1	3	5.67	17.00
	Total	7		

Test Statistics^b

	Rd Test	Writ# Test	Engl Test	Math Test	Scn Test
Mann-Whitney U	2.000	3.000	2.000	2.000	1.000
Wilcoxon W	12.000	13.000	12.000	12.000	11.000
Z	-1.578	-1.323	-1.560	-1.578	-1.871
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.115	.186	.119	.115	.061
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.229 ^a	.400 ^a	.229 ^a	.229 ^a	.114 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.286	.429	.286	.286	.171
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.171	.286	.171	.171	.086
Point Probability	.171	.286	.171	.171	.086

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Entry UK

b) Groups Entered UK before beginning of KS1 vs. Entered UK during KS1

Ranks

Entry UK		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Rd Test	Before KS1	3	3.33	10.00
	During KS1	2	2.50	5.00
	Total	5		
Writ# Test	Before KS1	3	3.50	10.50
	During KS1	2	2.25	4.50
	Total	5		
Engl Test	Before KS1	3	3.33	10.00
	During KS1	2	2.50	5.00
	Total	5		
Math Test	Before KS1	3	3.67	11.00
	During KS1	2	2.00	4.00
	Total	5		
Scn Test	Before KS1	3	3.67	11.00
	During KS1	2	2.00	4.00
	Total	5		

Test Statistics^b

	Rd Test	Writ# Test	Engl Test	Math Test	Scn Test
Mann-Whitney U	2.000	1.500	2.000	1.000	1.000
Wilcoxon W	5.000	4.500	5.000	4.000	4.000
Z	-.816	-1.225	-.816	-1.291	-1.333
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.414	.221	.414	.197	.182
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.800 ^a	.400 ^a	.800 ^a	.400 ^a	.400 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.400	1.000	.600	.400
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.600	.400	.600	.300	.300
Point Probability	.600	.400	.600	.300	.300

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Entry UK

c) Groups Entered UK during KS1 vs. Entered UK during KS2

Ranks

Entry UK		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Rd Test	During KS1	2	8.00	16.00
	During KS2	8	4.88	39.00
	Total	10		
Writ# Test	During KS1	2	7.25	14.50
	During KS2	8	5.06	40.50
	Total	10		
Engl Test	During KS1	2	8.00	16.00
	During KS2	8	4.88	39.00
	Total	10		
Math Test	During KS1	2	5.75	11.50
	During KS2	8	5.44	43.50
	Total	10		
Scn Test	During KS1	2	7.50	15.00
	During KS2	8	5.00	40.00
	Total	10		

Test Statistics^b

	Rd Test	Writ# Test	Engl Test	Math Test	Scn Test
Mann-Whitney U	3.000	4.500	3.000	7.500	4.000
Wilcoxon W	39.000	40.500	39.000	43.500	40.000
Z	-1.417	-.968	-1.417	-.137	-1.095
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.156	.333	.156	.891	.273
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.267 ^a	.400 ^a	.267 ^a	.889 ^a	.400 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.289	.667	.289	1.000	.378
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.222	.333	.222	.600	.222
Point Probability	.222	.267	.222	.311	.133

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Entry UK

A2.2.3 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test (2 Groups of students)

Difference in the mean rank of the results (Reading, Writing, English, Maths and Science) achieved by the four groups of children:

- ◆ Entered UK before or during KS1 (includes children born in the UK),
- ◆ Entered UK during KS2.

Ranks

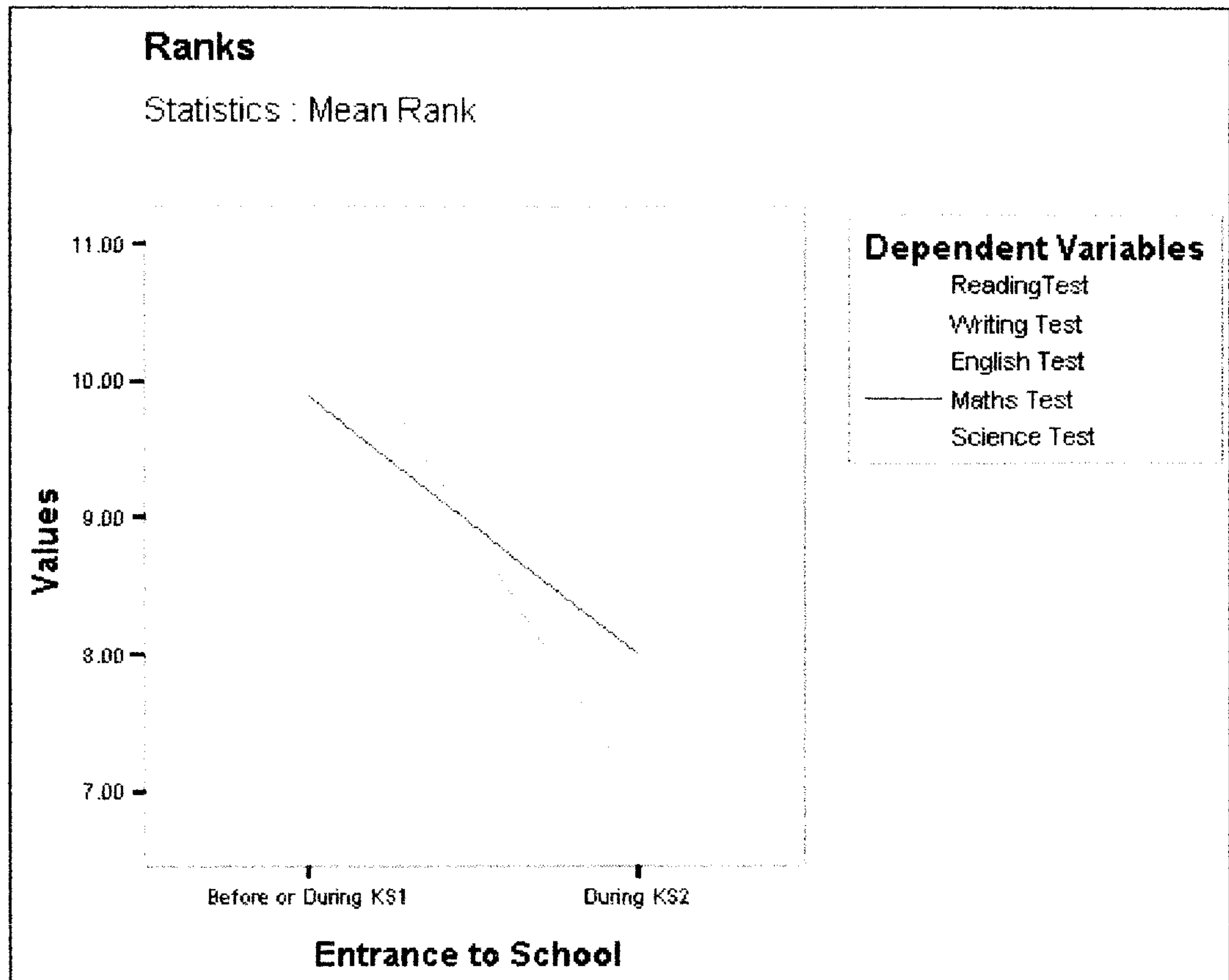
	Time Sch	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Rd Test	Before or During KS1	9	11.11	100.00
	During KS2	8	6.63	53.00
	Total	17		
Writ# Test	Before or During KS1	9	10.83	97.50
	During KS2	8	6.94	55.50
	Total	17		
Engl Test	Before or During KS1	9	10.83	97.50
	During KS2	8	6.94	55.50
	Total	17		
Math Test	Before or During KS1	9	9.89	89.00
	During KS2	8	8.00	64.00
	Total	17		
Scn Test	Before or During KS1	9	10.78	97.00
	During KS2	8	7.00	56.00
	Total	17		

Test Statistics^b

	Rd Test	Writ# Test	Engl Test	Math Test	Scn Test
Mann-Whitney U	17.000	19.500	19.500	28.000	20.000
Wilcoxon W	53.000	55.500	55.500	64.000	56.000
Z	-2.000	-1.712	-1.737	-.825	-1.622
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.046	.087	.082	.409	.105
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.074 ^a	.114 ^a	.114 ^a	.481 ^a	.139 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.130	.111	.456	.112
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.033	.070	.065	.244	.068
Point Probability	.021	.046	.041	.046	.026

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Time Sch



Appendix 2 - Graph 1: Entry to School(KS2)

A2.3 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes

A2.3.1.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

M-T Class * Entry UK Crosstabulation

Count		Entry UK				Total
		Born Here	Before KS1	During KS1	During KS2	
M-T Class	Not Enroll/Att.	3	1	1	6	11
	Enroll/Att.	1	2	1	2	6
Total		4	3	2	8	17

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	2.039 ^a	3	.564	.729		
Likelihood Ratio	1.987	3	.575	.810		
Fisher's Exact Test	2.319			.661		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.138 ^b	1	.710	.860	.434	.150
N of Valid Cases	17					

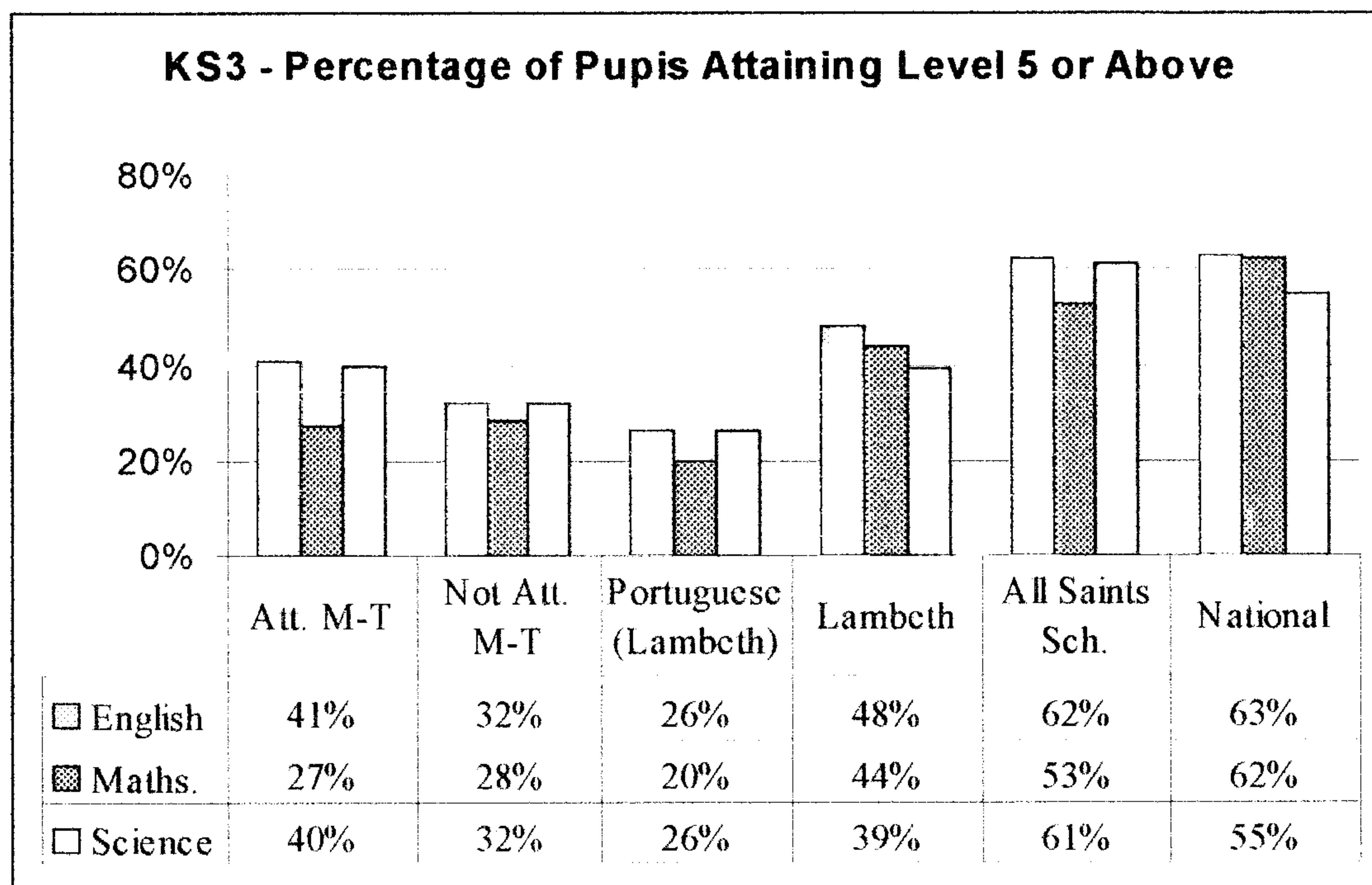
a. 7 cells (87.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .71.

b. The standardized statistic is -.371.

Appendix 3 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 3

A3.1 1- Variables tested: Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes vs. English, Maths and Science Tests' results

A3.1.1 Attainment at KS3 – Comparison with Borough and National averages



Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Lambeth Education Statistics, 1999; Education and Libraries Research and Information Unit, The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, 1999.

Appendix 3 - Figure 1: (KS3) - Students attaining Level 5 or above

A3.1.2 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
English Test * Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes	56	82.4%	12	17.6%	68	100.0%
Maths Test * Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes	62	91.2%	6	8.8%	68	100.0%
Science Test * Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes	63	92.6%	5	7.4%	68	100.0%

a) English test

Crosstab

Count

	Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes		Total
	Not attending	Attending	
English Test	14	1	15
0	3		3
4	6	12	18
5	9	7	16
6	1	2	3
7	1		1
Total	34	22	56

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	16.014 ^a	5	.007	^b		
Likelihood Ratio	19.029	5	.002	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test	16.075			.002		
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.789 ^c	1	.005	.005	.002	.001
N of Valid Cases	56					

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is 2.791.

b) Maths test

Crosstab

Count

		Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes		Total
		Not attending	Attending	
Maths	0	3		3
Test	3	7	7	14
	4	16	12	28
	5	8	4	12
	6	1	2	3
	7	1	1	2
Total		36	26	62

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.722 ^a	5	.590	. ^b		
Likelihood Ratio	4.811	5	.439	.581		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.688			.640		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.910 ^c	1	.340	.383	.201	.051
N of Valid Cases	62					

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .84.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is .954.

c) Science test

Crosstab

Count

		Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes		Total
		Not attending	Attending	
Science	0	2		2
Test	2	1		1
	3	13	6	19
	4	10	9	19
	5	10	8	18
	6	2	2	4
Total		38	25	63

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	3.312 ^a	5	.652	.	^b	
Likelihood Ratio	4.373	5	.497	.675		
Fisher's Exact Test	3.079			.761		
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.392 ^c	1	.122	.134	.074	.027
N of Valid Cases	63					

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .40.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is 1.547.

A3.1.3 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

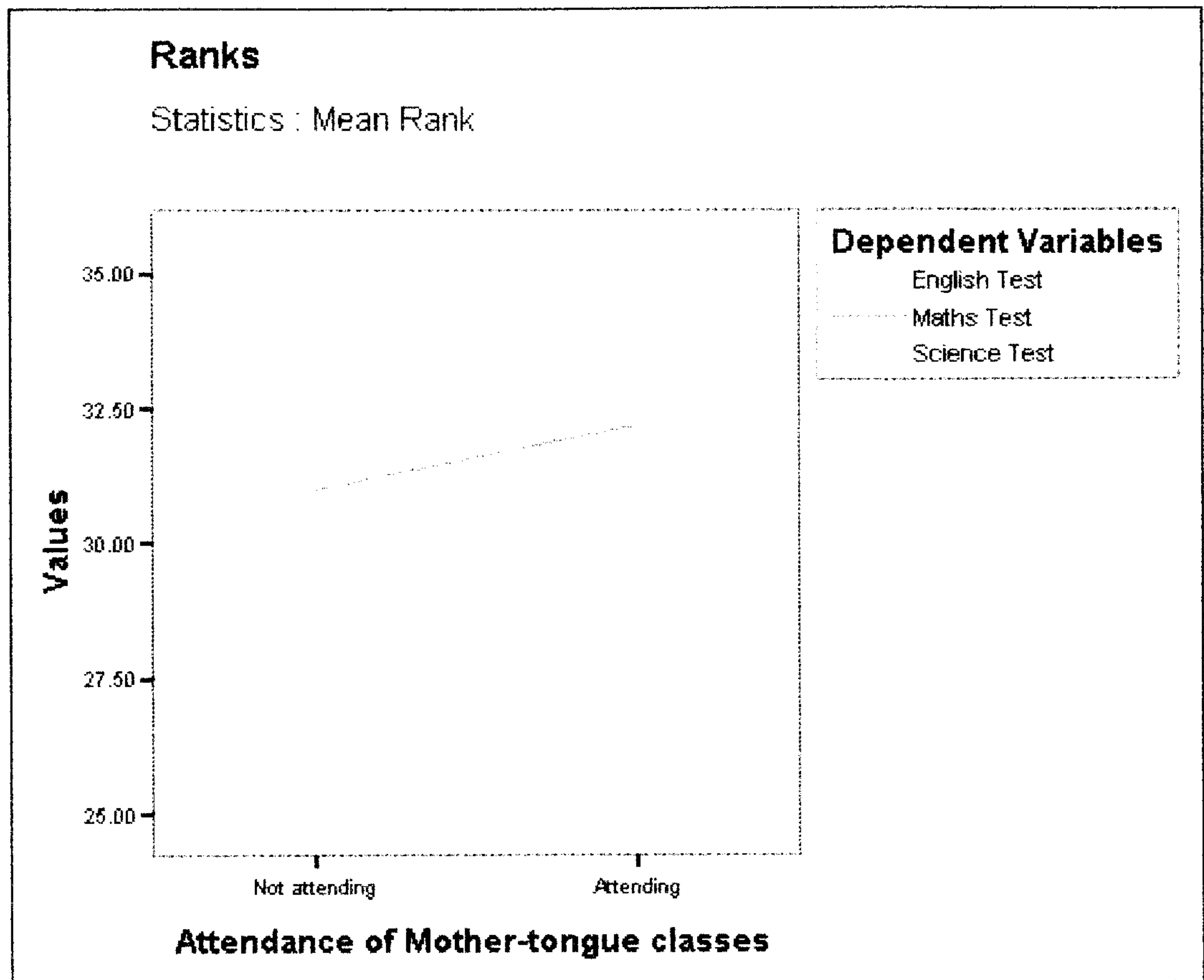
Ranks

Attendance or enrolment		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
English Test	Not attending	34	24.66	838.50
	Attending	22	34.43	757.50
	Total	56		
Maths Test	Not attending	36	31.00	1116.00
	Attending	26	32.19	837.00
	Total	62		
Science Test	Not attending	38	29.55	1123.00
	Attending	25	35.72	893.00
	Total	63		

Test Statistics^a

	English Test	Maths Test	Science Test
Mann-Whitney U	243.500	450.000	382.000
Wilcoxon W	838.500	1116.000	1123.000
Z	-2.277	-.272	-1.361
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.785	.174
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.023	.796	.171
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.011	.398	.086
Point Probability	.000	.002	.004

a. Grouping Variable: Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes



Appendix 3 - Graph 1: (KS3) Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes

A3.2 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. English, Maths and Science

Tests' results

Association with the independent variable or difference in the means of the results (English, Maths and Science) achieved by the three groups of children:

- ◆ Born in UK,
- ◆ Entered UK before beginning of KS2, therefore, attended secondary school from the start of KS3, i.e. Yr. 7,
- ◆ Entered UK during or after Yr. 7.

A3.2.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test (3 Groups of students)

a) English Test

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
English Test *						
Born Here/Entry to Secondary School	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Maths Test * Born Here/Entry to Secondary School	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Science Test *						
Born Here/Entry to Secondary School	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%

Crosstab

Count

		Born Here/Entry to Secondary School			Total
		During or after Yr7	From start Yr7	Born Here	
English	0	11	3	1	15
Test	3	2	1		3
	4	2	11	5	18
	5	3	8	5	16
	6		2	1	3
	7			1	1
	A		2		2
	N	7	2	1	10
Total		25	29	14	68

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.736 ^a	14	.006	. ^b
Likelihood Ratio	32.943	14	.003	.003
Fisher's Exact Test	27.445			.002
N of Valid Cases	68			

a. 18 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

b) Maths Test

Crosstab

Count

		Born Here/Entry to Secondary School			Total
		During or after Yr7	From start Yr7	Born Here	
Maths	0	3			3
Test	3	4	5	5	14
	4	12	13	3	28
	5	1	7	4	12
	6		2	1	3
	7		1	1	2
	A	4	1		5
	N	1			1
Total		25	29	14	68

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.349 ^a	14	.072	. ^b
Likelihood Ratio	26.512	14	.022	.032
Fisher's Exact Test	20.475			.034
N of Valid Cases	68			

a. 18 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c) Science Test

Crosstab

Count

		Born Here/Entry to Secondary School			Total
		During or after Yr7	From start Yr7	Born Here	
Science	0	2		1	3
Test	3	14	4	1	19
	4	2	10	7	19
	5	4	11	3	18
	6		2	2	4
	A	3	2		5
Total		25	29	14	68

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.558 ^a	10	.002	. ^b
Likelihood Ratio	31.274	10	.001	.001
Fisher's Exact Test	26.281			.000
N of Valid Cases	68			

a. 12 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .62.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

A3.2.2 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

a) Groups From start of Yr. 7 vs. During or after Yr. 7

Ranks

	Born Here/Entry to	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
English Test	During or after Yr7	18	15.03	270.50
	From start Yr7	25	27.02	675.50
	Total	43		
Maths Test	During or after Yr7	20	18.98	379.50
	From start Yr7	28	28.45	796.50
	Total	48		
Science Test	During or after Yr7	22	17.14	377.00
	From start Yr7	27	31.41	848.00
	Total	49		

Test Statistics^a

	English Test	Maths Test	Science Test
Mann-Whitney U	99.500	169.500	124.000
Wilcoxon W	270.500	379.500	377.000
Z	-3.219	-2.510	-3.651
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.012	.000
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.011	.000
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.006	.000
Point Probability	.000	.000	.000

a. Grouping Variable: Born Here/Entry to Secondary School

b) Groups Born Here vs. During or after Yr. 7

Ranks

	Born Here/Entry to	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
English Test	During or after Yr7	18	11.72	211.00
	Born Here	13	21.92	285.00
	Total	31		
Maths Test	During or after Yr7	20	15.40	308.00
	Born Here	14	20.50	287.00
	Total	34		
Science Test	During or after Yr7	22	14.91	328.00
	Born Here	14	24.14	338.00
	Total	36		

Test Statistics^b

	English Test	Maths Test	Science Test
Mann-Whitney U	40.000	98.000	75.000
Wilcoxon W	211.000	308.000	328.000
Z	-3.224	-1.556	-2.695
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.120	.007
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.001 ^a	.148 ^a	.010 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.123	.007
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.064	.004
Point Probability	.000	.005	.000

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Born Here/Entry to Secondary School

c) Groups Born Here vs. From start of Yr. 7

Ranks

	Born Here/Entry to	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
English Test	From start Yr7	25	18.28	457.00
	Born Here	13	21.85	284.00
	Total	38		
Maths Test	From start Yr7	28	21.84	611.50
	Born Here	14	20.82	291.50
	Total	42		
Science Test	From start Yr7	27	21.50	580.50
	Born Here	14	20.04	280.50
	Total	41		

Test Statistics^b

	English Test	Maths Test	Science Test
Mann-Whitney U	132.000	186.500	175.500
Wilcoxon W	457.000	291.500	280.500
Z	-.998	-.265	-.394
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.318	.791	.693
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.361 ^a	.802 ^a	.714 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.339	.807	.702
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.170	.406	.352
Point Probability	.013	.005	.008

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Born Here/Entry to Secondary School

A3.3 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes

A3.3.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Entry_UK * Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%

**Entry_UK * Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes
Crosstabulation**

Count

		Attendance or enrolment at Mother-tongue classes		Total
		Not attending	Attending	
Entry_UK	Born UK/Ent.Bef.KS1	14	5	19
	During KS1		2	2
	During KS2 or before	7	14	21
	During KS3	21	5	26
Total		42	26	68

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	15.538 ^a	3	.001	^b		
Likelihood Ratio	16.377	3	.001	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test	14.703			.001		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.112 ^c	1	.738	.762	.406	.076
N of Valid Cases	68					

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .76.

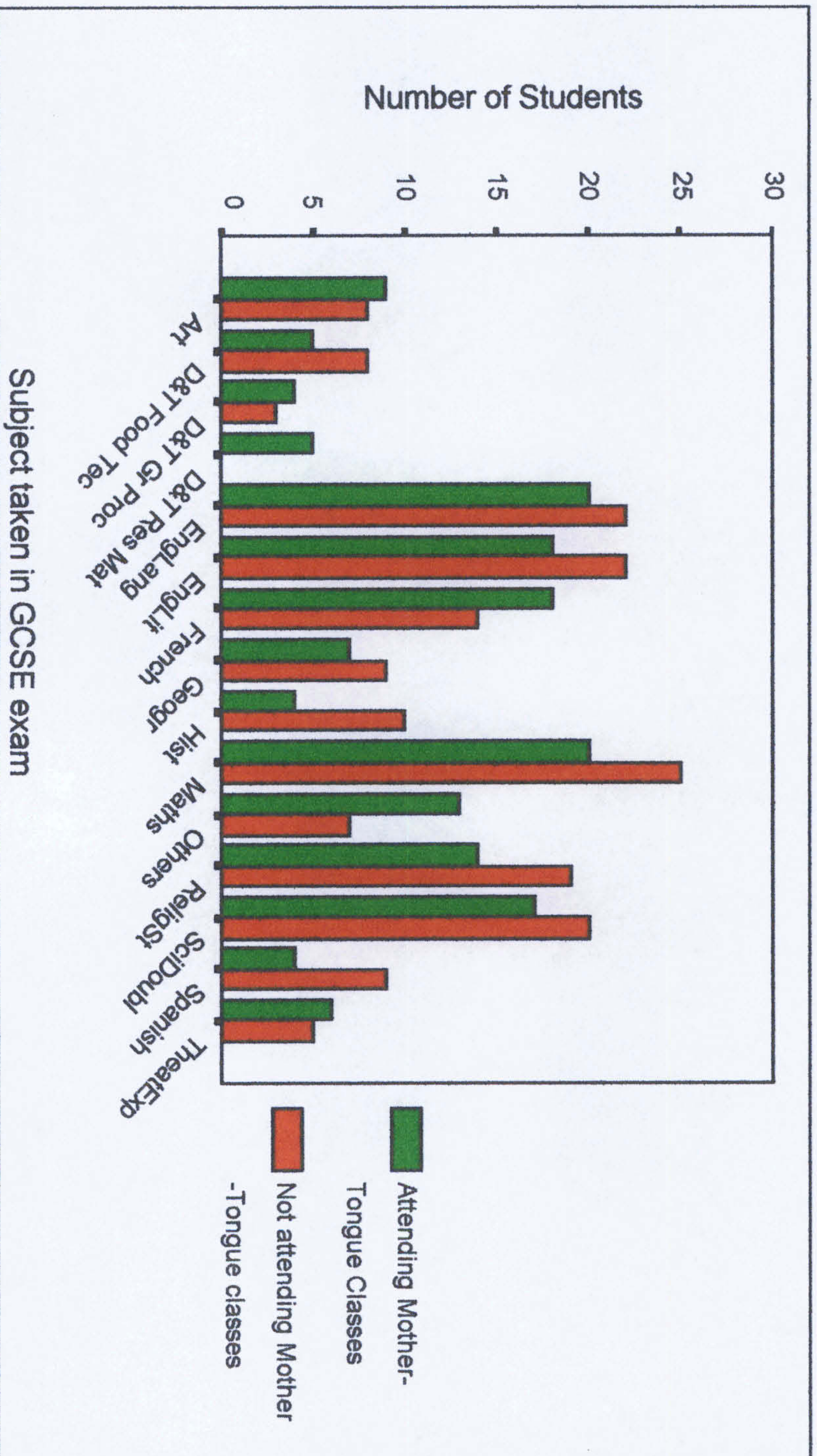
b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is -.335.

Appendix 4 – Statistical Analysis: Key Stage 4

A4.1 Variables tested: Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes vs. Number and Grades of GCSEs obtained

A4.1.1 Subject preference of students taking GCSE Exam (KS4)



Appendix 4 - Figure 1: (KS4) Preference by Students of Exam Subjects

A4.1.2 Attainment at KS2 – Comparison with Borough and National averages

Test Performance at KS4	5 + A* - C	5 + A* - G
Attending M-T. Classes*†	41%	82%
Not Attend. M-T. Classes*†	8%	73%
Portuguese (Borough)	22%	64%
Borough Average	32%	86%
National Average	48%	89%

† These results do not include the GCSE Portuguese.

* Please see footnote¹.

Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Lambeth Education Statistics, 1999.

Appendix 4 - Table 1: KS4 – Comparison with Borough and National averages

A4.1.3 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

a) Number of GCSE grades A* - C:

¹ These numbers include students from Lambeth attending school in Kensington and Chelsea. Please refer to Chapter 1. The GCSE results for the school in question are 5+ A*-C = 41%; 5+ A*-G = 93%.

Crosstab

Count		Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y		Total
		Not Attending	Attending	
Number	0	10	6	16
of GCSE	1	5	2	7
A*-C	2	5	3	8
obtained	3	3	1	4
	4	1	1	2
	7	1	4	5
	8	1	2	3
	9		3	3
Total		26	22	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	8.646 ^a	7	.279	.298		
Likelihood Ratio	9.983	7	.190	.334		
Fisher's Exact Test	8.266			.292		
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.470 ^b	1	.011	.011	.006	.001
N of Valid Cases	48					

a. 14 cells (87.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .92.

b. The standardized statistic is 2.544.

b) Number of GCSE grades A*- G:

Crosstab

Count		Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y		Total
		Not Attending	Attending	
Number of GCSE A*-G obtained	0	1		1
	1	1		1
	2	1	3	4
	3	1	1	2
	4	3		3
	5	1		1
	6	1	1	2
	7	1		1
	8	4	2	6
	9	7	9	16
	10	3	6	9
	11	2		2
Total		26	22	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	11.664 ^a	11	.389	.425		
Likelihood Ratio	15.139	11	.176	.408		
Fisher's Exact Test	11.024			.405		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.800 ^b	1	.371	.391	.202	.026
N of Valid Cases	48					

a. 22 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .46.

b. The standardized statistic is .895.

A4.2 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

a) Number of GCSE grades A*- C:

Ranks

Enrolment or attendance		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Not Attending	26	20.90	543.50
	Attending	22	28.75	632.50
	Total	48		

Test Statistics^a

	Number of GCSE A*-C obtained
Mann-Whitney U	192.500
Wilcoxon W	543.500
Z	-1.981
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.048
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.048
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.024
Point Probability	.001

a. Grouping Variable: Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y

b) Number of GCSE grades A*- G:

Ranks

Enrolment or attendance		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Number of GCSE A*-G obtained	Not Enrolled	26	22.58	587.00
	Enrolled	22	26.77	589.00
	Total	48		

Test Statistics^a

	Number of GCSE A*-G obtained
Mann-Whitney U	236.000
Wilcoxon W	587.000
Z	-1.059
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.289
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.295
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.148
Point Probability	.003

a. Grouping Variable: Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y

c) Difference between individual GCSE grades A* - G:

Ranks

	Enrolment or attendance	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Below minimum classifiable grade	Not Attending	8	7.56	60.50
	Attending	5	6.10	30.50
	Total	13		
Grade G	Not Attending	12	9.63	115.50
	Attending	6	9.25	55.50
	Total	18		
Grade F	Not Attending	19	16.00	304.00
	Attending	10	13.10	131.00
	Total	29		
Grade E	Not Attending	16	14.22	227.50
	Attending	10	12.35	123.50
	Total	26		
Grade D	Not Attending	16	12.88	206.00
	Attending	16	20.13	322.00
	Total	32		
Grade C	Not Attending	12	9.54	114.50
	Attending	13	16.19	210.50
	Total	25		
Grade B	Not Attending	8	9.75	78.00
	Attending	14	12.50	175.00
	Total	22		
Grade A	Not Attending	7	6.50	45.50
	Attending	6	7.58	45.50
	Total	13		
Grade A*	Not Attending	1	2.00	2.00
	Attending	3	2.67	8.00
	Total	4		

Test Statistics^b

	Below minimum classifiable grade	Grade G	Grade F	Grade E	Grade D	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A	Grade A*
Mann-Whitney U	15.500	34.500	76.000	68.500	70.000	36.500	42.000	17.500	1.000
Wilcoxon W	30.500	55.500	131.000	123.500	206.000	114.500	78.000	45.500	2.000
Z	-.808	-.157	-.965	-.629	-2.273	-2.338	-1.049	-1.080	-.577
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.419	.876	.335	.529	.023	.019	.294	.280	.564
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.524 ^a	.892 ^a	.403 ^a	.551 ^a	.029 ^a	.022 ^a	.365 ^a	.628 ^a	1.000 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.478	.966	.344	.557	.023	.020	.311	.462	1.000
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.294	.467	.176	.285	.011	.010	.162	.462	.750
Point Probability	.196	.065	.014	.043	.001	.003	.017	.462	.750

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y

A4.3 Variables tested: Entry into the UK/school attendance vs. Number of GCSE and grades obtained

Association with the independent variable or difference in the means of the results (English, Maths and Science) achieved by the three groups of children:

- ◆ Born in UK,
- ◆ Entered UK before beginning of KS2, therefore, attended secondary school from the start of KS3, i.e. Yr. 7,
- ◆ Entered UK during or after Yr. 7.

A4.3.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test (3 Groups of students)

a) Number of GCSE grades A* - C:

Crosstab

Count	Number of GCSE A*-C obtained									Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9
Born UK/Entry to School in [1] or after [2] Sept. 94.	2		1	1	1	2	3	2	2		9
Born Here Since beginning of Yr. 7	5	6	4	2	1	3				3	24
After beginning of Yr. 7	9	1	3	1				1			15
Total	16	7	8	4	2	5		3		3	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided) ^b	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	21.512 ^a	14	.089			
Likelihood Ratio	25.021	14	.034	.075		
Fisher's Exact Test	18.633			.068		
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.328 ^c	1	.012	.011	.006	.001
N of Valid Cases	48					

a. 22 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .38.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is -2.515.

b) Number of GCSE grades A* - G:

Crosstab

Count		Number of GCSE A*-G obtained											Total									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		11								
Born UK/Entry to School in [1] or after[2] Sept. 94.	Born Here Since beginning of Yr. 7		1				1	1				1			2	4	2				9	
	After beginning of Yr. 7	1		4	2	2										2	10	5			2	24
Total		1	1	4	2	3	1	2	1	2	6	16	9	2	2							48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	32.270 ^a	22	.073			
Likelihood Ratio	37.349	22	.022	.017		
Fisher's Exact Test	28.218			.026		
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.745 ^c	1	.005	.005	.002	.000
N of Valid Cases	48					

a. 34 cells (94.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .19.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is -2.783.

A4.3.2 Non-Parametric Tests: Mann-Whitney Test

a) Groups Born Here vs. Since the Beginning of Yr. 7

Ranks

Born UK/Entry to School		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Born Here	9	19.72	177.50
	Since beginning of Yr. 7	24	15.98	383.50
	Total	33		
Number of GCSE A*-G obtained	Born Here	9	17.94	161.50
	Since beginning of Yr. 7	24	16.65	399.50
	Total	33		

Test Statistics^b

	Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Number of GCSE A*-G obtained
Mann-Whitney U	83.500	99.500
Wilcoxon W	383.500	399.500
Z	-1.002	-.360
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.316	.719
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.328 ^a	.736 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.322	.736
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.161	.370
Point Probability	.005	.018

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Born UK/Entry to School in [1] or after[2] Sept. 94.

b) Groups From start of Yr. 7 vs. During or after Yr. 7

Ranks

Born UK/Entry to School		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Since beginning of Yr. 7	24	23.06	553.50
	After beginning of Yr. 7	15	15.10	226.50
	Total	39		
Number of GCSE A*-G obtained	Since beginning of Yr. 7	24	22.17	532.00
	After beginning of Yr. 7	15	16.53	248.00
	Total	39		

Test Statistics^b

	Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Number of GCSE A*-G obtained
Mann-Whitney U	106.500	128.000
Wilcoxon W	226.500	248.000
Z	-2.187	-1.530
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.029	.126
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.033 ^a	.138 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.028	.129
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.014	.065
Point Probability	.001	.002

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Born UK/Entry to School in [1] or after[2] Sept. 94.

c) Groups Born Here vs. During or after Yr. 7

Ranks

Born UK/Entry to School		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Born Here	9	16.67	150.00
	After beginning of Yr. 7	15	10.00	150.00
	Total	24		
Number of GCSE A*-G obtained	Born Here	9	15.11	136.00
	After beginning of Yr. 7	15	10.93	164.00
	Total	24		

Test Statistics^b

	Number of GCSE A*-C obtained	Number of GCSE A*-G obtained
Mann-Whitney U	30.000	44.000
Wilcoxon W	150.000	164.000
Z	-2.360	-1.420
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	.156
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.025 ^a	.174 ^a
Exact Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.164
Exact Sig. (1-tailed)	.010	.082
Point Probability	.002	.006

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Born UK/Entry to School in [1] or after[2] Sept. 94.

A4.4 Variables tested: Entry into the UK vs. Attendance of Mother-Tongue Classes

A4.4.1 Crosstabulations: Chi-Square Tests: Fisher's Exact Test

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Entry_UK * Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y	48	100.0%	0	.0%	48	100.0%

**Entry_UK * Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y
Crosstabulation**

Count

		Enrolment or attendance of Mother-Tongue classes 1n 2y		Total
		Not Attending	Attending	
Entry_UK	Born UK/Entry Bef.KS1	5	6	11
	During KS1	1	2	3
	During KS2	11	9	20
	During KS3	3	1	4
	During KS4	6	4	10
Total		26	22	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	1.703 ^a	4	.790	.833		
Likelihood Ratio	1.747	4	.782	.820		
Fisher's Exact Test	1.796			.833		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.894 ^b	1	.344	.354	.202	.053
N of Valid Cases	48					

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.38.

b. The standardized statistic is -.946.

Appendix 5 – Letters sent to Schools and to Parents

A5.1 Initial letter sent to schools



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
Direct fax 0171 919 7313

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Dear Mr./Ms. _____

I am a Portuguese research student at the Goldsmiths' College, University of London.

My research project concerns the academic achievement of Portuguese students and their attendance of mother tongue classes. It involves collecting demographic data and end of key stage results from schools but no classroom time will be needed. I enclose a summary of the study plan for your information.

I would be grateful if you could consider the possibility of _____ school taking part in this project. I will ring the school in the next few days to arrange a convenient date to explain the study in more detail.

Thank you for your kind attention

Yours sincerely

Olga Barradas

Goldsmiths College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW. Main Telephone Number: 0171 919 7171

GOLDSMITHS COLLEGE SPECIALISES IN THE STUDY OF CREATIVE, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PROCESSES AND IS COMMITTED TO LIFE-LONG LEARNING

Study Summary

I – The project aims to investigate:

- 1) How children of Portuguese families, schooled in English, are affected by their attendance of mother tongue classes with regard to their academic and linguistic development and their own identity;
- 2) How the commitment to mother tongue classes affects their families, the child's own identity and the child's integration in the community.

II – In the study will take part:

- Larger sample:
 - boys and girls of different ages: 7, 11, 14, 16 year olds;
 - children who attend Portuguese mother tongue classes;
 - children who do not attend mother tongue classes.
- Smaller sample:
 - a smaller group of children (chosen from the larger sample);
 - the parents of the children included in the smaller sample.

III – The study will involve:

- comparing the school (SATs) results of the children (Key Stages 1, 2, 3, and 4)
- interviewing parents and children from the smaller sample group.

A5.2 Letters sent to parents



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
Direct fax 0171 919 7313

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Caros Pais ou Encarregados de Educação

Sou estudante no Goldsmiths' College, Universidade de Londres e estou a fazer um trabalho sobre a comunidade portuguesa aqui em Londres.

O principal objectivo do trabalho é tentar saber como é que os jovens de origem portuguesa se dão nas escolas inglesas. A escola de _____ está a participar neste estudo.

Para fazer este trabalho, preciso de ter acesso aos resultados escolares (SATs) dos alunos portugueses. Esta informação não será passada a mais ninguém e ninguém mais irá saber o que é que cada criança teve nos testes.

Para que a escola me possa dizer os resultados deste/a aluno/a, é preciso que devolvam o papel abaixo, dando autorização.

A autorização pode ser devolvida ao/à Mr./Ms. _____.

Agradeço desde já a vossa ajuda.

Olga Barradas

Por favor marque com X nas caixas:

(Para devolver)

Autorizo que a escola dê os resultados do/a aluno/a _____.

..... Ou

Não autorizo que a escola dê os resultados do/a aluno/a.

.....

Assinatura

(mãe/pai/encarregado de educação)

Goldsmiths College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW. Main Telephone Number: 0171 919 7171

GOLDSMITHS COLLEGE SPECIALISES IN THE STUDY OF CREATIVE, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PROCESSES AND IS COMMITTED TO LIFE-LONG LEARNING



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
Direct fax 0171 919 7313

--/---/---

Dear Parent or Guardian

I am a student at the Goldsmiths' College, University of London and I am doing a study about the Portuguese community here in London.

The main objective of this study is to try and find out how the young people of Portuguese origin get on in the English schools. The school of _____ is taking part in this study.

To be able to do this work, I need to have access to the school results (SATs) of the Portuguese students. This information will not be passed to anyone else and no one else will know what each child had in his/her test.

For the school to be able to tell me each student's results, you must return the slip below, completed as appropriate.

The authorisation can be returned to Mr./Ms. _____.

Thanking you in advance for your help.

Olga Barradas

Please mark the boxes with an X:

(To return)

I allow the school to release the school results of the student _____.

..... Or

I do not allow the school to release the student's results.

.....

Signature

(mother/father/guardian)

Goldsmiths College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW. Main Telephone Number: 0171 919 7171

GOLDSMITHS COLLEGE SPECIALISES IN THE STUDY OF CREATIVE, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PROCESSES AND IS COMMITTED TO LIFE-LONG LEARNING



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
Direct fax 0171 919 7313

---/---/---

Caros Pais ou Encarregados de Educação

Sou estudante no Goldsmiths' College, Universidade de Londres e estou a fazer um trabalho sobre a comunidade portuguesa aqui em Londres.

O principal objectivo do trabalho é tentar saber como é que os jovens de origem portuguesa se dão nas escolas inglesas e de que modo é que a escola afecta o seu futuro. A escola de _____ está a participar neste estudo.

O estudo envolve falar com os estudantes e as suas famílias. Para poder contactar o/a aluno/a, é preciso que devolvam o papel abaixo, dando autorização.

A autorização pode ser devolvida ao/à Mr./Ms. _____.

Agradeço desde já a vossa ajuda.

Olga Barradas

Por favor marque com X nas caixas:

(Para devolver)

Autorizo que o/a aluno/a _____ seja contactado.

Nome do Encarregado de Educação: _____

Morada para contacto: _____

Telefone: _____

..... Ou

Não dou autorização para que o/a aluno/aluna seja contactado/a.

Assinatura

(mãe/pai/encarregado de educação)

Goldsmiths College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW. Main Telephone Number: 0171 919 7171



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
Direct fax 0171 919 7313

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Dear Parent or Guardian

I am a student at the Goldsmiths' College, University of London and I am doing a study about the Portuguese community here in London.

The main objective of this study is to try and find out how the young people of Portuguese origin get on in the English schools and how the school affects their future. The school of _____ is taking part in this study.

The study involves talking to the students and their families. In order to be able to contact the student, it is necessary that you return the slip below, completed as appropriate.

The authorisation can be returned to Mr./Ms. _____.

Thanking you in advance for your help.

Olga Barradas

Please mark the boxes with an X: (To return)

I allow that the student _____ be contacted.

Name of Parent/Guardian: _____
Address for contact: _____

Telephone _____

..... Or

I do not allow the student to be contacted.
.....

Signature

(mother/father/guardian)

Goldsmiths College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW. Main Telephone Number: 0171 919 7171

Appendix 6 – Questions prepared as starting points in the interviews

A6.1 Interview with the students

(Starter questions

Possible further questions

*For students in KS3 and KS4 only)

Tell me about your life

Were you born here or did you come to live here?

What about your family? How? Why?

What was your first school in this country?

How did you get on? Positive/negative aspects

What difficulties? How did you cope with them?

***How did you get to attend _____ Secondary School?**

How did you get on?

What difficulties? How did you cope with them?

***What do you think of how the English school work?**

Did the school help you? How?

What did you think of the teachers? And they of you?

Tell me about your colleagues.

What do you think of your Portuguese colleagues?

What do they think of you?

What about your other colleagues (English, non-English)?

What do they think of you?

Fala-me da tua vida

Nascestes cá ou vieste para cá?

E a tua família? Como? Porquê?

Qual foi a tua primeira escola neste país?

Como é que te deste nessa escola? Difícil./Pontos positiv.

Que dificuldades? O que é que fizeste para aguentar?

***Como foste parar a _____ Sec. School?**

Como é que te deste nessa escola?

Que dificuldades? O que é que fizeste para aguentar?

***O que achas da maneira como a escola inglesa funciona?**

A escola ajudou-te? Como?

O que achaste dos professores? E eles de ti?

Fala-me dos teus colegas.

O que achas dos teus colegas portugueses?

E eles de ti?

O que achas dos outros colegas (ingleses, não-ingleses)?

O que é que eles acham de ti?

Do you feel more Portuguese or more English?

- ... when you're with other Portuguese people?
- ... when you're with English or other people?

Your parents and the school. Tell me about that.

When do they go to your school?

How do you feel when they go there?

Portuguese classes. What do you think of them?

Why go? What do you learn there?

Do you often go to Portugal?

Music/ TV/ Reading/ Clubs/ Associations

***What do you think your life will be like in 3 yrs. time?**

What do your parents think of that?

***Regarding school, have you talked to someone about what you can do after you're 16?**

At school/ Outside

Do you think you will go (/back) and live in Portugal?

What about your parents?

What is life like in Portugal?

Sentes-te mais Português ou mais Inglês?

- ... quando estás com outros portugueses?
- ... quando estás com ingleses ou outros?

Os teus pais e a escola. Fala-me disso.

Quando é que eles vão à tua escola?

Como te sentes quando lá vão?

Aulas de Português. O que é que achas?

Porquê ir? O que é que se aprende lá?

Costumas ir a Portugal?

Música/ TV/ Ler/ Clubes? Associações

***Como é que achas que será a tua vida daqui a 3 anos?**

O que é que os teus pais acham disso?

***Em relação à escola, já falaste com alguém acerca de coisas que podes fazer quando tiveres 16 anos?**

Na escola/ Cá fora

Achas que voltarás/irás viver para Portugal?

E os teus pais?

Como é que é a vida em Portugal?

A6.2 Interview with the parents:

(Starter questions	Possible further questions	*For parents of students in KS3 and KS4 only)
Tell me about your life.		Fale-me da sua vida.
Until what age did you attend school?		Até que idade andou na escola?
Tell me about when you came over here.		Fale-me de quando veio para cá.
Your first job / Your first home		Primeiro emprego/ primeira casa
What about your children?		E com os seus filhos?
Were they always with you?		Teve-os sempre consigo?
When did they start school?		Quando é que começaram na escola?
What was it like?		Como é que foi?
What about going to secondary school?		E para ir para a escola secundária?
What is it like? / *What was it like?		Como é? / *Como foi?
What do you think of the way English school works?		O que acha da maneira como a escola inglesa funciona?
What is it like when you have to go and talk with the teachers?		Como é quando tem que ir lá falar com os professores?
How often? With whom?		Costuma ir lá muitas vezes? Com quem?
How do you feel?		Como é que se sente?
Outside school, does (student) go to any clubs/activities?		Fora da escola, (aluno/a) vai a alguns clubes ou actividades?
Do you think (student) is more English or more Portuguese?		Acha que (aluno/a) é mais Inglês ou mais Português?
Portuguese classes. What do you think of it?		Aulas de Português. O que pensa disso?
Why go? What do they learn there?		Porquê ir? O que se aprende lá?

Do you often go to Portugal?

Music/ TV/ Reading/ Clubs/ Associations

***What do you think (student)'s life will be like in 3 yrs. time?**

What type of job would you like him/her to have?

***Regarding school, have you talked to someone about what s/he can do after you're 16?**

At school/ Outside

Do you think you will go (/back) and live in Portugal?

What about (student)?

What is life like in Portugal?

Thinking of your life and thinking of your children's life, if you were to go back in time, what would you do differently?

Costuma ir a Portugal?

Música/ TV/ Ler/ Clubes/ Associações

***Como é que acha que será a vida de (aluno/a) daqui a 3 anos?**

Que tipo de emprego gostaria que tivesse?

***Em relação à escola, já falou com alguém acerca do que ele/ela pode fazer quando tiver 16 anos?**

Na escola/ Cá fora

Acha que voltará/irá viver para Portugal?

E (aluno/a)?

Como é que é a vida em Portugal?

Pensando na sua vida e pensando na vida dos seus filhos, se voltasse atrás, o que é que fazia diferente?

Appendix 7 – National Curriculum Key Stages

The following details about the National Curriculum and the associated Key Stages in compulsory education have been compiled from data available online. The following URL addresses should be visited for further information:

<http://www.nc.uk.net/nc_resources/html/about_NC.shtml>
 <http://www.nc.uk.net/nc_resources/html/ks1and2.shtml>
 <http://www.nc.uk.net/nc_resources/html/ks3and4.shtml>
 <http://www.nc.uk.net/nc_resources/html/ks4_changes.shtml>

The National Curriculum for England applies to pupils of compulsory school age in community and foundation schools, including community special schools and foundation special schools, and voluntary aided and voluntary controlled schools. It is organised on the basis of four key stages, as shown below. These key stages are defined precisely in section 355(1)a-d of the Education Act 1996.

Key Stages	1	2	3	4*	
Age	5-7	7-11	11-14	14-16	
<i>Year Groups</i>	<i>1-2</i>	<i>3-6</i>	<i>7-9</i>	<i>10-11</i>	
English	◆	◆	◆	◆	National Curriculum core subjects
Mathematics	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Science	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Design and Technology	◆	◆	◆	◆	National Curriculum non-core foundation subjects
Information and Communication Technology	◆	◆	◆	◆	
History	◆	◆	◆		
Geography	◆	◆	◆		
Modern Foreign Languages			◆	◆	
Art and Design	◆	◆	◆		
Music	◆	◆	◆		
Physical Education	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Citizenship			◆	◆	

***Changes to the key stage 4 curriculum**

The key stage 4 curriculum has changed following consultation on the White Paper 14-19: opportunity and excellence.

There will be a new science programme of study at key stage 4.

The study of design and technology and a modern foreign language will no longer be compulsory at key stage 4.

A new category of entitlement curriculum areas, which will comprise the arts, design and technology, the humanities and modern foreign languages, will be introduced. This means that schools must make these areas of the curriculum available to all students who wish to study courses in them.

There will be a new statutory requirement for work-related learning and a non-statutory framework setting out the minimum experience that schools should provide for work-related learning.

Implementation

The changes to the science programme of study will be implemented from 2006.

Work-related learning will become statutory in 2004.

The new entitlement areas will be introduced from 2004.

Range of levels within which the great majority of pupils are expected to work		Expected attainment for the majority of pupils at the end of the key stage (Level)	
Key stage 1	1–3	at age 7	2
Key stage 2	2–5	at age 11	4
Key stage 3	3–7	at age 14	5/6

Links with qualifications

Scales used in approved national qualifications build on pupils' prior learning as set out in the programmes of study at key stage 3 and the level descriptions. Qualifications used by pupils of compulsory school age, whether in school, college or workplace, must be approved under section 400 of the Education Act 1996. Approved qualifications are listed in a DfEE circular sent annually to schools and colleges. Pupils may be offered courses leading to the following qualifications:

- GCSE
- GCSE (short course)
- Part One GNVQ at foundation and intermediate level
- GNVQ (or GNVQ units) at foundation, intermediate and advanced level
- NVQ (or NVQ units) at levels 1 and 2 (approved titles only)
- key skills unit in information technology
- entry level qualifications
- GCE AS level
- other approved qualifications.