ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROVISION AND COMMUNITY NETWORKS: A COLLABORATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how English language provision is connected to the community in a super-diverse ward in Sheffield, Northern England. The research was planned and developed in collaboration with English language students in response to cuts to adult community education. The study examines the importance of dynamic local networks which linked English language classes to service provision and engagement with local campaigns and activities.

In a period of cuts to public services the study focused on community education in Burngreave. The legacy of radical community development work could be seen in key structures in the area which derived strength from organising and campaigning. The research was conducted in three stages, firstly 325 questionnaire interviews were conducted in 35 classes, between November 2012 and February 2013, generating baseline data about the student population and the English language classes. A consideration in the use of a questionnaire was the diversity and dynamic environment being investigated. The data collection involved considerable teamwork, multilingual peer support and collaboration from community members. Graphs, charts and network diagrams were used to analyse quantitative research data. These visual tools enabled data driven dialogue amongst participants from super-diverse language backgrounds. Collaborative analysis of the data with groups of students, teachers and providers informed the next stage of the research process.

This study challenges the view that community education is peripheral. It is significant that over 85% of participants in the study are women. The thesis explores the roles of super-connectors through a series of conversational interviews conducted in June and July 2014 and considers how networks developed in relation to the English language classes across the area. The study identifies the importance of local concerns and community knowledge to develop and sustain appropriate connectors in local networks; these include the local community newspaper, the Adult Learning Guide and other super- connectors. The study also considers external links which connect the provision to city-wide and national sources of funding and support.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

AREA OF STUDY

Super-diversity is an emerging multi-disciplinary field. The term was first used in 2007 by sociologist Steven Vertovec and "was intended to address the changing nature of global migration that, over the past thirty years or so, has brought with it a transformative 'diversification of diversity'". (Vertovec, 2013, p.1). This means that more ethnicities, languages and countries of origin are represented in an increased pattern of migration, and in order to fully understand the implications of global migration:

> additional variables need to be better recognized by social scientists, policy-makers, practitioners and the public. These include: differential legal statuses and their concomitant conditions, divergent labour market experiences, discrete configurations of gender and age, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents. The dynamic interaction of these variables is what is meant by 'super-diversity'. (Vertovec, 2007, p.1025).

Vertovec (2013) comments upon the wide variety of disciplines and scholars who have invoked this term since 2007 and he considers the usage of the term in a review of 300 publications. Though originally he was describing phenomena in the U.K., the term now has international usage and has been understood in many different ways. The sociolinguist Blommaert (2015) extends and expands upon the meaning of super- diversity. He distinguishes between the object of a super-diverse study; super-diverse as an adjective to describe an area or a neighbourhood, and super-diversity as a perspective 'a super-diversity lens' (p.84). In this study I draw on the work of Blommaert, firstly to describe the area of Burngreave and also as a perspective or lens as we have a changed set of conditions and social configurations that call for a multi-dimensional approach to understand contemporary changes. Blommaert and van der Vijver (2013) also call for a methodological reassessment of the field of sociolinguistics to address these changes in the environment. The methodology developed in this research is in response to these dynamics recognising that a baseline of accurate information is necessary before more detailed analysis can be undertaken and that a deeper understanding can be achieved by drawing on multiple perspectives when working in a super-diverse field.

Super-diversity offers a new perspective on adult community English language education in multi-ethnic urban areas in the U.K. The implications for community English language

education are at least two-fold: firstly, the nature of the classroom has changed as adult students reflect the 'diversification of diversity' (Vertovec, 2007, p.1024) in the wider community and bring into the classroom a wider range of language backgrounds, educational, cultural, class and employment backgrounds. There are multiple factors to consider. Outside the classroom, there are different opportunities and different conditions to those associated with the traditional more settled communities of post-colonial migration.

FOCUS OF STUDY

 I investigate English language classes for adult migrants in the Burngreave ward in Sheffield. The focus of the study is on English language provision and how it relates to the community it serves. The research involves all the community English language classes across the ward and encompasses a range of host organisations including local community organisations, local schools and college satellite centres. The research agenda was initiated by community members because of threatened cuts to adult education provision and intended both to support and improve the provision. The research therefore has a community focus and is interested in community knowledge about the way that the classes are linked to the wider networks in Burngreave. It is an area based study and in the words of Berg and Sigona (2013, p.352), "Geography matters fundamentally" because not only is change a fundamental part of an understanding of super-diversity but that each area is different. They note that, "If we take seriously the multiplication and increasingly complex intersection of axis of difference, we need to understand how it plays out differently in different conditions, at different scales, in particular places. (Berg and Sigona, ibid.) The meaning of community in this study is a geographical one and maps of the area are shown in Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.1 Map showing Sheffield's major roads and railways
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transport_in_Sheffield#/media/File:Sheffield_outline_map_w
ith_U.K..svg
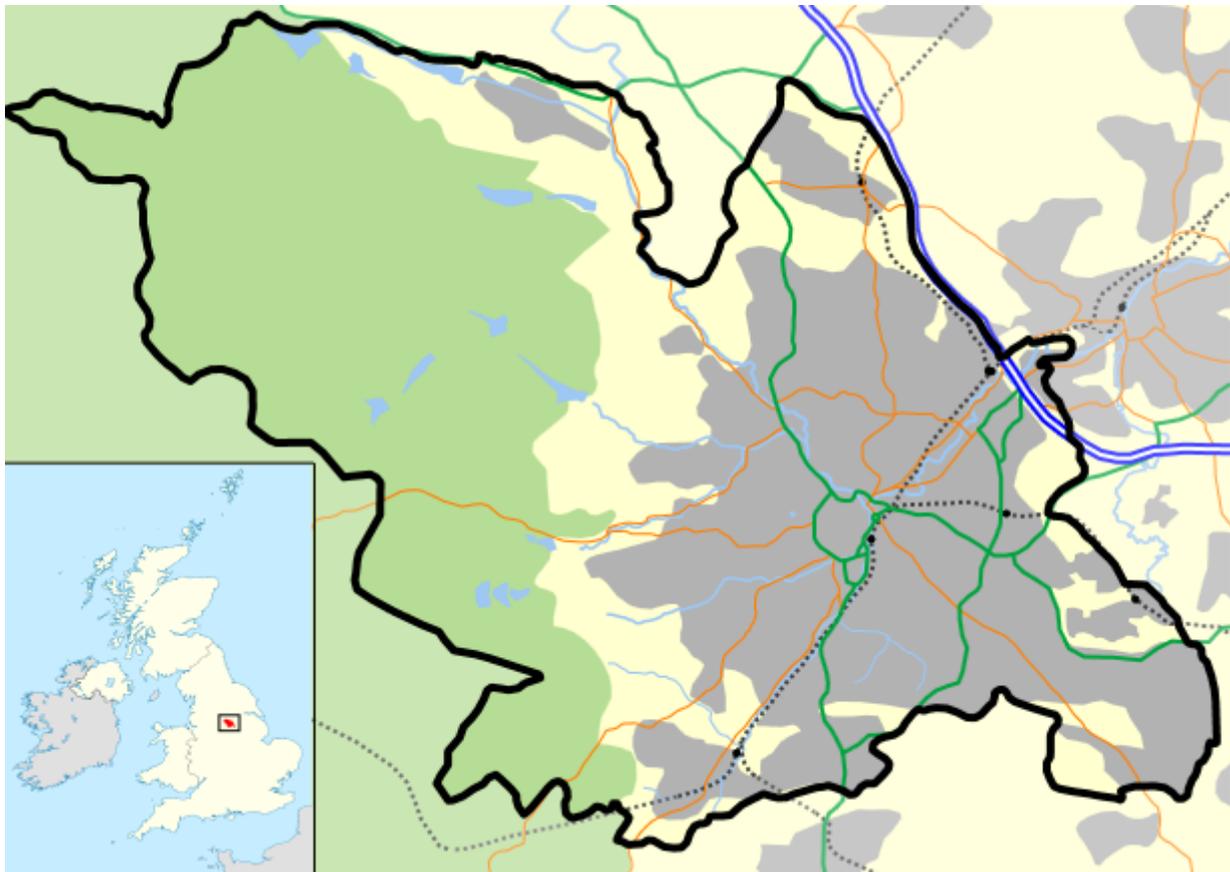
The map in Figure 1.1 above locates Sheffield within the U.K. and the map on the following page Figure 1.2 locates Burngreave within Sheffield. The ward is identified as an Urban Area of Multiple Deprivation one mile from the city centre. The map also indicates the divided nature of the city with the most deprived wards to the north and east and the most affluent to the south and west. The Sheffield Fairness Commission Report (2013, p.13), highlights how children from black and ethnic minority families are more likely to be living in poverty. Seventy-one percent of Somali children and sixty-six percent of Yemeni children are eligible for free school meals compared to eighteen percent of all children living in poverty across the city. Health inequalities across the city are stark. Life expectancy is ten years less for a woman living in Burngreave than for a woman living in the most affluent area. This research has also highlighted how women in Sheffield are much more likely to be living in poverty than men. The map in Figure 1.2 shows the Number 83 Bus Route and in the forty-minute journey from Ecclesall to Burngreave, a baby girl can expect to live ten years less only by virtue of her socio-

economic circumstances and the area where she was born, than a girl born only four miles away (p.13). Though this study has not engaged in research from a feminist perspective most of the participants were women, more than eighty-five percent and does therefore reflect the concerns and perspectives of women. Two hundred and eighty-four out of three hundred and twenty-five respondents were women and everyone who participated in the planning, development, analysis and later in interviews were also women. In Chapter Five one of the super connectors talks about 'the women's voice' and I return to this in Chapter Six when I reflect on the study.
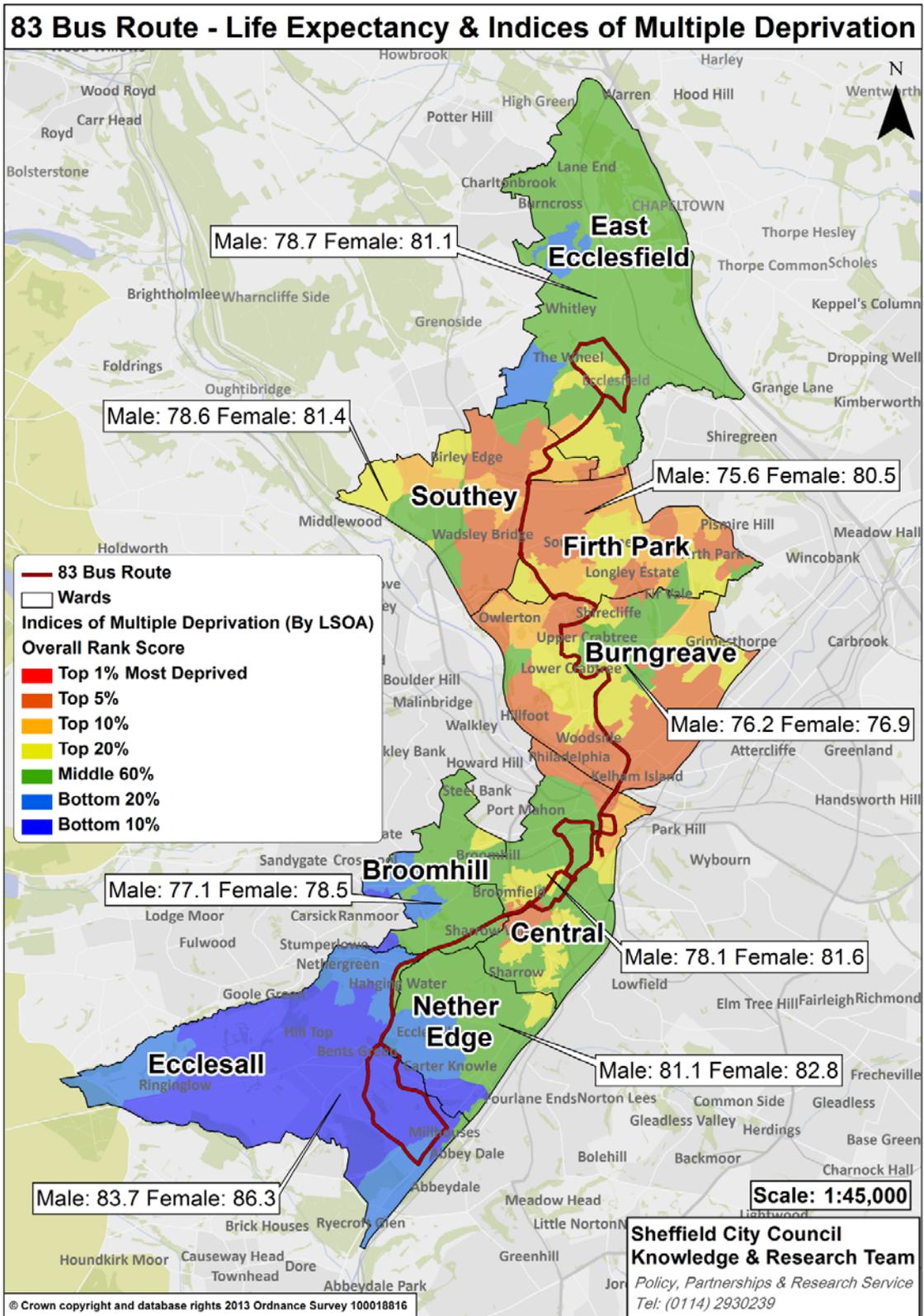
Figure1.2. 83 Bus Route Life Expectancy and Indices of Multi-deprivation. Fairness Commission Report p.14

The main research question is:

How does the English Language provision in Burngreave connect to the wider community?

This question was addressed through subsidiary questions using different research methods. How do students use English outside the classroom?

The question is simple and functional and is addressed through a questionnaire which was developed with students, tutors and providers involved with adult ESOL classes. Initially the group considered possible uses of English and simple questions to find out if students used English in a range of scenarios talking to different people. The questionnaire generated a range of responses and using specialist software these were analysed against factors such as English language class level and English language class provider. At another level the question above is more complex and the descriptive data generated further questions which were discussed in data driven dialogue sessions: collaborative analysis in groups with students, tutors and providers. The importance of networks became apparent and new questions emerged:

How are English language classes networked to the wider community?

How were adult education networks developed and sustained in Burngreave?

These questions were discussed in qualitative interviews with three 'super-connectors' in the community networks. Super-connectors are key people or connections important in building and maintaining networks. Networks are key to communication across the ward and these enabled the research to be planned, organised and implemented and the findings discussed and analysed.

THE BOUNDS OF THE STUDY

The study is an area study which has geographical boundaries of the political ward of Burngreave. The area boundaries were chosen because the information generated in this study was intended to be compatible with U.K. 2011 Census information for the same area. All the English language community classes for adults in the area were included in the study. Adults in this study are defined as students of age nineteen years and above. The study has

not considered short-term classes funded by the Employment Services. These are known as Job Centre Plus classes and at the time of the questionnaire there were thirteen such classes in one of the centres where the study was conducted. The classes are non-accredited and are compulsory for people claiming Job Seekers Allowance, a subsistence payment for unemployed people in the U.K. There are also Conversation Clubs in the area which were not included because these are not publicly funded and do not operate within the constraints of the Adult ESOL Curriculum.

English language learning and teaching is a well-researched area and the study is not concerned with classroom pedagogy. A recent study was conducted in Scotland in the Highlands and Islands (Berry and Johnson, 2014) which explored the relationship between the type of classroom learning and its impact on students' ability to integrate in the community but the students were living in areas where English was predominant and in areas very dissimilar to super-diverse urban areas. This is a local area study and does not interrogate the national pressures on English language teaching, focusing on local provision and how local organisation exists through changing funding regimes. Though no one directly involved in the study has training in community development work the legacy of strong and radical community development work can be seen in key structures in the area. The Burngreave Adult Learning Working Group, the community newspaper and The Adult Learning Guide are all the legacy of work initiated more than ten years ago. What is important in Burngreave is how these structures have persevered through funding cuts and have derived strength from organising and campaigning. The importance of community networks has been recognized through this study and key connectors have been identified and their roles examined.

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL COMMITMENT

My interest in this study developed after over twenty-five years of working in Adult Education in different capacities. In the last fifteen years working in Community Education teaching and developing English language and literacy classes, there have been considerable changes in the demographics of adults attending classes. The 1999 Asylum Act implemented a policy of 'dispersal' (Stewart, 2012 p.25) for people who came to the U.K. seeking asylum. Until 1999, 'asylum seekers' were free to choose where they wanted to settle while their asylum claim was processed. After 1999 they were dispersed across the country, mainly to areas where there was vacant housing stock because of unemployment. This provided an assessment

point for tutors and providers, as teaching approaches and resources had to be reviewed to meet the needs of a differing population. This was the beginning for teachers of the 'diversification of diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) and many approaches to teaching had to be questioned and restructured as the student population changed and increased. By the time the Adult National ESOL Curriculum was introduced in 2001, the student population had changed and the one size fits all of the national strategy, though it brought some structure to the ESOL sector was inadequate immediately as it did not meet the language requirement of a growing and changing student population. Though there were assessments which established a student's functional skill level in reading, writing, speaking and listening, the curriculum did not take into account learners' previous education, their speed of learning or their aims. The Curriculum is functional, aiming to provide everyday language and skills but does not offer the depth that is needed for students who have had no previous education nor does it offer the pace or the language specialisms that enable people, who are already skilled and trained to work or study within their areas of expertise, in England.

Against this background I developed accredited community based English language provision in Rotherham: outreach work from a sixth form college. I returned to Sheffield in 2006 to work with the Community Development Team at Sheffield City Council. My brief was to develop language, literacy and numeracy classes, part of a more skills focused government agenda and funding regime to replace a non-accredited community and leisure focused learning offer. I focused on developing English language first steps provision for adults, because higher level progression routes were provided by the FE College. Initially the Curriculum Team comprised me and a literacy tutor and we worked with an area based team to build on previous development work. The provision grew organically until all the schools in Burngreave had English language classes and each school had more than one level with some schools having four. Provision was developed across the whole city but was most successful in Burngreave. This was due both to a great need for English language classes for adults and a growing recognition of this in the Burngreave Schools. Alongside the provision I developed with the area planning officer, was provision already well developed in one of the schools and growing in another. Though there are reasons to criticise a "linear trajectory" for students' exams, accreditation can speed up and enhance their learning and we aimed to provide accreditation and choice even for the lowest level classes. Funding did not depend on exams

or accreditation but as a community development team we aimed to provide choice for students and clear progression routes.

One of the most important early contacts I made was with the editor of the local community newspaper, and together we developed a course called Writing for the Community Newspaper. This connection played a major role in networking the English Language classes with the wider community and that process has been logged through students' published writing. When my post was made redundant in 2010 alongside eight other Community development posts across Sheffield, my interest in research was generated both to understand and record what had happened in Burngreave. Because I had held a coordinating role, tutors and students suggested I wrote a report about the provision and consequently sent me letters and students writing about the classes. Great value had evidently been placed in the provision and the speed with which the local authority team was closed down meant we had not had time to evaluate the work. A serendipitous conversation with my now supervisor, enabled me to formulate and apply for a research grant from the Economic and Social Research Council and to embark on this project. The research reflects my commitment to the work of initiating and supporting English language classes in Burngreave. At a fundamental level, English is necessary to access services including emergency services and is part of a basic right to safety and security and I regarded the research opportunity as a way to support these human rights. Language ideology and more complex and nuanced understandings of language hierarchies in a super-diverse community have become fascinating to me but I have tried to maintain that these interests serve my initial commitment to ensuring that at a fundamental level, individuals have their basic needs met.

TYPE OF STUDY

The study uses quantitative and qualitative research methods within principles of community research. According to Goodson and Phillimore (2010, p.489), "Unlike traditional approaches to research in which researchers generate research themes and interpret findings, the community research approach aims to empower community members to shape and have some ownership of the research agenda."

Community research therefore entails valuing community knowledge at every stage of the research process. In this study in Burngreave community members: students, tutors and

providers have been involved in planning the research process, in developing the research tools, in generating data, in analysing data, and in interpreting findings. This has been done using a questionnaire interview, in data driven dialogue sessions conducted in collaboration with community members and in qualitative interviews. Goodson and Phillimore (2012) illustrate how different types of community research can have different levels of community involvement. However, there are considerations concerning participation which vary depending on the time and commitment and resources which are available to community members and within bounds of the study. This will be further discussed within the Literature Chapter, the Methodology Chapter and in the Reflections Chapter. Methodology is important in this study as research approaches were developed in relation to super-diversity. I consider the role of the university researcher in relation to collaborative research and community knowledge, and though I brought skills and knowledge to the field from university training and a developing academic knowledge, my perspective remained with the community as I continued to work as a teacher and curriculum developer throughout the period of the research.

ADDRESSING THE QUESTION

"As scholars of humans in society and culture, our research instruments demand perpetual reality checking…methods that were adequate yesterday are not guaranteed to be adequate tomorrow." (Blommaert and van de Vijver, 2013, p.1). By acknowledging the super-diverse nature of the community where this research was undertaken, it was necessary to be flexible and reflexive in approaching the study both in terms of research tools and the methods of communication.

The questionnaire is an example of what might be regarded as being a relatively inflexible research tool, but it was used in a way that was intended to be appropriate to the research environment. When asking questions, the priority for the interviewer was to ensure that each person understood the question and could respond authentically, rather than reproducing identical information prompts on every occasion. Sometimes questions needed to be repeated, explained or translated until the interviewer was satisfied that the question and response were understood by both people involved. Because I have been involved in such working practices over a number of years, I knew from a practical perspective that it was possible to develop and conduct and analyse collaboratively, it was only in the latter part of

the research process that I was able to articulate these language possibilities adequately in relation to emerging literature from the Tilburg Working Paper Series.

Using a survey questionnaire can be considered as a traditional positivist approach to research, which means approaching an issue as if it has a factual scientific objective answer. Because the data produced from the questionnaire were used to generate dialogue, it became clear there were few clear cut facts. Love (2008 p. 11) argues that "data have no meaning. Meaning is imposed through interpretation". By considering descriptive data from different perspectives, more than one interpretation was permitted and valued. Generally, tutors' and providers' interpretations were different to students' and within the groups more than one interpretation was expressed. Because the basis of the dialogue was a graph or a table, the contrasting perspectives were put into sharper relief than may have been possible from a more general discussion around issues of concern or interest.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is significant in terms of the knowledge gained about English language provision and about using a community collaborative methodology in a super-diverse area. There are four key works which position my research in relation to the literature. In terms of the findings of the study, of the knowledge gained, I had as a starting point, The Harehills ESOL Needs Neighbourhood Audit (HENNA) project (Simpson et al., 2011), which though conducted in an area superficially similar to Burngreave, but in Leeds another northern English city, has produced very dissimilar findings. The HENNA project developed a methodological toolkit which served as a point of departure to develop tools for research in Burngreave.

Phillimore et al. (2009) discusses a Birmingham study which aimed "to build the capacity of migrant and refugee community organisations (MRCOs) to collect evidence from their communities to help influence policy and service provision about refugees and their access to services, including English language provision". (p.1). This collaborative project influenced my approach. However, the size of the project and the resources available to it meant that by contrast my approach had severe limitations, such as the inability to pay community researchers. Because the Birmingham study was developed by university researchers who did not have a background in language education, their criticisms of ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) were biting. By this I mean that they did not mitigate any

negative findings with possible explanations but clearly presented the criticisms and enabled the community researchers to pursue their own criticisms further. The community researchers adopted a snowballing approach to finding interviewees, interviewing family and friends.

The students involved in the research in Burngreave were not all refugees but from many other immigrant statuses. They were involved in positive ways in supporting the English language provision in Burngreave but were also clear in their criticisms of some aspects of the provision. A collaborative approach to analysis enabled detailed discussion of provision which corroborated the Birmingham work to some extent. Students in Burngreave made distinctions between different categories of learners. They distinguished learners who needed faster and higher level input and those that required a slower groundwork approach because they had not been to school before or had limited previous education.

Significant to my study in Burngreave are the works of Vertovec (2007) and Blommaert and Vijvers (2013) who call for quantitative and factor analysis in areas of super-diversity to ensure that there is a baseline of information to move from and come back to. They argue this is required in order to understand exactly the conditions in the area. Blommaert and Van der Aa (2015) give the example of Bourdieu (1999) who used ethnography and extensive surveys to fully comprehend the complex circumstances he encountered in his work.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The argument of this thesis is from a constructionist perspective. Karnilowicz et al (2013) writing about a community research approach based on the Birmingham study above describes it as "emancipatory and embedded within the social justice model." From their perspective constructionism is viewed as "particularly powerful and useful as it is based on meaningful action fixed within the dynamic of social relations, social exchange, and engagement. Borrowing from Gergen (1985, p.266) social constructionism is identified as an inquiry into "explicating the processes by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world (including themselves) in which they live" p. 354. Broadly I argue that much can be gained from the perspective of those who shape and use community education provision in understanding how it operates within a superdiverse community.

Important to this study, is a consideration of what constitutes knowledge, the knowledge of community members and academic knowledge involved in co-production. Love (2008, p.11) in her approach to data states: "Data have no meaning. Meaning is imposed through interpretation. Frames of reference - the way we view the world - influence the meaning we derive from data." There is a clear distinction between data, information and knowledge. Numbers without a setting are not meaningful and data become information only when the context is known and understood. Community members were interested in generating data about the provision, initially to gain detailed knowledge to support the provision when it was under threat. However, as the research process developed they were able to express their criticism and concerns. Everyone involved in the research has been anonymised, so every name mentioned is a pseudonym.

The information focussed and articulated participants' views and beliefs into knowledge about the provision which was quite different from providers' knowledge about the provision. Initially when planning the research, two of the most involved students, Muna and Sara, said "Ask the teachers, the teachers will know" but later in the research they articulated criticisms of the organisation of the provision and of teaching techniques they had experienced. The data enabled much more focused dialogue but also gave those involved in analysis a firm basis for their judgements. Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015, p.11) discuss the value of long-term field work. They were involved with social workers and community organisations in practical work and in "ethnographic monitoring" in areas of super-diversity. They ask "So what happens when ethnographers make things explicit? What sort of knowledge do we see emerging? To us, this is a question of rethinking the concept of 'theory'."

They argue for an understanding of what Bourdieu (1980) describes as a 'sens practique' in other words the experience or good practice of social workers. They explain that this 'sens practique' can become "expertise" shaped by the ethnographers' observations and understandings. "The ethnographic presence turned people's ideas, routines and beliefs into an epistemic tool that generates 'theory'. Knowledge was shaped by finding and co-constructing a logic for knowledge that was already there." (Van der Aa and Blommaert, 2015, p.12.)

In Burngreave, the process of collaborative data-driven dialogue had a similar effect for the people involved and enabled us to "formulate counter hegemonic knowledge" as Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015, p. 14) describe. After my first dialogue with students they were keen for me to talk to another group of students. The data shaped and validated their knowledge and they were purposively pursuing a theory about the provision and wanted me to see further evidence.   This happened in relation to other aspects of the data analysis too. Network concepts (Calderelli and Catanzaro, 2012) enabled community members to analyse and identify their roles in relation to each other. The editor of the community newspaper once said "I'm not a hub but I know who the hubs are" and another community worker at a celebration event looked over and said "the super-connectors" and took their photo. These are minor but clear examples of how research changed the way that people thought and spoke. Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015, p14) also talk about a false distinction between researcher and researched and this was one of the major difficulties I have experienced in researching and working in my own area. They say: "Creation of knowledge always takes place through a communicative process…we need to work in our respective fields with both immediate and long-term feedback." Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015, p.13).

 As soon as the research process began in Burngreave I was concerned to share and verify and validate findings. Some findings had immediate impact for the provision but at the same time I was aware of an academic pressure to 'get it right' and be polished in my ideas and words before I could speak. Fortunately, I was not constrained by the people in the community and our dialogue has remained dynamic throughout the time of the research but initially I was unsure if I should be talking about what was emerging from the study. Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015, p.12) discuss the "process of co-constructing a logic for knowledge that was already there". This idea had resonance for me - as well as for other people in the community and underlines the dynamic nature of a study in a developing field where ideas are moving quickly. Sometimes I tried to stop reading in order to write more but have always been rewarded by more reading in my understanding of the research. In Burngreave the data generated from the questionnaire and the dialogue about the data, served to validate and focus existing knowledge in addition to generating new knowledge.

AN AREA STUDY: BURNGREAVE IN SHEFFIELD

Sheffield is an industrial city in the North of England with a population of approximately half a million people. It is England's fourth largest city, with a history in the steel industry and cutlery manufacturing. According to Blunkett in Thomas et al. (2010, p.10),

> It is a microcosm and emblematic of the divide that exists in England between wealth and health on the one hand and poverty and inequality on the other. Economic, social and community devastation hit Sheffield in the 1980s, when tens of thousands of jobs were lost in high-skilled steel and engineering within a very short period of time. The social impact, as well as that on the incomes of the households affected, was profound.

The retail and service sector has expanded in recent years and the city is home to two large universities and four major hospitals with national specialisms. "It has made enormous strides in the last decade in reforming its economy, in improving its health outcomes and its educational achievement" (Fairness Commission, 2013, p.8) However Lee et al. (2014, p.2) report that Sheffield has serious inequalities observing that,

> The benefits of growth in innovative, knowledge-based sectors will not automatically trickle down to households in poverty. There is no guarantee that all citizens will benefit from growth in their local economy and growth may not reach all parts of a city.

As English language provision, for Sheffield residents, is being reduced by government cuts to funding, high level English language provision for international students is expanding, bringing vast amounts of revenue into Sheffield Hallam and Sheffield Universities. There are undoubtedly huge gains for the city from international students (Oxford Economics, 2013) but as the 2011 Census data indicates, English language issues for residents are not insurmountable and would require a relatively low resource input by comparison.

The city is divided into 28 electoral wards. The inequalities in Sheffield are not dissimilar to inequalities in many U.K. cities but what exacerbates the issues in Sheffield is a geographical divide between rich and poor. The richest wards are in the southwest and the poorest wards are in the northeast. In practical terms this means that life is quite different from one end of the city to the other. Burngreave is the political ward in Sheffield closest to the city centre. It spans from Spital Hill to the Northern General Hospital. It is an area of mixed housing and contains some of the most densely populated areas in Sheffield.

Inequality in Sheffield is "deep and persistent" (Farness Commission, 2013 p.5) and while the Fairness Commission was researching, cuts were being made to services which hit the poorest wards disproportionately. Hallam ward, the richest ward in Sheffield was largely unscathed in terms of job losses in the recession but Burngreave has lost a high proportion of jobs because of its reliance on the low paid temporary and zero hour contracts of the retail and service industries and a disproportionate level of local services. Burngreave is one of the most deprived wards in Sheffield and in the 10% most deprived wards in England. According to Hastings et al. (2015, p.1),

> The most deprived areas have borne the brunt of the cuts. On one key measure, the most deprived English authorities have had a level of cut nearly six times higher than the cut experienced in the least deprived areas.

Burngreave is also the most culturally diverse ward in Sheffield with 62% of its population from black and minority ethnic communities (Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013). It is a super-diverse ward. "Super-diversity is a term intended to capture a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything many migrant-receiving countries have previously experienced" (Vertovec, 2010, p.83). Unemployment is clearly a problematic issue in Burngreave because employment is related to income and to health. The number of people claiming Jobseekers Allowance in Burngreave is 5.5 % against a figure of 2.7% for Sheffield and 1.7% for England. This masks a higher figure of 25% who are economically inactive due to ill-health or disability or because they are looking after someone ill or disabled (ONS, 2013). This contrasts with a national figure of 11% of people in similar circumstances. In Burngreave, 50% of working people are employed in personal services, customer services, factories and elementary occupations with the corresponding insecurity and low wages. Nearly 30% of the population have no qualifications and 56% have qualifications below Level 2 which is 20% below the national average (ONS, 2013). This can be explained in some part as the result of children leaving school with less than the standard five GCEs year on year. There are many and complex reasons for this but it has an impact on the type of employment residents can access and has an impact on income and health in the area. This is not a criticism of Burngreave schools because in terms of their value added figure Burngreave secondary schools rank amongst the highest in the city (BBC, 2013)

Language is an important consideration in terms of access to services, employment and for service provision. Out of a population of 27,481 people, 18,834 people report speaking English as their main language and there are 4,829 people in Burngreave despite English not being their first language, report speaking it well or very well. So in the most diverse area in Sheffield, 92% have no reported language problems.

Figure 1.3 Proficiency in English (Office for National Statistics, 2013)

Proficiency in English in Burngreave Ward

- cannot speak English
- cannot speak English well
- can speak english well
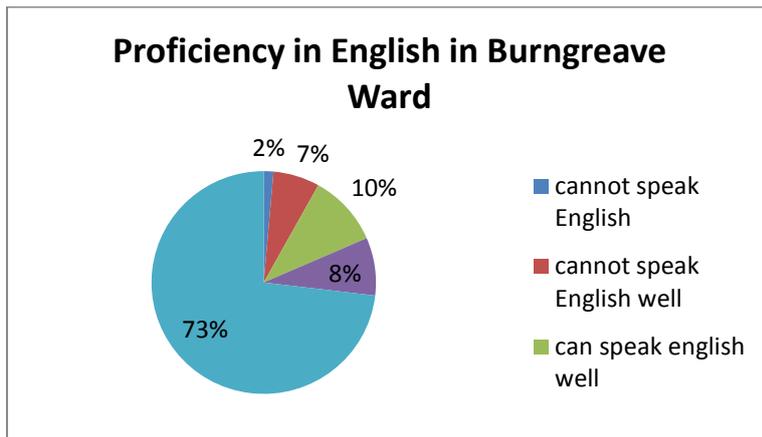
 Burngreave has the highest proportion of under-fives in the city and the highest number of under - twenties of any ward in the city. Burngreave under-fives provision and primary education is a clear focal point in community life and every primary school in Burngreave has English language classes for adults. This is not a feature of local education policy but is the result of community based development work and an organic process which has taken place over a period of more than ten years. There is a high value placed on these classes which is evidenced by students' sense of ownership, expressed clearly whenever the classes have been threatened by funding cuts. In this excerpt from the community newspaper (2010) one of the students involved in the collaborative research writes,

> For the last three months we have been fighting to keep our ESOL classes. At last we got some good news this month from the Council. Our classes will now be able to run twice a week as normal. There were a lot of people who stood with us and gave support, thank you to everyone who came with us and helped us. Thank you also to the Council for returning our classes

I use further examples of students' writing in the community newspaper (anonymised) to illustrate the roles that classes, teachers and students play in the Burngreave community.

In the literature review (p.134) I discuss language ideology as the driving force behind a culture in the British education system which has minimised the importance of mastering any language other than English. Woolard and Shieffelin (1994, p. 55) consider the importance of language ideology and are of the view that

> ideologies of language are significant for social as well as linguistic analysis because they are not only about language. Rather such ideologies envision and enact links of language to groups and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality and to epistemology. Through such linkages they underpin fundamental institutions.

Such a fundamental institution in Britain is the National Census which has been conducted the U.K. since 1801. The results of the language proficiency question (Figure 1.3) indicate that although language proficiency is an issue that needs to be addressed in Burngreave, that 2% of people above the age of three, cannot speak English is not an issue of large proportion. Burngreave is often characterised by the fact that 62% of its population are from minority ethnic communities as if it were an issue that should cause concern but we have to consider why this is perceived as problematic. Language is often featured as a problematic issue but clearly language is not a concern for the vast majority of residents.

Heller (2011), explores the relationship of language to nation state, and the role that language plays in legitimising stratification and inequality. Blackledge and Creese, (2010), argue for a social orientation to the study of linguistic practices and in agreement with Vertovec, (2010), argue for a critical perspective on multilingualism to challenge the dominant language ideology. It is their view that,

> In practice, the UK is multilingual, multicultural and pluralistic. In the beliefs and attitudes of the powerful however, debates about multilingualism have become a means of constructing social difference, as the privileging of English…above minority languages is ever more insistently imposed (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.3).

A nuanced understanding of language use, as in Blackledge and Creese's account would query the value of information in Figure 1.4 about main household language. The findings do not indicate the level of English spoken in households but only indicate that many of these households are multilingual. We have seen in Figure 1.3 that only 2% of people cannot speak English.

Figure 1.4 English as household language (Office for National Statistics, 2013)

English as Household Language in Burngreave Ward

- no people in household have English as main language 15%
- no 16+ but at least one -16 has English as main language 4%
- at least one 16+ 14%
- all people 16+have English as main language 67%
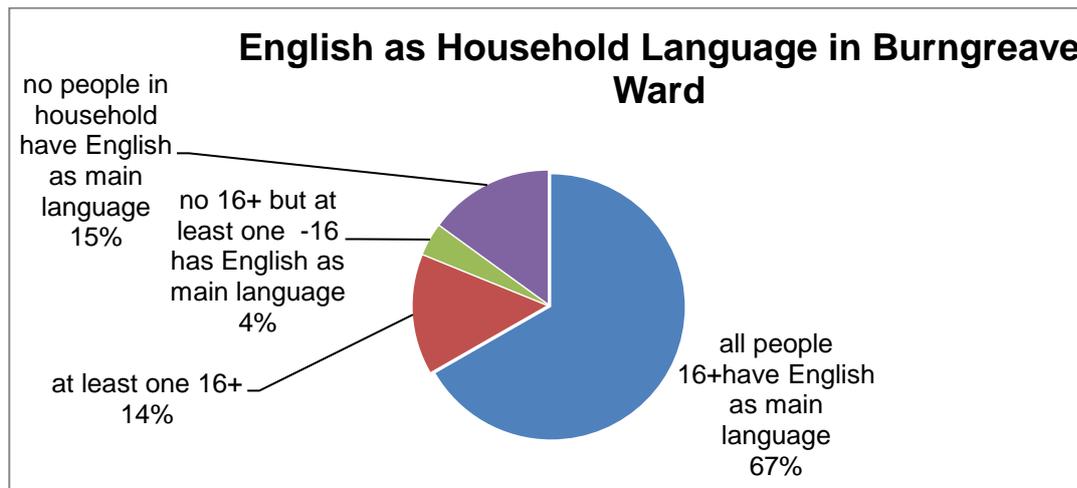
Only 3, 736 people aged over sixteen in Sheffield do not speak English and this figure of 1.7% includes children in statutory education who are having their language tuition needs met. Undoubtedly language proficiency has an impact on an individual's ability to secure employment and other services but there are many other factors involved such as gendered attitudes to work, other skills levels, previous employment, health and racism.

> The UK unemployment rate for May/June 2015 is 5.5%. The unemployment rate is 4.9% for white people compared to 10.2 for people from ethnic minority backgrounds. (McGuinness, 2015)

The Office for National Statistics explains the importance of the new questions about language in the 2011 Census.

> Language is an important defining characteristic of people's identity… and helps local authorities to target, deliver and facilitate the provision of public services, for example, to help identify the need for translation and the interpretation for providing English language [sic] (ONS, 2011)

It continues:

> In terms of employment, fewer than half (48%) of those 'non-proficient' in English were employed, compared with 72% of all usual residents aged 16 to 64. This was particularly evident for females, where around a third (34%) of those 'non-proficient' in English were in employment compared with 58% of women who were proficient in English. (ONS, 2011)

This grouping of statistics does not evidence a link between language and jobs because the gendered disparity which would suggest that other issues are involved in connecting people

to jobs. The population of Burngreave includes nearly 20% of people who arrived in the U.K. in the ten years preceding the 2011 Census, or over 80% who were born in the U.K. or have lived here more than 10 years. The number of immigration questions in the 2011 Census has increased to the extent that the it now takes four sheets of paper rather than three and Duke-Williams (2011, p.622) suggests that the nature of some of the questions have changed, to some extent, the nature of the form itself "from the Victorian ideal of a full and accurate count to targeting and disenfranchising recent immigrants". He explores each question but contends that it is not individual contentious questions which damage confidence in the census process but numbers and types of questions which change the nature of the process.

Figure 1.5 Year of arrival in the U.K. (Office for National Statistics, 2013)
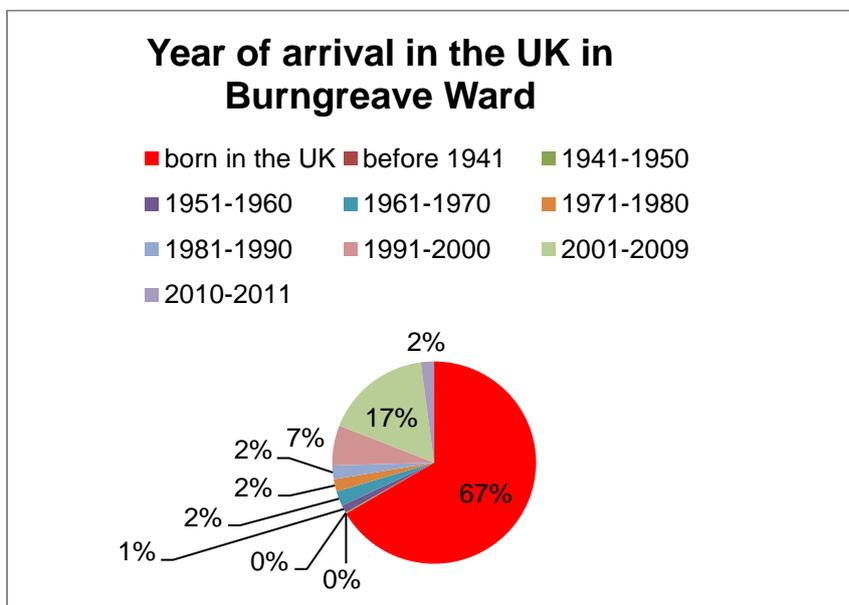
The concept of super-diversity encourages a perspective beyond crude grouping but in his discussion of new questions in the 2011 Census, Duke-Williams points out that classifications about language, ethnicity and religion "can create or support artificial grouping if used uncritically" (2011, p. 618). He argues that while such questions may be used to gauge the success of equal opportunity policies or enable the planning of services "questions focussing on ethnicity, language and migration…directly or unintentionally enforce a view that the population is composed of 'White British' and 'others'" (ibid).

In summary, the issues that Burngreave faces can be attributed in part to this 'othering' of communities which are not "White British". Issues relating to language education are not

insurmountable given appropriate funding and support and the enthusiasm for education within Burngreave is demonstrated both by individual students (see p. 132 in Chapter Four about individual motivation) and groups (see p. 164, and 189, about campaigns to support and sustain existing services). However, Burngreave has been adversely and disproportionately affected by government spending cuts and a recent report from the Social and Political Economic Research Institute (Berry and White, 2014, p.5) confirms this

> In effect, Sheffield is a divided city. In general, it is not among the most deprived councils. Yet it has many socio-economic problems associated with deprivation – and local authority budgets connected to these problems have been significantly cut.

This can adversely affect students (see p.145) as restricted access to education provision and to the job market can have an impact on motivation.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis has a standard structure. Chapter Two comprises a literature review in four sections. The first section is about super-diversity as it relates to community language provision. The second section on community and collaborative research focusses on two research projects which shaped and informed my study. The third section is about English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) which is the phrase used in England for English language provision for adult migrants. The fourth section is about community collaborative research and focuses on networks and the role that English language provision can play within community networks.

Chapter Three addresses methodology and method. The methodology is a community collaborative approach based on a participative paradigm which recognizes the value of community knowledge from a constructionist perspective. A detailed account of the process of planning, organising and conducting each stage of the research: the questionnaire, the data analysis and the interviews is given.

Chapter Four focuses on the results of the questionnaire interviews: Firstly, baseline information using descriptive data from the questionnaire is presented and then the results of collaborative analysis of the data which was undertaken with four groups of community members. These groups were a provider group, two groups of students and a tutor group which engaged in a process of data driven dialogue about the quantitative findings.

Chapter Five presents information gathered about community venues where the English language classes took place and this provision is considered in relation to three models. The second section is the results of quantitative interviews with three super connectors from the adult education networks in Burngreave.

Chapter Six is a reflection on the study and comprises two sections. The first is an analysis in terms of the thesis argument, I return to the literature and my presentation in early parts of the thesis. In the discussion section I summarise the key findings and explore the wider aspects of the findings in terms of new knowledge and implications for related fields of work. The final section is recommendations and the conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature about network theory and how it relates to adult English language education provision and to community development. The first section considers literature which contextualises the study focusing on super-diversity (Vertovec, 2006) and on language ideology. The second section discusses theoretical approaches to community and collaborative research drawing on a constructionist paradigm and then considers two influential research projects, one in Harehills in Leeds (Simpson, 2013) which served as an important reference point for this study in terms of research subject and methodology and the second a collaborative project in Birmingham (Phillimore, 2013) which also researched English language provision. The third section considers literature mostly from a critical perspective about English language provision in the UK and identifies a gap in research about the wider context of provision, beyond the classroom. The final section explores literature about networks from three perspectives initially a visual and scientific approach, then a social science perspective and finally the concept of networks in community development.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

SUPER-DIVERSITY

Though this research takes place in one locality the backdrop to the study of community language provision is globalisation. Adults in English language classes reflect the 'diversification of diversity' Vertovec (2006) in the Burngreave area where over 70 languages are spoken (ONS, 2013). "Super-diversity is a term intended to capture a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything many migrant-receiving countries have previously experienced." (Vertovec, 2010, p.83). This term was first used to describe urban centres in Britain where patterns of immigration have changed considerably in the last 20 years but the term has resonance worldwide and has been used by academics in many fields to refocus their understanding of a rapidly changing global environment. "Such a condition is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants" (Vertovec, 2010, p.83).

To consider what this means and why it is important, Vertovec (2007, p.1027) explains how multiculturalism has dominated policy over the last 30 years in Britain.

Multicultural policies have had as their overall goal the promotion of tolerance and respect for collective identities…through supporting community associations and their cultural activities, monitoring diversity in the workplace, encouraging positive images in the media and other public spaces and modifying public services…in order to accommodate culture-based differences of value language and social practice. While developed in the 1960s onwards, most of these policies and goals still obtain today.

In Sheffield, the notion of super-diversity remains in the academic sphere. It is not a term in ordinary usage and policies and goals of multi-culturalism which Vertovec (2010), explains as the promotion of tolerance and respect for group identities, particularly of immigrants and ethnic minorities" still inform government and local government policy which remains unchanged in spite of considerable changes to immigration patterns. This is reflected in funding to local community groups organised by ethnicity, by ethnic monitoring and by approaches to new immigrants which focus primarily on their country of origin to mediate welfare or support needs (Sheffield City Council, 2015). The history of this approach can be understood as one of the legacies of colonialism with post-colonial citizenship arrangements. "Large and eventually well organised communities were formed, particularly through the establishment of community associations and places of worship" (Vertovec, 2007, p.1027).

Two of the most successful community organisations, the Yemeni Community Association and Sheffield and District African Caribbean Community Association, have roots in Burngreave and in immigration to Sheffield in the 1950s. It will be shown in later chapters that though community organisations have ethnic and nationalistic roots, their reach and their understanding extends well beyond these affiliations. This is demonstrated in their response to the 'super-diversity' of the community around them, often best-placed geographically and ideologically to offer appropriate support to new migrants.

Vertovec (2007) explains why grouping individuals into country of origin or ethnic heritage groupings is not adequate because in the last ten years, immigrants have come to Britain from many more countries than previously and the range of nationalities, languages, backgrounds and purposes reveal more differences than can be catered to by grouping people by nationality. The following variables have been identified by Vertovec (2007, p.1025) as also relevant for policy and for service provision: language, religion, migration channels and immigration statuses, employment, gender, age, time and place and transnationalism. Because each of these variables has relevance for language provision policy and planning it is

worth considering them in more detail in order to move beyond the multicultural model which has been criticised from both the right and left of the political spectrum (Vertovec, 2010, p.83).

Until the beginning of the 1990s net migration was out of the U.K. but has reversed since 1994 to a net inflow (Vertovec, 2007, p.1028). The three main reasons given for this increased migration to Britain are firstly "Britain's high economic performance", secondly an increase in asylum seekers "directly linked with forced migration factors and conflict situations" and thirdly migration from Eastern Europe "even before EU accession". (Vertovec, 2007, p.1029). Importantly Vertovec points out that this 'new migration' is from a vast range of different countries of origin.

Many of these factors impact upon provision of language services including language classes for adults and children, support for mainstream statutory educational provision and interpretation and translation services. In relation to a theoretical discussion of sociolinguistics and language ideology, super-diversity leads us away from understanding language, as contingent upon membership of a group and more upon individuals as being unique in relation to a repertoire of language use. In terms of language ideology however notions of super-diversity serve to complicate hierarchies of language values. In addition to the complications of the sheer number of languages and other factors involved, there are also issues of impermanence as different factors carry different weight with different people in different contexts. This is the "flow and flux" that the post-modern sociolinguistics use to introduce their work (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

Language ideology is the driving force behind the English language teaching across former British colonial territories and behind the monoglot culture in the British education system which has minimised the importance of mastering any other language except English. Woolard and Shieffelin (1994, p.55) consider the importance of language ideology:

> ideologies of language are significant for social as well as linguistic analysis because they are not only about language. Rather such ideologies envision and enact links of language to groups and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality and to epistemology. Through such linkages they underpin fundamental institutions.

This means that in addition to carrying meaning at a fundamental level, language carries meaning at many other levels because of ideas linked to the language. Bourdieu (1999, p.66) says "it is rare in everyday life for language to function as a pure instrument of communication" and that languages are "signs of wealth" and "signs of authority". Here Bourdieu is introducing the notion of a hierarchy of languages, because if languages operate as signs of wealth and power they will clearly also distinguish who has more wealth and who has more authority. This is developed further by considering how we value languages. He writes: "Utterances receive their value (and their sense) only in relation to a market, characterized by a particular law of price formation." (p.66). He explains the price formation depends on the interaction not just between the two people involved and their capacity to impose the "criteria of appreciation" but on the corresponding relationship between the groups the individuals represent in this interaction. Heller (2011, p.189), explores the relationship of language to nation state, and the role that language plays in legitimising stratification and inequality. She views language also as an agent to progress beyond the nation state and monolingual concepts, towards post-nationalism. Blommaert (2010, p.1) also goes beyond the concept of language linked to nation state and contends that "globalisation forces sociolinguists to unthink its classic distinctions and biases and to rethink itself as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, framed in terms of transcontextual networks flows and movements".

Sociolinguistics with a focus on language ideology and how this operates in multilingual and multicultural communities, can serve to illuminate what it means to learn a language as an adult in a super diverse community. The networks for communication which are open to adult learners are diverse and changing as the economic situation affects training and job

opportunities and as educational and social policy is influenced by wider political issues. Adult immigrants bring with them experience and skills which will undoubtedly be differently valued in a new country. Concern about inequality has been the impetus for the research in Burngreave and this has been put into sharp relief against a background of globalisation. We might ask 'Why learn English at all as an adult?' Because most adults have access to other languages and other language communities, this is a practical and legitimate question. Adult learners in the U.K. are adversely affected by the privileging of English above other languages. This places a high value on the ability to speak English and a low value on languages they already speak, while access to the means to learn English is very restricted. The value of the idea of 'super-diversity' is that other markets and values prevail. It is a positive term (Vertovec, 2010).

Communication patterns have changed across the world and so have ways of considering language. Instead of understanding communities as separate definable units and languages in a similar way, the idea of super-diversity encourages a more flexible consideration of communities and languages as being fluid and dynamic. It is important here to be clear that questioning the modernist Saussarean concept of language in a multi-lingual and super-diverse context does not entail the rejection of all conventional understandings of language and languages. While enumerating languages might not be enough for a detailed understanding of what is happening in everyday discourse in a super diverse setting, for individuals who are expanding their repertoire and for language learning practitioners assessing a situation, there is a core of understanding which is useful when an individual says: 'I can speak French' or 'I can read English'. A recognition that languages cannot be contained or constrained or owned by a people or a territory does not entail that there is no sense or understanding in my saying that I can or cannot speak French. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) give a clear and structured account of the post-modern position in sociolinguistics calling ultimately for detailed ethnographic research which can address the multi-scalar and fluid phenomenon.

> The contexts in which people communicate are partly local and emergent, continuously readjusted to the contingencies of action unfolding from one moment to the next, but they are also infused with information, resources, expectations and experiences that originate in, circulate through, and/or are destined for networks and

processes that can be very different in their reach and duration (as well as in their capacity to bestow privilege, power or stigma). (p.9)

Within this Blommaert and Rampton (2011) allow room for reflexivity which is quite distinct from more conventional approaches to linguistics where the knowledge of research participants is set aside as folk knowledge with little interest for the linguist. In positivist linguistics the researcher is interested in the 'corpus' the body of text rather than the speaker.

> Most of the extrinsic resources flowing into the nexus of communication may be taken for granted, tacitly structuring the actions that participants opt for, but metapragmatic reflexivity (2.3.4) means that participants also often orient to the 'multi-scalar', 'transpositional' implications of what's happening. After all, messages, texts, genres, styles and languages vary conspicuously in their potential for circulation – itself a major source of stratification – and sometimes this can itself become the focus of attention and dispute, as people differ in their normative sense of what should carry where. (p.10)

This is not just an important consideration for the way we study language but is also important to realize the role that language plays in shaping society and the agency of the speaker. In such a super-diverse area in England a combination of colonial history, the global value of English and the monoglot nature of British people means that English assumes a higher power and value differential than ever before. Languages such as French, Urdu and Arabic though high status in many parts of the world hold little to no value outside of the immediate local of immigrant communities. This is particularly true in a predominantly working class and divided city like Sheffield, where the arrangement described by Heller (2013) of language segregation in the workplace held true of Yemeni and Kashmiri steelworkers working in noisy environments where instructions were translated and mediated by a few bilingual charge hands.

Cadier and Mar-Molinero (2012) explore two workplaces in Southampton. The first, a NHS hospital, presents a picture of stress and chaos such that solutions to communication issues seem inconceivable and problems insurmountable. However, the second study of the international airport in Southampton reminded of my own super-diverse workplace where the willingness to communicate and get a job done supersedes all language barriers. British language educational policy is wholly inadequate for these multi-lingual settings and almost

every other nationality is better served by their language education and the attitudes that go with it than the U.K. monoglot system.

Blackledge and Creese (2010) argue for a social orientation to the study of linguistic practices and their meanings. In recent research (2010) into complementary schools in four cities in England, they acknowledge that the multi-lingual practice they observed is "usual, patterned and unexceptional" in the lives of the children in the complementary schools. And in agreement with Blommaert's ideas they identify that it "was practice of significance in offering possibilities for opening up and shifting ideologies of homogeneity in a plural world" (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.3). Though the practices observed were 'everyday' in the lives of the children, they represented patterns of language use more varied and dynamic than conventional understanding of the way bilingual children move 'between' languages. They also argue for a critical perspective on multilingualism to challenge the dominant language ideology:

> In practice, the UK is multilingual, multicultural and pluralistic. In the beliefs and attitudes of the powerful however, debates about multilingualism have become a means of constructing social difference, as the privileging of English (and a certain variety of English) above minority languages is ever more insistently imposed. (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.3)

This is a socially situated linguistics, reflecting changing roles and identities, which use a variety of 'languages' "with the speaker rather than the language to be placed at the heart of the interaction, and linguistic practices to be situated in their social, political and historical conditions" (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.122). Though the research involved children, it has application for adults and their existing and developing linguistic resources.

Blackledge and Creese (2010) have combined Vertovec's analysis from many and diverse relevant factors which produce the need for multiple considerations, into a post-modern blurring of boundaries between languages and between communities of multilingual individuals with a wide range of language resources. Blommaert and Dong (2013) provide linguistic detail of interactions in a super-diverse community in Belgium which indicates the need for a whole new theoretical framework to consider language use. Given the accuracy of Vertovec's diversification of diversity, and the intensified flows and movements across space and time of people, goods, messages and objects, that is globalisation, we cannot study

language using tools which do not recognize this movement. A snapshot alone will not do the job and that the study of language as artefact was not a true representation of a more dynamic phenomenon.

Theoretical Approaches to Community Research.

Given this background of globalisation and what it entails in terms of super-diversity and change, how can we approach research into community language provision? Goodson and Phillimore, (2010) explain that in practical terms a move towards community research recognises the particular skills and knowledge contained in the community being researched. In a super-diverse community these can relate to language and cultural understandings. From a theoretical point of view, "The community research approach has its roots in participatory appraisal and action research". (p. 490.) They explain that participatory research provides an alternative to a view of research which is objective and scientific by involving people who traditionally would be the subject of research, in the research process. Wellington (2000, p.14) states:

> It remains a mystery to me why those who work in education should attempt to aspire towards science when scientific methods, processes and codes of conduct at best are unclear and at worst lack the objectivity, certainty, logicality and predictability which are falsely ascribed to them.

What are traditional and scientific notions of research? How do participatory approaches challenge such notions? Goodson and Phillimore (2012) distinguish community research from other research approaches which have more complex approaches and agenda. Community research "involves communities in the production of knowledge" (Goodson and Phillimore, 2012, p.3). The type of knowledge produced will depend on what kinds of tools are developed and how they are used. The umbrella term 'community research' does not pre-empt discussions about the nature and purpose of the research process. But it takes research out of the laboratory and the institution and into the research field, the community. Some fields are better represented than others in community research. The Institute for Community Research in Hartford, Connecticut published a conference submission book of 35 case studies of Community-based Collaborative Research (Institute for Community Research, 2007) which were drawn from a variety of fields including health, housing, capacity building and youth development but there were no examples from the field of education. Collaborations in education are most often between researchers and teachers or between different institutions. Where students are involved in research they are most often students in Higher Education.

Which theoretical tools can enable an understanding of community language provision in a super-diverse community? Adults in community educational settings learning English are rarely participants in the research process and are sometimes not consulted. Recent research in Leeds (Simpson et al., 2011, p.36) asks teachers rather than students what they consider to be students' barriers to learning. In this research in Burngreave one of our student participants said "Ask the teachers, the teachers will know." Power differentials which are present in society can be magnified in educational settings. In community research one of the purposes is to address that power differential and value the knowledge of community members.

In order to approach both the practical aspects of research and an understanding of the information and knowledge that is generated, it is important to acknowledge the complexity entailed in researching in a super-diverse community. This complexity is theoretical as well as practical and acknowledging the work of Bjarnason (2006) who has written and researched extensively on social disability studies, I draw on a theoretical toolbox to work with this complexity. Karnilowicz et al. (2014) discuss the implications of working as community researchers within a social constructionist epistemology. My position, similar to Bjarnason (2006) is that because of the complexity of what is being researched, understanding can be enhanced by more than one theoretical approach. Her research operates within a constructionist paradigm and draws firstly on a social constructionism to consider knowledge production, secondly on Bourdieu's concepts of cultural and social capital to understand how exclusion relates to broader cultural aspects of society and thirdly on a post structuralism to interrogate the way that language produces as well as expresses difference. (p.13)

 Freire (1993) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) consider the way that power manifests itself in educational settings and illuminate different aspects of the situation. Action research and participatory action research trace their roots to Freire (1993) because they involve people as agents in the research process. Research is framed within an agenda for action and change. Freire is interested in emancipatory education for the oppressed and considers that a 'banking' system of education where the teacher is the person with all the knowledge 'narrating' appropriate knowledge to 'oppressed' student is what maintains an oppressive system.

the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. To achieve this end, the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of "welfare recipients" (Freire, 1993, p.55)

There is much to be gained from considering the English adult English language provision from a Freirean perspective, firstly because the provision is aimed at 'welfare recipients' who are not in 'legitimate' paid work or who are in a low paid job which is subsidized by welfare benefits. These restrictions and the fact there are few classes at higher levels, prevent adult immigrants from making fast transitions to higher levels of education and into higher paid jobs. The curriculum does not foster critical engagement but instead a functional participation much as Freire describes in the 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'. Freire advocates a problem solving approach to education where teachers and students negotiate the curriculum and learn together in a way which transforms the lives of students and teachers. Friere's approach has had applications in other fields of social science research notably in the fields of health and housing where people's lived experience has been perceived as crucial in evaluating and changing services. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) are critical of how power is wielded through education by the dominant classes

This privileged instrument (education) of the bourgeois society which confers on the privileged the supreme privilege of not seeing themselves as privileged manages the more easily to convince the disinherited that they owe their scholastic and social destiny to their lack of gifts or merits, because in matters of culture absolute dispossession excludes awareness of being dispossessed. (p.210)

It is Bourdieu who is quoted by post-modern sociolinguists Heller (2010) and Blommaert (2013) but unlike Freire, he does not propose an alternative but instead by mastering the symbolic power of the language of the bourgeoisie, he seeks to challenge the system by working through the system to a position of power.

How is this translated in education and in educational research? Action research in education functions by entering into dialogue with adult students and listening to their concerns but ultimately is not Freirean because the way it is used is only a more palatable way of working within the system. Action research conducted in the conventional classroom cannot lead to emancipatory action or change within the confines of a functional curriculum and the government funding system. The approach of Bourdieu would be to engage with the system in such a way that seeks to gain as much as possible, while recognising the inherent inequity.

It is only by engaging with power that we can become powerful. By contrast, Friere's alternative community education, though empowering at a local level, would not be able to challenge the mechanisms of power except through a revolutionary process. As a constructivist structuralist, though Bourdieu thinks that human are agents in their own world, that they construct the world around them by their words and their actions, he also holds that the structures we create restrict and control our actions. His approach to the question of power is to understand the power structures and to master the language of power and to expose inequalities in the process.

Goodson and Phillimore (2012) discuss how community research seeks to empower community members. Figure 2.1. illustrates how different types of community research can have different levels of community involvement. It shows a continuum which includes the stage community members become involved and the level of their involvement. This is indicative of levels of power and control within the research process. It identifies as high in power and control a process where community members identify the research problem and use the findings of the research process. In conducting research which aims to value community knowledge in super-diverse areas, it is important to identify and support ways of communication and of analysing data which recognizes the diversity of language and how visual tools can clarify research findings. Considering the research stages where community researchers are involved is a beginning in redressing power imbalances and practical multi-dimensional communicative approaches are also necessary for community members to participate in research with confidence. The diagram below is from the work of Goodson and Phillimore (2012) and their approach to research involved a substantial project with refugee communities in Birmingham.

In a later article with other collaborators (Karnilowicz et al., 2014, p.356) Phillimore further explores the strength that community research can derive from being clearly embedded in a social constructionist framework, focusing on the authenticity and quality of data rather than concentrating on positivist notions of reliability and generalisability based on procedural aspects of research. Within a constructionist framework the positionalities of the researchers are importantly made explicit and valued as sources of lived knowledge and expertise. "Framing community research within a constructionist epistemology allows for the value of subjective reality to override restrictive positivist assumptions around validity and reliability".

They emphasize the importance of community participants' involvement in terms of access to knowledge of marginalised communities balanced against the criteria which policy makers and funders require to justify changes in policy and funding mechanisms. Ultimately if social justice is what motivates community research then research approaches which better enable access to resources are the most effective measured against the end result though it must be acknowledged that a positive and collaborative research process can also have positive implication for those involved in addition to the community knowledge that is generated.

Figure 2.1 Power and Control

Figure 1.1 The relationship between community researchers' level of involvement and power and control
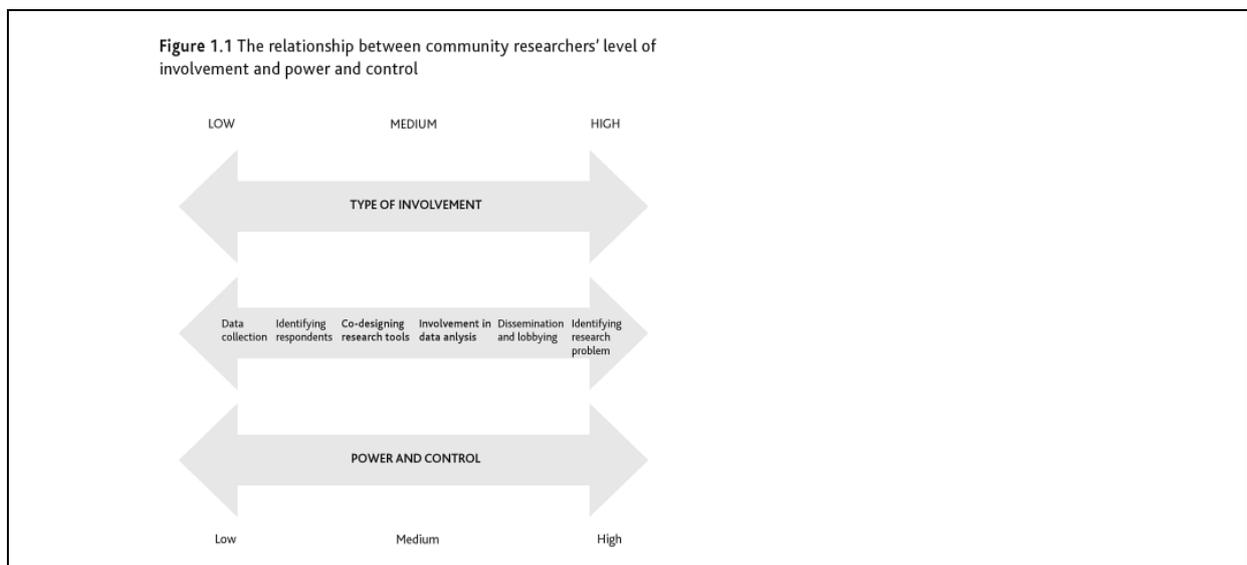
Goodson and Phillimore (2012) p.6 figure 1.1.

Though more involvement in research is strongly associated with more control there are many factors which can inhibit community involvement. One of these discussed by Hart (2015) in a conference in Sheffield is that community members may be interested in the research outputs rather than research process perhaps in a bid to access funding. Another factor which may weaken interest is a slow pace from generating data to producing findings of clear value and community research by its collaborative nature can involve more people on a longer time span. In contrast to project work, Northmore and Hart (2006) explore the way in which sustaining community /university relationships can lead to fruitful and more equable relationships:

> At the University of Brighton in the U.K., the Community University Partnership Programme (Cupp) has been working in the field of community engagement for

several years and Brighton is one of a small number of U.K. universities with an established institution-wide program supported by a dedicated structure. (p.5)

Hart and Wollf (2006) provide a conceptual and a practical basis to enhance the nature of research between academics and community members. They borrow from the work of Wenger et al. (2002) to apply a community of practice approach to the university/ community relationship. This approach is from a body of research based in Brighton University's extensive community engagement work based on practical experience and motivated by a desire to tackle the power imbalances in research between academics and community members. Hart and Northmore (2011, p.6) accept that there is a major challenge concerning "how to engage communities and individuals who are least likely to have had a formal relationship with higher education in a way that embodies genuine reciprocity.".

The research in Burngreave can be understood as stemming from an existing community of practice. "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wenger, 2012, p.2) and my role as both a community practitioner and researcher could be considered a brokering role (Hart and Wolff, 2006, p.19) between community and university knowledge. Nyden et al. (2008), outline the commonalities between academics and community activists by focusing on their motivation:

> Combining different knowledge bases that have traditionally been separated into academic and non-academic worlds can dramatically increase information flowing to scholars, community leaders and activists seeking to improve the quality of life in local communities around the world. (p.1).

This motivation, regardless of perspective or background can be the passion which Wenger articulates as a component of a community of practice. I return to the concept of communities of practice in Chapter Six where I discuss the findings of the research in relation to the community of Burngreave, the community language provision and collaborative analysis of the research finding. A community of practice approach sheds light on the way that different groups of local providers, students and teachers brought different knowledge and interpretation to the research results in a process called "Data driven dialogue" Love (2002), which is a collaborative enquiry method for using data to question practice and achieve change. It has been used in community schools in the US to change teacher practice informed by data about students they taught. The purpose is to provide a base-line of

information which enables productive discussions, removing participants from assumptions and beliefs about their students' abilities and characteristics. There is a well-developed protocol for use by teachers in school, which has four phases, firstly: predictions and assumptions, secondly: explore and observe, thirdly: explain and fourthly: action. For the authors of this protocol the purpose was didactic but in the case of the research in Burngreave my intention was not to teach about how research data informs knowledge but to explore and interpret data about English language provision from different perspectives and to use the data as a starting point to exchange knowledge and to improve provision.

Love (2009) developed a four stage protocol which informed the approach I used to presenting and discuss data. This protocol was part of a Using Data Project conducted in the USA. She outlines 6 assumptions which underlie their collaborative approach to raising achievement, based on data driven dialogue. Assumption 2 is "Data have no meaning. Meaning is imposed through interpretation. Frames of reference- the way we view the world- influence the meaning we derive from data". (p. 1). This approach has clear resonance with the constructivonst and interpretivist approach discussed by Karnilowicz et al. (2014), about their work with refugees in Birmingham.

COLLABORATION AS AN ETHICAL APPROACH

In '*The Chicago Guide to Collaborative Ethnography*', Lassiter (2005) presents his vision for a collaborative ethnography. His book was one of the first I read as I embarked on this research process and it has had an impact on my approach, and I have been guided by his principles. He argues that by working with people with diverse perspectives it is more likely that a research model can be developed which responds to and represents many voices and experiences and is responsible to the community it serves**.** His definition of collaboration is clear. He writes that "To collaborate means, literally, to work together, especially in an intellectual effort" (Lassiter, 2005, p.15) and he is explicit that collaboration is vital at every stage of the research process explaining:

> We might sum up collaborative ethnography as an approach to ethnography that *deliberately* and *explicitly* emphasizes collaboration at every point in the ethnographic process, without veiling it—from project conceptualization, to fieldwork, and, especially, through the writing process. (Lassiter, 2005, p.15)

Lassiter's collaborations took place over many years and he discusses the importance of establishing trust and of shared ownership of the research product Lassiter (2005, p.15).   He explains how this process of discussion then informs fieldwork and the audience for research.

He discusses in detail developments within ethnographic research and comes to the conclusion that "In particular feminist ethnography's focus on voice, power and representation is now, perhaps more than ever, converging with the same central focus of ethnography in post-modern anthropology". (Lassiter, 2005, p.60).

I recognized the importance of this focus on voice, power and representation when investigating English language classes in the community because the learners are predominantly women who have had their access to education limited by forces out with their control and because of their limited English language skills are less able to represent their views in an educational setting. Part two of Lassiter's book is about practice and his concerns about research honesty and integrity enabled critical reflection on my part throughout the research process. He suggests that,

> A deliberate and explicit collaborative ethnography is founded on four main components: ethical and moral responsibility to consultants; honesty about the fieldwork process; accessible and dialogic writing; and collaborative reading, writing, and co-interpretation of ethnographic texts with consultants. (Lassiter, 2005, p.77).

With these four components in mind, I approached recent ESOL research literature and identified two research projects which had particular relevance to the research in Burngreave. Both were recent work and engaged within the concept of super-diversity, they were very different in their approach but each were detailed in their description of methodology enabling me to understand in detail the approaches they adopted and to critique as well as thoroughly understand what actually took place.

INFLUENTIAL STUDIES

The first research project I discuss in some detail is "Making a Difference", (Phillimore et al., 2009) a collaborative initiative by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in Birmingham which worked with migrant and refugee community organisations (MRCOs) and the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at Birmingham University to train community researchers to research in their own communities. There is a strand of the project which researches and reports specifically about English language education and it aims to influence policy.

The second research project was conducted in Leeds by a team from the University of Leeds funded by Leeds City Council (Simpson et al., 2011). This research project is specifically about English language provision for adults and is a traditional case study research approach with a

team of academic researchers going into the community. The report of the Harehills ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) Needs Neighbourhood Audit (HENNA) includes a methodological toolkit which has provided a starting point for research in Burngreave. These projects were initiated via government agencies and were concerned about deficits in services. In the Birmingham case, the deficits related to services for refugees and asylum seekers and in the case of Harehills in Leeds, the local authority were concerned to audit the area with a view to better coordinating existing education provision for adults.

BIRMINGHAM RESEARCH PROJECT: 'MAKING A DIFFERENCE'

In Birmingham, initial research indicated that English language provision was viewed as problematic by the refugee communities consulted. The project has relevance for Burngreave: firstly, because the research is collaborative and includes training for community researchers, secondly because there is a ESOL strand to the project and thirdly, the project aims to influence policy (Phillimore et al., 2009, p.4).

The structure of the project involved key partners in the planning stage which meant that the dissemination of the findings was significant to those partners and other organisations involved in the joint process. An example of this is the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) which was approached for success rates of the ESOL classes. One of the key results of the project was that "The LSC proposed a working group to try to take some of the ESOL recommendations forward" (Phillimore et al., 2009, p.5). If research aims explicitly at influencing policy, then involving influential people and organisations is crucial to the outcome. "Making a Difference" project demonstrates positive and collaborative planning. Though this was a large scale project which had many strands and was well resourced, in terms of money and expertise, elements from this project can inform even small scale research. From the project there have been a substantial number of reports and articles published and in this review I concentrate on four of them. "Empowering Birmingham's migrant and refugee community organisations" Phillimore et al. (2009, p. 4) give an overview of the project which they say "identified four themes for research and influencing; ESOL, mental health, young people and education and employment". These areas were chosen because each had been identified as problematic for refugees. In the case of ESOL, BNCN felt that ESOL was failing its members, many of whom had been in classes for years without actually learning to speak English (Phillimore et al., 2009, p.14).

The report details the negotiations involved in setting up the project, the process of selecting the researchers and involving community organisations. The project is complex with many strands and so can be evaluated at many levels. According to Phillimore et al. (2009) :

> This is testimony to the role of the community researcher in undertaking research that gave an insider's perspective …The outcomes of this project provide a strong argument for increased work with community researchers to uncover the reality of the lived experience in a way that is not possible through conventional academic research. This might be possible only through use of a social activist approach to research, whereby community researchers, and their interviewees, are motivated to engage in a project because of the desire to make a difference. (p.35)

The ESOL research was highly successful in that it produced results which have had implications for policy at a local and national level. Because ESOL was identified as a major issue for refugees, members from migrant community organisations were trained as researchers and conducted 138 interviews to explore refugees' experiences of ESOL. The research used in-depth qualitative interviews and secondary data analysis to explore the experiences of refugees learning ESOL. As a collective, Phillimore et al. (2007) point out that "the 16 researchers agreed upon the issues and questions that were of most interest in respect of ESOL. They then worked together to create interview questions and a topic guide to facilitate interviews". (p.12).

A guide was produced to be used by all the researchers and then the researchers interviewed family, friends and other members of their community organisation with a target to achieve ten interviews each. The guide included topics such as access to ESOL, experiences of ESOL classes and barriers which refugees face in learning English. Questions asked what learners wanted to gain from the classes and whether they were getting what they need and suggestions for improvements in the quality of ESOL. Goodson and Phillimore (2010) reported that:

> On the whole satisfaction with ESOL classes was low, particularly where learners had higher aspirations. Some 45% (27) of the communicators were satisfied with their progress, 22.5% of the higher learners were satisfied and only seven (16%) improvers were satisfied. Achievement rates for respondents could also be classified as low and drop-out rates were substantial. For example, 27% of the communicators dropped out, 34% of the improvers and 43% of the higher learners left their courses. Learners sometimes dropped out for personal reasons but more often because they felt the course was not meeting their needs. (p.323)

Two issues are discussed about the analysis of the data. The first is that the interviews used a qualitative approach but in some cases the data were analysed quantitatively so the results reported, represent only the number of people who raised an issue rather than the numbers affected by it. The illustrative example given was attention to travel costs. Phillimore (2012) noted:

> that all interviews were qualitative, which meant that refugees were encouraged to discuss their experiences in their own words. Thus whilst we have attempted some quantitative analysis of the findings the numbers given merely indicate the number of refugees who raised particular issues. For example, when asked about the difficulties they experienced trying to access ESOL classes some refugees mentioned the cost of travel to college. This does not mean those who discussed other difficulties did not experience problems with travel costs, more that they did not mention this problem, perhaps having forgotten that it was a problem for them at some point. (p.12)

The findings are reported in some instances quantitatively, when the interview design was qualitative and no questions specifically designed to extract quantitative data were asked. Although the caveat is given in the report, it is still possible to misunderstand the percentages reported or at least be unclear about their significance. The problem with reporting qualitative data quantitatively is that the sampling methods used to select participants would have been different within a quantitative approach. In qualitative research snowballing, a form of convenience sampling where the researcher uses initial contacts to make contact with others are recognized as useful and a positive way of reaching other community members who would not usually participate in research. This approach is not used in quantitative research because of concerns relating to external validity and generalisability. When the data collection method is specifically intended to count responses and report on numbers, the sampling method needs to be explicit and representative of the whole population being studied. This is important if generalisations are to be made from findings. Concerns such as these influenced my decision to conduct a census rather than a survey because to conduct a survey would have required important justification of a particular sample. We visited all community funded ESOL classes and approached all students to participate.

Another issue which arose in the Birmingham study was that the community researchers' reports from their interviews and not the raw interview data were analysed for themes and

issues (Phillimore, 2009, p.12). This happened because researchers wanted to avoid translation costs. However, there are implications in terms of data interpretation. The interesting point here is whether a collective approach to identifying themes from the interviews was established prior to the production of the reports or whether each researcher independently identified themes. This is not essentially problematic but becomes problematic when the results are reported quantitatively.

Snowball sampling can be problematic in that it can serve to exaggerate phenomena. In the Birmingham study, a problem with ESOL was identified by the researchers and so in the "snowballing" sample they used there was a likely danger that the researchers' opinions were magnified rather than diminished (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1989, p.161). The possibility of this occurring in my study persuaded me to conduct a census rather than a survey to avoid the issues which arise in sampling when researching in a super diverse community.

Though the Birmingham research was undertaken by refugees about refugees' experience of ESOL there are implications for all ESOL provision. The findings cover eleven important issues relating to ESOL, some of them are particularly pertinent to refugees such as "lack of documentation" and "emotional problems" but some are applicable to all ESOL provision eg: assessment, approaches to teaching and expectations. The final article about methodology (Phillimore and Goodson, 2010) considers "the rationale for adopting a community research approach" and explores "the meaning of community research for those taking part" (Phillimore and Goodson 2010, p. 490). In the article, Phillimore and Goodson (2010) pose the question, 'What is community research?' and then answer this from a theoretical as well as a practical perspective. They conclude that "Unlike traditional approaches to research in which researchers generate research themes and interpret findings, the community research approach aims to empower community members to shape and have some ownership of the research agenda" (p.489).

From a theoretical point of view, Goodson and Phillimore (2010, p. 490) contend that community participatory research challenges traditional positivist notions of research However community researchers might be supportive of traditional research methods being more familiar with quantitative methods. In Birmingham qualitative in depth interviews are used but community members, consulted in Burngreave thought that quantity was important

to establish some baseline information not just about the individual as in the Birmingham research but also about the provision.

Goodson and Phillimore (2010) ask questions about the nature of power, the intended outcome of using community researchers, whether they have the power to bring about change and whether the power dynamic in communities is always impacted positively (p. 491). The article also discusses methodological challenges such as validity, reliability and sampling methods and the impact that using community researchers has on this. It concludes that undoubtedly the findings are different than those that traditional researchers would find but that is not less valid, arguing, this is exactly why community researchers are valuable participants in research. From a community perspective, the use of community researchers has given the research a longer reach into the community and a model for practice. The issue of paying community researchers was also discussed and I agree with the analysis by Goodson and Phillimore (2010) that it is not fair or possible to rely on unpaid volunteers for substantial amounts of time over sustained periods. Drawing on their work, I developed an approach which involved more people than I planned to but for less time.

The research in Burngreave involved collaboration with community members and therefore it was important that the research process was communicated clearly and there was transparency and clarity in the methods used, and in the presentation of the findings. The view that the research process as well as the information it produces should be useful to the community members involved informed my approach to this research and reflects the opinion of Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007, p. 20) that "The choice of the method should always be dictated by the nature of the problem". In the case of Burngreave, the nature of the issue about cuts to funding and the involvement of students in campaigning indicated that collaborative research was an appropriate approach to research as it would involve students already active within the campaigns.

Hart and Wollf (2006) discuss the concept of 'communities of practice' as a way of considering the relationship between academic and local communities. According to Wenger (2006, p.2) "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly." This approach resonates with the way in which networks in Burngreave developed around the community

education provision and I discuss this further in the literature section about community and in the findings Chapter Five which also focuses on community aspects of the research.

HAREHILLS ESOL NEEDS NEIGHBOURHOOD AUDIT (HENNA)

The Harehills ESOL Needs Neighbourhood Audit (HENNA) (Simpson et al., 2011) research project served as an important point of referral in the initial research planning stages in Burngreave. The methodological toolkit from the HENNA project informed the development of the questionnaire in Burngreave. In 2011 a team from Leeds University funded by Leeds City Council undertook an ESOL audit of the Harehills area in Leeds (Simpson et al., 2011) to inform the planning of ESOL provision in Leeds. A key outcome of this research was to support a move to more appropriate and effectively targeted ESOL provision for Leeds residents with English language needs (Simpson, 2012 p. 32). Harehills in Leeds (population 25,000) though smaller than Burngreave (population 30,000), is comparable in that both are areas of 'super-diversity', each 1 mile from their respective city centres and have the most substantial adult English language provision in each city. The body of knowledge which has been collected in the Harehills study enabled many useful comparisons with Burngreave. What is the purpose then in conducting another study in an area of comparable size and demographics? Simpson (2012, p. 32) suggests "the findings, originally intended to inform and improve the planning and delivery of ESOL across the city of Leeds, are relatable to other similar contexts across Britain's urban centres".

Before beginning to research, I observed as a worker in Burngreave, that there is much less adult community language provision in Burngreave than in Harehills and it was organised very differently. I was interested to see how relatable the findings were.

The ESOL Neighbourhood Audit Pilot (Simpson et al., 2011) produced a methodological toolkit to enable a detailed understanding of the research approach and inform choices about the appropriateness of each part of the toolkit for use in another study. It models an organised collection and collation of data and enables a comparison with the provision in Harehills and any other area study which uses this toolkit. It also provides a yardstick of expertise and good practice in terms of method and a model which research can be built around.

The study in Harehills involved a survey of students, an online questionnaire for teachers, interviews, teacher focus groups, interviews of other stakeholders and field visits to

classrooms and other centres. My research in Burngreave was planned on a much smaller scale and planned to gather information relating to language use. The Harehills audit made use of a large and experienced team of university researchers and so "The research instruments...are 'pre-validated', having been through multiple drafts and piloted by members of the research team" (Simpson et al., 2011, p.2). There is a detailed section in the toolkit on informed consent and ethical issues, which gives a clear rationale for the type of consent the project seeks. In order to gain informed consent from the ESOL students, for example the Harehills project uses a spoken consent document, because the low levels of literacy in English mean that a written consent form would be redundant (Simpson et al., 2011, p.2). The toolkit provided a detailed bank of practical resources.

In Leeds the approach could be described as 'top down' with outsider experienced researchers from the University coming into the area operating on the City Council's agenda. In Burngreave, the research was initiated in response to cuts to provision and was driven from within the community.   The details of the methodology adapted from the Harehills methodological tookit will be discussed later but an example here will show how different approaches materialised. In Harehills the teacher survey asked the teachers how they thought the students needed and used English in their lives. According to Simpson et al. (2011, p.11), "Teachers of ESOL tend to know their students well". However, their viewpoint might be different to the reality of the students' situations. In Burngreave students were involved in the development of the questionnaire, in the conducting of questionnaire interviews for 325 students across the ward and in the analysis of the data.

In the next section the design issues relating to the student survey are addressed. Importantly issues relating to language and the complexities of its use are discussed. According to Simpson et al. (2011), "recording language background is fraught with difficulties as there is no straight forward link between ethnic identity or category, nationality or language. Many speakers use several languages and cross between them as a matter of course". (p.8). This observation illustrates the complex nature of formulating questions in respect of language in a multi-lingual setting although the process may have been complicated by the whole class group approach to administering the questionnaire in Harehills. (p.9).

Both the Harehills and Birmingham research projects and the articles published as a result, provided a practical dimension to my understanding of the research field. Both related directly to research in ESOL but came from a critical perspective investigating a deficit in

English language provision. By contrast in Burngreave the investigation was designed to support provision and though the findings included criticisms of the provision, the approach was to consider the relationship between classroom and community and the findings were predominantly positive.

Next I will focus on perceptions of community education and how the English language classroom relates to the wider community. Baynham and Simpson (2010, p. 23) comment that "The extensive research on classroom-based second language learning makes little attempt to situate the classroom itself in social and multi-lingual sociolinguistic space".

Simpson (2012) states that more research is needed into how language learned in the classroom is used outside the classroom commenting that, "multi-lingualism in adult ESOL classes remains underexplored as does migrants' out-of-class language use". (p.5).   An approach discussed in the literature to make language learning in the classroom appropriate to adult students' lives is to 'bring the outside in' i.e.: use materials which are relevant to students' lives to inform the curriculum (Cooke, 2006). There is more literature on this topic including work on narratives, (Baynham, 2007) story-telling and expanding textual repertoires, (Wallace, 2006). Before focusing on the topic above, I will give some background to the literature with a brief history of English language provision for immigrants to England and consider changes in U.K. government policy which have led to an increasingly critical body of literature.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING

English language provision for adults is known in England as English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) or English as an Additional Language (EAL). For a definition of ESOL I have a paragraph from Cooke and Simpson (2008):

> ESOL refers to the English that is taught to and learnt by adult migrants to English dominant countries, and is the common term for this branch of English Language Teaching in Britain and Ireland. In some countries notably Canada, the United States, and Australia, it is known as ESL: English as a Second Language. (p.xi)

They introduce the policy background to English language provision: "Migration and asylum, citizenship, social exclusion, the economy and globalisation all bear upon ESOL, a field which is passionately contested by practitioners and policy makers alike". (ibid). Focusing now on England, Cooke and Simpson (2008) explain that the "evolution of ESOL as a sphere of education mirrors to some extent the various stances taken by successive governments to new arrivals, as well as broader trends in government and education". (p.5). One of the most

important developments within the ESOL sector, described below by Simpson et al. (2011), was aimed to professionalise a fragmented and under resourced sector:

> In 2001 ESOL was incorporated into the *Skills for Life* strategy, the literacy and numeracy policy for England and Wales. The assimilation of ESOL into *Skills for Life* brought with it the creation of a statutory national curriculum (DfES 2001) along with a new teacher training framework, incorporation into the Ofsted inspection regime, and the establishment of a research centre, created to provide a research base with which to inform the policy. Funding for most ESOL provision was funnelled via the Learning and Skills Council to Colleges of Further Education, where the greater part of ESOL provision happened (p.8)

HISTORY OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROVISION

Sheila Rosenberg (2008) has written a comprehensive and in depth history of ESOL from 1870 to 2006. She begins in the 1870s with Jewish settlements in the East End of London and continues with a rich account which encompasses an understanding of immigration throughout this period and the impact on English Language provision up until 2006. The timing of the publication of this history is interesting because it coincided with the introduction of a series of changes to funding. Rosenberg links early English language tuition with the importance of maintaining mother tongue provision. She establishes immediately the role of conflict and war in forcing migration to England from the thirties through to the fifties and she documents the expansion of English language provision through government funding in the sixties and seventies and the arrival of refugees from Latin America and Cambodia and Vietnam and Uganda. She traces the development of teacher skills and teaching resources through organisations, e.g. the National Extension College and the Inner London Education Authority and its Language and Literacy Unit. This history is important in a sector which has experienced considerable change and with each change there is implied criticism about what has gone before. Rosenberg demonstrates in her wider analysis that there is a rich history within the sector and reminds us that although much was initially gained from the interest and funding that came with The Skills for Life Agenda, there is considerable expertise which has not been lost but which is currently 'under the radar' of inspection regimes and bureaucratic, modularised approaches to learning. Simpson et al. (2011) describe recent developments in English language provision in the U.K.: "Under the coalition government, since 2010 the orientation in policy has shifted from 'community cohesion' to 'austerity measures'. Spending cuts being made across the public sector include the funding of ESOL and adult education generally". (p.9).

One of the issues for English language provision in the U.K. is that it is both underfunded and over-regulated. ESOL courses usually lead to qualifications and this has an influence on the type and quality of the provision. The benefits of this approach relate to the possibilities of structure and progression which the system offers students but corresponding links to funding can also limit choice for adult students. The links between language learning and citizenship have exacerbated a politicised agenda which has accompanied immigration to the U.K. in the last fifteen to twenty years. This politicized agenda includes media criticism of immigrants for not learning English and a situation where access to appropriate English language provision is restricted by reduced government funding.

ESOL RESEARCH

English language classrooms both in colleges and in the community operate in a context constrained by a lack of resources and where there are repeated calls for a deeper understanding of the lives that students live (Callaghan, 2011), the type of provision they need to fulfil their potential (Cooke and Roberts 2009) and a greater connection between what is learned in the classroom and what is faced outside (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013). Positive accounts of language provision relate to 'creative' individual tutors or 'innovative' projects but there are few recent positive accounts of systematic attempts to organise around provision, and link classes to services and other community networks. The most extensive research into adult English language provision was conducted by a team of eight researchers from 2003 to 2006 for the National Research and Development Centre for Adult Literacy and Numeracy (NRDC) (Baynham et al., 2007).   This was part of a government led initiative to research and improve teaching and learning in the Skills for Life sector which includes Adult Literacy, Adult Numeracy and IT Training. The focus of the research was ESOL pedagogy entitled "Effective teaching and learning" and the research report was positive, identifying positive practices and approaches. Though suggestions were made for improvements, the recommendations revealed a constructive attitude to the ESOL provision. Yet five years later in 2012, Simpson writes, "we are involved with adult ESOL, a currently dysfunctional sector of education associated with fragmentation and the heavy hand of the employability agenda" (p.12) and drawing on the work of a colleague, John Callaghan, who was an ESOL teacher before he was a researcher:

whilst my students appeared to be doing well as judged by the standards of... the cosy world of the classroom, judged by the standards of the much harsher world 'outside' they were doing far from well- and therefore so was I. (Simpson, 2012, p.10)

 Later in the same article Simpson (2012) writes, "Finally, it's becoming increasingly clear that ESOL practitioners know very little about the realities of the linguistic and social challenges that face students as they adapt to life in a new country". (p.10).

The evidence base of this statement is not clear. A year previously in the HENNA project (Simpson et al., 2011), teachers were being asked questions on behalf of student precisely because the researchers on the project considered that teacher knew about student linguistic needs. "The survey is of teachers, so the findings are based on the teachers' perceptions, although it is probably fair to say that most teachers have an idea of their students' day-to-day language needs". (p.36).

In Burngreave, the profile of tutors demonstrates involvement at a personal and political level with new arrivals and settled communities. Nevertheless, in the Burngreave research, we aimed to give participants the chance to talk on their own behalf and did find considerably different perspectives on the same issues. This criticism of ESOL practitioners is not present in the NRDC report (Baynham et al., 2007) where teachers were described as: "some relatively engaged with learners, others more detached, some language orientated, some life-world orientated. These stances can be equally effective, provided they are supported by a clear professional vision". (p.28).

LACK OF PROGRESS

 Cheung and Phillimore (2013, p. vii) report in their Executive Summary of a quantitative study conducted with refugees in Birmingham for The Rowntree Foundation that "Between 36% and 48% report no progress in ESOL classes" and although this seems like an important statistic and a damning one it is neither explained nor mentioned again. A question might be what kind of progress do the other sixty-four and fifty-two percent report and why is the negative highlighted? Later in the summary of the same report there are three consecutive bullet points:

> "•Access to ESOL does not help refugees develop the language they need to enhance their employability and does not aid access to employment
>
> •Access to ESOL can help improve social networks and the availability of social capital

•The more networks refugees possess the better their language competency"

(Cheung and Phillimore, 2013, p. 41).

The first bullet is negative but there are many reasons why refugees do not access employment and though English may be offered as a reason, both by employers and by unsuccessful job applicants, there can be more complex issues. If the second and third bullets are true, can we conclude that access to ESOL develops language competency? It may be that language competency is not the issue concerning refugees' employability and so improved English will not aid access to employment. According to Heller (2011) "using language to operate processes of inclusion and exclusion also legitimizes those processes, or more precisely masks their real source by offering a morally legitimate reason for why they happen the way they do". (p.38). The predominantly critical account of ESOL provision may therefore serve to mask many other problems for students as well as for providers.

CURRICULUM

In a special ESOL issue of Linguistics and Education, Roberts and Baynham (2006) comment on the positive impact of The Skills for Life policy because of the increased amount of ESOL provision. The policy was initiated in the U.K. following the findings of The Moser Report in 2000. However, Roberts and Baynham (2006) comment that though much of the best provision continued, "new provision is driven and managed by a narrow skills agenda which betrays a misunderstanding of language processes and which positions ESOL learners as requiring only very specific, largely employment-led skills". (p.3)

Behind these criticisms of provision is criticism of the political drivers of education policy. Though initially The Adult ESOL Core Curriculum was seen as an opportunity to structure and organise language learning to ensure progression and development, the fact that there is only one standard route which takes a predetermined amount of time means that it is too fast and not detailed enough for some people and too slow and too general for others. Because it has a focus of functional communication, it does not equip any individual for a specialist route. Roberts and Baynham (2006) ask the question: "To what extent are these curriculum frameworks driven by wider societal agenda for example using a narrow skills based approach to produce a docile low paid work force?". (p.3).

Though the rationale for the curriculum is to equip adult students to have the literacy and language skills to participate fully in society, it is only Government funded until Level 2. The availability of classes is restricted, access to examinations and accreditation is restricted and the generalist nature of the curriculum, mean that there is not always a clear recognized progression beyond. This concurs with research undertaken in Birmingham, funded by the Rowntree Foundation (Phillimore et al., 2010) where refugees were unable to access fast routes to achieve higher levels of education and access to their professions. Functional language provision necessitates a sideways move by many adults into low paid jobs because they cannot access the intensive learning they need.

PROGRESSION

Baynham and Simpson (2010, p.437) consider the relative values that are placed on progression 'upwards' within The National Qualification Framework (NQF) and on horizontal trajectories which are not qualification based but which may constitute important learning. They distinguish between central and peripheral learning spaces suggesting that "the community-based classroom is positioned in relation to the main-stream college provision in a periphery-centre relationship." This is explained as being less valued than main stream provision. They also suggest that both "ESOL students and teachers…might on some level understand themselves as marginal learners and marginal teachers". This theme is further developed by Simpson (2011) in Harehills in Leeds where the community provision is described as "fragmented" by stakeholders. Baynham and Simpson (2010) however, value the local:

> there seems to have been a policy initiated turning away in the interests of the measurable achievements of the NQF from the achievements of the horizontal discourse which, contingent and local as they may be, have everyday life effects that can only be described as profound. (p.439).

I would construe their conclusion, in this article (2010), as undoubtedly valuing the horizontal trajectory and the 'peripheral provision' but later in the Harehills research report (Simpson et al. 2011) their call for more co-ordination of provision and their judgement that local authorities were best placed to do this, would seem to rate the central provision as of better quality. Now they subscribe to and develop this peripheral/ central distinction.

However, if we interrogate the language learning process in more detail drawing on the work of Cummins (1980 and 1981), he distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). The problem of progression highlighted by both Phillimore and Baynham and Simpson, may be an issue which spans both community and mainstream provision where the thrust of the adult ESOL curriculum does not seek to address cognitive skills which are necessary for more sophisticated language use and so progression and development are ultimately hampered because at no point are they embedded within the structures of the funding or accreditation regimes indeed there is currently a move to require ESOL students to move to functional English skills rather than progress in ESOL classes. I return to Cummins model to consider the results of the research in Chapter Four. The model enables an understanding of a student's ability to learn based on their other language knowledge and cognitive ability and previous education. Without the underlying ability to analyse and synthesis new language, it remains just above the surface and is vulnerable to underutilisation and to loss but ultimately hinders progression beyond a basic level.

COMMUNITY PROVISION AS PERIPHERAL

While I would argue that the categorization of community provision as peripheral serves to reinforce negative attitudes, especially the notion of "marginal" teachers and students, Baynham and Simpson (2010) enable a point of departure and understanding of where the collaborative research in Burngreave is positioned in relation to other research and also in relation to The Adult ESOL Core Curriculum and to the National Qualification Framework. Hannon et al. (2003) distinguish between community based and community focused provision. Their concept of community focused provision:

> recognised the community identity of learners, the affinities between learners from the same community, the advantages of providing experiences and learning progression for groups of learners, learners need for security as well as challenge, the usefulness of linking into community groups and processes, and the need for sustained progress over a number of years. (p.26).

This was contrasted with a concept of "community-based provision" which might be "college classes run in satellite locations" (Hannon et al., 2003, p.8) where the focus was on the individual "not necessarily as members of their community". This "individual-focused" provision was considered as being not necessarily mutually exclusive in focus but at opposite

ends of a "spectrum of provision" (Hannon et al., 2003, p.7). Hannon et al. (2003) identified community focused provision as an under researched area. They concluded by outlining characteristics of community focussed provision as: 'the vision which informs it, the development work necessary to implement it, and the nature of its delivery' (Hannon et al., 2003, p.8). In essence Simpson's peripheral mainstream divide is similar to Hannon et al.'s, community situated, community focused, distinction. While Simpson primarily has a deficit view of what happens in the community, Hannon et al. validate community focused provision as offering a distinctive and purposeful approach.

English for All is a National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) report produced for the Greater London Council and suggests ways of meeting the English language needs of groups of Londoners so that they can 'engage productively with life and work' NIACE (2012, p10). The models of delivery described are firstly 'English language through existing services', secondly 'Using technologies to support ESOL learning' and thirdly 'Using trained volunteers to facilitate language practice'. The first model resonates with the way much of the community provision has developed in Burngreave. The NIACE report (2012) suggests:

> This will be of particular interest to primary schools and early years' settings, who can support family ESOL learning. In this model, ESOL sessions for parents are held at the school and are linked with learning on how best to support their children's development. (p.10).

I further explore these three models in Chapter Five as way of considering the provision in Burngreave and how it is structured and organised to serve the interests of adult students.

Cooke (2006) subscribes to the view that current pedagogies marginalise students' interests. "There are pedagogies and ways of organising learning, currently side-lined entirely by Skills for Life which place the learner at the centre of the curriculum in a meaningful way." (p.71). Simpson (2012) discusses the political rhetoric which has linked a breakdown in social cohesion with a lack of English language skills. He argues that there is no research to substantiate this claim. Equally the insistence that immigrants have an obligation to learn English is not substantiated by research that suggests a reluctance to learn English on the part of immigrants. The situation he describes is that there are waiting lists for English classes. Though British politicians have in the past wanted to "distance themselves from extreme right wing ideologies" (p.6), by saying that learning English is necessary for immigrants to access

their rights, this has hardened into a negative attitude to immigrants with both Liberal and Labour politicians anxious to demonstrate their anti-terrorist stances because a lack of English has been linked to "separateness" and Islamic extremism. Simpson (2012) goes on to critique the 'Life in the UK test' describing it as having "culturally obscure questions and monocultural assumptions". (p.7). Simpson is quite clear in this article that he understands the importance for immigrants of learning English but that the current testing regime does not further English language learning and that "contrary to political rhetoric, English is not 'the only game in town', but has value as part of a multilingual repertoire" (ibid). It seems that by criticising ESOL provision from a political perspective and by developing the criticisms rather than the strengths summarised in the large research study (2007) Simpson is building an argument about changes that need to be made to the provision and to practitioners. I have attempted to trace this argument in various articles but find little evidence of the deficit he attributes to practitioners aside from Callaghan's ethnographic research (Callaghan, 2011) into two individual asylum seekers' lives. While this is a detailed and insightful account and while English language provision is clearly operating in an unsupportive political and financial environment there is little to suggest that the variety of approaches adopted by practitioners and identified in 2007 has significantly changed.

There has been little research done which considers how English is used by students in the wider community and therefore what impact 'bringing the outside in' has on the ability of adult students to use the language they learn when they go outside the classroom. Wallace (2006) discusses texts used for teaching reading and her detailed research builds a convincing argument for texts which are current and relevant to students' lives. Baskerville (2010, p.114) discusses a project in New Zealand which uses story-telling as a catalyst for reflection in the cultural experience, and greater cultural harmony existed in this classroom". Storytelling as a way in which students can as Baynham and Simpson stated use a 'longer turn" and "speak from within", can also build understanding and knowledge within the classroom. This can contribute to the teachers' and the students' insights into each other's lives.

An exception to this is the work of Sheila McDonald (2013), her research study which approaches ESOL from a feminist perspective, is a nuanced discussion which argues that "the complex multidirectionality of multilingual immigrants' family lives" (p.ii) need to be understood and factored into effective planning of English language provision. She argues

that the significance of gender should be taken into account in "planning more holistic environments in which women's lives are more fully understood and their learning needs more adequately met". (p.ii). McDonald's study explores the emotional and affective aspects of learning a language "this research begins with their stories, and asks how English use is becoming part of their family lives. It seeks to develop knowledge about their daily interactions and relationships in ways which illuminate how they experience and perceive multilinguality for themselves and their children". (ibid) The study has considerable depth and though the study is conducted in English the students are able to express themselves and support each other in this expression. The background to the study is a rigorous policy analysis which further strengthens the approach:

> In this space, the women problematise the acquisition of English as something which, although still acknowledged to be a necessary and valuable linguistic resource, now appears to hold an unforeseen danger, and their home languages become more prized as they are threatened (2013, p.80)

Though the study is conducted in Kent and in an area very dissimilar to Burngreave, the study was important to my work because of the critical approach and the foregrounding of the student's voices. Though Burngreave is on socioeconomic factors multi-deprived I became more aware of the social wealth of the community. Her research has a detailed and personal focus which has enabled a multifaceted understanding of expectations which women have of themselves and which are imposed on them. McDonald (2013) also recognizes the unique set of circumstances which she has investigated and argues that: "Assumptions or conclusions about ESOL learners based on research conducted elsewhere in the UK, predominantly in large metropolitan areas, cannot necessarily be extrapolated to inform discussion about the lives of local young migrant mothers". (p.10)

Her presentation of her research findings foregrounds the students' words and I have used the same approach in presenting my interviews and the results of discussions in Chapters Four and Five.

From the literature, I have identified a gap in research about out of classroom use of English and a need to understand how connections can be made from the classroom to the community. I draw on the work of Garcia and Wei (2014) and their discussion of language usage:

> Language is not a simple system of structures which is independent of human actions with others, of our being with others. The term languaging is needed to refer to the simultaneous process of the continuous becoming of ourselves and our language practices as we interact and make meaning in the world. (p.7)

Concepts of 'periphery' and vertical trajectories in language use and language competence become less salient when the immediate locale of English language classes is a super-diverse neighbourhood, there is less pressure to reproduce standardised versions of English than in a relatively monoglot environment where a certain version of English is expected.

A recent study was conducted in Scotland in the Highlands and Islands (Berry and Johnson, 2014) which explored the relationship between classroom learning and its impact on students' ability to integrate but the students were living in areas where English was predominant and in areas very dissimilar to super-diverse urban areas so though this is an interesting study the linguistic differences in the immediate community do not enable many comparisons with Burngreave. Blommaert (2014, p.14) explains how Dutch functions in his neighbourhood in Antwerp where often it has an inclusive "oecumenical" function. In every locale there are different factors which influence the language used. Though English has global importance and is linked to national monoglot policy the result at a neighbourhood level is described by Wessendorf (2010) as much more friendly. She describes:

> certain patterns of behaviour or intercultural skills which are needed to facilitate everyday social interactions in a super-diverse context. These skills and competences are described as 'corner-shop cosmopolitanism', referring to the localised and everyday nature of such intercultural social skills and the existence of a certain openness towards people perceived as 'different'. (p.1).

When conducting research in Burngreave, I was surprised by who knew each other and how fast information was passed round. Sometimes I started to explain where I had been and what had happened and people already knew. In the next section I explore literature about networks as a way of understanding how connections are initiated and developed in super diverse communities which Blommaert and Wessendorf describe.

NETWORK THEORY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

This phenomenon of multiple connections and fast information flow is known as the "small world property" (Caldarelli and Catanzaro, 2012 p.49) and is a feature of networks. Initially I was interested in the visual and explanatory nature of networks in relation to phenomena I observed in the community. Gilchrist (2009) drawing on the work of Leibler and Ferri (2001) explains how networks can be either 'organic' or 'engineered' which distinguishes between natural interactions between community members or purposeful structures set up by an organisation for a particular reason. In Burngreave I realised there were both, but the ones I became aware of first were the organic networks which operated between students who had friends attending classes in different community venues, teachers' informal networks and teachers who worked in more than one community venue. Initially I drew network diagrams to understand what a connected classroom looked like and have used network diagrams to explain this idea in community meetings and in workshops for teachers.

The second type of networks, the 'engineered' networks were the work of Lifelong Learning, Area Planning Officers who worked in the seven most deprived wards in Sheffield until the team was made redundant in 2010. The structures which were set up more than ten years ago have proved resilient in Burngreave and are discussed in detail in a section about "super-connectors" (Calderelli and Cantanzaro, 2010). The engineered networks were integrated into the organic networks of Burngreave.

INTRODUCTION TO NETWORKS

There is considerable academic literature about networks relating to many branches of science, to business, to electronic networks and to developments of network ideas. One of the most influential in the social sciences is Actor Network Theory. In this section I will identify the branches of netwok ideas that have influenced my approach to the second part of the study and to understanding the data which emerged from the questionnaire. Law and Callon (1988) explain:

> a network in the ANT sense should not be confused with the conventional sociological or technical applications of this concept: "…we are not primarily concerned with mapping interactions between individuals…we are concerned to map the way in which they [actors] define and distribute roles, and mobilize or invent others to play these roles. (p.285).

My initial understanding and application of the notion of networks to English language provision is based on the scientific approach to networks and is a visual approach used to simplify and log a phenomenon that is complex and heterogenous in order to overview and understand it. This type of approach is exemplified in the London underground diagram and was my initial understanding of the term. There are two other approaches to networks that could be applied to education provision and both are relevant to this research. The second I was introduced to through the work of Bruno Latour who as a social scientist questions the distinction between the scientific and the social using the concept of the actor as being a person or a thing within the network capable of both shaping and participating. Actor network theory (ANT) like network theory acknowledges the importance of non-human actors which Latour (2005) argues has been lacking in the social sciences who are over focused on human agency:

> Using a slogan from ANT, you have 'to follow the actors themselves', that is try to catch up with their often wild innovations in order to learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands, which methods they have elaborated to make it fit together, which accounts best define the new associations that they have been forced to established. (p.12).

The interview stage of this study in Burngreave identifies actors (human and non-human) as super-connectors within community networks and further investigates how they develop and support education networks. So the first consideration of networks is the visual scientific approach, the second is the ANT approach which interrogates the 'how' of nodes or actor interractions within the network. The third network approach is that of Gilchrist (2009) who percieves networks and networking as a community development tool. Her approach is from a professional practice perspective and has been highlighted in recent conservative government initiatives entitled 'Big Society'. This perspective is fundamentally different to much of what has been observed in Burngreave because the critical nature of the Burngreave networks and the stability of the community actors has enabled a sustained political presence over a number of years, this is in contrast to the Big Society approach which identifies supermarkets and postmen as important nodes in community networks ignoring the nature of the the interactions. I will consider first the scientific network approach.

A network is a pattern of nodes or vertices which are linked through a series of connections. Examples of networks which are used every day are public transport systems, mobile phones,

the internet and the banking system. (Calderelli and Catanzaro, 2012, p.1). In this review of literature about network ideas I will argue that the network as a tool of analysis sheds light on the way that language learning requires connections to enable its practice and use. Network diagrams can be useful visual tools to analyse the way that language classes and language learners are connected to the wider community. Considering the communication networks around language learning provision, whether it is provision located in community venues or in a college or university can make a substantial contribution to our ability to understand what makes a language class or a language provision successful or not for adult students. In community development work there is considerable concern with geographical and physical conditions and the reductionist nature of a network diagram can highlight some of these considerations and clarify strengths and weaknesses in communication mechanisms in communities.

Newman (2003) reviews developments in the field of Network Studies giving some idea of the changing scope of the field as the structure and function of networks become ever more complex. The focus changing from relatively small scale graphs to large scale statistical analysis huge in scale which cannot be understood by the human eye:

> The human eye is an analytical tool of remarkable power, and eyeballing pictures of networks is an excellent way to gain an understanding of their structure. With a network of a million or a billion vertices however this approach is useless. (p.2).

In this study the attraction of the network diagram is to be able to "eyeball" the network. This is particularly important in a multi-lingual diverse community. A visual representation of communication links and patterns enables participants who may not be able to read long or complex text to understand data and theories about their own classes and networks. A network diagram is a powerful tool to consider how classroom culture can affect students' ability to communicate and establish links with each other.

Caldarelli and Catanzaro (2012) explain the basic approach of network theory in the following way:

> While the network approach eliminates many of the individual features of the phenomenon considered, it still maintains some of its specific features i.e. the number of elements and the specific set of connections between elements. Such a simplified model is nevertheless enough to capture the properties of the system. (p.13).

They explain that network theory aims to complement two very different approaches to understanding the interaction of many different elements. In considering how language classes relate to the community where they are situated, network theory enables us to move beyond the individual, but also to move away from the ethnic group or the language group and consider instead possible links within a communication network. This approach is in keeping with Vertovec's findings (Vertovec, 2007) that in a super-diverse community there are important variables which affect people's lives other than ethnicity and enable us to reconsider how people can associate:

> The network approach is somewhere between the description by individual elements and the description by big groups, bridging the two of them. In a certain sense networks try to explain how a set of isolated elements are transformed, through a pattern of interactions, into groups and communities. (Caldarelli and Catanzaro, 2012, p.14)

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

Latour (2005, p.1) discusses the multiple problems which arise when 'social' is used to describe "a kind of material or a domain" and to question the "project of providing a 'social explanation' of some other state of affairs". Network theory provides a way to consider the concept of the social and use it to "trace connections again". His discussion is complex and about the nature of sociological enquiry but his message is that assumptions, about the social, have become embedded in the way a social realm is considered, as if the social realm were a state of affairs that was stable and also a 'something' that could be applicable to other situations such as social psychology or sociolinguistics. Latour seeks to demonstrate that method and methodological assumptions, so much shape sociological enquiry that they can shape the research findings more than the supposed subjects of the study. He says that a good question is: "Are the concepts of the actors allowed to be stronger than that of the analysts, or is it the analyst who is doing all the talking?" (p.30).

With this in mind, a simple approach can be employed when considering communication links in an information network. I would argue that in this analysis of English language provision a less complex network approach is appropriate in an initial analysis of a potentially complex situation. Figure5.2 on p.177 is an illustration of how classroom interactions can be clarified without undermining or making assumptions about teachers or students:

it is no longer enough to limit actors to the role of informers offering cases of some well-known types. You have to grant them back the ability to make up their own theories of what the social is made of. Your task is no longer to impose some order, to limit the range of acceptable entities, to teach actors what they are, or to add some reflexivity to their blind practice … you have 'to follow the actors themselves', that is try to catch up with their often wild innovations in order to learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands, which methods they have elaborated to make it fit together, which accounts could best define the new associations that they have been forced to establish (Latour, 2005, p.30).

Though we cannot assess how positive every conversation with a classmate is, a glance at the network diagram would suggest to teachers and students that they ought to utilise all the resources in the room. Though we do not know that every person who meets a career advisor will benefit from the service or that every visit from a health professional will result in a health improvement, we log such an exchange as a link or an edge in a network without making any assumptions about the outcome or the nature of the link.

In addition to a discussion of social networks, Newman (2003) considers information networks, technological networks and biological networks. The networks which develop around English Language classes do not fit clearly into any of the networks described by Newman, having features of them but are most comparable to information networks. When we consider e.g., a telephone network, we do not know what people are talking about but mapping the structure of the network gives valuable information The difference between a scientific and social approach is summarized succinctly by Borgatti et al. (2009): "A characteristic of network research in the social sciences is that it tends to preserve distinctions between different kinds of ties…in contrast, the physical sciences have tended to treat different kinds of ties as alternative options." (p.495)

Borgatti et al. (2009) echo Newman's point above saying that "it is apparent that the physical and social sciences are most comfortable at different points along the continua of universalism to particularism, and simplicity to complexity". (p.495). I suggest that some experimentation with basic network visuals might illuminate the work of variables that have been overlooked in research into adult language provision because network analysis can shed light on a process by drawing the salient edges and vertices and pulling the network out of the 'mire' of diverse and multiple connections which make a super-diverse community.

Simpson (2012) in his discussion of ESOL provision writes about "fragments here and there" in "the periphery" (p.1) but perhaps the fragments are threads of a network as delicate as a spider's web which connect many people 'under the radar' of the mainstream.

Many levels of network can operate simultaneously. Within a class, friendships develop and classmates might also be colleagues, neighbours or family members. Given an inclusive style of teaching class members will have a working relationship as classmates but in the coffee break may be taking calls from relatives faraway and texting friends in their homeland. In terms of periphery, my experience of considering networks in a super-diverse community does not acknowledge periphery, because the value system which such distinctions betray is not the value system which seems to be functioning in Burngreave networks, where middle class UK ideas of centrality may be parochial for people who have moved from one side of the globe to the other, with connections in different continents and values beyond the everyday constraints. I want to argue, drawing on the work of Latour (2005, p.12) that "we have to follow the actors themselves" and be wary of making peripheral /mainstream distinctions, and learn from people about the kind of connections they have created and the 'associations they have been forced to establish'. In a super-diverse neighbourhood, it is important to try hard to listen without assumptions.

SUPER-CONNECTORS

Calderelli and Catanzaro (2012) introduce the concept of a super connector where webs have nodes that are connected to many other nodes. They explain that many attributes of human beings are homogenous, for example weight and height, but that the number of connections between people are not. Some people do not have many connections for example social and work links but there are other people by the nature of their work, the size of their family or their personality have many connections. This is a heterogeneous attribute and networks can have patterns of heterogeneity and homogeneity. A node with many links is a hub and where the hub links to many other networks it is called a super-connector. It is important to know what links are being considered in a network. If we are interested in friendship for example, then a pizza man may have many connections but few friends but if we are interested in contacts in a flu epidemic then every contact counts.

"How social networks power and sustain the Big Society" (Rowson, Broome and Jones, 2010) is a research report commissioned via The Royal Society for the Arts (RSA) which considers the role of networks in connecting communities. It discusses networks and identifies a Sainsbury's supermarket in the network as an important social hub and the Post Man is identified as a potential social network builder. I would argue that this kind of network is the reductive type of network logging, which Latour (2005) warns against because there is limited analysis of what kind of a network this is. To describe this as a 'social' network does not explain or expand the 'social'. People need to shop and if Sainsbury is the only supermarket in the area then it will look like an important node in a network but not necessarily a social one. Social capital is a contested term which this report scarcely defines. "Social capital is the currency of big society and social networks hold the reserves of that currency" (Rowson, Broome and Jones, 2010, p.5). There was a party political dimension to the report as it recommends the then Conservative Government's visualisation of 'Big Society'. This approach has been criticised by Dawson (2012) as:

> fatally flawed, not in its intent…but in its execution. Most notably it overlooks the continued forms of economic inequality and, by tying political devolution to continued economic deregulation, it is more likely to increase and retrench current forms of inequality and fragmentation. (p. 79).

Using Network Theory within a discussion of the 'Big Society', overlooked as Dawson (2012) points out, that inequality will be further entrenched if the network analysis does not take account of financial resources.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND NETWORKS

Gilchrist (2009, 2015, 2016) distinguishes between formal and informal networks within communities from the perspective of community development. Her interest in networks is to understand the importance of their role in building community infrastructure and as a tool for community development workers. She introduces the concepts of "blending, braiding, balancing" as strategies to recognize and use different qualities of formal structures and less formal relationships to access and use resources to benefit and strengthen communities. In discussions about communities it is not always clear exactly how the term is being used. I have distinguished between a scientific use of the term network where network diagrams are used to simplify and clarify and the use of network in Actor Network Theory which is interested in examining in detail the nature of connection in a network.

In community development terms sometimes 'network' is real and sometimes it is not. Morgan-Trimmer (2013) explains that: "The idea of a 'network' can be used in a metaphorical sense in qualitative research, but in some cases it can be useful to pay attention to network structures in a more literal way". (p.469).

She posits that Social Network Analysis (SNA) provides the concepts and the language to make this possible and uses this analysis in a study about a community regeneration project in Manchester, also in the north of England. Her research was particularly illuminating because her area received the same New Deal funding which Burngreave did and many of the community structures still functioning in Burngreave were the legacy of this input. Morgan-Trimmer (2013) was interested in 'network brokers' as participants who were active and influential in the networks:

> This study reveals how resident influence occurred in formal and informal network spaces through brokers. Beacon officers, public service employees and active residents formed the structure of the network and also brokered influence through the passing of information and advocating for resident influence over local services. (p.469).

She mentions the unstable nature of the informal ties between brokers and non-participating residents because many ties were based on luck rather than design but focuses on the opportunity that network analysis offers to reframe questions about participation. She argues that previous research has focused on institutional constraints when considering community participation and empowerment and that a network focus, particularly on network brokers, could lead to a different understanding of how influence can operate within a community. This has potential to change considerations when recruiting public service employees and also the physical location and culture of public offices which are important if they are recognized as being part of a network of information and influence.

Gilchrist (2009) approaches networking from the professional practice perspective, asking questions about what makes a good networker. In community development work she emphasizes the skilled and strategic nature of networking and in essence contends that workers can build networks. Morgan-Trimmer on the other hand considers how networks are built by parties who are interested in communicating something in particular. New Deal for communities involved considerable resources which were spent involving local consultation

and so a study of how information and influence operated through networks is investigating a different phenomenon. Gilchrist (2009) explains that:

> to be effective, these relationships need to be authentic and reliable" and explains how "For community development, interpersonal relationships within communities and between organisations need to be established and maintained in ways that contribute to the overall work programme of individual workers or agencies. (p.84).

As a tool for purposeful community development Gilchrist offers a model which builds on the networks which operate within families, groups of friends and within and between workers in organisations to utilize trained community development workers to build networks where they do not naturally occur.

I have two reservations about the efficacy of this model and it is that before a network can exist there must be something to enable the network to form and if a network is engineered while the resource or the information is genuine then networks can develop but relationships which are fostered just to build networks are not authentic or reliable and will not persist. I would contend that relationships will build when resources are available to be shared or distributed but in the absence of a clear purpose then there cannot be a meaningful network.

Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2013) conducted a study about neighbourhood resilience in Sheffield and two of the neighbourhoods identified as resilient were in Burngreave. Despite high deprivation on crucial measures these neighbourhoods were considered as better places to live than would have been anticipated. "Resilience was associated with better than expected outcomes, given the intensity of the stress that a neighbourhood was exposed to" (p. ii). Crucially this study is critical of the "Big Society" agenda where "Hard pressed areas have been depicted as lacking the social fabric to prosper and blamed for their own problems." (ibid). They reject the type of thinking which advocates the development of social capital and cohesion "as a means of overcoming poverty and disadvantage". (ibid).

Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2013) are clear that resilience is not a "panacea for communities facing major social and economic disadvantages" and that public services are crucial. The study identified features which were important to resilience and these included: Firstly, place making they argue has "has a role to play in the promotion of resilience" (p. iii). They advocate the importance of both creating and developing places within a neighbourhood where people can come together. Though this may seem to be a basic recommendation, safe social space

is crucial for relationships to develop. Secondly, they consider collective action which enables people to come together regardless of ethnic, language or religious affiliations. Within the resilient neighbourhoods they discuss, "This sense of belonging appeared to have been promoted by concrete local experiences of social ties and networks, nurtured by the infrastructure of public places" (ibid). Thirdly they highlight "the importance of information sharing and a community voice that resonates within and beyond the neighbourhood" (ibid). They identify that:

> places and people are key features of the community infrastructure underpinning resilience. Passionate individuals make a major contribution to resilience by facilitating collective responses to local issues, securing resources for the area, running groups and activities and providing support to local people. (p.iii).

These factors emerge as important in the process of building networks in Burngreave and there are often clear practical local solutions to issues which can be attributed to wider social ills.

Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2013) also identify the importance of community links with power and influence for neighbourhood resilience, pinpointing relationships with MPs, councilors and officials in key institutions:

> Community links with power and influence (linking social capital), such as links with Members of Parliament, ward Councillors, as well as officers in key institutions, seemed to promote neighbourhood resilience by facilitating responses to change and hardship…Community links with ward Councillors were reported to have helped with local campaigns by bringing issues to the local press and government meetings. Ward councillors can also provide individuals and communities with information about democratic processes, making campaigns more effective. (p.24).

For community organisations these relationships can determine the ability to grow and develop and in turn this reflects on the individual and the neighbourhood. These relationships are discussed in interviews with the super-connectors in Chapter Five and in addition to being important they are complex, reflecting multiple roles in relation to the allocation of resources.

In summary then, this review has considered literature about super-diversity and its relation to sociolinguistics, a background to the study which is fluid and changing and which questions conventional modern concepts of language and community. Post-modern sociolinguists offer a multifaceted understanding of language repertoire and the relevance of language ideology in understanding UK government policy towards language learning. The second part considers

community research from a theoretical perspective engaging community members as participants in research rather than subjects. This is consistent with the view of Blommaert and Rampton (2011, p.10) of the capacity for reflexivity in language choices made by language users and the relevance of context and social orientation (Blackledge and Creese, 2013).

 Two important UK studies are then explored considering both their methodological approach and the practical lessons to be learned when researching language provision in a super diverse environment.   The third part explores literature about English language provision, noting its critical stance and some inconsistencies in this as well as a gaps identified in the research. Most notably a gap in how language is used outside the classroom. While this research does not directly fill that gap from a sociolinguistic perspective it looks at mechanisms which build networks into the community to facilitate language use. Finally, literature about networks is reviewed drawing on different approaches to understanding and applying network ideas ranging from networks as simplifying visual tools to network ideas such as Actor Network Theory which seek to add complexity to terms and concepts which have been glossed over in the social sciences. The final section considered literature with practical applications to Burngreave considering the types of networks and relationships which have value and influence in areas of deprivation.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explore the value of community and approaches to research in the super-diverse ward of Burngreave in Sheffield. The study considered English Language provision and asked:

How does the English Language provision in Burngreave connect to the wider community?

This question was addressed through subsidiary questions using quantitative and qualitative research methods. The subsidiary questions are:

How do students use English outside the classroom?

How are English language classes networked to the wider community?

How were adult education networks developed and sustained in Burngreave?

In this chapter, I explore the value of collaborative approaches to research, considering the following research methodologies:

1. A quantitative research tool: a questionnaire.
2. Collaborative approaches to data analysis.
3. A qualitative research tool: conversational interviews with key informants.

These are three distinct but intersecting methodologies, linked by a collaborative approach (Lassiter, 2005 and Hart, 2007). I argue from a constructionist position that collaborative and community research approaches, generate knowledge which can give a new perspective to quantitative data production (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison, 2011, p.37). From an educational perspective this study explores how data about provision can serve to generate dialogue within communities from a shared information base. This foregrounds the knowledge and interpretations that students, teachers and other community workers bring to an understanding of English language provision (Goodson and Phillimore, 2011). This chapter explores the rationale behind the research approach. There are some overarching considerations which justify a community and collaborative approach and then there are considerations about the super-diverse nature of the area where the research was conducted

and these I will argue support the choice of research tools. I will first consider the overarching issues which are:

- Methodological approach

- Language considerations

- Ethical considerations

- The role of the researcher and positionality

- Research instruments

- Sample

- Collaborative analysis

At the planning stage a questionnaire was developed as a tool which was considered transparent and familiar by community members. A consideration in the use of a questionnaire was the diversity and dynamic environment we were investigating. Blommaert and Van de Vijver (2013 p.3) point out that "If social and cultural environments are marked by complexity, mobility and dynamics, it means that very little can be presupposed with respect to the features of such environments". The data in this study conducted between November 2012 and February 2013, involved considerable teamwork, multilingual peer support and collaboration from community members in its production. The data analysis was conducted with groups of students, tutors and other stakeholders and has been supplemented by interviews. Visual presentation of data has proved important in a super-diverse community, where many different languages are used, to facilitate a shared understanding of the data and a focused discussion. Visual presentation has included graphs, charts and network diagrams in Chapter Four and Five.

THE RESEARCH AGENDA AND THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This is an area study involving community English language classes in the Burngreave Ward. In the words of Berg and Sigona, (2013, p.352), "geography matters fundamentally". In my reading of research about other super-diverse areas, Harehills in Leeds (Simpson et al., 2011), Berchem in Antwerp (Blommaert, 2013), Southampton (Cadier and Mar-Molinero, 2012), It became clear that none of these areas was "emblematic" of Burngreave and that English language provision in Burngreave was not adequately represented by research that I had read about English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) provision in other areas. Following Berg and Sigona (2013, p.352) I take the view that "If we take seriously the multiplication and

increasingly complex intersection of axes of difference, we need to understand how it plays out differently in different conditions, at different scales, in particular places".

To be able to represent this complexity I argue that a community research approach offers a step towards broadening our understanding of what is there in terms of services and how these services are perceived by community members and consequently subscribe to the opinion of Goodson and Phillimore (2012, p.4) that "Unlike traditional approaches to research in which researchers generate research themes and interpret findings, the community research approach aims to empower community members to shape and have some ownership of the research agenda".

The research agenda in Burngreave can be represented in Burngreave by an article published in 2010 in a local community newspaper, written one of the many collaborators in this study and a student in the English language classes.

> For the last three months we have been fighting to keep our ESOL classes. At last we got some good news this month from the Council. Our classes will now be able to run twice a week as normal. There were a lot of people who stood with us and gave support, thank you to everyone who came with us and helped us. Thank you also to the Council for returning our classes. We hope the Council will never cut or reduce our classes again. English classes are very important for parents and their children. We gladly accept the good decision that the Council has made and we say to parents – be strong and never give up. (2010, community newspaper)

This successful campaign marked a change in people's attitude to their community classes and the initial data which began the study was a collection of letters and reports written by students, school governors, children and teachers to support the provision. Increased ownership of the provision enabled criticism of the provision by adult students involved and the first phase of the research involved constructing a collaborative plan of how to investigate the achievements of the English classes in Burngreave and how we could then improve the provision.

This study approaches the research from a constructionist perspective. The definition of community research I use is from Goodson and Phillimore (2012). It distinguishes 'community research' from other research approaches which have more complex approaches and agendas. Community research "involves communities in the production of knowledge" (Goodson and Phillimore 2012, p.3.) This is different from 'community based participatory research' or 'community based research' where community members are seen as equal partners in research, involved at each stage of the research process. It is also different from 'participatory action research' or 'action research' which is concerned about collectively improving the quality of the community and empowering community members. (Goodson and Phillimore, 2012, p.3) Though there are elements of all these types of research in the study, I use Goodson and Phillimore's definition because it is knowledge production which is the most important aspect of the research. Community members were involved at each stage of the research process but their involvement varied. Though I aimed to work collaboratively I do not want to *justify* the study on collaborative criteria, but to reflect instead on how knowledge was produced and what was learned. Following Phillimore's exploration of the Birmingham research community research (Goodson and Phillimore, 2012), from a constructionist paradigm, I consider "a constructionist approach in community engaged research as an appropriate and necessary approach within increasingly culturally diverse societies in the United Kingdom" (Karnilowicz, et.al., 2014)

The type of knowledge produced will depend on what kinds of tools are developed and how they are used. Adults in community educational settings learning English are rarely participants in the research process and are sometimes not consulted. Recent research in Leeds (Simpson et al., 2011, p.11) asks teachers rather than students what they consider to be students' barriers to learning. Though this approach is practical in terms of time and convenience, asking the students would make the answers more reliable and credible. At a fundamental level the research in Burngreave is participative (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison, 2011, p37) "as it is concerns doing research with people and communities rather than doing research to or for people and communities".

In Burngreave, because the research was conducted across a political ward and the collaborative aspects of the research were crucial, many different people were involved at

different times and for varying lengths of time. In Burngreave the approach followed a study conducted in Harehills in Leeds (Simpson et al., 2011). The main differences however between the study in Harehills, Leeds and the study in Burngreave, Sheffield are firstly that the Burngreave study has been conducted wholly by people involved in the provision rather than by researchers from an outside institution on the premise that "research can be conducted by everyday people rather than an elite group of researchers" (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison, 2011, p.37) and secondly the focus of the Burngreave research has been to find out how language provision relates to the wider community firstly by considering students' use of English using a questionnaire.

In the research in Burngreave, a student participant said "Ask the teachers, the teachers will know." This echoes the approach favoured in Harehills. But as the research progressed she contributed positively and in the latter stages voiced criticisms of the provision. Power differentials which are present in society can be magnified in educational settings. Paulo Freire (1970) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977) both consider the way that power manifests itself in educational settings. Action research and participatory action research trace their roots to Freire because these involve community members as agents in the research process. Research in these contexts is framed within an agenda for action and change. Freire (1970) is interested in emancipatory education for the oppressed and considers that a 'banking' system of education where the teachers is the person with all the knowledge 'narrating' appropriate knowledge to 'oppressed' student is what maintains an oppressive system. Freire (1970, p. 55) writes that:

> the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. To achieve this end, the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of "welfare recipients".

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) are also critical of how power is wielded through education by the dominant classes. The approach in Bourdieu's principles is approximately the position I adopt and the approach I observe within the community organisation I work for in Burngreave. We recognize the power imbalance and seek to get the best out of the funding regime and the curriculum, to further the lives of 'the oppressed' i.e. the economically disadvantaged adult immigrants who seek to learn English in Burngreave. I cannot agree with Bourdieu though that people don't know what they want "because in matters of culture

absolute dispossession excludes awareness of being dispossessed" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.210). Within Burngreave there are people with every level of awareness of their position and their struggle and education is most often recognized as a vehicle to much more than economic success. The first phase of the research involved considering how the research should be approached with two adult students, Muna and Sara, and Isla, the editor of the community newspaper. Two group sessions were held to discuss how the research should be conducted and what aspects of the provision we should investigate.

Students and tutors had worked together to resist cuts to provision and it was clear that a community approach to research would reflect community concerns and community involvement. Through discussion in the group, mentioned above, we developed themes for investigation and these affected the research tools we identified as appropriate. Our discussions about research design and planning, valued both quantitative and qualitative aspects of research. We considered the quantitative element of research to be important to build an argument about funding or when trying to evidence a particular point which might relate to policy. This is particularly relevant because the research is rooted in community concerns about cuts to funding.

We decided to gather baseline information with a questionnaire then to collect stories related to issues that were raised. The themes which were identified as important were health both physical and mental, access to housing, access to money and benefits, family life including relationships with children, neighbours, and school. These were all sensitive areas and potential crisis points if people did not have sufficient proficiency in English to make themselves properly understood. When the research first began community cohesion was a policy 'buzzword' and so we selected the themes which we could relate to cohesion. We asked questions about neighbours and friends as well as other courses volunteering and jobs. Because the schools were involved in hosting a lot of the provision and there were clearly many potential avenues for research, we decided to focus on children and links with school as well as background information about education, language and literacy. We discussed where people needed to use English and developed a ticklist for a questionnaire.

In the discussions Muna and Isla focussed on the crisis points for people who were not able to access services and Sara and myself tended to focus on the positive aspects of what had been learned. Collaboration broadened the discussion and reflected different perspectives.

These initial discussions gave me a research question, a plan and an approach to the research born out of a community campaign and collaboration. Lassiter (2005, p15) defines collaboration, explaining that:

> To collaborate means, literally, to work together, especially in an intellectual effort. While collaboration is central to the practice of ethnography, realizing a more deliberate and explicit collaborative ethnography implies resituating collaborative practice at every stage of the ethnographic process, from fieldwork to writing and back again.

Lassiter (2005) is inspiring in his vision and his approach and his work shows a respect that puts his co-researchers on an equal footing. A detailed ethnographic study enables close collaboration with a small number of collaborators but as the number of people who participate in a study increases, the amount of control each person can exercise decreases.

This was the case in Burngreave and over time different people were able to participate at different levels. The methodology was both informed by my reading of the literature and developed and refined in discussion with community members. It both drew on Freire's emancipatory approach (1970) and Bourdieu's awareness of power (1977) as it manifests itself in educational settings. The overarching methodological choices in this study were part of the motivation for the study borne out of community activism in relation to opposition to cuts in public spending. My choice was to work within an ethos of collaboration already established which had contributed to making the English language provision successful and valued.

COMMUNITY RESEARCH

Phillimore and Goodson, (2012, p.8) comment that community research can challenge positivist notions of research and Wellington (2015, p.11) argues that social scientists should not aim to mimic science and its claims of objective facts. What are "traditional positivist notions of research"? How do participatory approaches challenge such notions? And what does it mean to be an 'objective' scientist? These are important questions and in addition to discussing these approaches to research I also consider the focus of the knowledge. The way that language is viewed and its purpose in the world will influence the way its role is researched. Wellington (2015, p.26) questions the objectivist/ subjectivist divide to consider what qualities are important in research and to what ends? He explains positivism as a belief that "true knowledge is based on an objective, detached, value free knower. Positivist

knowledge is therefore deemed to be objective, value-free, generalizable and replicable" but as he explains further "the view that modern science is positivist is totally false" because it cannot determine clear cause-effect relationships" (ibid). This is because in research it is not possible to isolate variables which might affect an outcome so we can never be totally sure that there is a determining factor or a "cause". While community research does challenge positivist notions by engaging community members in research it clearly acknowledges that there is not one objective view and that multiple understandings are important. It can also be the case that community researchers as non-academics might be more aware of traditional research methods that lean towards the positivist accounts of knowledge and more familiar with quantitative methods. In Burngreave, community members thought that quantitative methods would establish some baseline information about the provision and the individual experience. They favoured the use of a questionnaire at first and then interviews to collect stories. On balance in Burngreave, community members favoured a mixed approach as Wellington (2015) advocates. An important point that Phillimore and Goodson (2009, 2012) make throughout their work is the recognition of the skills and knowledge contained in the community being researched. It was crucial that the research methods promoted transparency so that community skills and knowledge could be utilised. That community research challenges some positivist research notions, might not be relevant to participants in the research process, who are interested in questioning the conditions of their lives rather than querying academic issues about research. They wish to use the research methods which will have most impact on policy and provision.

LANGUAGE CONSIDERATIONS

The use of language is central both to the purpose of the research and the methodology. Some version of English is the lingua franca of English language classes in Burngreave but it is not the only language used and the version of English used, varies not only from classroom to classroom but varies within every conversation. The "speech community" Silverstein (2012) is as a result of super-diversity. Silverstein contrasts the flexibility of this concept of a 'speech community' with the nation-state sponsored concept of 'language community' which is a political connection between people, territory and a language which is fixed, with language existing as an entity separate from all its users.

The English language taught in community education venues in Burngreave is ostensibly such a fixed language in the eyes of funders, evidenced by the measurements of success proscribed in relation to a functional curriculum and an examination process which features mainly grammatical rather than communication standards. These speech hurdles are erected and then British government policy links proficiency in English with being a good citizen. Language thus becomes a proxy for discriminatory attitudes and racist policy. Silverstein's (2015, p. 11) view is that reality in a super-diverse setting, shows that concepts of a static language model are clearly inapplicable now. He has doubts that they ever really did apply claiming:

> the phenomena of "super-diversity" …constitute really an aggregate index of the fact that the institutional forms of these contemporary nation-states are outstripped by what they face in the way of language (and culture) in the communicative richness of our present-day world.

With this background in mind the research was approached with a questionnaire in English but to make it workable amongst speakers of more than 45 languages all still studying to improve their English, we drew on a range of other linguistic resources. The first was a willingness to understand and be understood. In a community and collaborative venture this willingness carried the research forward and made communications which may have seemed problematic in academic terms, more simple and commonplace in reality. The research was facilitated without formal interpretation and translation services, but considerable translation, explanation and interpretation enabled the communication of words and ideas.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations in social science research involve at a minimum ensuring voluntary participation, informed consent and that participants understand their right to withdraw at any stage in the research process. I describe here how these obligations were met in this study and have included a university ethical approval form at Appendix 2.

In community research ethical considerations change because of the positionality of the researcher and the relationships which exist between community members and the person responsible for conducting the research. In the case of this research in Burngreave most of these relationships existed before the research was initiated and have developed further throughout the period of the research. In the following excerpt from "The Weight of the World", Bourdieu (1999) introduces some of the ethical issues associated with social research.

> True, everyone we talked to agreed to let us use their statements as we saw fit. But no contract carries as much unspoken conditions as one based on trust. In the first place we had to protect the people who confided in us, in particular by changing the names of individuals and places to prevent identification places. Above all we had to protect them from the danger of misinterpretation (p.1)

In community research familiarity, confidence and trust mark the community researcher from the traditional 'outsider' researcher. But familiarity in a community setting can obscure the vulnerability of community members and the potential for harm which is possible when collecting sensitive material about communities already under economic and cultural duress. With a relationship of trust built often over years, comes a weighty responsibility with regards to the possibilities of misrepresentation.

PROTECTING AN INDIVIDUAL FROM HARM

Protecting an individual from harm is the first aspect of ethics I will address because by keeping this principle at the forefront of research design many potentially problematic issues can be avoided. Concepts of what constitutes harm and what constitutes sensitive ethical issues are culturally dependent and there can be a difference in understanding between ideas as acted out by university ethics committees and communities where research is conducted. Because of ethical malpractices in the fields of medical research (Sykes, 2010, p.206) and because of data protection issues relating to confidentiality there are complex constructions of sensitive issues relating not just to how data is construed and used, but also to how data is collected in social science research. In many ways ethical considerations can never be over-weighted if potential for harm is in the hands of the researcher.

In Burngreave when we developed a questionnaire with community members and bilingual members, we discussed ethical considerations regarding what constituted sensitive questions. Our questionnaire was based on a "pre-validated" (Simpson, 2011, p.2) questionnaire conducted in a super-diverse area in Harehills in Leeds. The research team in Leeds produced a methodological toolkit to conduct an audit of ESOL provision within a local area. For future use they state that it is advisable to "revise and tailor the tools to suit a particular situation". Within our group there were questions about one or two questions asked in Harehills. There were issues of cultural sensitivity about participants being asked their ages in an open classroom setting and more seriously about adult immigrants being asked their immigration status. Immigration status is controversial in groups of new migrants

and some immigrants in classes may be categorised as 'illegal' however their status is rarely known about in these cases. Though people may have to lie routinely to gain access to services I consider it unethical to ask questions about immigration knowing that students will have to lie to maintain their "lawful" position in a class. Because of these issues, there were no questions about immigration status.

In a super-diverse setting, where people participating in research come from many different backgrounds, it may be impossible to anticipate every possibility and so a rigorous scrutiny of questions by people who have a working knowledge of that particular context, in our case students, teachers and extended school workers, were involved in the questionnaire development.

RISKS TO GROUPS
"Traditional clinical research ethics frameworks focus almost exclusively on risks to individuals" (Anderson et al., 2012, p.5) but membership of a group can also be a relevant consideration in an ethical approach to research. In research in super-diverse communities, participants may categorize each other as members of ethnic and linguistic groups and can also construe problems and issues in those terms. It may be harmful or counterproductive to replicate those categorizations although it may be verbatim how participants do speak about themselves and other participants.

INFORMED CONSENT
CONSENT FROM EDUCATION PROVIDERS
Because the research was conducted in adult language classes there were many levels of consent which had to be sought. Initially I wrote for permission (Appendix 2) to the various education providers which operate in Burngreave and these were The Sheffield College, The Workers Education Association and Sheffield City Council Lifelong Learning and Skills. They all gave permission and informed the tutors that the research had been approved. The next step was to approach the teachers to ask permission and arrange a time for a visit. This was done verbally because I did not have direct contact with all the tutors. Access to students was negotiated via the centre where the classes took place.

Because I knew most tutors from my work in the community and I had worked for many of the providers, I already had a relationship of trust. I knew many of the ESOL tutors and the administrator of the sites as colleagues and they were aware of the research. In this way tutors were more relaxed about the research visit than they might have been if I had been a stranger or an 'outsider researcher'. Both adult education providers and English language teachers could be construed as gatekeepers because the people I was interested in were the adult students and it was their actions which had initiated the research. This raised another ethical issue for me which was one of representation in community research which I will discuss in a later section in this chapter. In the classroom I asked permission verbally of the students and my script is attached as Appendix 3.

CONSENT FROM ADULT ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDENTS

In each of the classes I visited, I modelled the questionnaire interview (Appendix 6.) before a research interview took place. This was done by asking the questions of a confident student or worker, in the way a teacher would model a dialogue or role-play in the classroom. Students were able to see and hear what the interview questions were before they participated. The questionnaire was culturally appropriate to the ESOL classroom firstly because that was where the research was taking place but also because the notion of consent was also presented in the context of the ESOL classroom. Students were used to questioning each other and writing answers to question for information. In the normal course of events this information did not leave the classroom but in this instant the information would have a future life. It was important firstly that students realised that this was not just a classroom exercise and it was also important that the information that was aired was appropriate to be asked and answered aloud in the classroom setting.

In the development of the questionnaire, by considering these issues collaboratively it was possible to consider more perspectives and we removed questions which could have caused discomfort. The purpose of the questions in the interview was to establish background information and information about language use and in essence we were interested in emerging patterns of language use rather than asking individuals for detailed information and this was reflected in the nature of the questions asked.

The first point of consent for students was participating in the questionnaire interview, the second point was at the level of individual questions and they could elect not to answer any particular question.

Within the context of classroom working practices, the questions were not sensitive. Within the classroom, because the questions were asked out loud, the answers were not anonymous. Outside the classroom, confidentiality and anonymity were protected because each questionnaire was given a number which related back to a single first name. The students' first names though on the questionnaires were not entered with the data. The questionnaires were kept securely and do not contain sensitive material. When my application was submitted to the ethics committee at the University of Sheffield, I realised that much of the knowledge and experience which my colleagues and I took for granted while working in a 'super-diverse' community, could be issues of concern. Research about 'super-diverse' communities talks about "common-place diversity" (Wessendorf, 2011, p.1), "low-level quotidian rubbing together" (Gidley, 2013, p.367) "everyday indifference" and "banal intercultural interaction" (Sandercock, 2003 p.89) and although interactions in an ESOL classroom are more purposeful than banal, the experience of working with different languages and respecting different cultural backgrounds is commonplace and necessary in everyday interactions.

Wessendorf (2012) discusses zones of contact and I will return to this point in the findings section and argue that the English language classroom is a unique 'zone of contact' which can give considerable insight into life in a super-diverse community. This is because the contact in an adult English language classroom is both sustained and purposeful, a community of practice (Wenger, 2006, p1). Students and teachers are used to the experience of super-diversity and its language and cultural implications. I had to distance myself from my everyday life in an ESOL classroom and life in a super-diverse community setting to understand university ethical concerns. Students are used to explaining and relating and are used to talking and laughing about language and misunderstandings. Language is our interest and our work. As Gidley (2013, p.367) observes "Despite the intensity of diversity, people get on". This is true in Burngreave in and out of the classroom. Formal translation of consent letters was not an option because there were too many languages in the classroom, forty in

total. Learning English through English and a mixture of other languages, informal explanations, dictionary definitions, translations, play acting and demonstrating is business as usual, both for students and teachers, administrators and managers. Most people involved have a repertoire of communicative and linguistic skills and strategies (Blommaert, 2010).

Anonymity and identification are complex notions. When research is initiated within a community and the research involves collaboration with community members, identification of people involved is not always construed negatively. As Richards and Shwarz (2002) explain, "Participants may not wish to remain anonymous. Identification with their expressed beliefs may help participants to maintain ownership of the content and meanings of their narratives" (p.138). Involvement can be seen as a matter of pride and recognition that people have been involved in research (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015, p.40). The research can be seen as voice for community concerns and a way to support under resourced services. The first phase of this research planning, involved four people and all of them wanted their names included on the research. Because misrepresentation (Bourdieu, 1999 p.1) is a concern when research becomes public and because in the research design we touched on some sensitive topics, the two students involved adopted pseudonyms. One of the super-connectors did not wish to be anonymised but ultimately all participants and centres named in the research were anonymised because many participants were frank in their contributions and as a result the content was controversial and anonymising was preferred. In addition, the interviews were further edited. Though each *individual* respondent in the research was in little danger of misrepresentation as their input was part of a large group, there are issues about the provision being misrepresented, as it would be easier to misrepresent the provision. When the conversational interviews were conducted in 2014, Burngreave had experienced cuts to services which included job losses and the super-connectors expressed their concerns in the interviews. Their willingness to be frank resulted in conversations which contain data which have been edited to protect their identities.

THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER AND POSITIONALITY

My role and my attitude to the research have changed over the course of my PhD study. Initially as I began to work on research design, I was very angry and protective of the English language provision. Angry because I had been made redundant from a job, in which I had worked with a team to develop a large proportion of the classes in Burngreave, and protective because local government spending cuts threatened future funding of the classes. Copp (2008) explains the importance of recognizing emotions and understanding how emotions can impact on research findings:

> Paying greater attention to their emotions by incorporating them into their data ultimately permits qualitative researchers to analyze their subjective responses and unpack the assumptions they carry rather than ignore emotions and pretend that they have no impact on researchers' findings. (p.250).

Because of this I was clear that the research should not be used to misrepresent the provision and potentially damage its reputation or its future. As time has passed I have gained distance from my initial job but have continued to work in the area. I am currently employed by a community organisation in Burngreave, in a curriculum development and quality capacity. I have been employed specifically to improve the success rate of the language provision.   In this role I have gained another perspective. There are three main shapers of this perspective and they are firstly a further lack of funds, secondly, working in a community organisation and thirdly being one of a few monoglot workers in a young bi-lingual workforce

In an under resourced sector, community sub-contractors can operate on 50 to 60% of the Skills Funding Agency allocation for ESOL, with up to 50% being retained by FE providers for administration and contractual support. This shortage of funding for some organisations was a source of concern to me at the time as success criteria such as retention, and achievement in examinations, does not take unequal resources into account.

The second perspective is that of working in a community organisation where the motivation for providing education is part of a general community welfare agenda which includes advice work, pre-school provision and community language provision. Though community organisations focus on adult English language education it is part of a wider community agenda.

The third aspect of my new perspective is being one of a few monoglot workers in a young bi-lingual workforce. While all these experiences have focused my mind at a deeper level within an area where I have lived or worked in various capacities since 1988, my university studies and experiences have considerable broadened my perspective to consider wider educational and political issues of super-diversity and globalisation. In my second year at university I was offered the opportunity to teach a Globalisation Module for the Department of Lifelong Learning, which increased my knowledge about global politics, migration, and language ideology.

Because I have been directly involved in the area where my study has been conducted, I have seen changes and developments. These have informed my analysis and affected my planning and research. Though there have been organised meetings to plan the questionnaire and to pilot the questionnaire and to analyse the findings, there have also been informal conversations in the passing and as ideas have emerged, I have discussed them with various people involved in community education. Many ideas have developed in this way. Feldman, (1998) discusses the role of conversation in research and argues for conversation to be viewed as a research methodology (Feldman, 1998, p31). A particular idea which emerged from conversation was an analysis of the way that information and ideas were disseminated in the area. I had begun to consider Network Theory and thought that it could add to the understanding of the way that teachers and extended   school workers related to the English language classes and also the way that the community newspaper and the Adult Learning Guide linked the classes to schools and the wider community.

When I first read about the idea of "super-diversity" I discussed it with people I knew and worked with, and everyone I spoke to, recognised its usefulness and its purpose. Similarly, when I spoke to people about networks and drew them network diagrams, they found the ideas illuminating. Immediately people applied the concepts to how we organised. Isla said "I'm not a hub but there are many hubs in Burngreave and I can get in touch with them". I told someone who I thought was a 'super-connector' and then she confirmed this role and suggested another person who also worked in this way. Feldman (1998) points out that,

"They (conversations) are inquiry processes when the participants enter into conversation for the purpose of exchanging and generating knowledge and understanding and when people enter into them to make defensible decisions about goals or actions." (p.31). I considered it ethical to ensure that the shape the research took was one that people were comfortable with and "academic" analysis served their understanding. One of the super-connectors employment role was made redundant and I was asked to say something at her leaving event, so I included some findings from the research and every one warmed to the idea of the network, the hubs and the super-connectors. I used this opportunity to disseminate but also to sound out some of the research ideas and the response was positive. In this way local, as well as academic, dissemination is a dialogue. At this event I felt upset and tried to remain 'professional' despite my emotions, although I disagree with the positivist view of objective or neutral research described by Cob (2008, p.250):

> In the past, positivist researchers eschewed emotions, considering them to be emblematic of the irrational volatility of humans and, therefore, inappropriate for social scientific research. In addition, most researchers attempted to set aside or ignore their own emotional responses so as to emulate the professional ideal of affective neutrality.

At the event, other participants also expressed their feelings about the research and our colleague's departure and notions of misplaced 'professionalism' and distance seemed to have little resonance in collaborative and community research. I discuss my role further in Chapter Five in relation to data from interviews with the super-connectors.

POWER AND CONSENT

Because much of the literature about community research and participatory research comes from the field of health some discussion about ethics in these fields have more serious implications than research in community education. This is because of the greater potential for harm resulting both from interventions which may affect health and also personal health issues. Power imbalances however in both health and education settings are considerable and this has implications for consent. It may be easier not to consent to research if the

researcher is unknown to participants than if the researcher occupies a role within the community but conversely it is easier to trust that a person you know as a worker within the community, is researching with good intentions and to improve services.

Power in research is not static and though the researcher is often construed as holding a higher position of power in virtue of being more knowledgeable and in control of the research agenda (Loffman et al., 2004 p.337) this is not always the case. Informants, subjects or participants have considerable power because without their cooperation and participation research will not go ahead or may proceed with false information. However participatory research can hide exploitation when research is used to further a researcher's career or to control participants' contributions within a collaboration. Either approach is unethical. In intercultural research ethical approaches can have unethical consequences.

Mulder et al. (2000 p.105) explore the notion of vulnerability in their action research in a farming community in Bolivia. Women in the community where they researched, rather than agreeing to draft a research agreement, offered to sign a blank piece of paper, and offered "unconditional and unlimited consent" (p.106). Mulder et al. (2000) suggest that the women did not want to miss out on any possibilities that might develop from the research which could be limited by an agreement and also that the women are less concerned than the researchers are about outcomes of the research. In Burngreave, written consent was inappropriate because of the low literacy levels of many of the adult students. In some communities there is a lack of trust in a piece of paper and a preference to work with an individual and their verbal assurance. Mulder et al. (2000) p.107 also explore the idea of the researcher being perceived as being vulnerable and they report conversations in which local people express concern about the principal researcher cycling around the area because she is perceived as being young and fragile and not as a full adult woman. Within the university system, academic work is important, while academics may be construed as marginal and unimportant by those *they* consider vulnerable and interesting. Loffman et al. (2004, p.337) points out that by labelling participants or subjects as vulnerable the researcher positions herself as being a protector. This can empower the protector but may overestimate the researcher's power to protect. This may extend the power differential and may have the opposite of the desired consequences, regarding the balance of power.

By emphasising repeatedly that participants are free to quit the research at any point and by attempting to individualise the consent and participation process, researchers may be making participants feel vulnerable or "calling evil" (Mulder et al., 2000 p. 105). By this she means that by intimating the potential for harm the researcher may be invoking harm. In Burngreave, participants were being approached because they were part of a group. The research was conducted from November onwards when group dynamics within the class had been established over two or three months since the start of the session. Students had established working relations with their teachers and so the questionnaire was not seen as sensitive and invasive in a classroom context, then the possibility of harm was minimal. Our approach was not to construe the adult students as vulnerable but to produce a questionnaire which was easy to understand, which had been vetted for potential harm and was administered by familiar faces in a familiar style.

DISSEMINATION AND OWNERSHIP OF THE RESEARCH

Because so many people have been involved in the research the concept of ownership is complex and I have presented sections of the research to groups of students, tutors and community organisations. Provider organisations have expressed most interest in the research because they have to write reports about their provision. It has been used to present arguments about the value of provision in schools. Because community members have been involved in the analysis of the research, their views will be represented at a deeper level than if they were only involved in the data collection stage but concepts of ownership imply that it can be contained in some way. Quantitative research can be viewed as less accessible than qualitative research and this type of research is perceived as having the potential to mislead (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007, p.120). However, this depends on the researcher's approach to data collection and to analysis and dissemination. In ethnographic research the subjects being observed do not always know what the researcher writes in her notebook and theories are formed from description which therefore cannot be verified or argued about. Conversely statistics can be presented very simply and can enable community members as participants to comment about a situation. For example, in this study by showing a simple graph about language class levels, students were able to respond to and interpret this number 'fact'. In this case quantitative research produced transparent and visual results which participants could comment on and analyse and most importantly suggest what might be

done to change the situation. In community research it is incumbent on the researcher to present data and findings in a way that people can understand and discuss. In the final chapter I give an account of the formal dissemination of the study.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

In this section I explore the nature of research in a super-diverse community. Drawing on the work of Blommaert and Van der Vijver (2013), I argue that the dynamic nature of the community justifies the use of a tool to gather base-line of information both about the provision and about the adult students who use it.

I then consider data analysis in collaboration with service users and providers. I draw on the work of Love et al. (2008, p11) who say "Data have no meaning. Meaning is imposed through interpretation" and "When one is open to critically examining assumptions, data can be a catalyst to discarding old frames of reference and embracing new ones". In addition to these ideas about data analysis, collaborative analysis which is grounded in specific data can give participants from diverse backgrounds, equal footing in dialogue as they bring different perspectives to the conversation but from a starting point which is shared and apparent.

I then consider conversational interviews as a way of extending and deepening conversations which started with participants within the community, and how these conversations are negotiated and agreed. Finally, I consider how themes and ideas can be constructed collaboratively to reflect both shared and contested positions.

1.   USING A QUESTIONNAIRE

Though Vertovec (2007) specifically called for multivariate analysis of factors identified as important when considering services and resources for a super-diverse community, few such research studies have been conducted within the field of sociolinguistics where ethnography has been promoted as the appropriate research method. This is because ethnography provides a level of detailed description which enables an understanding of the complex and fluid nature of people's language use. Blommaert (2011), Rampton (2006), Pennycook (2007) and Blackledge and Creese (2010) discuss language repertoires and it is widely accepted in this field that enumerating (counting) languages is not a useful or effective way of understanding how language operates in a super-diverse community. This is because if we hold that language is a dynamic, fluid concept then it cannot be made into a clear bounded unit that can be counted (Blommaert, 2008). Moore (2010, p.11) contends that counting

languages disguises the hybridity and heteroglossia and speakerhood of language. In 2013 Jan Blommaert, a sociolinguist from this group wrote a research note with a colleague Fons van de Vijver from the Babylon Centre at Tilburg University (Blommaert and van de Vijver, 2013) which broadened the focus on detailed ethnographic description. The purpose was to stimulate debate "across disciplinary and methodological-traditional boundaries". The 'note' was entitled "Combining surveys and ethnographies in the study of rapid social change" and it considered in detail how survey research had a considerable role to play in research in super-diverse areas. From my perspective this was a welcome departure because I had arrived at the conclusion that a clear baseline of information was crucial. In addition, though I was interested in the concept of a dynamic and fluid understanding of language, there is also a practical approach to service provision that recognizes that there is a working understanding of what 'English' is and that a request for a French speaking interpreter works most of the time at a practical level. I have enumerated languages in this research but have also acknowledged that language is complex and in flux.

Shortly before, in 2011, a team from Leeds University was commissioned by Leeds City Council to undertake an audit of the English for Speakers of other Languages (ESOL) provision in an area of Leeds called Harehills (Simpson et al., 2011). Leeds is a city 35 miles to the north of Sheffield and Harehills is super-diverse area comparable with Burngreave in Sheffield. Part of their audit process was producing a methodological toolkit which could be used in other areas. The questionnaire used in this study was an adaption from the Harehills toolkit. We were not interested in 'barriers to learning' which was a topic of interest in Harehills but were interested in asking adult learners how they used English in the wider community. The Harehills survey questionnaire served as a useful starting point for us and could be adapted to a community research agenda.

Blommaert and van de Vijver (2013) raise many crucial points about survey research from a theoretical and practical viewpoint drawing on the work of Bourdieu who combined survey work with ethnographical study. They explain:

> As scholars of humans in society and culture, our research instruments demand perpetual reality checking, because humans in society and culture are unpleasant enough to change perpetually, and methods for understanding social and cultural processes that were adequate yesterday are not guaranteed to be adequate tomorrow. (p.2)

In many cases familiarity with an area can lead researchers and policy makers to assume accurate knowledge of a population within an area. The super-diverse perspective acknowledges that situations in some areas are subject to constant change. When recession hit Sheffield, the wealthiest areas were least affected whilst people living in Burngreave often in low paid part-time temporary jobs in the service sector lost their jobs first. Changes in immigration policy can affect movement in and out of super-diverse areas and war and economic upheaval across the globe quickly result in new immigration. Though community members 'knew' the area, they also acknowledged the constant change as new benefit and funding regimes changed the criteria determining who was eligible for provision and who had to attend compulsory jobcentre courses. According to Blommaert and van de Vijver (2013): "These rapid processes of change defy the synchronic, sedentary, linear and static biases of sciences based on structural assumptions about the social and cultural world". (p.2). To react to changes described above: detailed, long-term and inter-subjective studies will not produce the baseline information that is sometimes needed in service provision and also in research. "Typically, surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing condition." (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.256).

Blommaert and Vijver (2013, p.1) contrast the approaches of ethnography and survey research: Ethnography as the "archetypal qualitative kind of research, focused on intersubjective small scale interpretive work" and survey research as "the archetypal quantitative approach based on an analytical distancing of researcher and object, standardized procedures and statistical factual outcomes". They argue that by seeking different types of information they can complement and support each other's findings.

Community members in Burngreave were involved to decide what data would produce important information and then in the analysis of that data. By working with people who had different perspectives and attitudes we approached quantitative data with flexibility, acknowledging that different people needed different input to understand and answer the same question. Standardized procedures were not appropriate when the population was super-diverse and by analysing our numerical data from different perspectives we realised that there were few 'facts' and many interpretations of the same numbers:

> If a researcher cannot rely on robust baseline knowledge of the social and cultural environment s/he investigates, epistemological and methodological problems quickly occur at all levels. Designing a reliable population for survey research, for instance is

hard when the baseline knowledge of the population is questionable…We can always make a sample, surely, but what is that sample actually representative of? (Blommaert and van de Vijver, 2013, p.4).

In the Harehills study (Simpson, 2011), it was recommended that when conducting an area audit the researchers should use the student questionnaire in one class in every centre. It is crucial at this point to ask 'Why?' and 'Which class?' While it would be easiest to use a questionnaire with a class whose members could fill it out on their own this would then be a sample only of students more proficient in English.

In Harehills the teachers led the questionnaire from the front of the class explaining each question while the adult students filled in the answers. This was the method recommended in the toolkit. Because different people need different input to arrive at the same understanding, I approached the questionnaire as a mini-structured interview with the questions being asked out loud on an individual basis.

Equally problematic would be surveying different levels of classes in different centres. Because of the sampling problems I decided to do a census of all the classes rather than a survey. I knew that Burngreave had very little provision compared to Harehills and this made the use of a census questionnaire possible. The Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) supported this decision because it meant that we would feel much more confident when we discussed our results that we did not have a methodological sampling issue.

ECOLOGICAL VALIDITY

"To what extent is the content of questions asked, commensurate with the socially distributed knowledge possessed by the respondents?" (Cicourel et al., 2004:8) p.4

Translation remains crucial in legal and medical contexts where professionals do not have the requisite communication skills and where language is complex and technical. By contrast, teachers and students in language classes are largely practised communicators and are familiar with communicating in a multi-lingual context. Burton et al. (2010, p.1345) stress that it is not only important to measure relevant dimensions of a question in a survey but it is also important to "consider the practical impact of acceptability, phrasing, position, mode and the wider context in which the questions are being asked." From the outset, I had decided to conduct the questionnaire as an interview so that the questions were asked aloud. The reasoning was this would allow time for thought and to air both the question and the answer. The wider context of the survey related to the English language provision, but the immediate

context was that of an "ESOL" classroom where adults were familiar with practising questions and answers in pairs, were familiar with asking for and sharing ideas about meaning and familiar with talking about language and education. By working with a team of students, they would be questioned by their peers.

2. COLLABORATIVE ANALYSIS AND DATA DRIVEN DIALOGUE

In this section I draw on the work of Blakey, Milne and Kilburn (2012) and their chapter in Community Research for Participation: From theory to method consider the concept of 'data-driven dialogue' from the work of Love et al. (2008) who have been involved in two projects one called the 'Using Data Project' and the other called 'Research for better teaching'. Both these projects are clear that data is not an end in itself but can be used as a catalyst both to become aware of our differing terms of reference and as a means to question the assumptions we make. When discussing survey research, the literature often emphasises the importance of being able to generalise the results. However, by analysing data with others, there is an acknowledgement that interpretations will vary, depending on the perspective of those involved in analysis and that knowledge does not exist as a discreet entity, that it is not separate from the knower. In Burngreave, data which appeared straight forward and uncomplicated to some groups generated a critical response from other groups as Blakey et al. (2012) explain:

> community analysis is a collective process: bringing people together (including different ages and different ethnic backgrounds) to share and discuss their experiences. This helps us to challenge collectively our own and other's assumptions, and to understand what it is that we do know, and realise what we do not. (p.107)

In a collective discussion the first part of the process is airing views and information to avoid assumptions about what people think and believe. Then considering data together can enable people to ask questions and make suggestions with a focus on the data.

Blakey et al. (2012, p.107) define analysis:

> Analysis is what happens when you put your personal knowledge and understanding into a bigger picture of the knowledge and understanding held by others: this encourages you to question your assumptions and to look for patterns, reasons why and possible answers

Love et al. (2008) in their work about 'data driven dialogue' outline six assumptions about using data to improve school results. Assumption 2 is "data have no meaning" by this they

mean that it is only through interpretation that we impose meaning on data. In community research there is an expectation that by involving service users in data analysis not only will a fresh perspective be introduced but that different frames of reference will be made more explicit. By basing knowledge on information gained from the analysis of data, I argue that parity is established between different perspectives. Important to this argument in a super-diverse setting is that data is presented in a way that is accessible and meaningful to everyone engaged in the dialogue.

Collaborating in data analysis and accepting Love et al.'s view of data as having no meaning, has implications for the generalizability of findings from the quantitative data generated by the questionnaire. Because the questionnaire was conducted across the whole of the ESOL provision, we can describe the student population in Burngreave with a degree of confidence. We cannot extend our findings to other areas because of the super-diverse and dynamic nature of the area and because interpretation of the data may mean different things to different people with differing frames of reference. How applicable the findings are to other areas and situations will depend on the analysis of the data and the 'fit' of the context. Wellington (2015) makes the argument that every kind of research needs to be assessed and evaluated as to its generalizability and that nothing should be taken for granted. And further to this I suggest that only interested parties who are very familiar with a particular area will be able to make that assessment about how applicable any research study can be within their own context. In conclusion I argue for collaborative analysis and data driven dialogue to add depth and detailed understanding to quantitative data.

3. INTERVIEWING

The third research tool I discuss is a qualitative tool: an in-depth un-structured interview. Firmin (2009, p. 907) states that: "the un-structured research method may be useful when working with particularly articulate individuals". The individuals I was interested to interview were well known to me and would be considered "key informants". They had been identified as 'super-connectors' within the community networks and were familiar with the ESOL provision in the area, and the area as a whole as all lived and worked in Burngreave. They had been involved in the development of the questionnaire and the analysis of the data and could all be described as articulate. I had been engaged in conversation with them throughout the time of the research and I considered the use of conversational interviews as

a way of logging their knowledge and contribution and a way of extending and deepening conversations which had started informally but which I realised were informative and reflective. Drawing on the view of Wellington (2015): "Given that interviews are designed to elicit views and perspectives, it follows that their aim is not to establish some sort of inherent truth in an educational situation." (p.137).

I suggest that the three super-connectors I interviewed are quite extra-ordinary people who have developed particularly effective working relationships within the community and with each other, so a conversational interview was a tool which would enable them to explore the nature of the networks and their contributions as individuals and as a group. Because of their contributions I was clear that we were not looking for a truth but a particular and interesting network of ideas and connections. Feldman (1998) and Hollingsworth (1994) discuss conversation as a research methodology in an educational context: "Conversations can be a legitimate form of research because they promote the exchange of knowledge and the generation of understanding, and can be configured to be critical enquiry processes." (Feldman, 1998 p.8).

Both Hollingsworth and Feldman are clear that not all conversations work in this way but that sustained and purposeful conversation can have this function: "They are inquiry processes when the participant enter into conversation for the purpose of exchanging and generating knowledge or understanding, and when people enter into them to make defensible decisions about goals or actions." (Feldman, 1998 p.7). Because I was familiar with the informants, a more formal interview would have been inappropriate and I considered it a more fruitful and honest approach "to generate verbal data through talking about specified topics with research participants in an informal and conversational way" (Roulston 2008, p.128). In this way I was able to extend the conversations which had already begun and log and refine their perspectives.

A conversational interview approach was also collaborative, enabling my notes and understandings to be verified immediately and enabling me to prompt perspectives and views which had been initiated in previous un-logged conversations.

Campbell and Lassiter, (2015, p.99) clarify this collaborative process, explaining that "the knowledge produced in an interview is always collective, emergent in the context of dialogue.

Knowledge amassed by an ethnographer is thus intimately tied to conversations encountered in the field in which she works".

This approach is not about trying to get the informant to say something revealing or about something which requires expert analysis but is a joint effort to express and explain a perspective or an understanding or an account of events in a way that is satisfactory for both parties. In every case in Burngreave something new was created in the conversations. Following from this is the concept of ownership and Campbell and Lassiter, (2015, p.99) explain that "Knowledge created in an interview event, in particular, is never the ethnographers alone; it belongs to multiple parties". This has implications for consent because conventional consent forms do not adequately complete the ethical collaborative researcher's responsibilities. Trust extends beyond the point of gathering data because the data does not have an independent existence, separate from the people and the process which generated it. This has implications for anonymity because if we really view the people we work with as being real people like us, then anonymity might not be appropriate and should not be assumed to be the only way to proceed.

SECTION TWO: METHOD

In this section I present an overview of the method, summarized in Table 3.1 below and then explain four phases of the research process. I report on how data was generated from a questionnaire and how the data was analyzed. I draw on the work of Kelly et al. (2003) in this section and I follow their reporting recommendations. Then I explain how network ideas developed as a result of data analysis and how interview conversations were used to clarify and log these ideas. Though I have grouped all the research activities in three phases there has been overlap and each phase was long and complicated. It was an iterative process, the third phase was as a result of the second and developed and expanded ideas which seemed the most important and compelling.

Table 3.1. Summary of the research process

Research phase	What did it involve?	Time line
Preparation	Initial idea and research proposal MA research methods training Collaborative planning Ethics application (2) Extensive reading Collaborative development of the questionnaire Questionnaire pilot	2 years October 2010 to October 2012
Questionnaire research	Conducting the questionnaire interviews Building the data base Inputting the data Initial analysis using SPSS	9 months November 2012 to May 2013
Collaborative Analysis	Collaborative Analysis in four groups Collating and verifying findings	May 2013 to July 2013
Networks and interviews	Discussing network ideas Intensive reading Conducting three conversational interviews Collating and verifying findings	9 months September 2013 to June 2014

PREPARATION

The idea for the research was from a series of conversations, a collection of letters, reports, photographs and articles for the local newspaper. This was part of a campaign in 2010 to counter cuts to community education provision including the English language classes in Burngreave. A proposal to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) was initiated and supported by Dr. Kate Pahl and I undertook a year of training in research methods. As part of an MA in research methods I worked in collaboration with two students; Muna and Sara (pseudonyms) and Isla the editor of the local community newspaper, the Burngreave Messenger, to construct a research plan. In brief, I conducted three individual interviews to establish each person's experience of and attitude to education and then we had a focus group discussion about how to approach the research and we made a plan. This part of the process has been discussed in an MA dissertation and has been summarised in the methodology section of this thesis.

The next task was the development of a questionnaire. This was done by a group of seven people and we developed an existing tool from the ESOL Neighbourhood Audit Pilot Harehills. (Simpson et al., 2011). We met to agree what was relevant and appropriate for the questionnaire, to compose new questions and to consider how to administer it. We then piloted the questionnaire and made amendments.

The next task was writing letters of permission for education providers and composing permission letters for students and submitting the documents to the ethics committee in the School of Education at the University of Sheffield. This process enabled me to plan more carefully how the research would be undertaken including the practical details. After that part of the process was complete I was able to seek permission for the research.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE: DATA GENERATION AND ANALYSIS

The main data production phase involved conducting the questionnaire as a structured interview in every class in Burngreave. Initially I had planned to use a small multi-lingual team to conduct the research but this did not happen because the timescale between planning and implementing the research was too long and all the people who had been keen to participate became involved in other things. Instead I worked with students in each centre to generate the data. Visiting each class took four months from November 2012 to February 2013 to

complete because it spanned the Christmas holidays of 2012/2013 and we visited every class in Burngreave once and conducted 325 questionnaire interviews. We visited nine centres and involved twenty four teachers in the research and many of the 325 students who responded also conducted the questionnaire with other students.

During the data input stage, I added to my notes. This phase was conducted by me and involved using Software Programme for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Part of this stage was to collate the data and present it in a form that was clear and to provide some examples of how variables could be compared. Presentation of the data was important for the analysis stage of the research. I started in March and finished in June.

COLLABORATIVE ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data was conducted in four focus groups: The first one involved members of the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) (see Chapter Five for a full discussion of ALWG but it is essentially a local provider network.) The local providers analysed the descriptive data and suggested where further analysis would be useful and how we should use the data to improve provision. The second focus group was with the two students and their discussion was more critical and they suggested we arrange another meeting to involve more students in the analysis. This third meeting was initiated by Muna, one of the students who had been involved since the research design. We met a parents' group which included students from different levels of English classes and some who had made limited progress over a number of years. The fourth group was a tutor group and it was held later into the next phase of research.

NETWORK IDEAS AND CONVERSATIONAL INTERVIEWS

The next stage was a conversational phase of the research which was generated by the questionnaire data and by the group dialogue sessions. To log the ideas and explore them in depth I had conversational interviews with key people identified as 'super-connectors' who were crucial to community communication networks. They were identified as the result of analysis and dialogue about the questionnaire data. The three interviews lasted from an hour to two hours and I took notes and verified them within the conversations and again a few days after each interview and the participants changed any parts of the scripts that they wanted to and we agreed the final account.

In this section I follow the reporting of quantitative research recommended by Kelley et al. (2003) using the categories they recommend to report the development of the questionnaire, the data generation and the data inputting. Though some of this information will be in other sections, it is important to present it in a standard form so that the baseline information produced is transparent and has the potential for multi-factor analysis and further analysis. It is a large data set which could be further analysed.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESEARCH TOOL

The questionnaire was developed from an existing tool with a group of community participants in June, July and August 2012 and involved informal discussions, a group meeting, several one to one discussions and e-mail exchanges. The development involved "experts in the field, colleagues, and members of the target population in question design" (Kelley et. al., 2003, p.263) with the purpose of making a valid questionnaire by representing different perspectives and values in the questions. At the meeting were two adult students, two teachers, two extended   school workers from organisations which hosted classes, the editor of the community newspaper and the extended   schools' co-ordinator for Burngreave. In total the meeting comprised seven people representing different interests in the research.

The seven people in the meeting were all familiar with the purpose and the nature of the research. The two students, Muna and Sara, and Isla the editor of the local community newspaper were involved in the research design and had developed the research question with me.   The purpose of the research was discussed at the Adult Learning Working Group of which everyone was a member and though the research did not have a formal steering group, the Adult Learning Working Group members were the people I discussed the research with and I reported to their meeting on the progress of the research.

The questionnaire design meeting lasted two hours. We discussed a draft questionnaire and group members suggested different questions, different wording and additional topics of interest. Versions of the questionnaire are attached as Appendix 4, 5 and 6. Appendix 4. is the Harehills Questionnaire, Appendix 5 is an early version of the Burngreave questionnaire from a meeting documented in Table 3.2, p. 101 and Appendix 6 is the final version. Group members brought different skills and knowledge to the meeting and though there was considerable overlap of skills they can be summarised in the box below. I emailed a draft in

advance for people to read and explained on the telephone that it was based on an area audit in a super-diverse urban area in Leeds and explained that the content of the draft questionnaire was intended as a starting point for development and discussion. The questionnaire was developed over a few months and involved multiple inputs but to understand how it reflected different concerns, I have included in the table below a section on interests, expertise and which ideas or specific contributions each person made. Though it has to be emphasised that everyone was active and involved and the table is in many ways a crude way of documenting this, it was a collaborative process. The draft I brought to the questionnaire meeting was already informed by discussion and the section about children reflected concerns that extended school workers needed to show a link from parents' classes to children's achievement.

EXISTING TOOL

The tool I used as a starting point for the questionnaire was developed by a team of researchers from Leeds University (Simpson et al., 2011), Appendix 4., and was used to audit ESOL provision in Harehills in Leeds. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix 4. There are another two versions attached. One was written after the group discussion and then the final version after two pilots. The Harehills team produced a methodological toolkit which included their survey questionnaire and instructions for its use, permission letters, a questionnaire for tutors and for managers and stakeholders. The focus of their research in addition to being an audit of provision in the area was about barriers to accessing provision. The guidance in the Harehills toolkit has been very useful and the survey provided a starting point for us although our methods of administration and analysis were different from both a theoretical and practical approach. The details of this will be discussed in each section where it applies but our theoretical approach was a collaborative community approach whereas they adopted a top-down traditional case-study approach with experienced 'outsider' researchers from universities. The practical differences are considerable and will be discussed as part of describing the method we used.

Table 3.2 Development of the questionnaire. Who contributed what?

All pseudonyms	Role	Expertise	Main interests	Contributions to questionnaire
Muna	Student, parent and classroom assistant	Bi-lingual community and ESOL class member and active parent group member with fundraising and organisational experience, informal supporter and advice giver in the Somali community.	The relationship between parents and children and how this was negotiated through language	Questions about language spoken at home and with children
Sara	Student, parent trainee community interpreter	Bi-lingual community and ESOL class member, volunteer ESOL classroom assistant	As above also learners motivation	Learner motivation

'Main reason for learning English' |
| Isla | Chair of the ALWG*

Editor of community newspaper | Overview of area in terms of resources and opportunities, Editor of the Messenger and experienced in research including survey research | How to improve the provision | Going where the students were, to collect information rather than distribute questionnaires |
| Aram | Extended schools coordinnator | Bi-lingual community and education worker with overview of provision and of the area | How ESOL classes for parents impact on children's school experience. | All the questions about school |
| KH | Extended schools worker | Detailed knowledge of provision in one school and the logistics of conducting research in classes at different levels and negotiating with teachers and times | As above but also interested in the research process | Organised visits in her school and paved the way with tutors I didn't know |
| S | tutor | Development worker who supported students to voice concerns about cuts to services and | Interested in the process of cohesion, community building and in languages | Interested in literacy

and previous education |
| Kath S | Tutor, researcher | Overview of provision in area, worked with most teachers as colleagues and familiar with all venues either as teacher, observer or parent. | Interested in collaborative work and improving the provision | Who do you speak to in English- discussed in meeting |

The content of the questionnaire in Burngreave mirrored Harehills for the first few items because basic information collected was relevant to both areas. The later sections reflected different interests in Harehills. The Harehills research was interested in barriers to learning but in Burngreave the biggest barrier was a lack of provision and we were interested in wider communication. Two sections which reflected our particular interest as a group were a section about children and school connections and a section called "Who do you speak to in English?" Table 3.2 gives some more detail about how the content developed. I followed the Harehills example very closely in style. It was simple, clear and developed by people who had considerable experience of teaching as well as researching in ESOL.

QUESTIONNAIRE LAYOUT

The layout, at first, followed the layout of the Harehills survey because it was "pre-validated" (Simpson et al., 2011). The research team comprised researchers with considerable research experience and they had developed a toolkit with the explicit aim of enabling less experienced researchers to conduct an audit of their own area. The layout was clear and uncluttered and the questions were simple and straight forward. Considerable work had already been done to ensure that it was fit for purpose ie: suitable for use in an ESOL class. The questionnaire began with an option on first name, and then background and less personal information. The Harehills survey had no question numbers but the student members of our group considered that it would be easier to locate questions if we had numbers. For the administration of the questionnaire we also thought that numbers would help locate any issues or misunderstandings around the questions. In our discussion we decided to structure the questionnaire differently. The main changes made were: to make the questionnaire into four sections: asking about classes, languages, then children and finally a section called 'Who do you speak to in English?'

The purpose of the sections was also to help the interviewer and the respondent to understand the format of the questionnaire. If a respondent did not have children, then

it was simple to miss the whole children section off rather than run through questions which were not relevant. We wanted to keep the size of the questionnaire to two-sides of A4 paper. This was an administrative issue. It was easier to photocopy and to work with but it would also limit the number of questions we could ask. Limiting the number of questions was very important so that respondents would not become tired by the process of being interviewed in English.

The interview questions in the Harehills survey were simple, closed questions asking for basic information. The first question we added was to ask what level the class was as this was an important piece of information given our interest in students' abilities to speak outside the classroom. There was a question in the Harehills survey about immigration status but we decided not to ask a question about status as we considered this a sensitive issue and had no direct rationale for asking. We asked the students "What is your main reason for learning English?". This is an important question in terms of understanding locally what motivates learning but will also relate this study to other studies which categorize learners by motivation but also relate motivation to levels of satisfaction with ESOL provision. With this information we would be better able to understand our findings in relation to these research findings.

The Harehills survey asked "What problems did you have in finding a class?" and "What problems did you have in coming to class?" Though there was an option to say "none", this did not constitute a neutral approach to the topic. A question worded in this way initiates a process where the student is looking for a problem rather than a neutral question which would only produce a negative response if it were significant. This is termed 'acquiescence bias' (Krosnick, 1999, p.552) and his research shows that if the question suggests a problem then the interviewee is inclined to acquiesce and find a problem.   In community provision in Burngreave, many students who attend classes do not have problems in accessing provision, making no additional journey once at their child's school and having access to childcare and advice services. Having analysed the way these two questions were worded we wanted a neutral approach to all our questions and

though we used a similar tick box format in our question about "Who do you speak to in English" we included boxes which we were confident the students would be able to tick. We did not want the questions to make students, with less ability in English, feel they could not answer any questions or that they were problematic or inadequate. The students were asked if they spoke to their teacher in English and their classmates because we thought they would be able to tick these boxes even at a low level in English. We wanted the questionnaire to initiate a positive experience for the student.

SATISFICING

The initial questions also acted as control questions to see if the tick box process was understood. We could also determine if the student was confident to answer no when the answer was no, rather than satisficing. (Krosnock, 1999, p.548) Satisficing means returning the easiest answer rather than the true answer and this often occurs when respondents get tired. Krosnick reports that this can be avoided by better and appropriately designed questionnaires designed questionnaires. In Chapter Four I discuss each question in turn and the answers they produced. I consider any problems associated with the question and the answers. An analysis of both the questions and answers is part of the findings regarding the development of an appropriate methodology.

PILOTING

The questionnaire was piloted several times. Firstly, at a meeting to develop the questionnaire I asked everyone to try out the questions in the draft to become familiar with the question style as well as the question content. Once changes were made it was piloted by teachers in the centre where I work to identify any obvious errors and with two students who had recently arrived in the U.K. to see if it could be used on the lowest level of class without translation. Their understanding and responses were verified by having a three-way conversation in English and Arabic with an Arabic speaking colleague. This is termed 'back translation'. The first use of the questionnaire as an interview with students was conducted in a class with a colleague and I was aware of a few questions which were not readily understood when students questioned each other. One of the questions was "How long have you been coming to classes?" which the respondents answered by saying

"2 months" but because I knew the respondents I realised I was getting the answer to the question "How long have you been coming to this class?" We changed the question to "How long have you been learning English?" Another change at this point was changing every item into a clear question e.g.: 'Age ___ years' was changed into "How old are you?" with a choice of tick boxes of age ranges. This change was made because every question had to be clear and explicit so that students asking the questions did not have to 'work' to ask the questions. We also thought it was less intrusive for the respondent to be shown age boxes to be ticked rather than have to say her age aloud.

COVERING LLETTER

It is usual with surveys to give respondents a covering letter but because of issues relating to many respondents' literacy levels in English and in their own expert language, a written text was not handed out in class. I wrote a covering text but this was written to document the verbal explanation that was given in each class so that the ethic committee could approve the content rather than the format of the information. From previous experience we considered it more appropriate to give a clear verbal instruction.

SAMPLE

The Leeds team interviewed a sample of students: one class from each centre and they did not report on how they chose this sample or the levels of the classes chosen and probably because of this they did not report on any multivariate analysis of the results. Because we were interested to audit the English classes in the whole ward of Burngreave, we did not survey a sample but completed a census of all the publicly funded English classes. The classes which were not visited were 'job centre plus' classes which were newly introduced in 2012 after I had sought permission. These classes are run by Sheffield College. They are mandatory courses for people on Jobseeker's Allowance which is a category of U.K. unemployment benefit payment. The other important provision which was not researched was the conversation clubs. In Burngreave groups which are run by volunteers and which do not follow a formal curriculum have been set up as conversation clubs and have a very different focus to the ESOL classes. Neither the conversation clubs not the job centre classes are part of the progression routes and the provision

coordinated by the ALWG, but the conversation clubs are recognized as valuable and supportive services which supplement learning for many class members but also serve as valuable contact points for adults who cannot access funded classes.

Each class was visited once and any student who was not in class on the day of the visit was not interviewed. It would have been difficult to consider how to account for missing students, how to contact them and how many times to contact them and it would have involved the teachers more, depending on how many students were missing and how disruptive to teaching return visits could have been. We decided that to be consistent across the area to visit each class once. In terms of time, the process of visiting each class once was very time-consuming but considerably more time would have been spent catching up with missing people and it may have been intrusive in terms of class time and the missing students may have felt pursued had we pursued them.

REPRESENTATIVENESS

Though my approach was a census approach rather than a survey with a sample, it would not have been realistic to expect that we were able to interview every student. We visited each class once and interviewed the students present on the day. On each day of each class it was likely that there would be a mix of regular attenders and people who turn up sometimes and across the whole provision this pattern would apply. Teachers knew within a week that the questionnaire was going to be conducted but did not have notice of exactly when and so it did not affect attendance. On a few visits, if it was not convenient for the teacher or the class, I arranged to come back later. The biggest issue of representativeness was that in some classes were there was low attendance. It was impossible to know who was missing and why. Class numbers do not always give a clear indication of attendance because some classrooms in community venues are very small and the rooms were full to capacity with smaller numbers, others by contrast had small numbers in big classrooms.

When I planned the research, a crucial part was the recruitment and training of interviewers. It involved a small multi-lingual team of students who I had worked with in class over about four years and who had been active in the campaign about cuts. Between them they had the ability to speak Arabic, French, Somali, Amharic, Deri and Farsi. I wanted to do a training course modelled on a collaborative research project in Birmingham (Phillimore and Goodson, 2009) which included a qualification with the research as a practical application. I planned to work with the researchers and teach on the course. I decided to offer a new Level Two Reading and Writing class with the explicit aim of offering some volunteer and research training in addition to the ordinary ESOL offer. I very quickly had a huge class and though everyone wanted the ESOL part there was less interest in the research.

THE PROCESS OF RECRUITING AND LOSING MULTI-LINGUAL TEAM

But by the time I was ready to start, I realised the core people had all moved on and though they were in the class, no one had the time anymore to commit to the project. One was now a foster parent, one was working as a classroom assistant, one was working in a care home, one was on a level two childcare course, one had new baby twins and one was on an MA course at Hallam University. I realised that a team like that could not be recreated easily. Time is a major factor in collaborative research and academic timescales and restrictions further lengthen the process and conversely, "Time is always needed to develop relationships, create common working practices and build trust between the organizations involved, or between a researcher and an organization". (Demange et al., 2012, p.40).

Because I had developed relationships over years in Burngreave, I had the possibility of involving other students but that would mean that their stake in the research was less because there was no immediate threat to provision now and much less history of working together. I considered what skills and knowledge the previous team had had and consider how this could be recreated without expectations of high levels of commitment and time. All the original people were prepared to be involved but I knew how big the

task was now and that it was neither fair nor realistic to expect a big time commitment when I had no resources to pay people. The Birmingham project had money to pay their researchers and considered it a vital part of working with community researchers.

I decided to start because I had no precedent for conducting a questionnaire like this in a super-diverse ward with ESOL students, so I decided that the best way of understanding what the issues really were was to begin. I was very fortunate to be able to begin in the class I was teaching, with the students I had hoped would be volunteer interviewers. I had already explained to them about the research and I modelled the interview on one of the students in the class and we discussed how an interviewer should behave, about positive body language and eye contact and how their job as an interviewer was to ensure that the person they interviewed was comfortable and that this was more important than collecting information.

Half the class interviewed the other half and then the students changed roles. I moved round the middle of the room listening and helping where it was needed. The process went well and the class enjoyed it. I asked if anyone was prepared to interview other students in the centre and they all volunteered. By the time all the interviews were completed in the centre where I worked, I had tried out different ways of working and they had all been successful. My confidence had returned and I realised that the questionnaire did collect the information it was intended to, and that there were multiple ways of interviewing students successfully.

Table 3.3 Questionnaire administration: visiting the centres

Name of centre	How many classes? 39	Students questioned 325	Students declined 3	Week visited	Notes
Centre 1	13	104		12/11/2012 and 19/11/2012	There were 13 classes. The administrator on site advised me to arrange to visit the same day or another day within the fortnight allocated to visit. I started with a high level class and students from the class interviewed each other. With an average of 8 students attending, the process of interviewing was not difficult to manage.
Centre 2	5	72		29/10/2012 and 5/11/2012	With a team of students from the class I taught we visited the other classes in the centre. The classes were large, but the process worked well with students interviewing each other and higher level students volunteering to interview.
School Centres				26/11/2012 and 3/12/2012	In the school centres the classes had an average of 8 students attending per class. There was a range of 2-5 classes in the centres and the classes were spread around the week across the area.
Centre 3	3	24			The students interviewed each other and in the lower level classes I interviewed the students with a volunteer student.
Centre 4	4	34			The students interviewed each other and in the beginners' class there were 5 volunteers including the teacher and extended school worker to help. The classes here are very well supported.

Centre 5	5	43	2		The higher level classes interviewed each other and some students from the higher levels met me later to interview the lower level classes. With the lowest level class we had a big classroom discussion and all worked together with a volunteer. 2 students in the men's class had to leave to go to work.
Centre 6	1	6	1		This was a level 1 class so the interview was easy for the students to interview each other
Centre 7	3	14			Here the classes were very small and I worked with the teachers to interview the students, this initiated a recruitment drive and the classes were full again within a few weeks.
Centre 8	2 but 1 visited	7			Interviewed one class but when I returned to visit the other class in the centre, the class had been cancelled and I was unable to make contact due to Christmas rearrangement and very bad weather in January.
Centre 9	4 but 3 visited	21		11/02/2013	In this centre the coordinator asked for a copy of the questionnaire and while I worked in the lowest level class interviewing each student (9), she after listening, went to the other classes which had 6 students in each and brought me back the questionnaires. This is the only time I wasn't present but in comparison to other classes the questionnaires had similar variety in their answers and I included them with the others. They had a men's class but said the men would be too shy to be interviewed.

The questionnaire was administered in different ways in different classes. This was dependant on what was necessary for the questions to be understood and answered with ease. The focus of the administration was to use the questionnaire in a way that was appropriate for each class and each student. Because there were many considerations relating to each person's language level, their previous experience of asking questions and answering questions, and their level of confidence, we were not seeking consistent administration. In a super-diverse setting where many languages are spoken by students at many different levels, the approach was to vary the language input appropriately. Though it has been a "prevailing principle" (Krosnick, 1999, p.542) for interviewers to read questions in exactly the same way for all respondents, there is considerable criticism for this approach because rather than improve data by such consistency, real meaning and value of responses could be compromised. (Krosnick, 1999, p.542)

Because meaning is negotiated in ordinary conversations and produces a real understanding, I initiated a conversational approach to the questions rather than a rigid interview style. Interviewers and respondents were free to talk to their neighbours or shout out for help if there were any questions or difficulties. In pre-entry classes the questions were asked sometimes by bi-lingual support workers or students or by an experienced ESOL teacher. Students listened to other people being asked and helped out by translating or explaining. In higher level classes the students asked the questions of each other. In every case I modelled the questions before students were interviewed so that everyone in the class could hear all the questions and hear the type of answers that were possible. In this way consent to the interview was better informed. Before I started, I explained that participation was voluntary and that a person could take part but also answer the questions she wanted to answer. There were only three students who did not complete the questionnaire. One student read all the questions and interviewed her classmate but did not want to answer them and two students said they didn't have time and left the class slightly early. In the process, some questions were left unanswered. So although each person began the questionnaire, if they didn't want to answer a question, they could choose not to answer any of the questions. I was clear about this choice at the beginning.

The potential participants were approached via the education provider and then through the centre organiser and then through the English teacher. The participants were part of a group and so responded to permission and to individual questions within a group setting. (See appendix 3 for the permission letter). It was important that the questions asked were not intrusive or overly bureaucratic and that the purpose of each question was clear in relation to the research objectives, as students were responding within a group dynamic and all the answers were aired with in a group of their peers.

LOCATION AND DATES OF DATA COLLECTION AND RESPONSE RATES

The data was collected in venues where ESOL classes took place across the ward. The dates of collection are indicated in Table 3.3, over the winter of 2012 to 2013, November to February. There was one contact per class and one contact per student. The response rates were very high because of the context of the ESOL classroom. Because everyone involved in the development of the questionnaire, was familiar with the classroom setting and classroom etiquette, our purpose was to develop questions that did not ask for sensitive, controversial or confidential information to the best of our knowledge at the time.

DISCUSSION OF NON-RESPONSE

Non-response is an important issue at question level as well as at the questionnaire level. In introducing the questionnaire, I also said if anybody didn't like a question they didn't need to answer it. When I report on the initial findings the non-responses are included. One of the students who didn't respond had already asked the question of her classmate and then said to me that she didn't want to do it. She told me 'matter of factly' and I said 'that's fine' in the same way. Two students left early who had to go to work and they were willingly to answer but did not have enough time.

DATA ENTRY

The data entry took place over two months which involved setting up a data base on Software Programme for the Social Sciences (SPSS). I had attended two substantial quantitative analysis training courses but the process was complex and through organising the data and entering it, I was able to revisit each class and consider the information that had been generated. The questionnaire asked twenty-four questions but there were some preliminary information sections and some questions which had multiple parts. There were in total forty-four

variables, therefore data entry points on the data base. So I logged fourteen thousand, three hundred items of information. With hindsight that is more than I really needed and it took time to set up the data base and enter the data. This part of the research was the only part which I worked with on my own I surprisingly loved the data and thought about the provision student by student and class by class. I wrote notes and this process was like an ethnographic process though I do not report on this within the thesis, focussing instead on the data generated by the questionnaire and the collaborative data analysis of that data and qualitative interviews of people involved in the community education networks. This aspect of the research, data entry, formed an important part of my understanding of how the provision operated as a whole across the ward.

COLLABORATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis began before I began to enter data because I already had significant information about numbers and discussed this with other teachers and members of the ALWG. Using SPSS (Software Programme for the Social Sciences)) I organised the data into tables and graphs in order to discuss it further. The analysis of data in Burngreave took place over a few months and involved three distinct groupings. The first group were a local provider group from the Burngreave Adult Learning Working Group and they met to look at the initial data which had been collected from the questionnaire. The second group were students who after discussing the data suggested that I took the data to another group of students at a parents' coffee morning at Centre 4, one of the community primary schools which hosted ESOL classes involved in the research. The fourth group was a group of tutors. The different groups in this analysis were conducted separately because of the power differentials involved. Blakey et al. (2012, p.107) define analysis:

> Analysis is what happens when you put your personal knowledge and understanding into a bigger picture of the knowledge and understanding held by others: this encourages you to question your assumptions and to look for patterns, reasons why and possible answers.

In the discussion groups analysis did take place in line with the definition above and participants used the data to reconsider what they knew but all our discussions were not analytical and in equal measure the data initiated dialogue around personal experiences and problematic issues about learning. See Chapter Four Section Two for a full discussion of the collaborative analysis.

Table 3.4 Data Analysis/ Data Driven Dialogue

Who was there?	Data Analysed	Purpose	Result	How was dialogue recorded?
ALWG members 7	Tables and graphs	To consider: effective presentation of data initial information the basic descriptive data offered.	Preferred graphs and charts to tables and percentages to numbers: more visual presentation Generated dialogue about numbers, retention, success Wanted more information about men and differences between men and women. More information about centres.	The participants asked questions and made comments and I took notes. They wrote notes on their graphs and charts
Students 3	Tables and graphs	To consider: effective presentation of data initial information the basic descriptive data offered.	Generated dialogue. Discussion more intense and detailed because the group was small and students were critical. Wanted information about language and ethnicity. Suggested further meeting with student group including students who hadn't progressed quickly and easily. Discussed retention numbers and success	I took notes and verified them as I wrote.
Students 15	2 graphs	To consider a summary table and two graphs analyse the information	Wide ranging discussion which led in different directions Multiple viewpoints reflecting diverse interests and purposes	I took notes and verified them aloud with the group.
Tutors 4	2 graphs	To consider a summary table and two graphs analyse the information	Similar views to provider group but with more in depth analysis because the group was smaller and data set was smaller.	I took notes and verified them aloud with the group.

In addition to this planned dialogue and analysis was another form of analysis which was the on-going conversation which I have had with many community members throughout the whole period of the research and many of our shared understandings have been the result of quick and slow conversations, sometimes part of other conversations and often enroute to other activities or commitments. This is termed "sense making" in the work of Blakey et al. (2012, p.106) and is a less formal process than conventional academic analysis but nevertheless valuable and productive.

The decision to have conversational interviews came from a process of conversational inquiry and reflective conversations with many people over the duration of the research in Burngreave. Conversations informed my understanding of the research process and the unfolding findings. Participants were involved in understanding both the research process and the English Language provision and because the process was unfolding, ongoing and informal I needed a suitable tool for recording what was happening. Conversations identified that networks were powerful and strong in Burngreave around adult education and I began to talk about super-connectors and use terminology initiated from my reading. However, the terminology was immediately useful in understanding what was happening in Burngreave and immediately used. I identified six super-connectors. Three of them were things: two publications and a meeting. The other three were people and my assessment was verified by three super-connectors and by many 'connectors' in the networks. In order to capture their roles and the development of the networks I asked them to be interviewed. The interviews were collaborative and reflective and the 'super-connectors' knew me well. They were focused on the network ideas we had been discussing "The distinctive feature of the focused interview is the prior analysis by the researcher of the situation in which subjects have been involved" (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison, 2011, p.438)

The conversations were in-depth and produced new knowledge and analysis. I interviewed Aram the week after her job in Burngreave ended and I interviewed Isla in her office at the community newspaper a few months before funding for her post came to an end and I interviewed Aisha in her office at the community organisation where she works. I sent them all the written up notes from the interview and they edited them. I wanted to make sure that what I had written reflected what they wanted to express. The purpose of the interview conversations was to investigate how provision was developed and supported by community

networks, the role played by the Adult Learning Working Group, The Adult Learning Guide and the community newspaper.

The initial analysis of the interviews was conducted with the interviewee. I typed up the interview transcript and sent it to the interviewee by email and they had the opportunity to edit it and make comments and add anything they had forgotten. I used an intelligent verbatim style because I was interested in reporting what the super-connectors wanted to express. We negotiated meaning in collaboration both during the interview and afterward producing an account which gave an accurate presentation of the super-connectors intentions. Returning to Lassiter (2005), I was interested in "collaborative reading, writing and co-interpretation of the text" (p.77).

Table 3.5 interviews with super-connectors

Super connector/ key informant	Where /when/ how long?	Production process	Focus
Isla: editor of the community newspaper, chair of the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG)	In her office on 18/02/2014, it took two hours until we were interrupted by another job.	I took notes and verified my understanding as I wrote. The notes were written up and I emailed them to Isla. She removed names she had mentioned, adding job roles instead and took out all swearing and comments she didn't like.	Isla spoke almost unprompted after an initial question and further open questions e.g. Q. Can you tell me how the Adult Learning Working Group started and what its role is? How networked is Burngreave?
Aram: Lead professional. Coordinator of the Extended schools workers in Burngreave, member of the ALWG	The interview took place after an initial conversation on 06/03/2014 It lasted two hours.	I took notes and verified understanding and emailed it to Aram who agreed it as it was and sent me an email with other networks she had forgotten and wanted to add.	What is your role as extended schools lead professional? Aram explained how her role had developed over the years and explain the process of community development
Aisha: Director of a Community Association	In Aisha's Office in Burngreave on 21/03/2014 and took an hour.	I took notes and wrote them up. My questions were for explanation and she didn't revise but said given the conversational nature of the interviews I should group and organise the ideas	What is your role in the network? Aisha's focus was strategic and direct. She was less descriptive and explanatory.

To summarise

In this chapter I explored the value of a community and a collaborative approach to research in relation to the English provision in Burngreave a super-diverse ward in Sheffield. I considered a quantitative tool and a qualitative research tool, a questionnaire, and a conversational interview with key informants. A collaborative approach to data analysis was also considered as a way to articulate and focus community knowledge.

Ethics were considered in relation to language issues and to collaboration in the research process. I argued that these collaborative and community research approaches, can generate new community knowledge which extends and explains quantitative data. From an educational perspective this study seeks to redress power differentials using a research approach and research tools which foreground the knowledge and interpretations that students, teacher and other community workers have of their own area and their English classes. The super-diverse nature of the area where the research was conducted influenced the choice of research tools and the approach.

The methods used throughout the research were informed by a community and collaborative approach. A questionnaire was developed and conducted by community members and then the data it generated was analysed and discussed in groups. Finally, I interviewed three key informants 'super-connectors' to explore how community networks supported adult English language classes. The community primary schools in Burngreave hosted Adult English Language classes as part of the Extended Schools Programme. Extended school workers were located in schools and coordinated by Aram (pseudonym) the Lead Professional who was identified in the research as a superconnector. The government programme which began in 2006 aimed to create an environment of support for schools which served the most disadvantaged communities by extending the school day and offering services to the wider community.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter I present the results from the questionnaire and analyse the data generated. I address the overarching research question:

How does the English Language provision in Burngreave connect to the wider community?

This question was addressed through subsidiary questions.   The first subsidiary question was:

How do students use English outside the classroom?

This was answered using a questionnaire which gathered baseline information about the provision and the adult students and asked questions about students' use of English. The questionnaire results are presented in section one. These results were then discussed in four collaborative data dialogue groups and I present those discussions in the second section. The participants in the groups suggested I did further bi-variate analysis of the data and the results of that analysis follow the discussions.

SECTION ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

The questionnaire results are given below. The information generated by the questionnaire provides background information about the student population. This is reflective of the ward population in terms of super-diversity. This initial section presents descriptive data which are used as a basis for discussion and also for further analysis. The questionnaire is in appendix x.

1. CLASSES

Participants attended English language classes in Burngreave. Respondents numbered 325, 61 (19% male) and 264 (81%) female. The majority were aged between 26 and 40.

Figure 4.1 Age of students in years
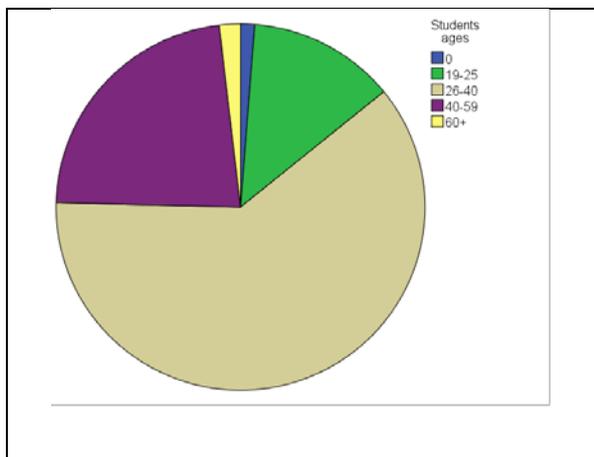
How long have you been in England? The graph shows that students had been in England for an average of seven years. Responses ranged from 1 year and under to 45 years.

Figure 4.2 How long have you been in England?
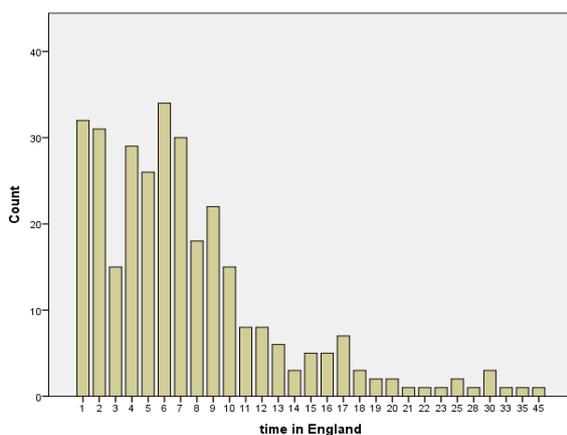
This question was not clear and not appropriate for the questionnaire. This question has not been used in any further analysis. Some students answered 'three months' some gave the lifelong learning answer for example '20 years'.

WHAT IS YOUR MAIN REASON FOR LEARNING ENGLISH?

There were initially 30 different responses which were grouped as shown below. These answers were further analysed in a data dialogue group and the result is on p.133.

Table 4.1 What is your main reason for learning English?

	Frequency	Percent
children, family life	38	11.7
help myself, or me, speak on my own, to be independent	33	10.1
job	84	25.8
talk to people, understand, communicate, speak	51	15.7
doctor	12	3.7
improve	35	10.8
avoid problems	1	.3
qualifications, study	24	7.4
live in England, always need	14	4.3
life easier, social life, daily life, a good life, join society	14	4.2
writing, spelling	7	2.1
shopping	2	.6
like	3	.9
personal	1	.3
key worker	1	.3
passport	2	.6
Total	322(3 missing)	100.0

2. LANGUAGES

Where were you born?

Students in the classes were born in 29 different countries and though there are substantial numbers of people from Somalia 58, Pakistan 71 and Yemen 53, none of these figures 18%, 22%, and 16%, dominates. Vertovec (2007) describes this as a pattern of "super-diversity" and there are implications for services and English language provision in particular. The table shows that within the provision are many people who do not have classmates from the same country of birth. This diverse pattern is reflective of the Burngreave population.

Table 4.2 Where were you born?

	Frequency	Percent
Angola, Azerbaijan, Baluchistan, Germany, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Portugal, Sri Lanka	1	2.4
Czech republic, Italy, Ivory Coast, Spain , Syria, Tobago	2	3.6
Algeria ,China, Romania	3	2.7
England	5	1.5
Ethiopia, Lithuania	6	3.6
India, Slovakia, Sudan	9	5.4
Iraq, Iran	10	6.2
Kurdistan	11	3.4
Somalia	53	16.3
Yemen	58	17.8
Pakistan	71	21.8
Total	325	100.0

Over 40 different first, main or expert languages are spoken by students in the classes and Arabic is spoken by 85 people. Somali and Urdu both have 50 speakers. From the graph it can be seen that there are many other languages spoken and this is consistent with a pattern of super diversity.

Figure 4.3 First or main language
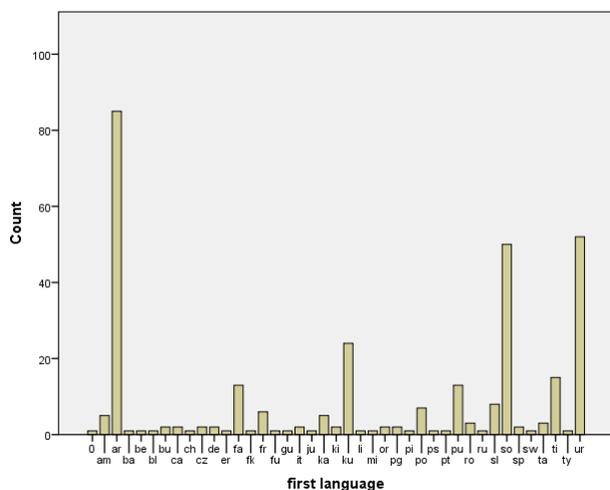
Am=Amharic, ar=Arabic, ba=Baluch be=Bengali , bl=Bilin, bu=Bulgarian   ca=Cantonese, ch= Mandarin, cz=Czech, de=Deri, er=Estonian fa=Farsi, fk= ,fr=French, fu= Fulani , gu=Gujerati, it-Italian, ju=Jukun-kyentu-Nidu , ka=Kazak , ki=Kinyarwando, ku= Kurdish , li=Lithuanian, ma=mandingo mi=Mirpuri , or=oromo   , pg=Portugese, po=Polish, ps=Pushto , pt=Pashto , pu=Punjabi , ro= Romanian, ru=Russian, sl=Slovakian, so=Somali, sp=Spanish, sw=Swedish, ta= Tamil , ti=Tigri tu=turkish ty=Tigrinya, ur=Urdu ye=Yoruba za=Zazaki

The most common second language was English. 120 people logged English as their second language, Arabic was next with nearly 40 speakers and Punjabi with 30 and Urdu with 20.

Figure 4.4 Second language
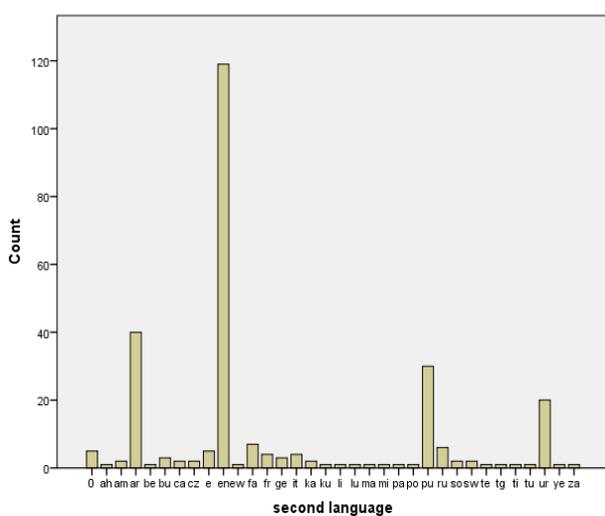
Less than 45% of students have been educated to secondary school level or above. 20% were unable to read or could read a little in their main language and 25% were unable to write or could write a little. These two questions had three possible answers: yes, a little or no, to gain a more accurate picture of their situation.   This information is discussed in all the data dialogue groups as ability in literacy was considered important for progression.

Table 4.3 Reading and writing

Reading and writing	yes	Little or no
Can you read your main language?	260	65
Can you write this language?	245	80

Figure 4.5 Length of time in school
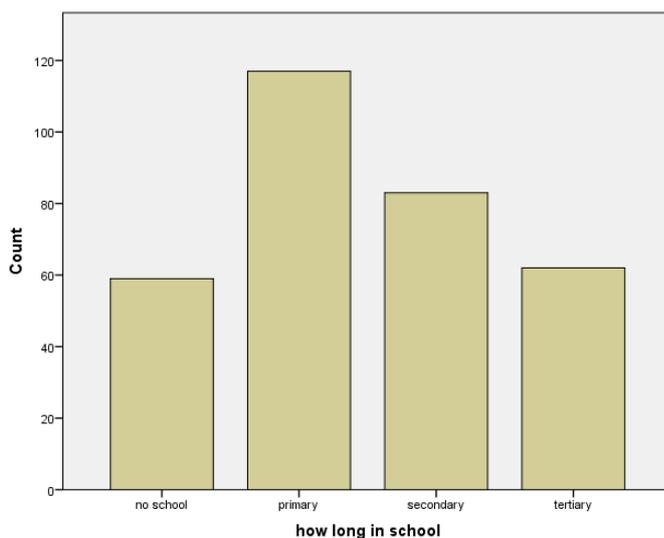
WHAT LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK AT HOME?

45 people out of 325 respondents spoke a different language at home from the language they named as their main language. The most common occurrence of this was 13 people who named Urdu as their main language but spoke Punjabi at home: 2 named Punjabi as their main language but spoke Urdu at home. Another 13 from a mixture of language backgrounds spoke English at home. 2 Cantonese Chinese speakers spoke Mandarin at home. This was an open-ended question and 3 and 4 languages have been logged for a few students.

3. CHILDREN

HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE?

274 (84%) of the students in the study were parents. The number of children per student ranged from 0 to 8 with a mean average of 2.4 and a mode of 2.

Figure 4.6 Number of children
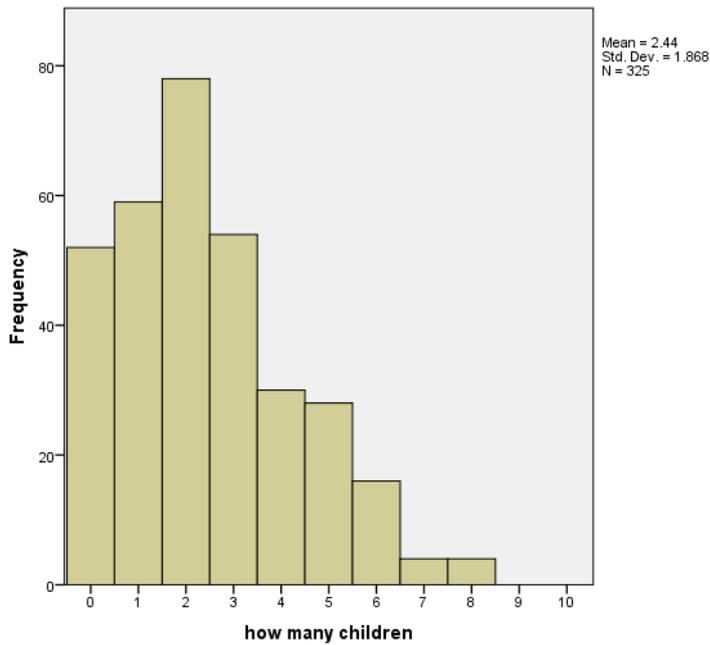
HOW OLD ARE YOUR CHILDREN?

Children's ages have relevance to the study because they provide a rationale for providing adult English classes in community schools both as a convenient location and as an entry point for students to engage with their children's school education. The high number, 245 students, with preschool children, has implications for childcare as support for adult learning.

Table 4.4 Age of children in numbers

Range of ages including preschool	245
Range including secondary and above	22
Adult or college children	15
No children	51

The answers were recorded in 3 ways. 60% of people responded that their children spoke exactly the same languages as themselves. This could mean the same four languages or the same one language. If a parent said they spoke Urdu and English and their child spoke English and Urdu this was not logged as the same because when discussed with the respondents the order was considered significant by respondents. 21% of parents answered that children spoke a mixture of languages which was different to the parents' mixture. 21% of parents answered that the children spoke English only. It is a matter of concern to parents that children, not just their own children, were unable to speak the same languages as their parents as they felt this had an impact on their ability to educate their children. Many parents reported that family members all worked together on each other's homework. See p.154 for analysis by classroom level.

Figure 4.7 Parents' and children's languages
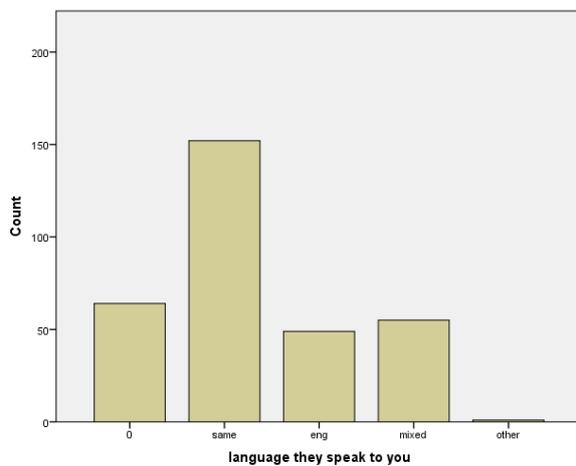
Table 4.5 Questions about homework and school contact.

	yes	no
Do you go to parents meetings?	82%	18%
Do you help children with their homework?	74%	26%
Do your children help you with your homework?	65%	35%
Do you speak to your child's/children's teacher	75%	25%

4. WHO DO YOU SPEAK TO IN ENGLISH?

The answers to these questions would indicate that there is considerable variation in the communications that students have in English. More adult students report talking to shop assistants in English, than to doctors or to their child's teacher. Within this range of questions, we have examples of scenarios which are explicitly taught in English classes e.g. talking to the doctor, talking in shops and there are other examples which are less functional and which may be dependent on other social and economic factors.

Table 4.6 Who do you speak to in English?

teacher	100%
classmates	97
shop assistants	84
doctor	77
neighbours	70
friends	53
children's teachers	75
Do you speak English	%
on another course?	28
as a volunteer?	16
in a job?	16
Do you use an interpreter?	55% yes 45% no

This is further analysed by class level on p.153 and discussed in the collaborative analysis groups. This information becomes more meaningful in relation to the provision when the questions are analysed by level.

Students get help with English predominantly from partners, family and friends as shown in the figure below including their children.

Figure 4.8 Who helps you with English?
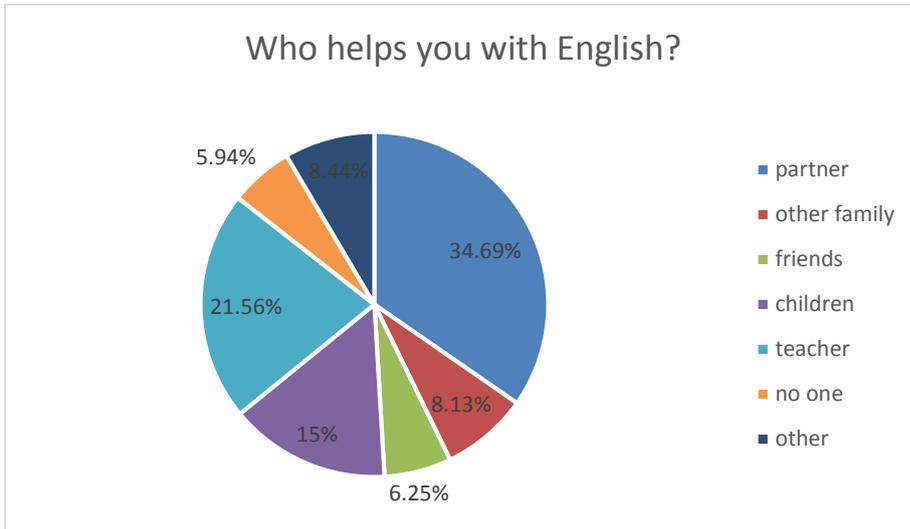
WHO DO YOU HELP WITH ENGLISH?

Students help their family and friends with English and supporting family and friends is a reciprocal process with more students able to help children with their English than those who seek help from their children. This will be further analysed by class level.

Figure 4.9 Who do you help with English?
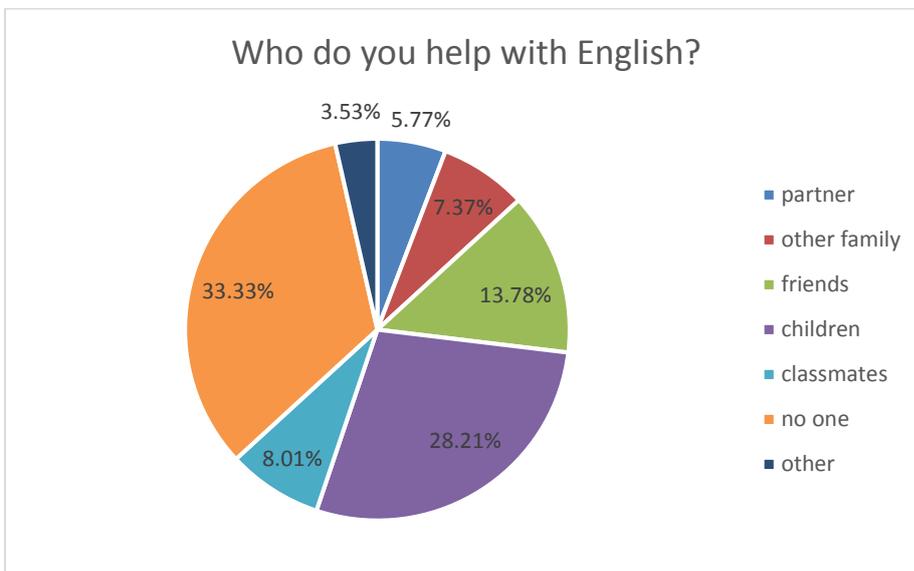
Section Two: Data Driven Dialogue

This section considers the questionnaire results from the perspective of four different groups involved in adult community English language classes in Burngreave. The data we discussed are in Appendix 8. Most of the people involved in analysis were also involved in data collection. The process was collaborative and iterative with each discussion informed by the discussions that went before in terms of the information and knowledge that was gained and the process that was undertaken. I was interested in building knowledge about the English language classes and in the transfer of knowledge between people who had different perspectives and interests. Data driven dialogue (Love, 2002) is a collaborative method for using data to achieve change and has been used in community schools in the U.S. My intention was to explore and interpret data about English language provision from different perspectives and to use the data as a starting point to exchange knowledge and to improve provision.

The Process

The first meeting took place in one of the community organisations in Burngreave. It involved seven people, members of the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) and they were: representatives of local organisations who host provision, the local learning champion, the extended schools' coordinator and the editor of the community newspaper. The meeting lasted two and a half hours and I presented a range of data from the questionnaire and different methods of presentation; graphs, charts, numbers and percentages. I explained how the data related to the questions and then we discussed the information while I took notes and I asked them to write down their comments and questions as the discussion continued. I summarised their comments and collated their written notes about the data.

The second meeting involved two students, Sara and Muna (pseudonyms) who have been involved in the research process from the beginning. We looked at the same data set as the provider group but I moved through it quickly allowing more time for analysis and discussion. A much more detailed discussion followed because there were less people involved. I paraphrased and summarised our dialogue and I read back my notes to check for accuracy. The meeting lasted two and a half hours. Muna suggested I visit a meeting in one of the schools to discuss the data with more students.

The third meeting at the suggestion of Muna and Sara who wanted to open up the discussion and further investigate some issues they raised based on the data, was in the parents' room at a local school. There were fifteen people present. We took about forty minutes but it was very quick and intense and generated a lot of dialogue. Everyone sat down to consider the data and the discussion that ensued was in Arabic, English, Somali and in Urdu and everyone was involved in checking explaining and contributing. I handed round one graph at a time to explain it clearly and keep the dialogue as focused as possible. Before I noted anything, I summarised and paraphrased my understanding and it was back translated when necessary by Muna, the extended school worker and by one of the other participants.

In the fourth meeting at a community organisation with a group of Burngreave tutors who had all been class teachers involved in data collection there were three tutors and we took an hour. I used the same graphs and the tutors discussed the data. I then told them about the students' responses and we discussed that further. They had suggestions for further analysis. I summarised our discussion and comments and checked them immediately for accuracy.

Diagram 4.10 A Summary of the process of data analysis with four groups
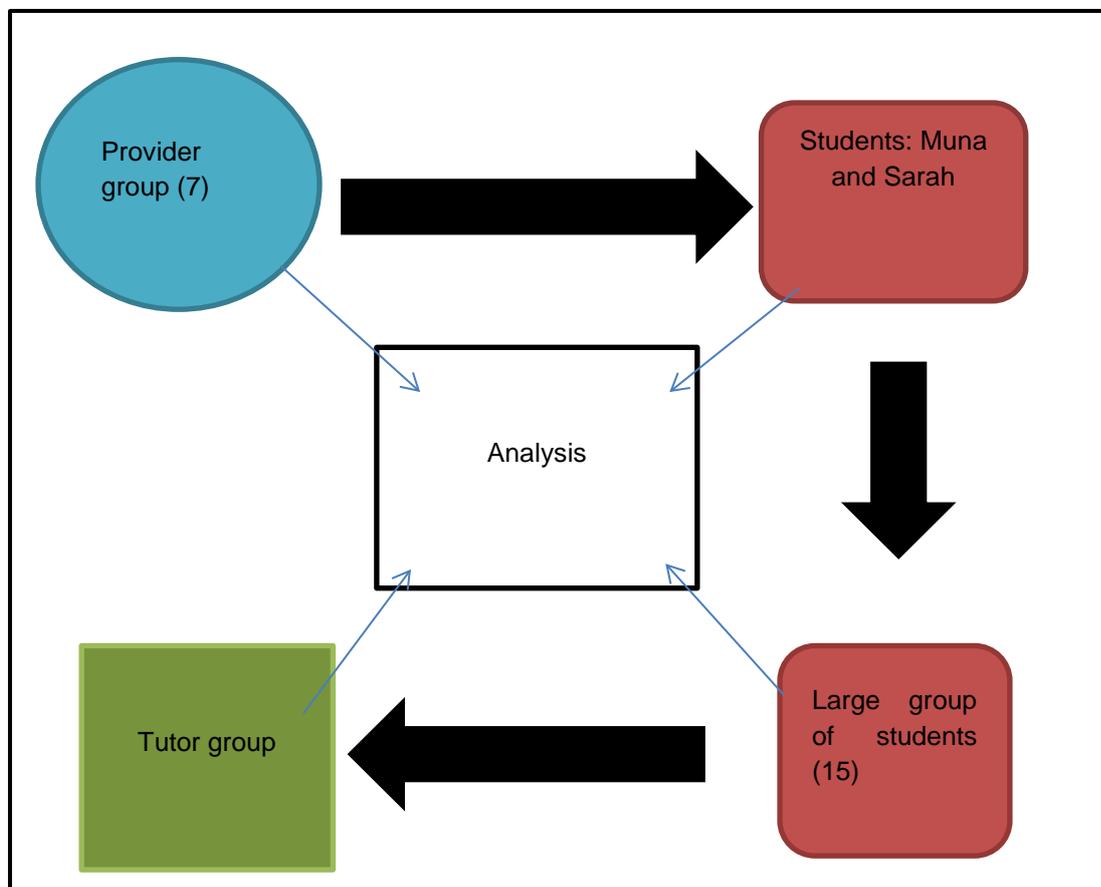
One of the questions I asked the groups was what their priorities were in terms of further analysis. I then used bi-variate and multi-variate analysis functions of the data software SPSS which is Software Programme for the Social Sciences to analyse the data. In the first group, which was the provider group, I wanted to check firstly that people in the groups understood the graphs, so I showed them a graph (Figure 4.10) which presented the number of people at each class level across the ward with the lowest on the left. (see Appendix 7. for an explanation of the levels). These two graphs became a focus for discussion in the second group, and the main focus for the third and fourth groups.

Figure 4.10 Class levels across Burngreave   Figure 4.11 % Use of interpreter by class level
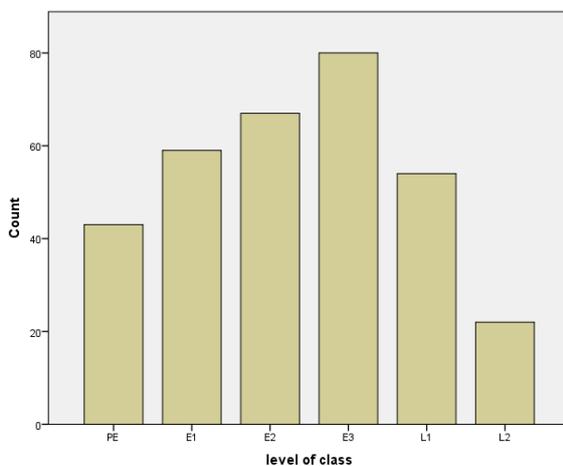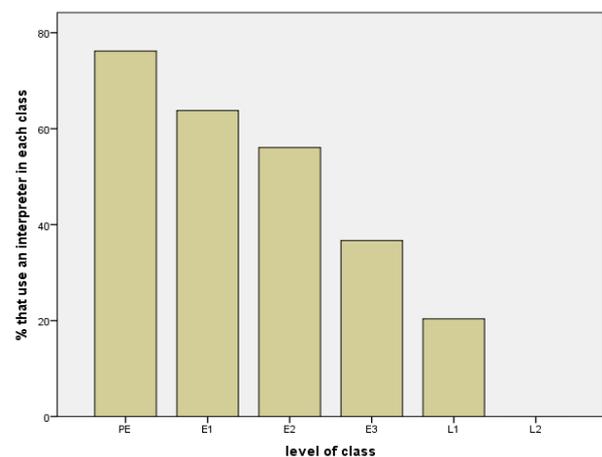
The groups preferred graphs to tables of figures and percentages to numbers. Each said they were able to understand a simple graph quickly because of the visual impact. I verified this with the other groups. A key assumption was that,

> Data have no meaning. Meaning is imposed through interpretation. Frames of reference- the way we view the world-influence the meaning we derive from data. (Love, 2008, p.xiv)

This informed my approach in each Burngreave group. With a clear explanation of how a graph represents information, I made no assumptions that anyone in the groups was familiar with graphs and gave a very basic explanation.

I recorded the discussions by taking notes and collating the notes and questions which participants wrote on their data sets. I learned as I facilitated the discussion about how much dialogue was possible because if a disproportionate amount of time was spent presenting data, then less time could be spent analysing and discussing the data.

Table 4.7 Introduction to the data

TT	SP		observation
1	K	Ok so what do you think? What's your understanding of what we've got here and any questions you want to ask?	
2	A	How can we use this to get better provision?	Meaning: more resources
3	I	How can we use the data to *improve* our provision?	Meaning: improve the provision we have got already
4	C	It's a lot to take in really	Most people were concentrating on trying to understand.
5	A	How can we make the school argument?	
6	K	What do you mean?	
7	A	Every year I've got to justify to the family of schools why adult classes and ESOL are important. This could be a way of collecting information for that. Things are changing. It's not a requirement anymore for OFSTED so we need evidence more.	Her job was to coordinate extended schools across the area and to demonstrate value for money and impact.
8	K	there's a whole section and I have only got a sample of that today. I could group and analyse variables which are about school provision and parents. I will collect it and let you see.	School report on appendix 9

We looked at table 4.1 to categorize the answers about 'reasons for learning' and I was interested to know if these answers were what providers would have anticipated. This question was the one open question. I was also interested in how providers would group the answers as this would reflect their interpretation of the answers.

Table 4.8 Main reason for learning English

TT	Sp		observation
1	K	Let's look at the motivation question because children are a high priority on that and I wanted to group the categories more. What do you think?	Looking at diagram 'What is your main reason for learning English?

2	D	I'm surprised more people didn't put children, children seem to be what people say. Job is quite important and for the everyday communications	Children was one of the main reasons for women but not for men
3	I	Our job links used to be better, the NHS day and the recruitment we had for Tesco. We need to focus on those links again	Reviewing past strategies
4	K	Anything else? With this question it was a completely free answer so that's why there are so many variations. When we developed the questions we wanted a more particular answer than if we had anticipated answers.	some of the same people were in this group
5	D	I think we could put these together, groups together.	In twos and threes people grouped the reasons until we agreed to the grouping shown in Figure 4.11
6	D	The me, for myself is interesting	This was the answer that participants were learning for themselves rather than to serve an external purpose
7	E	Yes that's ….well …I like it though. Was that higher level students?	
8	K	A mix but I remember in X's class which was real beginners who said this. There were other students other places but I remember that day because the students were really positive in that class.	At the time it felt like a realisation by a few women others in the class gave different answers.
9	E	It's what we're all working on, independence	

Participants agreed and talked about the particular teacher who was very skilled at working with students with no previous education and different students making good progress We continued and grouped the reasons and the result in the table below. Under the grouping 'independence' were, 'to help myself', 'for me', 'to speak on my own', 'to be independent' and 'to improve myself'.   Factors were grouped after discussion to clarify patterns of motivation. The three main reasons for study are: 1. Communicating on a day to day social basis to participate in ordinary life, 2. For me and independence, and 3. to get a job. Each of these three categories was the main reason for 22-26% of the respondents and in total for 73% of the respondents and around 12% gave 'children' as their main reason.

Figure 4.12 What is your main reason for learning English?
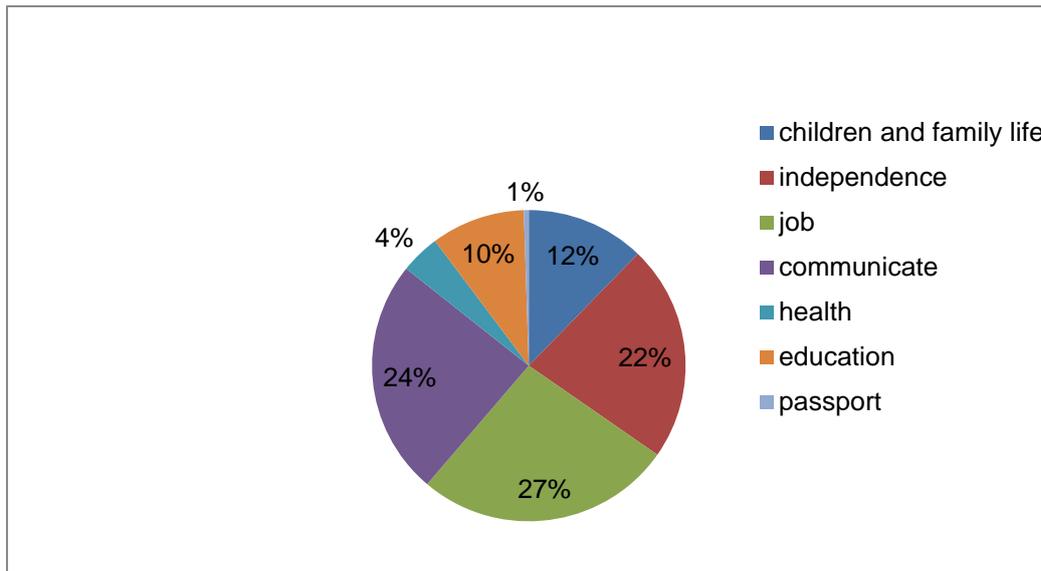
Because there were so many mothers involved in the provision, the category 'for myself' surprised the group who designed the questionnaire, who had anticipated 'children and family' as being a prime motivator for learning. Phillimore (2011, p.322) in a study of refugees' experiences of ESOL classes which used self-reported competencies in English, categorised adult students according to their motivation and educational background as 'communicators', 'improvers' and 'higher levels'. She reported that the 'communicators' were the most satisfied with the provision. In Burngreave, when the answers to this question is analysed in the same terms: 33 people who gave 'jobs', 'qualifications and study', or 'writing and spelling' as their main reason for learning English and would be classified as improvers or higher level. That leaves 205 people or 63% who could be grouped as communicators. In collaborative analysis groups, students discussed appropriateness of the provision and though they had criticisms and suggested alternatives, it was from a position of support and ownership of the classes rather than rejection. The Adult ESOL Core Curriculum (DFES, 2001), which is a government developed curriculum in the U.K., based on a functional model of literacy and language, if negotiated flexibly may serve this group of communicators better than it serves students with different purposes. People who have arrived in the U.K. with higher levels of English may not progress quickly enough, exemplified by either Phillimore's 'improvers' or 'higher level' learners, students 'who are seeking to transfer qualifications gained in other countries to study or work.

Though the participants had been involved in the development of the questionnaire they were sometimes looking for information that wasn't gathered in the process. One of the main points of this provider group was that they asked me to do further analysis to get more detailed information about their own centre or a specific interest. Mostly I was able to do collate the information.

Table 4.9 Jobs and volunteering

TT	Sp		observation
1	B	Can any of this show how ESOL classes help with jobs and other connections. What about progression and volunteering?	We were looking at questions about jobs and volunteering.
2	K	Do you want to see the questions? I've got them	
3	A	If we can show who is getting jobs.	
4	K	It's not really like that because we are asking people in classes if they have got jobs Even at the lowest level some people have got jobs	
5	F	What are they doing?	
6	G	Well cleaning but sometimes men are in takeaways mainly and other jobs where they don't need English. is that right? A lot of people at that onion factory and making sandwiches.	
7	K	I can look at the jobs and volunteering questions and see how it relates level by level because students in the pre entry classes are exceptions. In fact why doesn't everybody say what they want me to look at more closely and I can analyse it with the software. So far I've got all the school and children related questions	Participants wrote questions and suggestions on their handouts for KS to collect and then raised their ideas in the discussion

This next table focuses on the analysis that participants were interested in and this data is presented after the group discussions.

Table 4.10 Further analysis of the data

TT	Sp		observation
1	S	What about looking at literacy levels at each level and compare level of class against literacy in own language.	There were many students with low literacy levels in this provision
2	K	I can do that	
3	G	Can we show how people are interacting in society: functional connections and family connections	I explained that it was only English use that we had asked about

4	E	What about the doctors and interpreters?	(That was covered)
5	K	I can do each question level by level. There's the functional (shopping and doctor) questions but there's also neighbour and friend questions.	I then showed and explained how the interpreter graph which shows that at every level
6	B	What about level of ESOL against time in the UK volunteers by level and jobs by level and then gender	Participants were interested in examining the levels of Engish and the tasks
7	A	Parent meetings Children, improve, help with home work	Participants from schools wanted the school questions to be grouped
8	A	I think that's enough	
9	K	It we can try different things at any time the data set is … I will level all the questions, do the gender analysis and group all the data relating to children and schools	

There were two issues raised in this group which I did not pursue in the thesis and these were questions and further analysis about men in the provision. This was driven by a council agenda to recruit more men to be in line with national targets and an interest which arose about attendance in the classes which had not been in my original interest. Neither of these were part of the research question which we had developed and this reflects some of the conflicting motivations and interests which arise when working collaboratively.

4.11 Interpreter graph discussion

I drew their attention to the interpreter graph. What do you think of this one? There is a clear correlation between class level and use of interpreter.
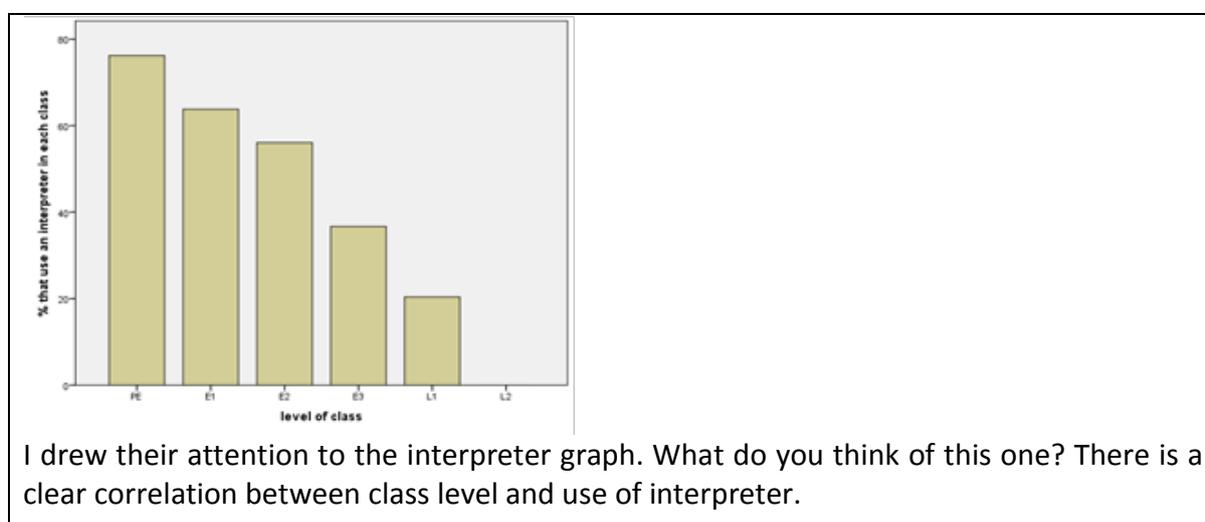
1	A	So that's good isn't it	concentrating on the graph
2	K	I cried when that came out the printer. What do you think?	At this point I forgot that data have no meaning.
3	B	Nobody using an interpreter at level 2?	
4	C	I think we can use that	positive noises
5	K	B gave me an article about this (Sheffield) hospital trust. The article explained how much less was being spent on interpreters.	It was an article about interpreter spending being reduced drastically.
6	C	maybe it's because they won't let them have them anymore. It's still a good graph because it changes with the levels.	
7	E	It shows so much of what we are supposed to be doing and are doing and it's good to see it.	
8	B	So in Burngreave none of the level 2s need an interpreter? It says we are doing our job and our classes work.	The providers viewed this graph as very positive.

This table details a discussion about levels across the area and providers had a concept about the provision being demand led but because resources were very limited this did not hold true anymore. While resources were being developed, provision responded to interest at some level but discussion was an opportunity to have an overview of the planning process.

Table 4.12 Providers considering the provision across the area by class level

TT	SP		observation
1	K	Before we go have you had a look at this one Fig.4.10 It's the spread of the provision across the area. What do you think of that?	People make positive noises
2	C	There's a lot of entry three	
3	A	More than I expected. We're demand led so it's just what people want there's a big demand at lower levels.	Lifelong Learning from SCC always described the service in those terms.
4	S	There's less (classes, students) at pre-entry and entry 1 than I would expect but entry 3..	No one offers any explanation but see student dialogue.
5	A	But we just put on what people want. There is less demand for higher level classes.	It is more complex because resources are not infinite so choices have to be made.

6	K	In the schools we move the money with existing students so if everybody moves up to the next level the money moves up and there's not necessarily more for beginners just because there's people waiting.	Despite waiting lists choices have got to be made about progressing existing students.
7	A	In the beginning it was all beginners. Then the level 1 and 2 went to the college but now	As college provision has contracted the community provision has offered more levels
8	E	We've always got a massive level 2 class. We got twenty or more at the moment	
9	K	The college fills them at registration day every year but we give priority to existing groups and students and just fill the spaces when we recruit.	
10	C	It's quite different. But those classes (looking at table 4.8) have got empty. We could do with their money	
11	B	Groups stay together so people get to know each other. It's their school and it's working. We just need more.	There is a group focus in many of the venues
12	A	The budget is fixed, a higher level class means cutting a lower level class. How can we get more? But at least we know that in Burngreave our classes are doing what they are supposed to do	Everybody laughs. The interpreter graph was what A was referring to here

As a result of the provider group analysis I collated the questionnaire results further and analysed the answers against classroom level and I organised all the results which related to children and school related activities. Further statistical analysis is presented after the collaborative analysis group discussions have been logged. I present it this way because the students didn't see the bi-variate analysis but the same graphs and charts that the providers had seen.

I showed Muna and Sara the set of graphs and charts I had shown to the provider group and briefly explained what was there then asked them what they thought about it all. At this stage I didn't anticipate their reaction to the graph.

Table 4.13 Students considering the provision across the area by class level

TT	SP		observation
1	K	What do you think of this graph? (looking at figure x the interpreter graph). It shows that at each level the number of people who need an interpreter goes down until at level 2, no one is using an interpreter any more.	
2	M	Laughs… Of course people improve Kath. Why do you think we come to class? If we didn't improve, we wouldn't come.	This was an unexpected reaction because I was impressed by the data
3	K	Oh I thought that was good (the graph)	They were both ready to say what they thought.
4	S	Laughs too. Of course we get better but who gets to level 2 anyway	the graphs in front of them appeared to make them confident

Because Muna was very clear about the fact that not all students progress to Level Two, I highlighted another graph in the pack which confirmed her knowledge. The graph in Figure 4.10 had been presented to the provider group and it shows the number of people in each level of class with the lowest level on the left. Numbers increased at each level until there is a clear high at Entry Level Three and then the number of people in the higher level classes decreases sharply. The providers had not treated these data as controversial but rather as an illustration of the pattern of provision across the area. Their overall approach was that this pattern reflected demand for classes. The students however did not agree with this analysis and thought this indicated a gap in provision of higher level classes.

I asked what the reasons were that students did not continue with classes beyond a certain point. Muna and Sarah had multiple perspectives on this and the first point that Muna made was a broad political point which reflected the recession which had affected Burngreave at that time. Initially they focus on external factors which affect students' progress.

Table 4.14 Reasons students don't continue with classes

TT	Sp		observation
1	M	The benefit system has changed and a lot of people give up going to class. Life is getting more difficult for the people.	Muna has an overview both of the local and national perspective.
2	L	When we only get 2 or 4 hours a week though the class is good there is not enough time and we are not proper students	She was talking about reductions in class hours and the number of classes.
3	L	There's not enough classes at higher levels.	Looking at the graph
4	M	Some people don't go beyond entry 2 because	
5	S	Families help them – as single parents we were forced to go out (Muna and Sara)	When Muna first arrived she had two very small children and was pregnant and was traumatised because of the war in Somalia.
6	M	Nobody could help me they think I am a crazy woman. I used to laugh all the time.	
7	M	I have seen a lot of people in ten years that are stuck at entry 2. The go into the entry 3 class but they can't pass the exam so they stay there	

In Table 4.15 the focus is on internal factors initially which prevent students from making progress and both realised that there is a complex set of factors influencing progression. Though this may seem disjointed as a conversation both participants were mooting lots of ideas and thinking about the possibilities. Sarah finishes by mentioning her own progress as an incentive to other people she knows in the community. I asked about the reason why students don't progress.

Table 4.15 Reasons students don't progress

1	K		observation
	M	The main thing is little education and no opportunities	Students haven't been to school before and Muna is very aware of the lack of jobs in the area.
3	S	Chatting in their own language and that is their social network	Sarah is conflict between the support that classes can provide and the progress she expects.
4	S	Teachers have to listen to serious problems so they can't teach the class	Then she began to agree with Muna
5	M	The worst thing is when everyone knows your problem	When she first arrived this was Muna's experience

6	M	People don't go regular because they are lazy	Muna is now thinking students ..
7	S	Two Afghani families stayed at home this year but when they see I've passed my driving and my childcare they are all going back now.	

Teachers were viewed as very important in terms of progression and in the group discussions Sarah and Muna discussed their experiences of teachers. They demonstrated the knowledge that students have of provision and quality of teaching across the area. Inevitably some students are networked and are in a position to make comparisons between teachers and venues

Table 4:16 Teachers and progression

TT	Sp		observation
1	M	It depends on your teacher- they both agree about this and start laughing.	
2	S	You would not believe what some teachers do.	Sara told the story of a teacher who made them listen to her favourite song and they had to write down the words
3	K	some training courses aimed at international students consider this was a good way to teach using music to make it interesting.	I wanted to explain because I had seen this idea in books for TEFL
4	S	When we learn something then we can DO something interesting but listening to a teacher's favourite songs is not interesting. When we said we can't understand it she said "listen carefully"	She meant learn enough English then we can get onto the subjects we really want to learn
5	S	Sara said again it depends on your teacher and told about a teacher in one of the centres and her classes were always empty. People would enrol at the but when they saw what teacher they got they would just go home that was years ago she is still teaching the people	I was surprised here both by how M and S were very confident about being critical and how much I wanted to mitigate though I really tried to keep quiet

Adult students themselves can equate rejection from jobs and inability to complete courses as a result of poor English. One of the students who collaborated in the study questioned the value of English language classes though another student, queried this analysis which is recorded in the table below

Simpson (2015, p.2) makes an important point about the way that language is used to deflect attention from views and actions which would otherwise be considered racist when he comments, "it is notable that people's competence in English is talked about as a feature of difference in terms that could not usually be used to discuss issues such as race or ethnicity: language is sometimes used as a stand-in for other things". In the example below it is also notable that this student would rather query her own competence and the ESOL provision rather than confront issues which exclude her from work and other opportunities.

Table 4.17 Language as a deflection

TT	Sp		observation
1	S	I didn't get (understand) the ESOL classes. From 2004 I attended until I got to level 2 but the level of English I have, I can't get a job. People say "don't go for ESOL classes- don't waste your time"	Is it a waste of time?
2	K	Your English was good enough for that translation company so how can you say it is not good enough for a job? Your English was good enough to pass the childcare course	She was accepted to do translation work
3	S	I didn't really pass the childcare course because they wouldn't let me do an observation"	
4	K	What do you mean?	
5	S	I was in childcare with very high marks but when I was on, they wouldn't let me make an observation of a child. They gave me jobs like cleaning and washing up, making the food. But in class the teacher was so happy with me. In the nursery...they treated me like I, I cannot say..	
6	K	Why didn't you say something? To your tutor	
7	S	When you are on a placement you can't say anything. I can't get a job	Recognizing the structures that restrict her
8	M	but maybe it's not your English stopping you	

In the next table is the view discussed by Blackledge and Creese (2010, p.199) explaining the strong links between language and national identity when these factors cannot be taken for granted. Sarah was interested in an observation that different language groups were better able to support their children's language learning.

Table 4.18 Super diversity and importance of national affiliations

TT	Sp		observation
1	K	Looking at graph Language they speak to you	
2	S	Check out how this works language by language	I checked this but it didn't show the pattern they expected
3	M	Yemeni and Pakistani people speak their language.	
4	K	Because there are so many nationalities in Burngreave does the ethnic group or nationality or language group no longer has the same importance?	They were both
6	M	nationalities do have importance	I suggested a move towards super-diversity and that nationalities had less importance
7	S	there is a high value on language	
8	M	These groups have meaning	

The topic of children and their ability to speak their parents' language was important to all the parents we spoke to. Networks became a topic for discussion and this idea is addressed in Chapter Six. Many adult students do not have family or country of origin networks and Muna and Sarah emphasised the importance of alternative networks for single parents.

In recent research in Kent, Sheila McDonald (2013, p.80) also focuses on women's lives outside of the ESOL classroom and in this quote their attitude to intergenerational language issues.

> Winnie's strong narrative, clearly told, with repetition of a symbolic threat, the 'hole inside', focuses attention on what is really at stake in her experience: not only her home language but also the parent-child relationship which appears to rest on her capacity to significantly improve her English. The current and feared future cost to Winnie is evident to the other women, although what is not raised in this conversation are the implications of the potential loss to her children of their home language.

This is an issue for Muna and Sarah in our discussion and it is Sarah who asks Muna the question. Muna turns the question and implied criticism into a positive after Sarah counters her answer with the fact that she is also a single parent.

Table 4.19 Intergenerational language

TT	Sp		observation
9	S	Somali children don't speak Somali". Why is this?	This was a challenging question (the data collected in Burngreave does not indicate this)
10	M	There are too many single parent so they don't hear adults talk. They understand everything but they reply in English	I didn't collect data on respondents marital status but this response indicates it may have been useful
11	S	I'm a single parent and my children speak mostly Deri but they speak English to me sometimes but they don't speak English in front of other families (Deri speakers)	S indicates that she associates with other Deri speakers and this supports the children's Deri.
12	S	When my daughter was 8 we went to Afghanistan and after we came back she said to me once when I spoke to her in English "Why do you speak English?" My children understand when we are in company but they are not confident and ask questions later.	S explained that the visit to Afghanistan was crucial in developing her children's language skills
13	M	Muna said "Somalis are open to borrowing culture. We wear Arabic clothes, we borrow from the Turkish and Indian languages. We celebrate bonfire night and things like that.	

Muna and Sara did not feel their input was sufficient and wanted to take the discussion to a bigger group at a community school where progression had been an issue and therefore the third and fourth analysis groups were convened. They suggested I go to a parents' group at one of the schools involved in the research because the group was full of parents who attended ESOL classes at all different levels and they could say what they thought about the graphs. Muna and Sarah suggested I use two graphs: the one which showed levels across the area and one which was about using an interpreter. They knew that in the parents' group were a few students who we all knew who had got stuck at Entry Level 2. They were in the Entry 3 class and could not pass the Entry 3 exam.

FROM A CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

The contrast between the provider dialogue and the first student dialogue propelled me to revisit the ideas from the methodological section about Bourdieu's concepts. (see p.74) Participating in a collaboratory research initiative is essentially constructionist in approach,

acknowledging the ability of all participants to construct new knowledge about community education and this is relevant for providers as well as students and to participate in changing elements of the provision. However, the different attitudes to the dialogue and the provision were striking. At this point I appreciated the nuanced distinction between a constructionist and constructivist perspective where the former focuses on the process of knowledge construction explained in Karnilowicz et al. (2014, p.356) and the latter which has a psychological perspective focusing on the individual and the subjective. The differing attitudes could be explained by many factors such as different participants' personalities and their positive or negative experiences of education but much was clarified for me by thinking in terms of structural issues. One clear example is that in most instances participants operated from different 'sides' of the structures: as clients and providers. In terms of their attitude to structures the providers, viewed the data as a tool 'to make an argument' or justify their work within the provision. The students did not appear to recognise any intrinsic worth in the data but were quickly critical about the provision itself and how it operated. There was considerable consensus within the provider group and the members appeared to have a provider view which may have been as a result of having worked together and developed such an approach. The students knew each other well and because there was only two of them in the first group it was informal and they disagreed with each other, were more anecdotal and more critical of the provision, of the data and, in some way of me as representative of all this. We all had spent many hours together having been in the same class for two to three years. They wanted me to involve more students to corroborate their views. Their input changed my perspective to becoming more critical of the provision as I approached the second student group.

The context of this discussion is one where students who have, in some cases, experienced classes in different cities and at different types of venues over many years. They have high stakes in English language provision and in quite a large group were able to speak freely moving between languages and repertoires to express themselves individually and in collaboration. After explaining the graph in terms of how a graph gives information and checking that everybody understood. I asked what I now can see was a very leading question.

Table 4.20 Progression

TT	Sp		observation
1	K	I asked Why do people get stuck at entry 2 and can't pass entry 3	
2	A	It's lack of previous education	The data are shown in Figure 4.15
3	B	But also a different style of education as students were not trained to speak out in class	Muna translated
4	C	Because of many other pressures some people cannot attend (regularly) then they cannot come	Muna translated Because they get behind the class and can't catch up.
	D	People have basic needs and once they can do those things they don't need classes	See tutor discussion
5	D	People give up because speaking and listening is easy but reading and writing is difficult	At the Entry Level Three exam there is a presentation which requires writing and planning.
6	E	Without clear motivation everything is difficult. At lower levels when mums have small children and no previous history of work there is not a clear idea of direction	Muna translated

In order to be clear exactly what each person's main point was if they spoke in English or if someone was either supporting their explanation or translating it, I simplified. There are advantages and disadvantages The advantage of being in a quite large and loud group was that people were contributing without inhibitions and were disagreeing with each other but the disadvantage was that there was a lack of subtlety in the way I was able to record the conversation.

In the following table one of the participants made an interesting suggestion which one of the extended school workers followed up. This idea started as a solution to the lack of progression for students with limited previous education.

Table 4.21 Literacy volunteers

TT	Sp		observation
1	F	But people do understand that ESOL is important to help children	Muna translated
2	G	I have been learning English 3 years. I had no schooling and I have six children. I had no alphabet, I can read now and do my name and address. Now I couldn't do the dentist and the doctor but I have learned.	Then G spoke to Z one of the extended school workers and she translated
3	G	A solution for those who are struggling would be volunteers who could work one to one and increase a person's confidence.	I told the people about a scheme where university students worked as literacy volunteers.
4	A	here (in the school) the parents do it already to help out with children and they got training.	Because of her participation in school activities G is suggesting the strategy that has worked well for children be extended to adults.

In the next table the discussion ranges from the importance of time, concentration and quality input. Though there was a consensus about how crucial a good teacher was we didn't pursue what this meant in detail, which was an opportunity that was missed.

Table 4.22 Time, concentration and teaching

1	D	Two hours is not enough and four hours a week is not enough	Enough time in English class
2	A	Two hours is enough if you concentrate and have a good reason like citizenship.	Motivation as important again
3	B	I left the school class and went to the college but the teacher wasn't good so I came back because only 2 people in the whole class took an exam. The assistant kept phoning and phoning and saying they would change so I went back and it was just the same.	With support from Muna This topic also concerned Muna and Sara
4	B	It is difficult to get a good teacher	

The following discussion illustrates how the political background affects students' ability to learn. In this short excerpt the local lack of jobs is mentioned, the changing regimes for benefit claimants and how crucial it is for students to immerse themselves in learning rather than study at odd times planned around another agenda.

The table below illustrates how local community students are able to understand and utilise networks in order to reposition themselves at a time when they realise that public funding for community education is not abundant but also with years of experience that they might serve their own best interests regarding time and space for learning.

Table 4.23 Wider issues affecting learning

TT	Sp		observation
1	D	JSP (job centre plus) is not good and should be done by the community (organisations). You have to leave a good class to go to those courses.	Mandatory job centre courses
2	M	But there's not enough time in the community and the classes too separate: maybe one on a Tuesday morning and one on a Friday afternoon. We need intense time in the morning and then we feel like students and it is a big part of our lives.	Time is an issue which recurs. The idea of feeling like a student with a clear focus on learning rather than incidental classes.
3	C	In the last few years there are no jobs anyway	Highlighting a job as motivation for many people for learning
4	B	And there are not enough options… we need separate classes for those who need to learn to read and write	This may be the boost students need to progress.

This underlines the point by Gilchrist (2004, p. 145) that:

> The related concepts of 'community' and 'networks' must be better understood by policy-makers if they are to avoid the risk of masking common experiences of inequality and discrimination, based on enduring power imbalances and social exclusion.

The reason I include the following conversation is because it gives some indication of how keen students were to learn and how they were not content for themselves or their children with accepting what was there. They had ideas about how to improve the provision or supplement it. After the discussion some student came and sat with me and said they were looking for a teacher to do an evening class. Their idea was to organise an English class to run

concurrently with their children's Arabic class in the Mosque. At first they asked me to find them a teacher and then after a discussion they said:

Table 4.24 Request for classes

TT			observation
1	A	Do it yourself Kath	
2	K	I could ask the council Lifelong learning and skills	
3	M	no we don't want all that. If you will do it we will pay	They didn't want the paperwork
4	K	I don't want to take your money.	
5	A	There is no better way to spend money on education and anyway we all have tutors for our children to help them outside school	and told me how much they were paying
6	K	Do you want to do exams?	they said yes.
7	M	Yes and we want these classes and the ones in school. We'll go to all the classes.	I had said I didn't want to set up classes in competition with what was already provided

Gilchrist (2004, p.145) emphasises the importance that informal activities can have in shaping community and community networks. The parents group is an example of an informal activity which facilitated meetings with parents and agencies which could support their interests.

> government policies to promote stronger communities and active citizenship have tended to emphasise the role of individuals within formal structures, and, until recently, have overlooked the significance of informal activities within community settings.

The positivity and resilience evidenced here endures despite deep structural imbalances which are glaring in times of restricted allocation of resources.

I showed the tutors the table of information in Appendix 8.and then the graph in Figure 4.8

about the interpreter and asked them what they thought about it.

Table 4.25 Interpreter graph (tutor group)

TT	Sp		observation
1	A	the graph makes a good economic argument about what good value ESOL is because and with ESOL …	The initial responses and comments were very positive from all the tutors
2	B	It's good to see it. We need to see it. iIn the face of criticism about ESOL and what is achieved that…	
3	C	interpretation is very expensive in comparison	
4	B	once the skills have been learned people remain self-sufficient whereas you have to continue to pay for the services of an interpreter	
5	A	It shows also that if you stick with it that there are gains in terms of autonomy and independence which leads to general well being and good mental health.	

I told them that the students had asked "How many start and get through to level 2?" The

providers had not treated these data as controversial but rather as an illustration of the

pattern of provision across the area. Their overall approach was that this pattern reflected

demand for classes. The students however did not agree with this analysis and thought this

indicated a gap in provision of higher level classes. The tutors responded by explaining why

students do not progress to that level.

Table 4.26 Tutors response to the students' question

TT	Sp		observations
1	C	people go on other pathways	The tutors responded to the data in the graphs and then to the students' view Teachers also demonstrate their understanding of the complexities involved
2	B	They get jobs in schools	
3	K	What kind of jobs?	
4	B	cleaning, dinner ladies, playground supervisors and classroom volunteers and classroom assistants	
5	A	Learners leave after they have got citizenship	
6	C	People have basic needs and once they can do those things they don't need classes	

Tutors acknowledged that adult students have many other factors in their lives which affect their ability to access education and so if they have to take their children to different schools and pick them up, it is not always possible to be available at certain times when classes are offered. In turn venues have to fit around other demands of the school or centre

Table 4.27 Accessing the right class.

1	B	People have problems finding the right class.	
2	D	What do you mean right class?	
3	B	The venue is important to be close to their children's school. Most people need crèche if their children are not in nursery. Often the day is important if they have other commitments, and the time. It's got to fit with school, Mosque or Arabic school	In answer to D

Tutors meanwhile thought demand lessened at Entry Level Three because of students' inabilities to progress.   They pinpointed the point at which students required different academic skills as outlined by Cummins (2006)

Table 4.28 Progress at Entry Level Three

TT	Sp		observation
1	K	I asked "How can students progress and pass the exam at Entry level Three	
2	A	They need to do their homework	These answers focus mainly on the student rather than the provision or the teaching
3	B	But we need to be aware that not everyone is academic	
4	C	They need to be self-directed and motivated which isn't easy when you have got small children.	
5	B	They need more commitment and more skills to progress beyond a certain level..	

Tutors also highlighted lack of development work as a factor in low class numbers at the Beginners' Level. They commented that providers were reluctant to take on low Level learners who needed considerable input even to make slow progress.

 Table 4.29 Issues with students who have had no previous schooling

1	A	There isn't money to support the tutors or do any development. Some providers won't do lower levels because you can only do low numbers.	Students often don't pass accreditation in limited time span
2	B	It is harder work because the students don't know classroom etiquette like listening to the teacher or working together. It takes longer to progress the students and teachers need to be really skilled and patient like M	In the lower level classes there are students who have not been to school before.

Tutors indicate here the complex nature of working in community provision. Once students are in the classroom, other factors can be addressed but without a dedicated worker to recruit and support adults who have a low level of education and English their needs cannot be met. They are very aware of how decisions are made on limited budgets.

Table 4.30 Funding affecting the range of classes

TT	Sp		observation
1	C	The council originally put classes in schools to supplement the college classes, so the classes were at the lowest levels. There were no pre-entry classes so the council did that in schools.	
2	A	But college have only one centre now so we have to do all the levels which wasn't the way it was planned.	Funding cuts have forced FE provision to contract.
	D	the reasons numbers are low at the lower level is not that there are few people who are beginners but that there is no development work now.	The teachers are now considering figure 4.9 They looked at the low numbers in entry one
		The budget is fixed, a higher level class means cutting a lower level class	

Following the four discussion I returned to the data to consider the questions, concerns and interests that were raised. I was interested to further research the issue that concerned Muna and Sarah about progression and the explanations which tutors had offered. The data about the spread of classes across the area showed that there were many students in the Entry Level Three classes. The students and tutors concurred with the idea that the students were stuck at Entry Level Three because though they managed to pass the Entry Level Two exam they could not pass the next exam so class numbers were larger at Entry Level Three. Another connected issue was how students reported on their abilities to communicate in different domains.

The following diagrams are the results of analysis following discussion with the students and tutors about the impact of previous education on students' ability to progress and pass exams in the English language classes. I carried out a bivariate analysis of level of previous education against level of class and the results correspond to the students' and tutors' analysis of the effect of previous education.

At Pre-Entry (Beginner Level) 49% had had no previous schooling. This figure drops to 6% and 7% by the higher Levels. The issue for everyone is that two or four hours of English language classes cannot substitute for a lack of basic education and more provision is required if students with no formal or very limited formal education are to progress.

Figure 4.13 Previous education in Pre-Entry classes in Burngreave

Previous Education:
Pre-entry Level Classes(PE)
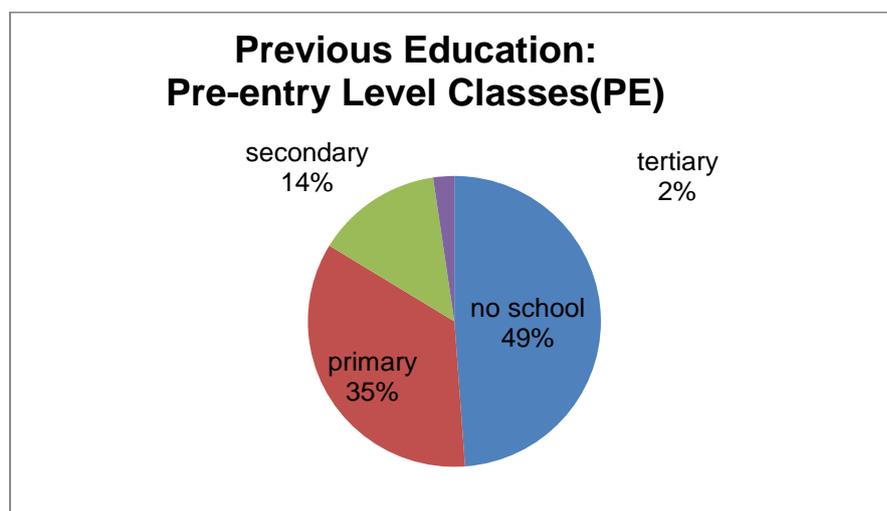
Figure 4.12 shows the level of education students in Pre-Entry Level classes have attained. This is a beginner Level class, nearly half of the students have had no previous schooling and 84% of the students have been educated to primary school level or below.   Entry Level Three is considered equivalent to completion of primary school education. Success in Entry Level Three assessments requires a level of preparation predicated upon well-developed study skills. Moving up to Entry Level Three is the stage where some students appear to falter in their progression. The diagram shows a very varied educational background amongst the student group. At this level only 7% have no schooling and education at primary level or below accounts for 51% of the students.

Figure 4.14 Previous education in Entry Three classes in Burngreave

**Previous Education:
Entry Level Three Classes**

no school
7%

tertiary
19%

secondary
30%
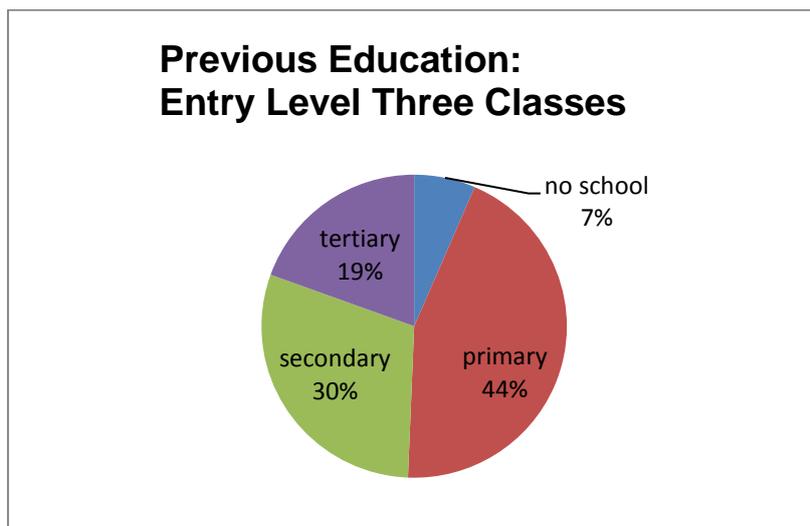
primary
44%

The pie charts show that students who have had no schooling, only account for 6% of students at Level 1 and 28% have had primary level education or less. This corroborates what the students considered to be the most important factor in determining students' ability to progress beyond Entry Level Three.

Figure 4.15 Previous education in Level One classes in Burngreave

**Previous Education:
Level One Classes**

no school
6%

tertiary
31%

primary
22%
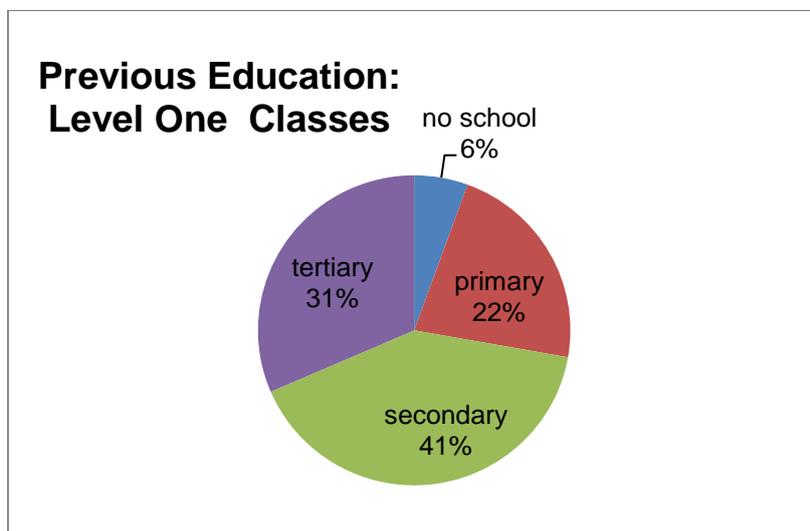
secondary
41%

The students' dialogue initiated by the data indicated an in depth understanding and knowledge of the provision. Though there are students who have had tertiary and secondary level education, most of the students have had either no previous schooling or schooling to primary level (age 11 or 12). This has considerable implications for learners' progress. This view is supported by the data provided in the questionnaire responses.

The provider group suggested bi-variiate analysis of the question Who do you speak to in English? The answers are shown in Table 4.31 below analysed against level of English class.

Shop assistants: At the Pre-entry Level (beginners) level, 72% of respondents spoke in English when they were shopping which rose to 86% at Entry Level One and stayed above 80% across all levels. The responses indicate that while initially English may be a barrier for relatively few students, after the first class the number of students speaking English with shop assistant stays at the same level. All other answers show a positive correlation against classroom level which means that students reported an increased ability to speak in English in each of the scenarios as the level of the class increased. Correspondingly less people needed to use an interpreter.

Table 4.31 Who do you speak to in English? and level of class

Who do you speak to in English?	Total %	PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
Shops assistants	84	72	86	86	89	86	86
The doctor	77	37	61	78	92	100	95
Neighbours	70	33	59	77	83	90	81
Friends	63	16	53	71	77	85	81
Child's teacher	75	38	66	70	89	93	100
Do you speak English:							
In a parents' group?	46	8	35	43	66	57	86
On another course?	28	7	5	23	39	44	67
As a volunteer?	16	5	7	6	28	26	32
In a job?	16	5	12	24	16	11	42
Do you use an interpreter?	45	76	63	56	36	20	0

In the student group we discussed how in a 'super-diverse' community there are so many shops where it is not necessary to speak English. The basic level of English needed for shopping is established very quickly, unlike in so many other tasks. A consistent level of people across the levels, do not use English for shopping.

Talking to the doctor (GP) in English: The results of this question show a very steady positive correlation between classroom language level and ability to communicate to the doctor in English, reaching 100% at Level 1. The slight fall at Level 2 was one student who had a complex medical condition and she still required social and language support in her visits to the hospital.

In the next three cases: speaking to neighbours, friends and their children's teachers, students reported an increased ability to speak in English in the given situation at each higher level of English language class. 90% of the students reported speaking to their neighbours in English at Level 1 was a very positive result as was students' reporting that speaking to friends in English went above 80% at Levels 1 and 2.

Blommaert (2014, p.16) distinguishes five sets of communicative tasks which are useful, shop routines, convivial small talk, getting along, problem solving and specialized tasks. He argues that people can access the first three categories "on the street" by learning language from others in a casual way and for the last two categories more formal language learning is required. His categories are useful to understand the results in Burngreave and to some extent, concur with his ideas as there is a distinct difference between students' abilities to do the first three and the last two as evidenced in our questionnaire results.

Cummins (1980 and 1981), model of Basic Interpersonal Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) can explain why this occurs distinguishing between the surface level of language knowledge and a knowledge that uses a deeper level of cognition.

Figure 4.16 Language knowledge

Knowledge
Comprehension
Application

Analysis
Synthesis
Evaluation

Surface

Cognitive/Academic Proficiency

Pronunciation
Vocabulary
Grammar

Semantic Meaning

Functional Meaning

BICS & CALP (Cummins, 1981)
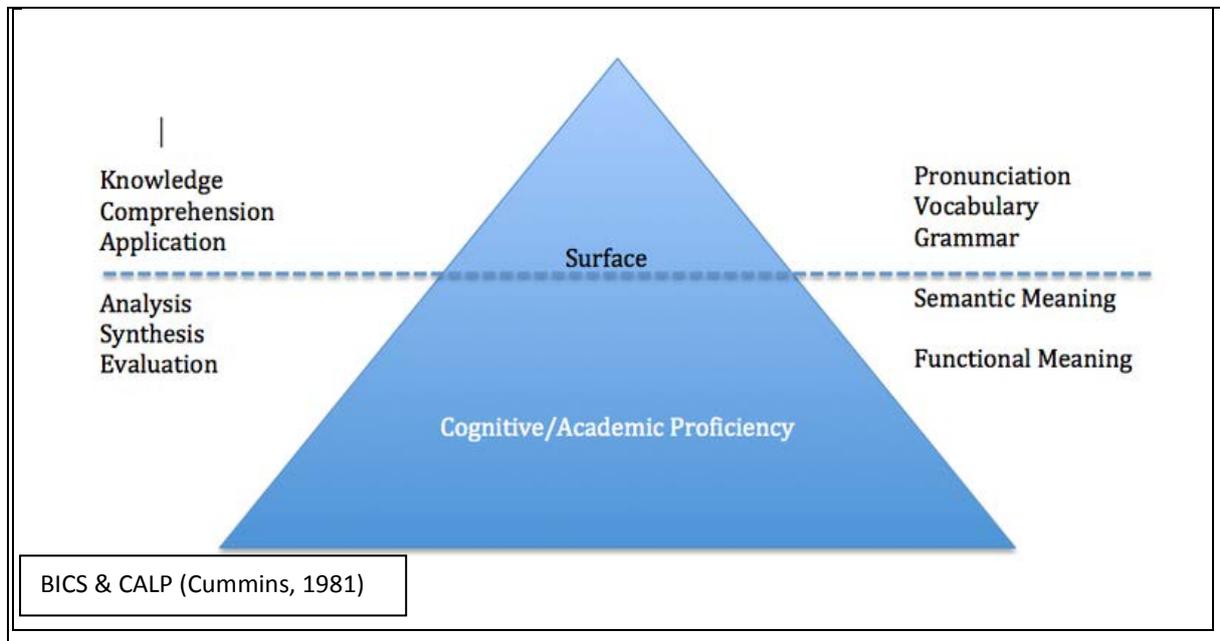
This ability is based on many factors including previous language experience, literacy skills and cognitive skills which are dependent on a sustained period of education. His model provides an overview of a complex language process which can alert students and providers to the need for an approach that encompasses concepts and skills to enable students to make that transition. In the data discussions both teachers and students were aware of the import of both more time and more concentrated time. In the case of students, they talked about being 'real students' and the teachers were aware of the independence students need, to make progress. However, movement through the stages of BICS and CALP should be part of a conscious approach of the English language provision to develop the academic proficiencies students need to progress. Assessment which take these factors into account would facilitate progress. (Gipps, & Cumming, 2005). Children in school may be given time to move through these stages but in functional English language classes this time is lacking hence the inability of students with little previous education to make the transition. An important point that Cummins makes is that students who have a basic proficiency may appear to be competent

and without appropriate assessment are not given the support they require on higher level courses.

In Burngreave improvements in English levels did not appear to develop through social contact over time. With the participants, who were predominantly women, the patterns of conviviality which Blommaert describes did not emerge. Progress was dependant on attendance in classes and previous education. I compared 'time spent in the country' against all the questions but there was not a positive correlation against any task. This led me to consider that there may be a difference in gendered communication patterns. Perhaps there are fewer casual encounters for women who stay at home. The strong correlation between higher classroom level and lessening use of an interpreter demonstrated by the data shown in Figure 4.10, does not exist between time spent in the country and need for an interpreter. There was also no correlation between the amount of time spent in England and the likelihood that the student would speak to their neighbours in English or have friends they spoke to in English. Classroom level of English was positively related to all the tasks apart from shopping which reached a constant after the first Pre-Entry Level class. All the other responses increased with the higher classroom level of English.

The question 'Do you speak to your neighbour in English?' was illuminating because although people had neighbours of many nationalities and during the data generation phase we had conversations about good and bad neighbours, responses about using English were very positive. When English improved, students reported speaking to their neighbours more.

In addition to analysis level by level, I also carried out analyses of each learning centre. In the basic functional interaction such as shopping, talking to the doctor and using an interpreter and talking to their child's teacher, there were no differences between centres and the students' increased ability to communicate outside the classroom. However, in centres where students were supported by other services within the venue, there were two categories which indicated students' opportunities to engage were enhanced in some centres. Students in community venues were more likely to participate in other courses than their college counterparts and more likely to engage in voluntary activities. This was the case for English classes which were well supported in primary schools as well as courses hosted by community organisations which offered advice and crèche facilities. This indicated that some

community venues were doing a different job to FE college satellite provision in terms of developing opportunities to use English.

Blommaert's analysis of the use of convivial Dutch is that it has limited use and the same is true of our convivial English. While 77% and 71% were talking to their neighbours and friends in English at the classroom level of Entry 2, only 26% were attending other courses and 6% were volunteering or working in a job. However, asking whether students spoke English at work did not produce a clear answer because similarly to the shopping question, students who were working were not necessarily working in an English speaking work environment and many other factors were involved. Participants' reported that interactions in English increased as the classroom level of English increased and this was true not only of the convivial interactions but of volunteering and participating in education. However, the higher level tasks proceeded at a much delayed pace.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO STUDENTS WHO ARE PARENTS.

The impact that attending English language classes has on parents' interaction with children and with their school is viewed as very important by parents and local community providers. Though from a community development perspective, the classes were purposively located in local primary schools to be convenient for parents particularly mothers, and though parents learning and attendance is supported by the extended schools team throughout Burngreave, we have had no direct way of measuring the relationship between attendance at ESOL classes and the parents' role in supporting their children's learning though many people have observed and commented on the positive impact.

This study provided an opportunity to ask parents about their interactions with their children in relation to their homework, their children's homework and their interactions at school talking to their children's teachers and attending events at school: parents' meetings and parents' groups. As parents' level of English increases they reported increased support of their children's learning. Over 90% of parents in higher level ESOL classes helped their children with homework and spoke to their child's teacher. In beginner English classes 40% of parents already helped with homework. This figure rises at every level of classroom attainment to over 90% in the higher level classes.

Table 4.31 Helping with homework and speaking to teachers by classroom level

Class level	% help their children with homework	% speak to their child's teacher
Beginner (pre-entry)	40%	38%
Entry 1	54%	66%
Entry 2	78%	70%
Entry 3	89%	89%
Level 1 and above	91%	95%

The questionnaire results also show that families work together to help each other with their learning. Parents say that as their confidence increases they are able to ask their families to help with homework and "We all work together".   In the highest level of ESOL classes 36% of parents seek support from their children and 91% of the same parents are able to help out with their children's homework. Support is mutual though parents offer increasing levels of support as their English level increases and children are called on for less support as their parent's English level improves.

MALE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

There are fewer men than women attending the classes and this relates to the history of the provision. More than 50% of these men attend the college satellite centre. Community classes were developed from 2006 onwards, to complement the college provision, offering lower level classes and crèche to encourage 'harder to reach' learners i.e. women with less education and literacy skills to learn English. This development has been very successful but as government funding has decreased and the FE college delivers much less in the community, what was originally intended to be a complementary programme has become the main provision. Through the Adult Learning Working Group there are attempts to provide classes at every level and strategies to bring more men into education. Because this initial part of the research is quantitative, and the number of men is small, I do not consider it appropriate to interrogate the numerical data too closely in regards to men's participation.

The questionnaire results provide a bank of information about adult migrant students studying English in Burngreave. Within the English language provision there is a pattern of super-diversity which reflects the diversity of the ward. Information about students' previous education and literacy levels enabled a deeper understanding of the student profile which changes noticeably at different levels of classroom progression within the government funded provision 'Skills for Life'. In answer to the questions 'Who do you speak to in English?' students reported an increased pattern of interactions in English as they attended higher levels of English classes. The exception to this pattern was speaking English in a job.

The second section is the analysis of the questionnaire data which produced new knowledge about community education provision by considering different perspectives on the same data. Providers and tutors had the opportunity to consider the English language provision based on a detailed bank of information and students were involved in a process of analysis and review. Students challenged information which tutors and providers accepted and an example of this was a discussion of how provision was planned across the area.

All participants demonstrated insight and commitment to the provision and the process, but there were differences in how they related to broader structures and constraints. Providers and tutors had a more negotiated viewpoint and students were more challenging of the status quo. All discussion groups suggested I did further analysis of the data and this has also been reported in this section. Results regarding interaction with children and their teachers were group and reported on and can be read in Appendix 9.

In conclusion then, students reported using English more, at higher levels of classroom progression. Importantly this included talking to teachers, attending meetings in school and helping their children with homework.

Chapter Five: Community Providers and Super Connectors.

In Chapter Five there are two main sections: the first is about community venues and the services they provide and the second is about super-connectors and the roles they play in adult learning networks. The information about community venues and the English language classes they host, is from data generated from the questionnaires and articles written by students and teachers in the local community newspaper. I consider each centre in relation to three models. The purpose of this is to consider the way that the provision relates to the community. This section explores the roles that community provision can have and begins to answer the second question which is:

How are English language classes linked to the wider community?

The second section is concerned about networks and the roles of six actors in the networks identified as super connectors. The data are from three interviews. The interviews explore in depth how networks link the provision to the community, how the networks were developed and how external networks link the provision to local and national concerns. This section answers the question above and the following question:

How were adult education networks developed in Burngreave?

SECTION ONE: CENTRE DATA AND DELIVERY MODELS

In the winter of 2012 to 2013 when the questionnaire interviews were conducted, there were nine centres in Burngreave delivering English Language classes for adults. There were twenty four teachers teaching thirty nine classes. The classes ranged from Pre-Entry to Level 2, (see Appendix 7. for an explanation of the levels). This constituted six levels of classes. There were two community organisations which hosted classes, one FE college satellite centre and six community primary school venues. Initial information was gathered by visiting each centre. Attendance varied considerably across the provision with four people in the smallest class and seventeen in the largest class. The numbers recorded are the number of students present on the day of the visit not the number enrolled in classes.

Table 5.1 Centres in Burngreave providing English classes

Centres in Burngreave providing English classes	Number of classes in each centre	Number of students in each centre	Average number in class
1. community organisation	5	72	15
2. FE college	13	104	8
3. community school	3	24	8
4. community school	4	34	9
5. community school	5	45	9
6. community school	1	7	7
7. community school	3	14	5
8. community school	2 (1 not visited)	7	7
9. community organisation	3	21	7
Totals	40	328	

Centre 1: Voluntary sector community organisation

Centre 1 ran five English language classes subcontracted from the City Council and the local Further Education College. There was one class for men, three for women and one mixed class. There were four tutors teaching seventy-two students in total with an average class size of fifteen. This is double the number in class of any other centre. At the time of the questionnaire interviews, I was working there as a teacher and as curriculum officer. The classes in this centre were all accredited. In addition to the English language classes there was

a fifty-four place childcare provision offering care, education and crèche facilities to the local community for children aged six months to five years old. An advice service, registered with the Legal Services Commission also delivered advice including employment rights, welfare, discrimination, debt and housing. The organisation had the largest Arabic Language School in the city for children and had been involved in many other projects including a Home Office funded language project for refugees for three years from 2010. The organisation was awarded Big Lottery capital funding in December 2013 for the development of a Healthy Living Centre.

Centre 2: Further Education college satellite centre

Centre 2 was the largest ESOL provider. It ran thirteen English language classes, three Maths classes and thirteen mandatory non-accredited Job Centre Plus Literacy classes. There is an administrator on-site and the teaching and learning is managed from the main college site, two miles away. The centre is a former secondary school. I visited every English language class in the centre and each student participated in a questionnaire interview conducted by another student, their class teacher or by me. The first class I visited was an Entry Level Three class and students from that class visited other classes to conduct the interviews with me. Class sizes ranged from fifteen to four students which averaged 8 per class. The classes were mixed male and female and every class met three times a week for seven and a half hours in total. There were 104 students in total in class on the days I visited.

Centre 3: Community primary school

Centre 3 has hosted classes funded and delivered by the City Council since 2005. In the course of the research, I visited each of the three classes once and there were twenty four students, six men and eighteen women in mixed classes the only community school provision offering mixed men and women's classes at that time. There was a beginners' class, an Entry 2/3 class and a Level 1 class. The students had between two and four hour's tuition per week. The maximum class size possible in this venue was twelve as the classroom was also the parents' room and the extended   school officers' workroom. Students in this centre progressed through the levels as a group, with recruitment to fill in spaces as they occurred in the classes. Classes in this venue have developed over years and the teacher described the process.

Figure 5.1 Excerpt from tutor report about development 2010

> When I started delivering ESOL classes at …school, we started with a class of approximately 8 learners who attended once per week. They were a mixed ability group from Pakistan, India and Iraq…the courses weren't accredited at this stage. The learners produced some lovely work and their retention and attendance was very good. Since the need for increased provision became apparent, we slowly increased the number of learners and sessions. In September 2007 we started to offer accredited courses at two levels. Once we started to offer accredited courses learners started to consider how they can progress onto other courses and potentially into work.

Centre 4: Community primary school

Centre 4 has hosted classes funded and delivered by the City Council since 2004. It had four classes ranging from Beginner's Level to Entry 3 with a total of thirty four students on the days the questionnaire interviews were conducted. All the students were women. In all the schools in Burngreave space was limited because the school rolls were full. A former ESOL teacher wrote a paragraph about accommodation describing how the classes had to move out of the school after a fire in 2007, moved to an old nursery building which flooded, then moved back to the school.

Figure 5.2 Excerpt from tutor report about parents group 2010

> The school has shown a great commitment by providing a room for community classes; the school halved the staffroom to provide the space and the learners have responded by making good use of it.
>
> The learners wanted to be involved in the life of the school in a formal way so in April 2008 a parents' group was officially set up. The group is really active and helped plan a fun day which raised nearly £700 for the school

The physical location of the parents within the school is very important for building relationships with other parents and staff. The students had been active in numerous campaigns: working to support Burngreave Adventure Playground, to oppose cuts to library services and to support Elima, an educational charity in Kenya. The parents group continued to be active and students gained work in the school.

Centre 5: Community primary school

Centre 5 had a wide range of courses and activities for adults, children and families. It had five English Language classes at four levels from a Beginners' class to an Entry Level Three class, the fifth class was for men. There was a total of forty five students on the days of the questionnaire interviews. I visited the Entry Level Three class first and students from that class conducted interviews in the lower level classes with me. The classes each met for four hours a week. At the time of the research, classes were provided by the City Council and by the Workers Education Association. The provision in this school was initially developed by Aram (pseudonym) the extended school officer in partnership with the school and the area planning officer, employed until 2010 by the City Council. The development of the provision is documented in the Chapter Five on p.186 from an interview with Aram, identified as a super-connector within the area.

Figure 5.3 Excerpt from school website about extended schools 2015

I am the Extended school's worker …This means I work a lot with parents and offer activities where you can get involved in school and improve your skills. We have several English classes where you take exams and gain a certificate, and Family Learning classes - where you do a fun weekly course to develop your skills, meet other parents and find out how to get involved in your child's learning at home. Parents are very important to us and we want you to feel comfortable and enjoy getting involved in our school and your child's education.

The perspective of an adult student and a tutor is shown in an excerpt from an article in the community newspaper (2013) and an interview with the teacher.

Figure 5.4 Community newspaper (2013) progression and resources

Most of the students have progressed through all the levels. I have taught most of them for a couple of years now. The class comprises students from Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen and I am myself from. …As part of their writing coursework, they wanted to write and share their learning experiences with the community through the community newspaper.

The school and WEA provide free childcare so that we can attend classes. The school provides laptops and other facilities to make our learning comfortable and easy. They also provide refreshment.

This student highlights the importance of support for learning. Childcare is crucial in an area with a very young population and positioning classes close to existing pre-school provision or in premises where an on-site crèche can be provided, is important to regular attendance.

ESOL and adult education occupies a central role in school and the school website highlights concepts of achievement and progression for adult students in addition to information about times and levels of classes and contact information. There is information about volunteering and a message about adult classes from the extended   schools officer.

Centre 6: Community primary school

When I visited Centre 6 to conduct the questionnaire interviews there were three classes in the school with a total of fourteen students. After my visit to conduct the questionnaire interviews the Adult Learning Working Group initiated work to recruit new students and ensure existing students were getting the support they needed.   This was an immediate impact of the research. In this centre, students supported by their extended   school officer have been engaged in campaigns before and since the research took place. The example below is from December 2013 and has been an ongoing campaign which developed from a group from classes in centres 4 and 6, Burngreave Tenants and Residents' Association, and other community groups.

Figure 5.5 Community newspaper (2014) library campaign

Parents Group have taken a lead in campaigning for Burngreave Library to remain open and staffed. The parents started a petition after the Council announced plans that Burngreave Library would no longer have paid workers from April... Burngreave is one of the five the Council would like to see run by volunteers. Parents and other local residents do not think volunteers can run the library on their own but, if a group does not come forward to run and manage it, for no money, then the library will close in April.

The group continue to support and campaign for the library.

Centre 7: Community primary school

Centre 7 had one English language class at Level 2 with eight students. The students in the class at the time of the questionnaire were not parents at the school and this provision though supported by the school, was coordinated from another school close by. The teacher was not connected to the area or the school. The school offers its parents opportunities to participate in the life of the school with a strong history of family learning courses which were provided by the local council.

Centre 8: Community primary school

Centre 8 had two classes at the time of the research and I visited one of them. The class I visited was an Entry Three class with seven people and the other class had twelve people but was cancelled on the day I visited. This centre has been a hub of Adult Education in the past. The following article from the local community newspaper indicates how busy the centre had been in the past.

Figure 5.6 Community newspaper (2002) provision history

Adult learning co-ordinator, …, explained between 140 and 160 parents attend the school for adult learning each week. Courses include speaking and listening, basic English and parenting courses 30 parents are involved with a bilingual classroom assistant course and three parents have progressed right through to undertake a Foundation Teaching course.

Changes in staff resulted in the provision contracting but the work has had a lasting effect in Burngreave an example is that one of the extended schools officers began her career by attending adult learning there.

Figure 5.7 Community newspaper (2003) jobs in schools

I was just a mother with two children and no qualifications. It's been great to be involved in this school. Mind you we wouldn't be doing all these courses without (headteacher's)…… hard work.

I enrolled because I wanted to study more and hopefully get a job. I wanted to become a classroom support worker so I can work with children, which I really enjoy. I got a job at …School while I was finishing off my course, and enjoyed working and studying together. (community newspaper, 2003)

The provision in this school has developed again since the research was conducted but the classes have been moved to other venues as the school does not have enough space for an adult classroom. All Burngreave schools are full and there are building projects across the ward to extend existing provision and build new schools.

Centre 9: Voluntary sector community organisation

Centre 9 previously had a sub-contract from the Further Education College for 15 years. There were three classes and a total of twenty one students when I visited. The biggest class was the lowest level class and for many of the students attending this was their first experience of formal education. There was a men's class in the afternoon which I did not visit. At the

time of the visit this centre was under considerable pressure regarding its contract which was terminated at the end of that year 2012 to 2013. This centre had a different profile from all other centres in terms of educational background of the students as each had less previous education than the average student across the ward. Many of the students in the Entry One class which I visited were members of a community group and have been involved in campaigns to keep the local recreation centre open. The area around Centre 9 has experienced considerable upheaval with major demolitions to surrounding flats. It has considerable deprivation on every measure and much of the housing is hard to fill and there is more population movement than in other neighbourhoods in Burngreave. This excerpt is indicative of a determination to develop support within the community when it is not resourced from elsewhere but also indicative of the serious social and unresolved problems which particular groups within the area are facing. This example is further discussed on p.223

Figure 5.8 Community newspaper (2012) mothers' group

Mothers…have decided to take action in their community, following the deaths of young men from the …community over the last year… "We felt nothing was going on for our young people. There are lots of community groups around, but they are not doing anything. Ever since the first… child died we have been asking for help, but nothing happened, so now we are doing it ourselves."

The group is led by …mothers, but they are keen to encourage mothers from any background to get involved. The aim of the group is to provide activities that mothers and children can do together.

The development of the provision is discussed in the second section of this chapter which details the work of six super-connectors who have been crucial in the development of the English language provision and its networking across Burngreave. There is English language provision in every primary school in Burngreave which is accredited and progression is organised.

Models of English language provision for adults in the U.K. (Education and Training Foundation, Excellence Gateway, no date) have focused on the way the language is taught e.g. blended learning, vocational English, English for citizenship, or workplace English but there are some concepts in the fields of community education and English language education about how language classes relate to the community. These concepts offer a way of analysing provision in Burngreave from a community perspective.

MODEL A: PERIPHERAL AND MAINSTREAM PROVISION

Simpson (2011, p.5) distinguishes between mainstream and peripheral provision in his discussion of English language provision for adults in Harehills in Leeds. Mainstream refers to Further Education College provision and peripheral refers to community provision. According to Simpson (2011), the former 'takes place at large or main sites, which play a key role in neighbourhood ESOL provision, and where students are likely to have access to a range of levels and progression routes' and the latter is 'voluntary or private-sector, small-scale and locally- or community-based ESOL provision'. He describes a situation where the provision outside of Leeds City College is mixed and disparate.

Simpson's argument is that an FE College or the City Council is best placed to provide and coordinate language tuition and tellingly his research was carried out under the auspices of mainstream agencies; Leeds University in partnership with Leeds City Council. However, he acknowledges the limitations of the mainstream noting that

> Many students cannot be accommodated in mainstream provision for a variety of reasons, including long waiting lists, childcare and crèche availability, immigration status and eligibility, and affective issues such as their own confidence (Simpson, 2011, p.5).

In this section I explore the middle ground, provision which is funded by the local authority but supported and networked at a neighbourhood level most often by local people and informal networks. I argue that this peripheral / mainstream divide is not always constructive and can marginalise English language provision. I observe that community schools and organisations occupy a central position in students' lives, part of their daily journeys and their neighbourhood networks, echoing Simpson's findings that

> Those most likely to suffer isolation and marginalisation even in their local communities – women with young children who do not speak English and who do not have the networks necessary to support them – will often be dependent on peripheral provision from voluntary organisations, for whom funding is often insecure. (Simpson et al., 2011, p.5)

I challenge the perspective of periphery by considering provision which offers many of the features Simpson associates with mainstream provision while being located at a very local level. Within further education colleges "ESOL" provision can be marginalised is not always construed as mainstream within the college environment.

MODEL B: COMMUNITY BASED AND COMMUNITY FOCUSED PROVISION

Hannon et al. (2003, p. 26) distinguish between community based and community focused provision. Their concept of community focused provision,

> recognised the community identity of learners, the affinities between learners from the same community, the advantages of providing experiences and learning progression for groups of learners, learners' needs for security as well as challenge, the usefulness of linking into community groups and processes, and the need for sustained progress over a number of years.

Community focused provision is a concept I recognize from work in Burngreave and other community settings and has informed planning of the provision in Burngreave over a number of years. Recognition of adult learners as members of a community informs many aspects of the planning process including crèche provision, timing of classes and the positioning of classes within other community events services and activities. This was contrasted with a concept of "community-based provision" which might be "college classes run in satellite locations" (Hannon et al., 2003, p.8) where the focus was on the individual "not necessarily as members of their community". This "individual-focused" provision was considered as being not necessarily mutually exclusive in focus but at opposite ends of a "spectrum of provision" (Hannon et al., 2003, p.7). Hannon et al. (2003) identified community focused provision as an under researched area and the initial distinction between community *focused* and *based* provision, enabled me to make an initial distinction between two types of provision in Burngreave. They concluded that defining characteristics of community focussed provision are 'the vision which informs it, the development work necessary to implement it, and the nature of its delivery' (Hannon et al., 2003, p.8). In essence Simpson's peripheral mainstream divide is identical to Hannon et al.'s, community situated, community focused, distinction.

While Simpson primarily has a deficit view of what happens in the community, Hannon et al. validate community focused provision as offering a distinctive and purposeful approach.

MODEL C: ENGLISH LANGUAGE THROUGH EXISTING SERVICES

English for All is a National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) report produced for the Greater London Council and suggests ways of meeting the English language needs of groups of Londoners so that they can 'engage productively with life and work' NIACE (2012, p10). The models of delivery described are firstly 'English language through existing services', secondly 'Using technologies to support ESOL learning' and thirdly 'Using trained volunteers to facilitate language practice'. The first model resonates with the way much of the community provision has developed in Burngreave. The report (NIACE, 2012, p.10) suggests

> This will be of particular interest to primary schools and early years' settings, who can support family ESOL learning. In this model, ESOL sessions for parents are held at the school and are linked with learning on how best to support their children's development.

The report gives details of the rationale for this model which concurs with the experience over a number of years in Burngreave local primary schools and Early Years' settings. In Burngreave the provision also links to advice services. In the next section, I consider the models above and use elements of each to analyse the provision in Burngreave and extend the models to include campaigning and networking roles. Table 5.2 provides a categorization of centres using the models. Initially I will consider the centres using Simpson's concept of peripheral and mainstream. Within Burngreave there is only one centre which would be considered mainstream as Simpson (2011, p.5) describes and that is the further education college centre. However within further education this mainstream peripheral distinction also exist and sometimes to the detriment of English Language provision.

Table 5.2 Models of Provision

Centre	Mainstream/peripheral	Community focus/based?	Services?	Networked? Campaigning?
1. Community organisation	Peripheral	community focus	Linked to services: Advice, Arabic School and Pre-school	Networked campaigning
2. FE college	Mainstream	Community based	No services	
3.Community primary school	Peripheral	Community focused	Linked to services: School support/ groups, Family learning	Networked campaigning
4. Community primary school	Peripheral	Community focused	Linked to services: School support/ groups and Family learning	Networked and campaigning
5. Community primary school	Peripheral	Community focused	Linked to services: School support/ groups and Family learning	Networked and campaigning
6. Religious primary school	Peripheral	Religious and local community focus City wide catchment	Linked to services: Religious services and Family learning	Local church and community concerns
7. Community primary school	Peripheral	Local community focus	Linked to services: School support/ groups and Family learning	Networked and campaigning
8. Community primary school	Peripheral	Community focus	Linked to services: School support/ groupsFamily learning	
9. Community organisation	Peripheral	Community focus in U.K. and abroad	No additional services	campaigning

Further education (FE) college English language provision has the potential to enable students to access academic and vocational opportunities in mainstream college however there are barriers to services and opportunities. The following examples illustrate that ESOL students in FE provision do not always have a clear access route to all the services in college. Perceptions of ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) courses and students are not always positive as a hierarchy of value exists in many FE colleges. Although Simpson et al. (2013) consider college ESOL courses 'mainstream', research within college provision (Hodkinson, 2009) identifies a complex hierarchy of provision. Wemyss (2015, p.1) an ESOL tutor at Stoke College makes a distinction between ESOL courses in college and mainstream courses. He writes that "It is very difficult for ESOL students to progress onto mainstream courses because of the language barriers. However, we deliver progression awards in order to facilitate progression." Hodkinson et al. (2009, p.339) identify another barrier to accessing additional services in colleges, which is "the ever-present issue of course status". They discuss how a hierarchy of courses exists within FE colleges, with Higher Education courses and A-level courses ranking high

> The second group of courses where status was an obvious concern are those at the bottom of the hierarchy, for example the two special needs courses, a course supporting mothers, and English for speakers of another language (ESOL) course, etc. (p.404)

Hodkinson refer to ESOL courses as 'special needs'. On Simpson's terms, college ESOL provision is 'mainstream' but there are problems with this attribution as the mainstream/peripheral divide is a relative one, as outlined above. Centre 1 is based in the community but its focus is not on the community, determined by external funding and weighted in importance against other FE college priorities. Measures of success and retention relate to Skills Funding Agency criteria and college targets and guidelines. The classes are not linked to other service provision.

Though Simpson (2012, p.45) makes a broad distinction between mainstream and peripheral provision, he also acknowledges the importance of provision which is coordinated and linked to services commenting that "ESOL in Harehills and across the city of Leeds needs to be better organised, publicized, coordinated and integrated with other local services". All of the other centres in Burngreave would be considered 'peripheral' on Simpson's definition but I argue for a more nuanced understanding of community provision as quality elements often

attributed to mainstream can be identified in community provision in Burngreave and more controversially I argue that in a super-diverse area, community organisations may have a heightened understanding of residents' issues and needs and a more sensitive and appropriate skills set to better address these needs than mainstream approaches. Many of the skills are "under the radar" of mainstream organisations and the reach of community organisations can extend into delicate networks of people who live where they work and cherish local services as their own.

PERIPHERAL CENTRES

The other eight centres would be considered peripheral by Simpson (2012) because of their location within schools or community organisations, the preponderance of lower level classes, and the fact that 81% of students are women with limited previous educational experience and they are mothers. According to Pietikainen and Kelly-Holmes (2013, p.3.), "Centre-periphery is a common spatial metaphor used to describe and explain the unequal distribution of power in the economy, society and polity". While this metaphor may be used in some contexts to question and redress inequality, in this context the metaphor furthers the perception that English language provision outside of college provision is substandard. In sociolinguistics, globalisation has de-stabilised 'centre-periphery dynamics acknowledging not just language change over time, but fluctuations dependant on sites, contexts and practices. Thus, Urdu is a central formal language in Pakistan yet can be perceived as a peripheral minority language in England. Pietikainen and Kelly Holmes (2013, p.9), discuss how there is an "ongoing dynamic about what is perceived as periphery and what is perceived as central", and borrowing from Bourdieu, argue that peripheral sites can challenge the bureaucratic norms of central institutions voicing their ideas of acceptability "at least within the judgement of the community of that particular site". (p.9).

Burngreave provision is unusual even within Sheffield because of the English language provision for adults in the community primary schools and community venues in the area. Primary school provision with mixed level classes began over 10 years ago and was in the initial stages part of college outreach provision. This was the result of a gradual and incremental growth, consistent with Gilchrist's view (2009, p.123) that

incremental developments in capacity or awareness can be largely invisible until a sudden leap in in activity or consciousness occurs, resulting in a major shift in levels or direction of community activity".

It was developed in partnership with school parent liaison workers and City Council Area Planning Officers. This resulted in accredited provision with organised progression routes often within the same school. The school provision offers other opportunities depending on extended   school workers and the resources and priorities of that school. Though this development team no longer exists, and the management of the classes has been contracted out to community organisation, the provision in Burngreave ward has become embedded, supported by community networks. Gilchrist (2015) distinguishes between formal and informal community networks (p.5), where formal structures end, community networks maintain and develop the links which support people.

Rather than accept the concept of peripheral as the best way of understanding community provision, I consider the model which Hannon et al. (2003) introduced of community focused provision. While this model differentiates between the geographical location of the provision (community based) and the ethos of the provision (community focused), the report also acknowledges the need for further development of this basic categorisation. 'English for All' (NIACE, 2007) a report compiled for The Greater London Council places an emphasis on services and this can serve to consider 'focus' in more detail. It focuses on primary schools and early years' settings where ESOL can be delivered onsite similarly to the provision in Sheffield.

The school provision offers other opportunities, depending on the worker, the facilities and the priorities in each school and has been supported by formal and informal networks. English for All, The Greater London Council report (GLC, 2012) referred to at the beginning of this chapter, discusses why provision linked to services is particularly useful for some students. It explains that,

> Learners with limited life experience of education, limited spoken English and low literacy levels need to engage in longer programmes of learning to allow time for substantial progress. ..Ideally programmes would be year-long, with sessions twice or three times a week to ensure the regular repetition needed to embed learning effectively. This could be broken down into shorter periods, ideally around school terms as many users in this category will have childcare responsibilities (NIACE, 2012, p10).

From a collaborative and community perspective, the provision which is rooted in the community in Burngreave, serves a social purpose in addition to the language learning and teaching function. It is central to community network building. In order to fully understand the role of language classes in a community, I argue that it is important to engage with adults involved in learning from a community perspective. When I visited Centres 2, 3 and 4, there were other visitors in the classroom and these included the extended school's worker, volunteer classroom assistants and advice workers. These English language classes are networked within the school or community that hosts them and linked to the services which are provided in the centre. It is possible to see a networked classroom in a different light from either a student or teacher centred classroom. The following diagram shows this contrast.

Figure 5.9 Network diagrams of classes

Class where Students have Links only with the Tutor
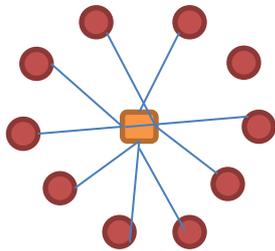
Class where Students have Links with the Tutor and with Immediate Neighbours
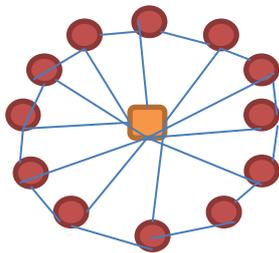
Class where Students have Links to Each Other, to the Tutor and to Visitors.
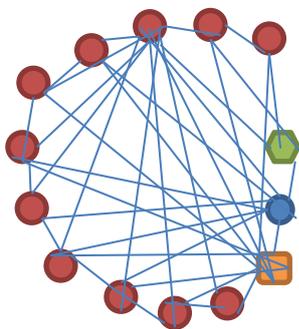
Key Student = 🔴 Tutor = 🟧 Extended School Worker=🔵 Advice Worker= 🟢

The extended   school workers are familiar faces in some classrooms and in Centre 4 the extended school worker has a desk in the classroom so is an integral part of the learning environment. She recruits reading volunteers from the ESOL classes and offers students opportunities to attend Family Learning courses, school coffee mornings and other activities. This networking is also evident in community organisations in Burngreave. Similarly to schools, they offer services which supplement and compliment the English language provision. Centre 2 has a pre-school nursery which developed in part from a crèche to support adult learning. This has been a source of work and training for local women, some of whom have started in the ESOL classes.

When provision is linked to services, it depends on the providers of those services priorities at any time and these can change as local authorities cut resources and change perspectives on the value of adults and parents as learners in relation to the services. The short descriptions from students and tutors and information about each centre indicates that provision does not remain static but changes with funding levels and with interest and resources, but that given differences in these factors, the provision for adults in Burngreave has been valued and supported by students and providers largely because of the planning and development role played by the Adult Learning Working Group and the role of the community newspaper and the Burngreave Learner in publicising and promoting educational opportunities. This pattern of development took place in different school venues at the same time and was networked via informal activities, informal and campaigning networks and by involvement with the community newspaper. Importantly in Burngreave, adult students' ownership of community learning provision was galvanised by cuts to resources. Campaigning for ESOL provision was the forerunner to numerous community campaigns. The importance of these activities in developing community networks is discussed in the next section with data generated from three in-depth interviews with super-connectors who are individuals active in making links within and between community networks and by considering the role of the Burngreave Messenger in leading and documenting the role of English language students within the campaigns.

SECTION TWO: SUPER-CONNECTOR INTERVIEWS
INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATION

This section about community networks relate to a series of interviews with three super - connectors in the Burngreave Adult Education networks. Super-connectors are important connectors within networks which enable many links to be established and link multiple networks together. The first section defines and explains what a network is and gives a more detailed discussion of super-connectors. In the second section I present and analyse data from three interviews using thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) define thematic analysis as, **"**A method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data." It is a flexible method used in qualitative research and involves coding and grouping data. I present a profile of each super-connector and then organise the data from the interviews within themes, paraphrasing the interview conversations and using key quotes to illustrate important points.

The interviews were in-depth, un-structured, conversational interviews and are discussed in Chapter Two p.87. The conversational interview was a tool which enabled the interviewees to explore the nature of the networks and their contributions as individuals and as a group of super-connectors. In brief this type of interview was appropriate because the super-connectors were involved with the English language classes and were familiar with the research. They had been identified as super-connectors within community networks and had been involved in the development of the questionnaire and the analysis of the data. It was also a collaborative process, and I verified my notes and understandings with them immediately and prompted perspectives and views which had been initiated in previous un-logged conversations. Campbell and Lassiter (2015, p. 99), clarify this collaborative process indicating that "the knowledge produced in an interview is always collective, emergent in the context of dialogue". An interview should be viewed as a joint effort to express and explain a perspective or an understanding or an account of events in a way that satisfactory for both parties, the interviewer and the interviewee.

I explained Network Theory to people involved in the research using an explanation which was based on the visuals of a network diagram. The famous tube map below served to illustrate all the concepts we needed to relate network theory to the English language provision in Burngreave.

Figure 5.10 Explanation of network diagrams.

A Network Diagram is a way of showing how people or things are connected to each other. The best example I can think of is the diagram of the underground train system in London. Each dot represents a station and each line is an underground train line which connects the stations. Sometimes it is important to have as much information as possible to understand a situation but at other times it is more important to get the information which is relevant so that you can 'see' the system.

Rather than emphasising distance and geographical accuracy, like other maps, this map is based on circuit diagrams; stripping the sprawling underground network down to a neat diagram of coloured, criss-crossing lines
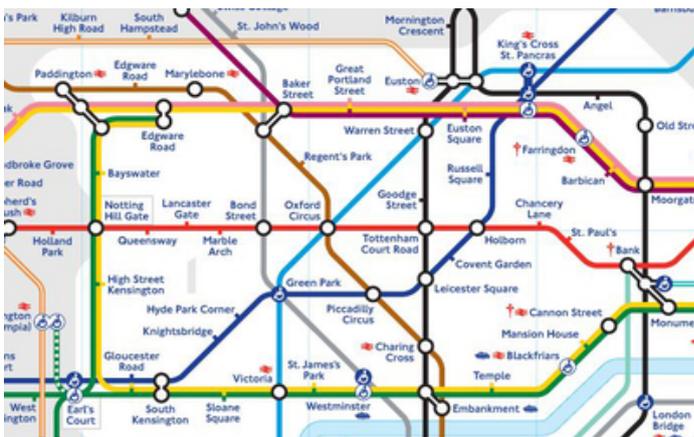
Underground map

https://www.tfl.gov.U.K./corporate/about-tfl/culture-and-heritage/art-and-design/harry-becks-tube-map

Network ideas have been used in different academic disciplines and in the social sciences "Actor Network Theory" has been developed. An actor is a connection, a dot, in the network and can be a human being or a thing which changes the way the network works. In this case in Burngreave, non-human actors are very important in community education networks and can be venues or websites or publications. Human actors can be students, tutors, extended school workers or coordinators. The lines in diagrams are communication links between actors. An actor in the network is a connector like a station in the London underground map. Some connectors have many links and these are "hubs". Some connections are part of multiple networks and these are called "super-connectors". (Caldarelli and Catanzaro, 2012 p.56)

CONNECTORS, HUBS AND SUPER-CONNECTORS

In the underground map above, Lancaster Gate is an ordinary station where one can get off or on trains, traveling in either direction. Oxford Circus is a hub because three lines go through this station, so it is possible to make connections to many different destinations from this one station. Kings Cross/St. Pancras is a super-connector firstly because 5 lines go through it, secondly because it links to other networks (in this case the national rail network) and thirdly

because it is part of the access network for travellers who need disability access. A mark of a super-connector is the effect that its loss would have on the network. When any station on the Underground is closed it has repercussions for stations around the network and for the behaviour of the network itself and can lead to the network slowing down or the network stopping altogether. However, super-connectors like Kings Cross/St Pancras have the potential to cause major disruption to all underground users and, because of the specialist nature of the connector, certain travellers such as those with disabilities would be disproportionately affected by its closure. I wanted to find out if Network Theory would be a useful tool to analyse how classes were connected to the community.

According to Caldarelli and Catanzaro (2012, p.17), "The network approach reduces complex systems to a bare architect of nodes and links". Network diagrams are visual tools and in a super-diverse community and in the English language learning community, they enable people to understand without using many words. This has worked well for international visitors to London. The underground map design has been used to map other transport systems across the world so is both a familiar system for some people and a tried and tested way to communicate in a multilingual setting. It has global resonance.

In this section my purpose is to consider if the network approach enables a better understanding of how classes and individuals were connected to the wider community in Burngreave. I use information from interviews with three super-connectors in Burngreave networks.

Table 5.3 Super-connector interviews

Interviews	Location of interview	date	length
1. Isla	Community newspaper office in Burngreave	18/06/2014	2.5 hrs
2. Aram	Café in Nottingham	8/07/2014	2hrs
3. Aisha	Community organisation in Burngreave	15/08/2014	1hr

> there are a few people who are disproportionately well connected and it is through these 'super-connectors' that everyone connects to everyone else. The super-connectors created shortcuts that enabled resources and ideas to hop from cluster to cluster, by passing otherwise long paths from one side of the network to the other (Uzzi , Amaral and Reed-Tsochas, 2007, p.2).

Isla, Aram and Aisha were three of at least six super-connectors acting in Adult Education networks in Burngreave. I conducted interview conversations with each of them to explore how super-connectors function in Burngreave community networks. The other super-connectors identified in this study are the community newspaper, the Adult Learning Guide and the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG). I begin with a profile of each of the super-connectors.

SUPER-CONNECTOR: ISLA

Isla was identified as a super-connector because she was involved in many networks supporting and organising community education. She built networks through her roles as Chair of the Burngreave Adult Learning Working Group, Editor of the community newspaper, Member of Burngreave Tenants and Residents Association (TARA) and her work with the local history group. Through the community newspaper, she worked to present educational achievements in Burngreave in the local primary schools, secondary schools and in Adult Education. She had an overview of what was happening in Burngreave because she connected with every resident through the community newspaper and was aware of and involved in many local networks. Network Theory is useful in giving weight to non-human actors which can occupy pivotal roles. Often the community newspaper had borne witness to positive and negative events and was a way of airing important local issues. Isla was instrumental in building and maintaining this as a tool for cohesion in the area.

Table 5.4 Collaborative foundations

TT	SP		observation
1	K	Can you tell me about the Adult Learning Working Group started and what its role is?	Super connector
2	I	It started as a working group which was part of the Community Action Forum. There were a few working groups which dealt with different aspects of community life such as health or young people and buildings was another one.	

3		The Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) meeting is the only part that has been continuous over 15 years. The community newspaper took over it when BCAF collapsed.	This continuity has enabled long-term relationships and an overview
4		What gave ALWG its continuity and constancy is that the money was there and the development worker had the collaborative approach and we had a community learning budget which was really open.	Collaborative working was initiated from the outset
5		It was a very democratic, collaborative sharing of resources and the meeting had a very practical purpose.	collaborative work built the foundation for participation and network building.

These incentives and priorities kept the network together because the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) had access to funding. This way of working was regarded as positive and created ownership and responsibility for the provision. The working group reviewed provision and planned the following half term or longer and continued to prioritise ESOL. The working group meetings were very practical and action focused:

Table 5.5 Membership of the Adult Learning Working Group

TT	SP		observation
1	K	Tell me exactly what the ALWG does but first who is in it?	
2	I	The list is big about 100 people about 50 of them are active in adult learning and some are from the same organisation…	The membership is networked by e-mails
3	I	The people who come to meetings are A, who coordinates the extended schools network… The extended school workers, the planners…Other providers come (some regularly, some infrequently) the area coordinator and Learning Champions. We are occasionally contacted by people who will come for a while if they need support to access the network to recruit learners or for money.	In addition there are face to face meetings where members meet every five or six weeks
4	I	What happens is an email goes out to all these people reminding them of a twice termly meeting. We talk about the last half term and then the following half term or longer. There's no money now but… (people and organisations do various jobs)	Role to review and support local education provision
5	I	The ALWG also coordinated the Adult Learning Guide which used to be published twice a year but is now printed once a year with an online termly update.	Adult Learning Guide (another one of the six super connectors
6	K	So what jobs does the ALWG do?	
7	I	It brings together the providers and the extended school network and the community newspaper. We would like all providers to come …We know what the Council Lifelong Learning budget is and we continue to prioritise ESOL. We need to know what the issues are so we can address them. We focus on what learners need and want. ..	Networks converge at the ALWG
8	I	because adult learning is not an isolated activity it has links with other activities like health.	Learning requires networks for its application
9	I	Me and Aram have that overview…Centre 4 are involved in Pitsmoor Adventure Playground (which is threatened with closure) and Centre 7 are involved in the library (which is threatened with closure)…the ESOL classes are active in these campaigns.	Connections and campaigns
10	I	We ask questions like "Why did the IT course not take off at Vestry Hall?" They will know. ..It's alright to try when you can to come back to a group and say "Right, what can we do? What can we change? That's the right way to develop things." Other organisations should come and maybe they would if they knew how we do it.	Reviewing and supporting provision

At working group meetings "the money is on the table" so the working group had a level of ownership and wanted to spend it wisely and were able to recruit new learners and tutors to get the mix right but could also acknowledge when something was not working and reallocate the money. Different organisations and individuals used the meetings in different ways. Organisations came along at the start of a new project to give information, to help with recruiting or because their funding was coming to an end and therefore to seek help or new funding. The main providers in the area were: Lifelong Learning and Skills from Sheffield City Council (SCC), the Workers Education Association and the local Further Education College. These providers played different roles in the networks. Working group members recognized that organisations have different incentives and priorities, which vary from time to time.

Isla explained how networks were developed by locating ESOL classes in schools. The school staff and tutors developed relationships and tutors built progression pathways within the venue. In network terms: links were established between different networks.

Table 5.6 Location of classes within networks

TT	SP		observation
1	K	For the ESOL classes working with schools was a real breakthrough. School premises are convenient for parents and safe and secure.	Schools recognized as ideal venues.
2	I	Once the classes became regular and established we (the ALWG) developed progression routes.	
3	I	The tutors got established within the schools and then the extended school workers established themselves in the schools.	

In the Burngreave ward every primary school has multiple English language class for adults. In some cases, classes were moved, from relatively isolated venues such as church halls which were opened just for classes, to school premises where they were better supported. Initially the extended school workers were not connected with each other and each school developed its own provision. Aram's post, strengthened and supported provision in each school but crucially linked the schools. The diagram shows how provision, in the community school centres, has become connected through two interconnected networks. In each school there is an ESOL tutor and an extended school worker. Figure 4.26 shows a network diagram of connections between tutors in community school venues. The tutors were connected to

tutors in other venues. They were also connected to extended   school workers in the same venue. All the tutors are connected to the curriculum officer and all the extended school workers are connected to each other and their coordinator. The classes were linked to each other across the centres because of the tutor network and so students could progress easily between classes. A feature of strong networks, are overlapping networks (Pajevic and Plenz, 2012, p.430). In this case the tutor network overlapped with the extended school network.

Figure 5.11 School based English language class networks.

Key: Extended   School Worker = ●   Coordinator = ○   Tutor= ■   Curriculum Officer= ▭
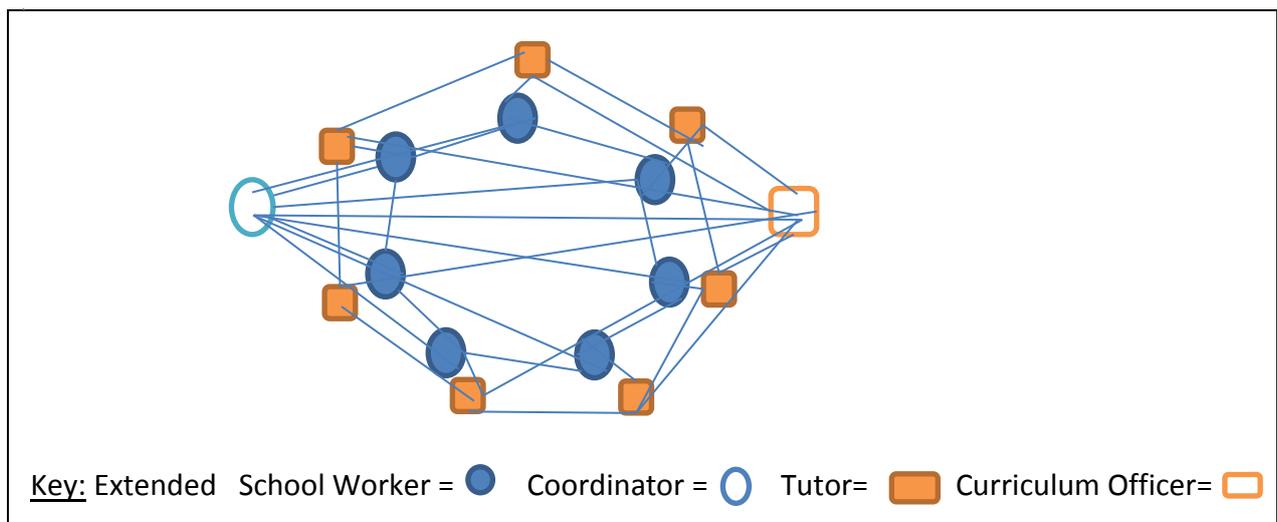
Isla explains the roles of the two publications and more information about these is provided immediately after this interview.   Important to the networking are the community publications which ensure that information about provision is not kept within closed Adult Education networks but that every household in Burngreave is delivered a copy containing news and information.

Table 5.7 Role of the publications

TT	SP		observation
1	Isla	Alongside this we developed the Adult Learning Guides and we had already started reporting more on education in the community newspaper and working with the students through the ESOL classes both as readers and writers of the community newspaper.	Working in collaboration with ESOL students
2	Isla	We tried to keep other interesting things in the ESOL provision (recalls initiatives with Fire services and visiting academics)	Networked curriculum

3	Isla	Some of the extended schools team have continued that work: working with Family Learning to get the right tutor and the right students on the course. There is lots of Family Learning now which could never take off before because they needed people to engage and support the learners and the ESOL provision to bring people in.	Role of ESOL to recruit learners for family learning
4	Isla	…The Adult Learning Guide is an incentive to keep in touch and submit details to both the printed version and the on-line version as it recruits students and everyone is aware of the scope of the provision. ..	To disseminate and collect information

The next point that Isla raised was about the impact that the funding cuts have had on the provision and on the workers in the community networks. Her perspective that the level of cuts is intolerable are borne out by research commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation:

> The narrative that local government has been able to absorb these cuts without significant detriment to the levels of service provision has largely prevailed. The reality is that the poorest places and the poorest people are being the hardest hit, with those least able to cope with service withdrawal bearing the brunt of service reduction. The analysis demonstrates that cuts at the scale and pace of the last few years are unsustainable. This raises major questions over the anticipated level of cuts in the next spending period.
>
> (Hastings et al., 2015, p.23)

Table 5.8 Cuts and impact on community workers

TT	SP		observation
1	K	When all the cuts happened in 2010 we (ALWG) picked up the slack.	
2	I	We coped between us and it was horrific and now we have got used to a new reality. The big bad people rely on the fact that we can't face the prospect of the collapse of the provision. It's all so invisible and you daren't look back.	Coping under stress
3	I	We absorbed all the cuts to…, to the adult learning just by working harder and Aram felt the same way. This year we have absorbed even more…all those jobs…	Super connectors working together

The response to those cuts in Burngreave has been a series of campaigns which have involved people who are involved in the English language provision as students, tutors and providers.

Table 5.9 Campaigns led from the community schools

4	I	The extended school workers have got involved in campaigning and are leading on the library campaign with students from Centre 7.	Importance of connectors in maintaining the networks
	I	The schools have a tendency to look inward and to focus the extended schools worker inward and linking them all together I don't know what will happen so without Aram bringing the workers into the local networks	Isla was considering how the networks would operate when Aram was made redundant.
5	I	Now I'm oscillating between thinking I can do that and this and that.. and thinking I don't want this anymore.	Personal cost of cuts

The data above shows that there is a high level of stress involved in working to maintain community structures through a recession and that capacity to cope with restricted funding cannot continue indefinitely. This is reflected in the view of Hastings, et al.:

> The coalition government has placed great emphasis on the potential for the withdrawal of local authority services to be met by a positive response from the voluntary sector and from civic society or community groups stepping in to take over or to fill gaps. The evidence was that there was not, however, capacity in the voluntary and community sectors to fill all of the gaps. (2015, p.120)

FROM A CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

Considering this section from a constructionist perspective there are clearly channels of influence around the adult education networks which have facilitated and supported new initiatives and social organisation involving students. When a structuralist analysis is also applied it becomes apparent that the super-connectors are the vital links between students' ability to respond to events and initiate social and political activity and the wider structures of the local council and wider society. The next table illustrates how Isla articulates these ideas about how adult students have developed an understanding of local political structures.

Table 5.10 Developing knowledge and confidence

TT	Sp		
1	I	What started it was the ESOL. Ever since the ESOL campaign, people are not afraid to campaign on issues they care about…. One woman asked me "Is it really OK to complain to a councillor?" because there was an anxiety about complaining to authority whether it would	People come from many different political backgrounds and trust in political

		somehow get you in trouble. I said, "You don't need to worry, that is what they are there for. They are there to hear your complaints"	structures and politicians is not a given
2	I	Winning helps. I think because we won we know that it makes a difference. We have lost since then on the study support and the pre-school funding but it has not put people off. People are still anxious about speaking in public.	The first ESOL campaign was hugely successful in Burngreave and in Sheffield
3	I	In the library campaign all the people from all over the city are white. We were the only BME campaign. We are networked but there is still work to be done.	This is facilitated by the extended school workers and tutors
4	I	…People's knowledge has developed … everyone was aware about the issues relating to volunteers that they needed to be trained and supported and would be less reliable that paid workers and would need training.	

The next table illustrates how facilities such as the library and the adventure playground cut across ethnic groupings because they are valued by everyone. Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2014) identify such campaigns as a feature of resilience at a neighbourhood level. The English language classes were focal points to connect people within schools and across schools in the area. Isla makes a point about meetings which is also mentioned in a Rowntree Foundation report (Hastings et al., 2015) which warns of equating lack of attendance at meetings as lack of interest.

Table 5.11 Campaigns function as super diverse connectors in the networks

		Some things bring everyone in. It is two somali woman working with Z at Centre 7 who are leading the Library Campaign and that campaign doesn't belong to any particular ethnic community group, the other one is the Adventure Playground	I was interested in how campaign operated in terms of super-diversity
		It belongs to no community but is being supported by everyone. We are connected through the schools and through the ESOL.	The English classes operate as a connector in the networks
		No one is on the management committee of the playground though. People hate meetings. Management committees are real British Institutions.	
		Mothers of Burngreave is all Somali women but they don't know how to get money. We're (*Isla and Aram*) doing some fundraising with them. It they can get that communication they have got so much weight.	This group was mentioned in Platts-Fowler (2014, p.23)

In every interview with super-connectors each readily used network terminology to explain how relationships and communication worked. This was the main reason why I was so enthused by network ideas: because of the resonance within the community.

Table 5.12 Isla's analysis of the community connections using network concepts

13	K	Do you know about actor network theory about hubs and nodes? (explained a bit)	observation
14	I	I am not a hub but I know who the hubs are and there are so many of them in Burngreave. I can connect up people so we can act collectively.	Using network language and concepts
15	I	Aisha is the same. She's not just the x connection. Me, Aisha and Aram have got that overview. We know who the important people are: …We have a discussion about what is possible... We are friends.	The importance of the network of super connectors
16	I	For all that to happen you need people like me and Aram and these active people. In Centre 4, people trust S and so they trust me because S trusts me.	trust
17	I	…These people who are hubs are very important. We try to keep our hubs cause we can't do without them in Burngreave.	Recognition of different levels of networking.

SUPER-CONNECTOR: THE ADULT LEARNING GUIDE

The Adult Learning Guide is published now once a year though it has been published twice a year when more funding was available. It is a super-connector because it carries details of all the courses in the northwest of the city and so is a vital source of information for adult students. It links all the providers and enables all the providers to know where provision is and what is happening. It has an online version which is up dated every term.   It provides an organisational deadline for course providers who are obviously keen to publish the details of their courses and is delivered to every home in the northeast area. The Adult Learning Guide acknowledges important work and important workers.

SUPER-CONNECTOR: THE COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER

The community newspaper was a super-connector because it explicitly aimed to give people a voice and unite a super-diverse area and it was delivered free to every house in Burngreave.

> The community newspaper's primary aim is to facilitate communication within Burngreave. This aim reflects the belief that open, balanced, equitable and inclusive communications within a community forms a central part of that community's development and functioning. (community newspaper, 2007)

The next section provides background information about the newspaper, a page from the community newspaper website. I included this to let the community newspaper speak for itself and to give a clear understanding of how explicit its aims and purposes are. It also gives a very succinct history of how the paper has developed over 15 years and more than 100 issues.

Figure 5.12 Community newspaper statement

The community newspaper was first published in July 1999 to serve the Burngreave area of Sheffield. The newspaper was started by local people on an entirely voluntary basis and everyone involved was 'determined that it should both be the property of local people and reflect their views'. We did it because:

- Our area has been neglected; the community newspaper wants to give people, who have been ignored, a voice and give them a greater say in what happens in our area.

- We believe that together we are stronger – our community has a higher risk of being divided because of our varied backgrounds. The community newspaper can help bring us together, and can make our voice louder and more powerful.

- Our area has had a bad press (because poverty, crime, ill-health and poor housing are issues in the area) and people in Sheffield have a poor opinion of Burngreave and the people who live here. We know that this is a good place to live, that good people live here and great things happen. The community newspaper wants to celebrate this, change opinions, and develop pride within the community for where we live.

- There's a lot happening in our area – we want to make sure residents can be involved, enjoy local activities and access services and support.

The drive towards volunteer support and involvement helped to develop our activities in line with our core purpose of building capacity in the community. We now:

- Deliver informal training in writing and website management to develop residents skills

- Provide more volunteering opportunities for residents to gain experience that builds skills and confidence

- Support residents to solve problems in our community

In July 2009 the Community newspaper became a registered charity. Our charitable purpose is to build the capacity of Burngreave residents through the production of the Community newspaper newspaper and website.

We aim to:

- To increase awareness of services and opportunities available to Burngreave residents

- To increase involvement by Burngreave residents in local groups and community activities

- To increase confidence and pride in the Burngreave community
- To enable greater participation in the community newspaper project by Burngreave residents who might find it difficult to be involved
- To increase the capacity of Burngreave residents to identify and address problems in their community
- To increase understanding between different sections of the community

The community newspaper is an English medium paper and has been used as a tool for learning in the English language classes. Isla and I began to work together in 2004 to make the newspaper more accessible to speakers of other languages as readers and writers and have ran writing courses together. She has developed relationships with classes across the ward and adult English language students have been regular contributors to the paper. Many of the tutors have been honoured in the community newspaper and this is evidence of their involvement in the community; one teacher when she retired, one when she died and one for her continuing work in the community. The community newspaper has supported many students and student campaigns. A sample of the contributions of students and tutors writing as part of English classes are included in Section Two above about community providers. Platts-Fowler and Robinson, in their study of resilient neighbourhoods, "highlight the importance of information sharing and a community voice that resonates within and beyond the neighbourhood" (p.iii).

The account of this conversation with Aram was edited jointly by both of us. My role in this interview was to facilitate Aram to talk about her role in building community networks. She had already acknowledged her role as a super-connector and through this conversation we wanted to explain how this role had developed. Before the interview I knew how Aram had worked firstly as an extended school worker in and later as a coordinator of all the extended school workers in the area. I did not know the details of how she first became involved or about many of her roles and stories.

Table 5.13 Aram's networking roles

TT	SP		observation
1	K	What is your role?	
2	A	My job is to oil the wheels for example there are lots of agencies that want to work in Burngreave. if I weren't there they wouldn't know who to talk to. They wouldn't get started until 6 months down the line.	Aram sees the potential and facilitates connections
3	A	I introduce the right people to the right people. Going back as far as 9 years, people were already saying it's so useful to have one person to speak to in a school. Enquiries don't know who to pass emails on to….	
4	A	I can be a link with well to do white folks, cultured people who are interested in Islam. We did this Fusion event where there was an international concert violinist, guitar player and a bangra player.	At the centre of various networks

In this interview conversation, Aram discussed the processes and the personal characteristics that enabled strong links to be forged. She talked about developing "the women's voice" through education and community activities and supporting women to feel pride in their role as mothers and primary educators. She also talked about the possibilities which she had developed as a woman to work through traditional male channels and to open them up. She was aware of her role as a Muslim and a woman and of the importance of these two perspectives in building new networks which could facilitate change and understanding.

Table 5.14 Women's voice

TT	SP		observation
1	A	I've also tried to focus on the women's voice idea: insist that the more educated Asian mums have a responsibility to act where they can-- you have to stand up and be counted as a spokesperson.	Different spheres of influence
2	A	I think of the example of Barack Obama who can say things that other politicians can't. "You can take it from a brother". I can say some things which won't be seen as racist or playing to a stereotype or even telling people off. I'm a local mum. I live in the area. The children go to the local school.	Role as an Asian muslim women
3	A	On every count I can speak with passion. I can encourage action without it being negatively construed.	

Her multiple credentials enable her to posit new possibilities and introduce different styles of working and communicating. Because she understood the nuances of her networks and had a positive non-threatening approach she could negotiate delicate balances.

Table 5.15 Multiple roles

TT	SP		observation
4	A	I have a role with the local mosques… instead of going to the Imam who is in the same position in a school as a headmaster, with a lot of responsibilities, I have developed links with people who are able to do thing like attend meetings or support activities.	
5	A	I know my mosque contacts in other capacities: one of my contacts I know as a parent governor, one works for.., another is … in this way the links are already there and our mutual credentials are already established.	Clear understanding of the strength of multiple links.
6	A	As a woman there are more possibilities. If it's a man linking with other men- it's a done deal-excludes the women and perpetuates the male council making the decisions for the whole community behind closed doors- the women don't get a say.	Opportunities as a women to foster flexibility
7	A	Because I represent the schools my role is recognized.	Professional
	A	It's not just a role- personal characteristics make some things possible...when we have been trying to develop a relationship with the mosques …an insensitive approach can blow the whole thing out the water. I come from a Mosque outside the city- I'm a Shia but it doesn't matter.	Personal qualities as important

Aram explained the process of building networks over many years. She began by attending classes about parenting in her local school. She initiated new classes for parents, supported and encouraged by community development workers.

Table 5.16 Adult student and role model

TT	SP		observation
1	A	What's important is not asking people to do something you are not prepared to do yourself.	Previous statement about being a local mum
2	A	How they first knew me was I was walking with a shalwar kameez on, pushing a buggy taking my children to school…	
3	A	My confidence was low although I had been a working person, I hadn't worked for more than three years. You don't know any more how to make a phone call or use a computer. First I did word processing and then desktop publishing. I was an adult learner reskilling myself…I had the experience of those nice skilled professionals engaging people.	Aram learned from the approach which she encountered.
4	A	I knew the teacher in nursery and she said 'Would you like to know more about how your child is learning?' and she got me a place on a family learning course. I was pregnant and had a 2 and a 4-year-old…	
5	A	She knew of a course and paid £350 from the school budget for me to go to train as a parenting facilitator. This is how I started- I don't have any formal qualifications in community development.	
6	A	She paid for it with the proviso that I would deliver for her. One of the most important things in community development is to recognize people's potential and feed it.	Recognition of the skills of others

Aram developed multiple connections and had an in depth local knowledge built by living, working and raising her children in Burngreave. She explained how she gathered people together including friends, neighbours and facilitated a discussion that enables diverse contact to work together. Aram had the ability to make the connection, follow up the action and evaluate the potential for the community

Table 5.17 Loss of link workers

TT	SP		observation
1	Ar	That is what will be lost to some extent because what we have got in school is good teachers and efficient administrators they lack the empathy to engage with people- because they have got too much to get done in a day that they cannot stop and see the person.	Importance of her role detached from other school business
2	Ar	What I have is the time to stop and listen and dig a little and see what the motivation is. I ask questions about why they want to get involved and their other experience and jobs in their own countries- there's equally loads (of women) who don't want paid but want to work for the community and work as mothers- they enjoy what they do and see it as a critical role.	Valuing the role of mother
3	Ar	I think we have played a big part in that pride about being mothers and the important input.	
4	Ar	You go to Centre 3 and see all the mums sitting with their kids…	
5	Ar	That is just one example I wish I had spent more time documenting this. How people grow and develop.	
6	K	Why didn't you?	
7	Ar	Because I have always felt I'm too busy doing the work but I do regard it as a failure because when I have evaluated, it has been really powerful.	

Recent research by the Rowntree Foundation shares Aram's concerns placing value on the role that an overview can have:

> Ambitions to work in partnership to develop 'joined-up' solutions are being undermined. This includes the loss of good practice in some areas such as the loss of 'link workers' who had previously supported service integration and more joined-up delivery (Hastings et al, 2015. p.118)

She demonstrated her ability to understand roles and capabilities within an organisation. Aram had not read any literature about Network Theory she often spoke in 'network terms' for example she explained about the fact that her contacts were strong because she knew people in more than one capacity, in network parlance: a "double link"

Table 5.18 Diplomacy, networking skills and emotional intelligence

TT	SP		observation
1	Ar	A lot of my work has been opportunistic- using links I already had. When I started at centre 5, I already had some contacts and I knew who was the best family learning tutor so I thought I want her. I had to beg 3 people to come- the next time I got 6 people to come- it wasn't magic- I just had to do it. It's what they say each journey begins with a step.	How adult learning provision was initiated and developed in the schools
2	Ar	There was no strategy- engagement is get anyone you know to walk through your door…the reason we got to the position when three organisations were keen to deliver is because the effect had started to snowball…	Aram has a practical approach
3	Ar	The extended schools team are fantastic- all have been there 6 years. What will be lost when I am gone is the support network individually no one can be such a force as together. Look at all the people who have gone. (she names ten)	Support and collaborative working
4	Ar	The ESOL teachers are part of the community development team. Everyone does more than they are paid for. Because they no longer get their support from outside they have developed in school relations.	ESOL teachers were supported until that post was made redundant
5	Ar	Now (others) are going to pick up my job. They haven't all got the time or the skills to communicate in sensitive areas. I was just building up links with the mosques and someone came in to their meeting talking about child protection and misogyny, blew all the good work out the water and didn't bother to come back.	She recognises that networking requires specific communication skills
6	Ar	You have to be diplomatic. We have the emotional intelligence when to fight an argument and when to let it go. Most of my links are double links.	Double links

Aram's concern about the potential loss of supportive networks has also been borne out by research by the Rowntree Foundation in their research about health services in the community "there used to be an appetite for networking… but there's none now. (Hastings et al, 2015. p. 75)

Aisha, the director of a community organisation, had a strategic role representing Burngreave in city-wide meetings. She led campaigns to challenge local council decisions, campaigning since funding cuts began in 2010, and before. This super connector's work is at a more strategic level and her input is not apparent to service users but crucial to service provision.

Table 5.19 City wide and regional networks

TT	K	How are you involved in the networks in the adult learning networks in Burngreave?	observation
1	Ai	Isla uses me for city-wide networks …lists the meetings…Because I go to the city wide networks, I know who is winning the contracts and the localised organisation. I can see what services Burngreave has got and where it is missing out- strategic stuff. I don't like it. The more strategic I get the more frustrated I feel- you are banging your head –	Immediately Aisha relates her role to Isla and her strategic view
2	Ai	We miss out on a unified voice. We have got strength and diversity but sometimes it is too much because there isn't one organisation	At this point community organisations were closing as funding was being cut from central and local government.
	Ai	Other areas have less community activity going on but it is all through one organisation…. But how have these organisations grown? X has grown just as a result of council contracts.	
	Ai	Once they are successful on one bid, regardless of outcomes, they are considered to be an organisation with experience in that area…Isla and I have questioned …(this)	

The data in the table above indicates how as resources become scarcer, organisations become more concerned with the process of resource allocation because their continuation depends on access to a reducing funding pool. This was also the a finding of the Rowntree Foundation:

> The testimony of the majority of interviewees was that austerity – and indeed the cuts that councils had had to make in particular – appeared to have resulted in more competition in the sector. In one council area, the majority of interviewees suggested that the need for the sector to respond to a more competitive procurement and tendering process had created some division and indeed fragmentation. Organisations had become more territorial and protective of their outputs and outcomes (Hastings et al 2015 p.90)

In the next interview extract I had a behind the scenes view of the wider policy and funding networks. In community development teams the funding issues are about decisions to be made within an existing budget, but community organisations depend on being seen and heard within wider networks which have official and unofficial channels of influence.

Table 5.20 Small organisations in competition for resources

4	A	Do you know about the big lottery money?	
5	K	no	
6	A	…It is a national initiative …Though Burngreave ticks all the boxes, there was no one from Burngreave at the meeting because no one told us about the meeting and they made the decision there and then with the people who had been told.	A problem with the circulation of information
	A	We are missing the communications and in this time of cuts the small organisations are in competition for resources, which is desperate. This is what people use me for. Representing us in meeting and keeping an eye on what's there.	Crucial representation of the provision

Aisha explained that though it was important she attended, to know what was happening, it was not always a positive experience and she explained about attitudes towards community organisations and her position as a BME (black minority ethnic) person in many of the meetings.

Table 5.21 Role in formal meetings

TT	SP		observation
1	A	But sometimes I need to come back to the centre to remind me why I'm in this game.	
2	A	I don't want to be a person sitting in meetings talking about deprived people. The passion goes. Six months ago I decided to stop going to meetings unless there was a good reason.	She is aware of her own motivation in attending meetings
3		Sometimes I'm invited to be a (Black Minority Ethnic) BME face at the meeting because they need to make the meeting more representative- it is tokenistic and I'm usually the only BME person. I can count the strong BME people on one hand in this city.	tokenistic role

The relationship between council officers, community organisations, elected council members and campaigning organisations are complex. In table 4.30 Isla talks about the positive and collaborative relationship the ALWG has with council officers and here Aisha explains the problems which can arise from campaigning and scrutinizing in a recession.

The campaigns as described by Isla have clear gains for adult English language students in terms of language development and understanding of their role as citizens but can have a detrimental effect on community organisations.

Table 5.22 Supportive mechanisms from elected politicians

3	A	You get political strength from politicians. We challenge politicians. Because of xxx I have lost supportive mechanisms.	Challenging decisions can have negative consequences.
4	A	It is important to have support.	
5	A	We have had to build our own capacity with officers and departments because of our professionalism and track record in delivering contracts …	Contrast between elected and executive levels
		We have had to go elsewhere and council funding is a minority of our funding.	Capacity to attract funding can diminish.
		It is the same for xxx. As a campaigning, scrutinizing local organisation they have to go elsewhere for money competing at national level for lottery funding and similar.	Effect on other campaigning organisations.

Aisha is aware of her role as a bridge to formal structures within the city and the region without which community organisations cannot access money or influence.

Table 5.23 Professional voice and bridge from formal structures to community structures

TT	SP		observation
	K	So what benefits do you bring to Burngreave?	
1	A	I add a professional voice. Not many professionals bother with voluntary community work- or come to meetings.	Bridge to formal structures
2	A	I'm on the management committee of (names six organisations)- too much workload. People in the council want to speak to me because boards have more clout than workers.	Represents community interests

In this section Aisha demonstrates how she is aware of the services that are crucial to support English language learning though these do not exist in every centre. Muna mentions (table 4.15) how often tutors deal with students' problems.

Table 5.24 External networking and crucial services

TT	SP		observation
1	K	How is the centre networked?	
2	A	We do (other services) not just adult learning. We signpost people to projects inside or outside the organisation. Recently one of the students came to see the X worker and she was referred for female support through the domestic abuse project and has been rehoused.	The X service is open to the public and is extensively used by students from the classes
4	A	The (new initiative) will open it even further. X is one of the first services we have had here. It'll be more job security for the worker. Nearly everyone in our men's class has used this service.	
5	A	I think having the extended school worker from centre 4 here has also helped. Her links from the school has brought in people.	Links to school provision

All three of the human super-connectors express both their level of personal commitment to the work they do but also the personal cost. Aisha analyses the roles of all three super-connectors. They work as a team and are aware of each other's strengths and weaknesses:

Table 5.25 Recognizing personal skills and qualities and knowledge.

TT	SP	Problems associated with challenging policy	observation
1	A	Sometimes I am not the right person to go to a meeting. I know when I'm going to cause more problems by going there. I will help behind the scenes because the councillors need to be on our side…	reflexive
2	A	Aram has a way with words. She is able to be nicer. She has challenged what was happening without causing offence.	Recognition of Aram's skills
3	A	Out of the three of us, Isla is the most challenging. She has an investigative role and has a powerful tool to talk to the community. But she has had to seek her funding elsewhere. She cannot get council money because she is a thorn in their side.	Balance between challenging and supporting
4		She knows more about the council than the council themselves and she holds them to account when it matters and it matters so much at the moment. Because	Recognition of Isla's knowledge

		she has got nothing from the council- even though she has got such a superb cohesive tool which has kept this area together and positive and involved- she is always seeking funding.	
5		If we haven't seen each other at a meeting we update each other on the phone. She doesn't get distracted, her strategic skills are focussed here. She is more concise.	Recognition of Isla's skills.
6		I am involved in too much but it can dilute what we are doing and get me stressed. Isla focusses her stress.	Stress as a distraction and a motivator.
7		Too many people have a deficit attitude. We should be grateful for what we have got rather than campaign for what we should have. Councillors who are not active and who are complacent can stop people from thinking action is worthwhile- it is the reputation of politicians.	

Reviewing this interview and editing it a year later, I was aware of how Aisha's approach had changed, how knowledge is not static but changed by changing circumstances (Wenger, Dermott and Snyder, 2002, p.14). This interview was conducted at a time when cuts to services had reached a crucial point and she explains how this has affected community organisations.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL NETWORKS
Aisha's work relates almost exclusively to formal networks, Isla works through the semi-formal networks of the ALWG, the community newspaper and the adult learner but their efficacy results from the way that she taps into the informal networks of the English classes, parents' groups and community activities. Aram had a formal and paid role to coordinate extended   school provision and extended   school workers but her networking is predominantly informal drawing on her roles as a parent, a Muslim, a former adult student, a woman and a local person.

Gilchrist (2009, p.99) discusses networking for community development in relation to the role of community development workers. Though the groundwork of community development was undertaken by a paid development worker in years before this research was undertaken, the super-connectors in this study were not community development workers, but had a clear role in paid and voluntary capacities. Isla was the editor of the community newspaper so avoided the pitfalls of being a worker without a clear purpose. Gilchrist describes the role of the community development worker as being "everywhere and nowhere: marginalised,

misunderstood and yet in constant demand as mediators between different agencies or groups" (ibid). In contrast to this the super-connectors in this study had roles which drew networks around them because of their various roles, behind all the networking was a purpose and crucially they are all local to the area. Aram because of her interest in her own children became involved in Family Learning and her own development was crucial to her understanding of the needs of local adult learners. Aisha offered a unique service as a professional prepared to give advice to local people and to support local organisations. Isla, through the community newspaper networked across the area.

In working within a collaborative and constructionist methodology I approached the research with respect for all the participants as having a unique and important contribution to make and this is well explained in the following excerpt

> an approach based on enabling people who have experienced a particular 'phenomenon' to report this experience in a way that they find validating. In other words, they are able to feel secure that the listeners accept that their reports are a valuable contribution to increasing general understanding of the phenomenon for the purpose of deciding what action could be taken to improve the situation. (Stewart, 1994, p.7)

This approach enabled participant to express themselves freely and I had difficulty particularly with these interviews because at the time two of the three super connectors were in the process of or on the brink of being made redundant. A process I had gone through recently myself. Anonymising the accounts gave me a surprising measure of relief from the emotion I experienced when working with their account.

I draw the distinction between formal and informal networks because it is evident in the type of language that the super-connectors use in their interviews that they have strong stakes in Burngreave and they all live in Burngreave. I think it is appropriate here that I am clear about my own connections in Burngreave and how I perceive myself and am perceived in my various roles. I will analyse my own role explicitly in relation to the networks and the super-connectors. Gilchrist (2016) distinguishes between formal and informal networks and acknowledging the complex nature of community involvement she describes "the judicious braiding of informal processes with formal procedures to create the optimal conditions for collective discussion, agreeing goals, making and measuring progress, involving people, keeping going, being fair and so on" (p.4.)

Intrinsic to the view of 'judicial weaving' is a view of a judicial professional who is distinct from community members. By contrast in Burngreave community education networks are characterized by the fact that all the super connectors are local residents and long term workers. The distinction between formal and informal networks is blurred not just as networks overlap but because of the nature of the people involved. My own position echoes this use of networks which were part of my job role and networks which I had as a local person and a parent in the area. I lived in Burngreave from 1987 to 1997 where both my children were born and attended nursery school and infant school and I have worked here from 1987 to the present with a few years gap in Rotherham after the millennium.

When I returned to Burngreave I worked as coordinator of Adult Community ESOL, literacy and numeracy provision across the city for Sheffield City Council. I started an ESOL class in one of the Burngreave schools in response to a request. One the first day I met four members of staff I knew: two of the teachers had taught my children and the office staff knew me, one of them had remained in post since my children were in nursery and the other had run a toy library which I had used. I already felt connected within the school and the support the provision received was enhanced because of these positive connections. Later, when I had recruited teachers to teach in this school, as the provision expanded across the area, I could call on my school contacts not just to support a new adult teacher but to give me feedback about how the classes developed. My way of growing the provision was to start a class in a new school and teach there myself. When I was satisfied that the class was established and I

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had some understanding of what was happening there I could recruit a teacher to work alongside and then takeover the provision. This was not always simple as sometimes the match between teacher and school would not work and a competent teacher would not fit in a particular venue and some juggling and rearranging was needed. In this way I could develop and support the provision by understanding the way that each venue was different and so was each teacher. In one venue in conjunction with the area planning officer, we initiated a class with a very experienced teacher and I didn't go near the venue because she had the skills and experience to grow and develop the provision without me. When she asked for funding for a new class, I would support her requests and leave her to work because she worked best autonomously. I would visit when requested or to drop off resources and for observations. Where teachers needed more support it was given and in one case I taught alongside a teacher in the same room with the students divided into two levels. As an initial multi-level class filled up, it was split and became two levelled classes and so on. The classes progressed through the levels maintaining a core group while gaining and losing students as people move in and out of provision.

The provision was grown in this way organically in collaboration with the area planning officer, also from Sheffield City Council, and with other providers including the Sheffield College. Because I had worked for the college previously in community provision across the city, the college ESOL manager had also been a colleague, and as the college withdrew from community venues, the council community provision was able to compensate for this loss. Later when council funding priorities changed, the Workers Education Association (WEA) resourced classes which otherwise would have been closed. Much of this work was facilitated by the super connectors discussed in this chapter, particularly the Burngreave Adult Working Group and Aram who initially worked within one school and later as the extended schools professional, across the area.

Before I began the research I taught English classes in Burngreave and through my teaching, my support and development role, my family connections, my social connections and my interests, I was familiar with every venue in the ward and more importantly had personal and professional connections with people associated with the ESOL provision. My view of the research in the initial phase was that it was still my job to support the provision in Burngreave and to this end I accepted the offer of a part-time post at the Yemeni Community Association

(YCA) now renamed Aspiring Communities Together (ACT) to improve the quality of the provision there and to raise the success and achievement levels. This post has supported my research role by enabling me to remain in the community and to develop another perspective which was not available to me as a local council official. In the first few years I remained an active member of the Burngreave Adult Learning Working Group but latterly as funding available to community organisations decreased I was busy within other projects within the organisation and retreated from cross area involvement. I have developed a wider perspective informed by academic reading and research, international conferencing and writing a thesis.

Finally, I can analyse my own role in the area and acknowledge that within my role as a coordinator and curriculum developer, I was also a super connector linked to all the tutors in the area, the other super connectors and to the many students I had worked alongside as students and readers and writers of the Burngreave Messenger. Over the years I have been researching I have become networked in a different way, functioning often as a bridge between the community organisation I work for and the city council, the college and various accrediting bodies including Trinity College and The British Council. Through Aisha and our community organisation I am valued for my qualifications and experience but also my white Britishness in a climate which has been increasingly discriminatory for small, local, community and ethnically diverse organisations working to survive and provide services in a recession. In the interviews with the super connectors, they acknowledged my role within the networks. Isla said "Remember when we..." and recounted the work we did together on a writing course which was instrumental in involving speakers of other languages in the work of the local newspaper and she recalls events we organised. Aram mentions how she had the experience of working with the ESOL classes and realising that if she wanted news and information to circulate rather than send a letter out via school she was better to communicate via the ESOL networks and then word was spread through the many contacts of tutors and students into every school.

CONCLUSION

The first section presented further results from the questionnaire data regarding the centres which provide English language classes and considers them in relation to three models. This section argues that community focused provision linked to services begins a process of network building within the community.

The fourth section focuses on the super connectors and through a series of three interviews they explain the roles of different actors in the networks. They explain how the networks developed, the external links which are necessary to access funding and information and the tensions which exist when resources are restricted. Finally, I analyse my own role in the networks.

CHAPTER SIX: REFLECTIONS

ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the analysis section of this chapter I consider the findings of the study in terms of the thesis argument, the research approach and methods used to research. I will reflect on the results of this approach returning to the literature and my presentation in early parts of the thesis. In the discussion section I summarise the key findings and explore the wider aspects of the findings in terms of new knowledge and implications for related fields of work. Some of the research impacts have already taken effect and I will outline these as part of a short dissemination section in the conclusion.   The final section is the recommendations and conclusions.

SECTION ONE: ANALYSIS

The literature was approached from four different aspects: super diversity and its implications for language education in a multilingual community, community research approaches, literature about English language provision and literature about network theory as it relates to an understanding of community education and development. The thesis argument broadly is from a constructionist perspective which repositions community English language provision as central to community networks when the provision is linked to crucial services. It challenges the view that community education is peripheral and using a collaborative community research approach, foregrounds the knowledge of adult students and community members in a super-diverse ward. The theoretical approach is consistent with the practical approach which involves community members to analyse the research results and consider the education services they use. This is not without challenges however and I explore what this study has achieved in terms of these four areas of interest.

SUPER-DIVERSITY

Super-diversity as discussed and developed by Vertovec (2007) has provided a useful perspective in terms of both understanding and serving the needs of multi-ethnic and multilingual communities. The super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) of Burngreave was reflected in the people who attended English classes. There are forty main or expert languages spoken amongst students from twenty-nine different countries of birth. Students have various educational backgrounds with forty-five percent educated above primary level. The vast majority of the students in Burngreave community provision are women at eighty-one

percent of students who participated in the questionnaire interviews. In areas of super-diversity there are concerns about integration of people from different language and ethnic backgrounds and the responses to questions about talking to neighbours and friends in English show that these interactions rise with every level of classroom English and that the ability to speak English is crucial between neighbours from different language backgrounds. This is in stark contrast to media discourses about "separate lives". In spite of the "indicators of deprivation" in Burngreave and the inequalities which exist across the city, there is a clear positivity in adult education networks in Burngreave and in an area of super-diversity as Wessendorf (2011, 2012) describes and Blommaert (2014): people rub along together and it works. Berg and Sigona (2013, p. 252) say "that geography matters fundamentally" and remind us that we must recognise unique and changing conditions. Isla said:

> Some things bring everyone in. It is two…woman working with the extended school worker at …school who are leading the Library Campaign and that campaign doesn't belong to any particular ethnic community group, the other one is the Adventure Playground. It belongs to no community but is being supported by everyone. We are all connected through the schools and through the ESOL. (Isla, interview 1, line 122)

The concept of super-diversity is a positive one and Blommaert describes it as a lens with which to view a changing research landscape and that has worked well in the research process in Burngreave. Within the life of this study the focus within Burngreave has shifted from community organisations rooted in the service of a particular ethnic group to a recognition of the demographic changes and different needs of the area. In the wider discussion I highlight the case of the *Yemeni Community Association* which changed its name in 2016 to *Aspiring Communities Together* and its role in serving the needs of recent migrants from diverse countries of origin.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

Though the study was concerned with language provision, the research design did not facilitate sociolinguistic research findings. The questions about language use in the questionnaire produced self-reported information about when students used English and who they spoke to. Though this is of interest to English language providers and teachers and can be compared to other self-reporting studies, the approach did not gather data of sufficient depth or detail for a linguistic analysis.

From a post-modern sociolinguist perspective, the proposition for example, that language cannot be understood as a countable entity bound by geographical or grammatical borders, served to problematize concepts of language within this study and my understanding of language learning issues were deepened and enhanced. In terms of this thesis however in relating to national census data and in collecting quantitative data, languages were counted to build a broad picture of the population involved. Because English Language provision is central to the thesis focus our discussions involved a modernist concept of language which participants recognized. The sociolinguistics literature however, enabled me to examine communication skills and language practices which had become intuitive and commonplace from working in multi-lingual environments.

 The immediate setting of the research was political because of an initial reaction to cuts to services and my approach was critical, informed by the approaches of Heller (2011) and Blackledge and Creese (2010) and I return to their view of the privileging of English

> In practice, the UK is multilingual, multicultural and pluralistic. In the beliefs and attitudes of the powerful however, debates about multilingualism have become a means of constructing social difference, as the privileging of English…above minority languages is ever more insistently imposed (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.3).

Within the study there were some interesting discussions around this issue. One of the participants Sarah (pseudonym) blamed her own lack of a job on her lack of English but went on to explore further an example of discrimination in the workplace. In another instance she quoted her daughter questioning the privileging of English simply by asking 'Why do we speak English?'.   Children's choice of language use is a concern to parents and though sociolinguistics served as background to the research rather than the field of research, the literature informed my perspective and alerted me to many possible areas of further research. The possibility for example of recording the questionnaire interviews conducted by pairs of students could have produced data about just how participant which low levels of formal English achieved the information exchange that they did. I return to this in the final section.

Udall, Forrest and Stewart (2014) in a discussion about "locating and building knowledge outside of the academy" (p.1) distinguish between different types of knowledge: "professional knowledges, theoretical knowledges and knowledges that are about acting or practices of the city". This nuanced approach to knowledge enabled me to step away from making a crude distinction between community and university knowledge because in a super-diverse community and probably in every community, if the skills and understandings within "communities of practice" are valued there can be no binary. Rich experience and knowledge have been abundant in each part of the study and the data driven and collaborative discussions, demonstrate how multiple perspectives strengthen knowledge. Community campaigns have been a vehicle for building knowledge outside of English language classes in Burngreave and have involved more than facilitating English language practice, giving students access to local government by meeting councillors, attending town hall meetings and using the local newspaper to present their views.

METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Flexible and collaborative approaches to research have enabled community knowledge to be generated about data which directly impacts on community concerns. This knowledge is different to the knowledge of educational professionals. High level standard English is not necessary in every research scenario and valuable contributions to knowledge can be gained from research which uses a combination of approaches including informal translation, informal interpretation, and explaining and sensitive communication. Visual tools facilitated this process and enabled adult students to understand data about their own provision and make considered judgements and recommendations.

I return to a diagram which I used in the literature review to demonstrate different level of collaboration in research which can indicate higher and lower levels of power and control within the research process. The central arrow indicates a continuum of power and control ranging from data collection, identifying respondents, co-designing research tools, involvement in data analysis, dissemination and lobbying to identifying the research problem at the highest level of power and control.

Figure 2.1 Power and Control

Figure 1.1 The relationship between community researchers' level of involvement and power and control
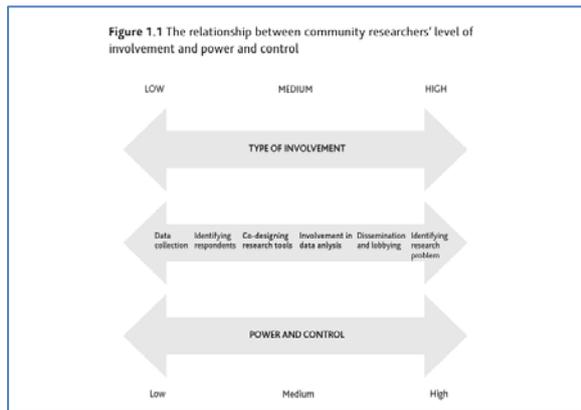
Goodson and Philimore (2012) p.6 figure 1.1.

Though I stated early on in the thesis and in the research process that I didn't aim to *justify* the thesis on how collaborative it was but on the knowledge that was created, any analysis of methodology and method must take account of the collaboration and how in practice it worked within a constructionist paradigm. Though participants did not couch their contributions in these academic terms they all recognized and acknowledged the restrictions of the structures around their lives and the life of the community "The more strategic I get the more frustrated I feel: you are banging your head and the brick wall is always there."

But this recognition of the restrictions of societies structures is embedded in a practice of working hard to make social changes. And the participant continues by saying she has to return to the centre to remind herself of why she is in this game. (p.200) This is because within the centre, practical actions and programmes are demonstrations of progress and change.

Considering the terms from the diagram, this research study involved participants at every stage and so a surface analysis would reveal a very high level of collaboration. However, these terms do necessarily interrogate the context and other considerations do apply.

Lassiter argues that

> deliberate and explicit collaborative ethnography is founded on four main components: ethical and moral responsibility to consultants; honesty about the fieldwork process; accessible and dialogic writing; and collaborative reading, writing, and co-interpretation of ethnographic texts with consultants. (2005, p.77).

Though I evaluated my progress at each stage of the research process, I was unable to involve research participants in writing though the super-connectors commented on and edited my writing up of the interviews. Campbell and Lassiter (2010) describe this process as reciprocal analysis. In ethnography, the ethnographic text occupies a central position, this could be compared to the graphs and charts which are used to present quantitative research findings. Participants in Burngreave because of their language and education background were less able to engage with a text, but able to engage with a visual resource such as network diagrams, charts and graphs and these were central to the dialogue we had in Burngreave. By engaging in dialogue and analysis about research findings participants were able to shape the interpretation and understandings and contribute to decisions about analysis and the presentation of findings. There are major differences in the work of Lassiter which is based on ethnographic approaches. In one example with indigenous American people the collaboration involved a few key informants who were party to the whole process. In Muncie in 2005 the research involved many researchers in the research team and many community participants.

There is a dichotomy which collaboration entails as it is not easy or practical to collaborate fully with many people over a long period of time. Lassiter (2005) collaborates fully and equally with individual informants but in community research when involving many people, everyone cannot be party to every aspect of the research process. The possibilities are opened up when a substantial research team is engaged in collaborative research and examples of this are Campbell and Lassiter (2003) in Muncie, USA and Philimore et al. (2011) in Birmingham. In the first part of the research in Burngreave many people were involved to a small degree, later less people were involved more fully, but finally I am the only person to have the complete overview because I read relevant literature and documented the research process, steering it in many ways. So though there was collaboration at every stage, and at each stage I strived to be open and clear, neither time nor interest were with me in terms of involving any other individual to the same extent. The students most involved were Sara and Muna (psuedonyms) and they contributed fully within the limits of their involvement which was initiated by me. Their interest was limited by two factors connected to time. They expected the process to be over with and ideally for me to return to teaching them. They engaged with the single issue campaigns because they had public markers of success for

example articles in the community newpaper and new short-term funding but the research process of slowly gathering and analysing knowledge did not yield immediate results and a few times they asked me why was I doing the research.

The time that is necessary to conduct collaborative research is in many ways the enemy of collaborative research. Conducting a questionnaire is usually a quick way of getting data but not when the data is planned and executed collaboratively. In order to ensure rigour in a multi-lingual environment and in collaborating with community members, the planning and organising of the questionnaire took a long time. The data generating process in the different community venues also took a long time. Each questionnaire was an interview and I was present while each interview was conducted. This is definitely rigorous but time consuming. Because different interests were represented in the questionnaire, it contained a lot of questions which generated a huge amount of data, which took a long time to analyse and organise. Finally, because the analysis was collaborative and we organised four analysis groups this also took a long time not just to conduct but to collate and understand. Students who conducted the first questionnaire interviews were asking about the research immediately with great interest which waned as the feedback was not forthcoming.

As a beginning researcher and as a PhD candidate, I was not in a position to produce the results quickly. My understanding of the results developed with collaborative analysis, with consulting different perspectives, with emerging concepts about networks and with reading and rereading literature. The insight and validation I gained from Blommaert and Van der Vijver (2013) and from Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015) enabled me to put different strands of the research together. There is a different concept of time in Community Education compared to Higher Education where funding is more plentiful and more secure.

Lassiter emphasizes the position of the ethnographic text and the participants' relationships to that text. In the literature review I suggest that in Burngreave the data used for analysis could fulfil the same role. However, the overview of the statistical data could not be fully shared and this is because the data set is large and the potential for analysis considerable. In practice though I received a considerable amount of training in statistical analysis I did not consider it efficacious to make any complex analysis or justification if it was not transparent to the people involved. For this reason, the data set was used in a simple and clear way but

was not fully exploited. The other issue in terms of accessibility is that it was my role to make the data accessible. In the second student data analysis group, this issue was also brought into clear relief: by striving to be clear and transparent my logging of the discussion and responses could be viewed as reductive. My honest attempt was to ensure that the participants understood each word and the overall meaning and indeed that the meaning I logged was their meaning without any additions or interpretations from me. Compared to Lassiter's ethnographic text much nuance and subtlety was lost.

BIRMINGHAM STUDIES AND HAREHILLS

The initial part of the research in Burngreave drew on the work of the HENNA project in Leeds (Simpson et al., 2013) and one of the differences was a contrast in approaches, a traditional case study research approach in Leeds and a collaborative one in Burngreave. The HENNA project found community ESOL provision in Leeds to be "fragmented" and "peripheral" while in Burngreave the community provision is networked and central to the community. Possibly the community networks were "under the radar" of the research approach in Leeds and perhaps a college/university team might have come to the same conclusion about English language provision in Burngreave: that it is peripheral.

Network analysis however adds weight to the argument that something different is happening in Burngreave because the two publications, the Adult Learning Guide and The Community Newspaper and the ALWG are tangible evidence of networks and in Sheffield relate to the cross city ESOL Directory developed by Sheffield Association for the Voluntary Teaching of English (SAVTE), more evidence of a coordinated approach to information sharing. The interviews with super-connectors indicate that community groups are marginalised in many ways and their roles though valued in the community are not so valued by 'mainstream' organisations. One of the most important ways is the operation of sub-contracts through colleges and councils which take a cut of contract value as management fees which can range from 20% to 50% of the contract value. This relationship of voluntary sector organisation is documented (BIS, 2013) and organisations face more rigorous monitoring procedure than local authorities experience on their contracts and "Despite constant over-performance there was no vehicle to allow growth in this area with funding remaining the same year on year." (BIS, 2013, p.35). That community organisations are capable of providing appropriate services is evidenced by their ability to win and fulfil

contracts but there is a price to pay for campaigning. Some community organisations have had to seek funding at a national level. There are undoubted gains for English language classes and for English language students in terms of their skills and network benefits from engaging in community campaigns.

Philimore et al. (2007, 2009, 2011) approach their research in Birmingham from the perspective that ESOL is failing refugees and their research bears this out. The reverse is true in Burngreave where the research is conducted with students who have some ownership of the provision, the provision is found to be doing the job it sets out to do. This does not question the efficacy of either approach but acknowledges that resources and services are multi-faceted and so are research approaches and findings. Phillimore, et al. (2007) towards the end of the main research report, add a positive note about classes while criticising the system:

> Despite acknowledging the problems with the ESOL system respondents recognised the value of ESOL classes on a number of levels. Firstly, it was clear that they recognised the importance of speaking English and sought to be independent of the help they received from friends and relatives as soon as possible. Secondly, they valued the social space that ESOL provided. Perhaps their ESOL class was the only place where they could practice English. For many it was the only space where they could meet people from other cultures and make friends. (p.31)

In the research in Burngreave, knowledge about how best to proceed in changing circumstances has changed, to accommodate reducing resources. Funding for community education and English language provision have contracted as a result of reduced funding from central government. Attitudes to campaigns and campaigning have changed as community organisations are less able to contest local and national decision making.   (See Aisha's interview, p. 212). Wenger, Dermott and Snyder (2002, p.14), considering communities of practice, explain that:

> Knowledge is not static. It is continually in motion. In fact, our collective knowledge of any field is changing at an accelerating rate. What was true yesterday must be adapted to accommodate new factors, new data, new inventions, and new problems.

One of the difficulties in documenting and disseminating community research is in grasping at knowledge at a time when it seems to be moving particularly quickly and this is exacerbated in a super-diverse community. "Knowledge is not static" and though there may be a core of stable knowledge, perhaps what makes research in a super-diverse community interesting

and difficult is that it is the moving, changing knowledge, that most concerns us to strive to understand and accommodate change. "Though our experience of knowing is individual, knowledge is not." For this reason, collaborative approaches to research can be useful in accessing community knowledge.

From the literature I identified a gap in research which about how English language learning related to the wider community. In terms of the thesis, my argument is that in Burngreave there are networks which operate around the community English language provision, through the provision of other services and through community activities and campaign. These networks are facilitated by publications which inform residents about courses and circulate positive news about education and achievements. This part of the research is about processes and networks.

The questionnaire interviews gathered information about specific uses of English using a quantitative approach to establish patterns of language use of students in the English language provision. There is sufficient data to be considered statistically significant. This means that the correlations are likely to hold in a similar adult student population. Before I consider the results, it is important here to say that in my discussion of super-diversity I argue that "geography matters fundamentally" because each area is different and the point of using a questionnaire in a super-diverse area is that we have to check the current situation because it is in constant flux. So though the population is a complete census of students in the ward, the nature of the population and the transitional nature of the population means that these statistical concepts of significance have limited application. However, there is merit in making comparisons with other studies.

The Birmingham study, (Phillimore, et. al., 2007) reported dissatisfaction amongst refugees about English Language provision and this was the main motivator for the study. The progress and lack of it reported in the Birmingham study is comparable to this study in Burngreave because in both studies competence in English is self-reported. However, in Burngreave because the students were involved in English classes at the time of the research there are some differences. One of them is that in Burngreave, students self-report on specific tasks and a comparison can be made against the formally assessed classroom levels. They do not report on *how* they perform but that they use English in a specific context by contrast the Birmingham study considers *general* satisfaction and improvement. In Burngreave the tasks can be compared against level of class which has a positive correlation in every tasks except using English in a job which was a problematic question.

One very important factor is that because the students in Burngreave continue to attend classes this suggests that there is a level of satisfaction with the English provision language. The Birmingham refugees were friends and associates of the researchers who were dissatisfied and it is not known if they were attending classes. In Birmingham only 37% of the respondents were women. Given the differences between the studies, one of the most important lessons from the research is that the collaborative methods value knowledge from a group of people who are marginalised and the detailed discussion of methodology and theoretical approach informed my decisions and enabled analysis of the process and the results.

MODELS OF PROVISION

Using models of provision from Hannon et al (2003) and considering Simpson's discussion of mainstream and peripheral provision (Simpson, 2011), I considered the provision in Burngreave. Provision supported in community primary schools offers students access to parents' groups, activities and to volunteering opportunities and jobs. Provision supported by community organisations offer advice and guidance, preschool provision and legal advice. College satellite provision has the potential to offer routes into vocational training or further courses but in practice, students in FE college provision were less likely to attend other courses or work as volunteers than students attending any other provision. Though in theory further education colleges have the potential to offer access routes to vocational and academic courses this is not always the case in practice and English language provision can be marginalised within educational establishments. In practice community venues and classes functioned very differently across the ward. The argument in this section is a strong one that a mainstream lens may not recognize the strengths that community focused centres and organisations can bring to working with new and more established migrants within a super diverse community. Links to other service provision can serve to draw community members in and provide venues which are safe, accessible and part of other routines.(Platts-Fowler and Robinson, p.ii)

OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

There are two ways that knowledge has been increased about what happens outside the classroom. Firstly, by considering the data from the questionnaire there is a bank of information about students at different levels of classroom attainment related to their use of

English. Students in Burngreave were motivated to learn "for myself" and "to be independent" and also to negotiate the various roles they play in life: in relation to their membership of the community, their working lives, their roles as parents both in relation to their children's schooling and to their personal relationships with their children. English language students in Burngreave identify increasing abilities to speak English in the wider community, at each higher level of classroom attainment. One of the best examples of this is student's use of interpreters. The number of students using an interpreter falls at each level of classroom progression until there are no students in the highest level classes who use an interpreter. This is self-reported and because of the quantitative approach can show a pattern across classroom levels and can show a comparison between tasks. Secondly, this information demonstrates a distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communications (BICS) and communication which require further language and cognitive development as explained by Cummins (2006). The information was discussed in the data groups and students and tutors both recognized the impact that previous education has on present progress. The academic model was concurrent with the students and practitioners lived experience and knowledge.

In terms of the thesis, I could have collected more detailed information about the nature of the interactions which featured in the questionnaire. In identifying that little research has been done about the way that language is used outside the classroom, I am clear that this gap in the research remains. In interviewing super connectors who were active in the provider network I gained new knowledge about the way that networks support the provision but would have had to interview student connectors who were hubs in the network to understand in more detail about relationships between friends, neighbours and classmates who used English to talk to each other outside the classroom. There were also missed opportunities to collect data about real interactions between students as they worked together or as they conducted interviews in pairs to find out how their English worked particularly at a basic level.

NETWORKS

The network literature enabled a fresh departure for me in terms of analysis of English language provision. Network literature worked at two main levels firstly as a visual tool which was useful to clarify concepts with provision users and as a tool for dissemination and discussion I valued the concept of being able to 'eyeball' the data. If a network drawing

becomes too dense or complex, then it is serves only to show a level of complexity but where the network clarifies and simplifies for example the underground diagram then it is a valuable tool. Many people talk about networks but less people draw them and in the dissemination section, I explain about a process I used while presenting at a conference of facilitating the use of network drawing to consider the links that can be created between the classroom, other services and the wider community.

The second important aspect of network literature was in considering actors in the network. This was especially useful as a recognition of the importance of non-humans. This validated the network approach for me because the role of non-human actors was less open to interpretation. By this I mean that the role that humans play may be viewed differently depending on the perspective of the researcher. The community newspaper is delivered to every home in Burngreave and for example the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) In Burngreave meets twice every term. While a critic might say we don't know how many people read the paper or how effective the ALWG is, I was reassured by the structure that these non-humans gave to the networks.

In Burngreave I identified hubs and super-connectors and found that the super-connectors engaged in adult education networks were all paid workers and though they connected beyond expectations, when the funding finished, their job was gone.   When connectors' jobs have been lost often they will continue to do part of their job on a voluntary basis but this is difficult to sustain as, in the end, these individuals must earn a living elsewhere. Contrary to 'Big Society ' ideas, in Burngreave networking was purposeful and dependant on the flow of resources. Isla (Table 5.4) identifies the crucial role that money played in bringing education providers to the local meetings. "What gave the ALWG its continuity and consistency is that the money was always there …it was a very democratic collaborative sharing of resources".

There are strong and resilient local networks including a particularly strong adult education network. The networks facilitate communication of important information about education, employment and other opportunities. They also mediate communication of problems and issues which affect the area and facilitate mechanisms to address problems and cope with negative events. Vital links in Burngreave's communication networks have been identified. They are 'hubs' of activity and 'super-connectors' which link many diverse networks together.

Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2013) conducted a study about neighbourhood resilience in Sheffield and two of the neighbourhoods identified as resilient were in Burngreave. Specific examples of both active citizenship and the importance of media and communication in Burngreave neighbourhoods, concur with the findings of my research into Burngreave adult education networks. The first is an example of a collective reaction to a negative happening.

> "a group of Somali women came together following the shooting of two young Somali men. It was described as a 'focused emotional response to their sons getting involved' in crime and violence but their subsequent work with the local authority set up a range of diversionary activities for young people in the area that are on-going." p.23

This particular example is given in an interview with one of the super connectors in the adult education networks and is part of a discussion about how in a super-diverse area, some groups may need support in accessing resources and organizing themselves in a way that enables the local authorities to acknowledge the value of their work. Another specific example which resonates with my research was the identification of The Burngreave Messenger, a local newspaper distributed free in the area, as having an important role in contributing to the resilience of Burngreave neighbourhoods.

The general point is that "The circulation of information about the area to the local community was reported to be important to resilience. An informed population was reported to be more engaged." (p.23). The particular point was that the Burngreave Messenger, which early in its life received funding from New Deal for Communities (NDC), was both a 'directory service' and a contact point for residents concerned about personal and community issues. (p.24). The newspaper is identified as a super-connector in my research and its role is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2013, p.24) also identify the importance of community links with power and influence for neighbourhood resilience, pinpointing relationships with MPs, councilors and officials in key institutions:

> Community links with power and influence (linking social capital), such as links with Members of Parliament, ward Councillors, as well as officers in key institutions, seemed to promote neighbourhood resilience by facilitating responses to change and hardship...Community links with ward Councillors were reported to have helped with local campaigns by bringing issues to the local press and government meetings. Ward councillors can also provide individuals and communities with information about democratic processes, making campaigns more effective.

For community organisations this relationship can determine the ability to grow and develop and in turn this reflects on the individual and the neighbourhood. This relationship is discussed in an interview on p. 199-201 with one of the super-connectors.

SECTION TWO: DISCUSSION

RESEARCH RIGOUR: INVOLVEMENT, COLLABORATION AND TIME.

My involvement in the area of research preceded my engagement in research and will continue when the research is finished. This has been a strength and a weakness regarding my perception of the rigour of the research because although the research is finished, there is no clear cut off point. An outsider researcher can achieve a sense of completeness but for a researcher working in the area there is always another new piece of knowledge, another insight and a conversation which highlights another perspective. Writing about people and situations which I care about to a great degree has also been difficult. While I am aware that my involvement has deepened the trust of people involved and the quality of the research data, it has also increased the responsibility for me to ensure that their trust is rightly placed.

Because the research has been conducted using different tools, both qualitative and quantitative, and because the data was generated and analysed over a period of several years and corroborated through experience and collaboration, I am satisfied with the level of rigour. At each stage of the research process, rigour was built into the process. When collecting data using the questionnaire, any questions or concerns were addressed immediately in each venue. Inputting the data was meaningful to me as I was able to check the emerging data class by class and centre by centre. The collaborative analysis process was dialogic and understanding was ascertained and verified within process. Interviews with the super-connectors were transcribed from notes and verified in a written format. The final written thesis is my own but as a result of a sincere attempt to represent the information and views that I gathered.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS: KEY FINDINGS

In this section I reflect on the way this research has contributed to the body of knowledge about English language learning and community education in a super-diverse community. I consider six key areas

The set of questions 'Who do you speak to in English?' has generated a new bank of information. This information indicates at what level students are able to interact in different scenarios and that for most the level of classroom English was related to increasing and increasingly involved interactions. Simpson et al. (2011), Baynham and Simpson (2010) and Berry and Johnson (2014) identify the need to consider what happens 'beyond the classroom

and this research begins to make that transition of focus. Three main reasons were given for enrolling in ESOL classes. The largest proportion (49.6%), termed here communicators, wanted to learn English in order to facilitate self-sufficiency in everyday life. A second group of respondents (36%), the improvers, already spoke some English and wanted to improve their language ability in order to gain work or to enter vocational training. The final group of higher learners, wished to learn a higher standard of English in order to enter Higher Education (17%). The implications here are that "one size does not fit all"

The second key area is the role of language classes which are linked to other services (NIACE, 2012). In Burngreave which has a very young population, schools are focal points of community life and for students in the study they play a vital role in networking. Schools offer a welcoming environment and give adult students an insight into school life in England as well as offering opportunities of other classes, voluntary opportunities such as reading volunteers at and opportunities for employment. Services such as advice services and complementary language schools root language classes in community life. There is a difference between community based and community focused provision (Hannon et al., 2003). This research has added to knowledge about a model of community focused provision and develops the work of Hannon et al. (2003). This research develops that model, discussing community focused provision which is linked to services both in a school setting and within community organisations linked to and supported by other services.

The third key area is the consideration of English language classes, not merely as participants in local networks, but as generators of community networks. The profile of the English classes which was evidenced in the questionnaire results show that the classes represent a crucial meeting point of people from diverse language, ethnic and educational background. Wessendorf (2012) calls this a unique zone of contact. Their meeting in the classroom is sustained across many years. The result is a "community of practice" Wenger (2002) which is not limited to one class but has application within community settings where communities of practice can change or develop their focus. The 'community of practice' approach adds meaning to the concept of a network in a community education setting. The network is useful as a tool to understand how information channels and how communication travels but networks can be transitory to accommodate an interest or a task or can develop or persist across a number of years as exemplified in the English language classes.

In contrast to college provision which enrols every academic year, community focused classes represent continuity and a building of relationships over many years (Simpson et al., 2011). Students become volunteers and students who get jobs in schools become role models for students in the class. In Burngreave, English language students have led in campaigns to keep the library and the adventure playground open and in the formation of local voluntary groups. These campaigns followed on from initial successful campaigns to halt cuts in community English language classes.

The fourth key finding is the role of the super-connector in adult learning and community networks. Network Theory provided a key tool to understand what was happening in Burngreave and the identification of the super-connectors in the form of one coordination meeting, two publications and three crucial human connectors enabled a visualisation of a process both for myself and other people interested in the research. This represents one of the most important findings. Throughout the period of this research however I have documented the loss of super-connectors and the impact on the Adult Learning Working Group and the community newspaper, and the loss of large and longstanding sub-contracts for community organisations. In spite of these cuts there is an enthusiasm for learning in Burngreave and other people have redoubled their efforts to compensate for this loss. In keeping with the theory of dynamic and organic networks. A new level of connectors are emerging. Learners are seeking other ways to learn independently and volunteer staffed, conversation clubs are oversubscribed. Documenting the role of the super-connector with community networks is all the more important in these circumstances. The concept of a networked centre and a networked classroom can also serve as a tool for tutors and providers to evaluate their role in relation to their students and to the wider community. This research provides an application, in a super-diverse area, of the work of Gilchrist (2014) who considers networks in relation to community development. For tutors this practical application enables an analysis of classroom practice, investigating how a class is orientated towards the wider community and links to other activities and opportunities

The fifth is that local community campaigning organisations offered students opportunities to engage in active citizenship and networking opportunities. However, organisation which challenged local policy decisions report a loss of support sometimes temporarily and sometimes more permanently which can be to the detriment of that organisation's ability to

win funding. This necessitated national level funding application in order to survive. The relationship of this issue to the research question is that active and grassroots organisations best suited to providing supportive services for residents of super-diverse communities may themselves require bridging mechanisms to local authorities as they are crucial to the networks which enable adult students to use English in the wider community. There are implications for integration strategies in these last two findings.

The sixth is a finding about the possibilities which embedded collaborative research entails. Information from the questionnaire has been generated across a political ward about adult learners who are predominantly considered 'hard to reach' because of their level of English language skills, their previous education and their gender. They participated directly in a research initiative and though they will have been 'counted' in the past a part of the U.K. Census their information will have been submitted by another person. In this research each participant was able to give their own information which includes motivation for learning. The vast majority also participated by interviewing another student, supported by, other students, myself or their class teacher. The data was analysed by service users and providers and this is innovative in Adult Basic Education, and generated knowledge which is different to knowledge about provision which stems from mainstream providers and from policy makers. Further conversational interviews gathered data which offered a rich insight to the work of community focused organisations in circumstances of severely curtailed resources. Collaborative methodologies can enhance the reach and scope of research initiatives in super-diverse communities.

Because of the nature of the research, the process of dissemination is important. Collaboration required that new knowledge is shared with participants and with wider audiences who may be able to strengthen the provision. In Burngreave, students and providers have been interested to discuss the findings. The process of knowledge dissemination began as soon as the research began and within a few weeks of starting to generate data using the questionnaires, I was being questioned by the Burngreave Adult Learning Working Group. Dissemination has been iterative and has prompted actions to support different aspects of the provision. One of the first impacts was to initiate support and recruitment for classes in one of the community venues because attendance was low in each of the classes.

I compiled a research report which gathered information from the questionnaire that related to schools, parents and their children and I include this as Appendix 9. This was used by members of the ALWG to report to schools which were asking for evidence of impact of hosting English language classes.

The collaborative analysis groups also served to disseminate a considerable amount of baseline information about the provision to around thirty people who participated in those events. The largest gathering where I have had the opportunity to present the research findings was at an event organised in July 2014 at the Vestry Hall in Burngreave for one of the super-connectors, when she was leaving and there were over two hundred students and community workers there, most of whom had either participated in the research or knew about it. I gave a brief outline of the whole study and focused on the role of the super-connectors within community networks. I have presented the findings, focusing on networks, to the Sheffield City-wide ESOL providers network in June 2015 and at the Annual General Meeting of Sheffield Association for the Voluntary Teaching of English in December 2015.

I have presented the research twice at National Association for Teaching English and Community Languages (NATECLA) Conferences, once at their national conference in Sheffield in 2014 and once at a regional conference in Leeds in December 2014. The focus in Leeds was on the network approach to considering provision and we conducted a workshop session which involved drawing existing classrooms as hubs in community and college networks.

I presented a paper at an International British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) seminar in Lewis in the Western Isles which was "Languages in the UK: Bridging the gap between the classroom and the community in language learning" on May 29 and 30, 2014.

I presented a paper at an international conference at Birmingham University Birmingham Institute for Research into Super-diversity. Super-diversity: theory, method and practice in an era of change. Super- diversity Conference in June 2014 and another one "Rethinking integration: New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in an era of super-diversity" on 2nd July 2015 also at the University of Birmingham. The first paper was about collaborative methodology and it has been included in a working paper series at Tilburg University.https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/upload/7400124f-c3f4-41d6-91bf-ab8c47ac0dfd_TPCS_119_Swinney.pdf

The Council of Europe's Language Policy Unit accepted a paper about networks for a symposium on "The linguistic integration of adult migrants: lessons from research" in Strasbourg on 30 March – 1 April 2016. I presented a paper there and it has been published in a book: "*The Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants: Some Lessons from Research /L'intégration linguistique des migrants adultes – les enseignements de la recherche*", as a follow-up to the Symposium held last Spring. It is published as an « open access » edition on De Gruyter Mouton's website which can be reached via the LIAM website (www.coe.int/lang-migrants). The chapter about Burngreave is called 'Networks and Super-connectors'

I was contacted by the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Social Integration to submit evidence to their investigation. The inquiry was defined at this stage in terms of two principles: Principle Three: Government must reassess its current 'one size fits all' approach to immigration policy and Principle four: For new immigrants, integration should begin upon arrival in the UK. The terms of reference were: a) How might the provision of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and community-based English language programmes be improved? And b) What role, if any, should central and local government, businesses, and service users play in the funding and delivery of these initiatives? Finally, c) What are the advantages and disadvantages of college-based ESOL provision and community-based English language programmes, respectively? These two inputs have made the research seem valuable and are indicative of wider implications regarding integration

CONCLUSION

Understanding the practical application of English language education has significance for teachers, students, funders and policy makers. In a country where all publically funded English language provision is based on a functional curriculum it would appear crucial to understand if language provision is doing the job it is designed to do. This research would indicate that it is fulfilling a function but that function is based on a narrow concept and does not take into account the various educational and vocational backgrounds of students or the multiple needs of adult learners in terms of pace of delivery, method of delivery and different concepts of community. In these aspects the findings of this Burngreave study concur with the findings of Phillimore et al. (2007, 2009). Students who live, shop and interact in the immediate locale may be well served by the type of language taught in English language classes but that others who wish to go beyond the immediate sphere are not catered for. However, criticism of English language provision does not often measure the provision in terms of its intention but measure it instead in terms of the needs of adult immigrants who wish to extend their education, get a skilled job or profession and it does not meet these needs. These criticisms would be most fruitfully levelled at policy makers rather than at the delivery level where local providers and teachers are working with the funding mechanisms and curricular resources in their hands. Local delivery models linked to services can fulfil a valuable local function and this should not be confused with an inadequate funding regime and an institutional racism at policy level which does not appear to have the intention to educate new immigrants to fulfil their potential.

The resulting data set is large and could be interrogated in many different ways. The ways it has been analysed to date has reflected the interests of those involved in research at a community level. Students were able to articulate what they knew about the provision and as stated by Blommaert and Van der Aa (2013, p.12), "Knowledge was shaped by finding and co-constructing a logic for knowledge that was already there". As a result of the research, knowledge about the provision in Burngreave has increased considerably because although individual providers collect data about their own provision, this was the first time there has been a collection of such detail across the ward showing the numbers of people at each Level of class or the proportions of students in each centre. Drawing on the work of Love et al. (2008) the data impacted and improved practice. Though the data were necessarily a

snapshot on the day of the visit it immediately enabled support and student recruitment where it was needed. Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015) discuss the notion of a research embedded within social organisations and this research contributes to their argument about the positive and immediate applications of such embedded approaches. Only yesterday one of the super-connectors told me she was writing a bid for funding which required an innovative approach and we discussed embedding the concept of the super-connector into this bid which was concerned with coordinating services for the elderly. She also reported explaining the success of a recent initiative in terms of networks, connectors and super-connectors at a city-wide meeting which was greeted with interest and enthusiasm.

FURTHER RESEARCH

In researching networks there is a concept of 'connectors' or 'hubs' who are working in a more localised neighbourhood way than the 'super-connectors' who link many networks together. There are many hubs in Burngreave and they are a vital layer in networks and are less known than the super-connectors and may be working "below the radar" (Soteri-Proctor, 2011) of professional networks in many cases. This would be a useful area to research for their role in integrating and developing network contacts. This could also be an approach to investigate how English operate in exchanges in super-diverse communities in the UK where English operates as a lingua franca between adults with low level English skills.

There are class considerations and local language considerations in every place where English is learned (Rampton, 2015) and for many people their move is not to standard English and their identity is not to England and the English but to something more local and in this case to Sheffield and to Yorkshire. I think this merits investigation because of central government concerns about Britishness (Simpson, 2015) and as demonstrated in the 2011 U.K. Census (Duke-Williams, 2013).

Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015) discuss the importance of long-term and situated research which can inform practice and develop theory in super-diverse contexts. This research would suggest that collaborative analysis and data generated dialogue could contribute to this process. I am specifically interested in researching the progress of multi-lingual community organisations through recession in terms of their networks as many organisations have been unable to survive. Others have developed and succeeded to attract new funding without

compromising their community interests. It would be interesting to explore what part networks play in the resilience of community organisations particularly the role of connectors and sup-connectors

Further research would be useful to develop at least two alternatives to the Adult ESOL Core Curriculum (DfES, 2001), one for a slower deeper basic education for students who have not had primary education and a faster more specific route into vocations and professions which would be publicly funded.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 ETHICAL REVIEW LETTER

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

The
School
Of Education.

Katherine Swinney

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6 July 2012

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Dear Katherine,

Ethical Review Application: "Do Community ESOL Classes in Burngreave impact on Community Cohesion?"

Thank you for your application for ethical review for the above project. I am writing to confirm that your application has now been approved.

This letter is evidence that your application has been approved and should be included as an Appendix in your final submission.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

Felicity Gilligan
PG Officer

Dear   ,

My name is Kath Swinney and I have been working in Burngreave as an ESOL tutor and curriculum development officer. I am also now a research student at the University of Sheffield. I am interested in supporting and promoting adult community education, particularly literacy and ESOL.

The Economic and Social Research Council has funded a project which aims to research the impact of adult ESOL classes on community cohesion in Burngreave. It considers whether there are opportunities for language learned in the classroom to be used in the wider community. The research is part of my PhD study in the School of Education at the University of Sheffield and is supervised by Dr. Kate Pahl. The project aims to conduct a survey across every ESOL class in Burngreave.

The survey was developed in collaboration with ESOL tutors, learners and members of the Adult Learning Partnership. The survey will be carried out by me and a small team of community researchers/interpreters. The researchers are all women ESOL students from Burngreave who have reached level 2 ESOL and have experience as teaching assistants or community interpreters. They will be given training to conduct the survey and about confidentiality, reliability and validity in research. The survey interview will take about 10 minutes for each student and will take around 50 minutes of class time. Permission will be sought from each student and only their first name will be asked in order to ensure confidentiality. The survey will be conducted between Easter and the summer holidays at a time to suit each class.

I attach a copy of the survey and am happy to discuss the research with you. My email is kswinney1@sheffield.ac.uk and my mobile number is 07583832444. If you are happy for the research to go ahead please return the permission letter attached and I will be able to make arrangements with the community venues and the class teachers. I will keep you informed about the practical arrangement including a timetable of visits and the findings of the research as it progresses.

Yours sincerely,

Katherine Swinney

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet and have the opportunity to ask questions   Yes/No

I understand that all participation is voluntary and that permission will be sought at each stage
                                                                                                    Yes/No

I understand that real names will not be used in the research   Yes/No

I give permission to research in the ESOL classes subject to permission from each individual involved.
                                                                                        Yes/No

Comment

Name_____

Date_____

My name is Kath Swinney and I am an ESOL teacher who works in Burngreave. I am also studying at Sheffield University

I am doing a survey which takes about 10 minutes and has four parts. The first section asks about the ESOL classes and your level of English. The second part asks about the languages you use and your background. The third section asks about your family and the languages you speak together and the fourth part asks about who you speak to in English. You can answer the questions in English or in Somali, Arabic, Urdu or French. The researchers working with me are all students in Burngreave classes who want to develop skills as interpreters and researchers.

The information will be used to write a report and as part of my degree. It might also be used for books and journals. All of it will be confidential and your name will not be used.

We want to find out what impact ESOL classes have in the community in Burngreave and about the chances you have to speak English.

My email is kswinney1@sheffield.ac.uk and my mobile no. is 07563832444. I will be pleased to give you more information.

Are you happy to answer questions in the survey?   Yes/ No

Are you happy to be interviewed later in the research?   Yes/ No

Name_____

Date_____

Harehills ESOL Needs Neighbourhood Audit (HENNA): ESOL student survey

First name (optional) …………………………………………………………………………………………

Centre …………………………………………………………………………………………

Class …………………………………………………………………………………………

Teacher …………………………………………………………………………………………

Are you Female ☐ Male ☐

Age …………… years

Country of birth …………………………………………………………………………

What is your first language? …………………………………………………………………….

Can you read this language? Yes ☐ A little ☐ No ☐

Can you write this language? Yes ☐ A little ☐ No ☐

Do you speak any other languages? Yes ☐ No ☐

If so, which ones? ……………………………………………………………………………………………

……

How long have you been in the UK? …………………………………………………………………….

Which country did you live in before you came to the UK? …………………………………………….

……

What is your immigration status?

refugee/asylum seeker ☐

migrant worker ☐

spouse visa ☐

student visa ☐

British citizen ☐

Other ……………………………………………………………………………… 35

How many years did you go to school as a child? …………… years

Did you go to college or university? Yes ☐ No ☐

What work did you do before you came to the UK? ………………………………………………………….
………………………………………………………………………………………………

Do you work now? Yes ☐ No ☐ Voluntary ☐

If yes, what is your job now? ....……

What problems did you have finding an English class in Leeds?

None ☐

Childcare ☐

Cost ☐

Travel ☐

Work ☐

Information ☐

Immigration status ☐

Other ………

How long have you been in this class? ………………………………………………………………..

Do you come to every class? Yes ☐ No ☐

What problems do you have coming to this class?

None ☐

Childcare ☐

Cost ☐

Travel ☐

Work ☐

Other ………

ESOL Survey Burngreave 2012

Centre_____

Teacher_____

Class level_____

Section 1. Classes

1. Student's name   _____

2. Male   ☐   Female   ☐

3. Age   _____ years

4. Level of English   reading ☐   writing ☐   speaking and listening ☐

5. How long have you been in England?_____

6. How long have you been coming to classes?_____

7. What is your main reason for learning English? _____

Section 2. Languages

8. Country of Birth   _____

9. What is your first language? _____

10. Can you read this language? Yes/Little/No

11. Can you write this language? Yes/Little/No

12. What other languages do you speak?_____

13. How long did you go to school?
☐ no school   ☐ up to 12 yrs   ☐ up to 16 yrs   ☐ beyond 16

13. What languages do you speak at home? _____

Section 3. Children

14. Do you have any children?   YES ☐   NO ☐

15. How old are your children?

_____

16. What language do you use to speak to them?_____

17. What language do they use to speak to you?_____

18. Do you go to parent's night?_____

19. Do you help them with their homework?

20. Do they help you with your homework?

Section 4.
21. <u>Who do you speak to in English?</u>

☐ No one   ☐ My ESOL teacher   ☐ my ESOL classmates

☐ shop assistants   ☐ doctors

☐ my neighbours   ☐ with friends

☐ my children's teacher   ☐ in a parent's group

☐ on another course
Which course?_____

☐ as a volunteer   What is your job?_____

☐ at work What is your job? _____

22. Who else do you speak to in English? _____

23. Who helps you with English if you need help?_____

24. Do you use an interpreter? Yes/No

ESOL Survey Burngreave 2012

Centre_____

Teacher_____

Class level_____Class hours per week____

Section 1. Classes

1. What's your first name _____

2. Male ☐ Female ☐

3. How old are you? 18-25 26-45 45-60 over 60

4. What is your level of English in
 reading _____ writing _____ speaking and listening_____

5. How long have you been in England?_____

6. How long have you been coming to classes?_____

7. What is your main reason for learning English? _____

Section 2. Languages

8. Where were you born? _____

9. What is your first language? _____

10. Can you read this language? Yes/Little/No

11. Can you write this language? Yes/Little/No

12. What other languages do you speak?_____

13. How long did you go to school in your country?

☐ no school ☐ up to 12 yrs ☐ up to 16 yrs ☐ beyond 16

13. What languages do you speak at home? _____

Section 3. Children

14. Do you have any children?   YES ☐   NO ☐

15. How old are your children?_____

16. What languages do you speak to them?_____

17. What languages do they speak to you?_____

18. Do you go to parent's meetings?_____

19. Do you help them with their homework?

20. Do they help you with your homework?

Section 4.

21. <u>Who do you speak to in English?</u>

☐My ESOL teacher   ☐my ESOL classmates

☐shop assistants   ☐doctors

☐my neighbours   ☐with friends

☐my children's teacher ☐in a parent's group

☐on another course
Which course?_____

☐as a volunteer?   What do you do?_____

 ☐at work? What is your job? _____

22. Who else do you speak to in English? _____

23. Who helps you with English?_____

24. Who do you help with English?_____

25. Do you use an interpreter? Yes/No

Comparison of the ESOL Core Curriculum qualifications with the National Qualifications Framework and the CEFR

| ESOL Core Curriculum	National Qualifications	CEFR Framework
Level 2	Level 2 (eg GCSE A*–C)	C1
Level 1	Level 1	B2
Entry 3	Entry level	B1
Entry 2		A2
Entry 1		

This set of data from p.260 to p.269 was used with data analysis groups one and two.

The graphs on p.268 were the focus with groups three and four.

Name of centre	organisation	provider	No of classes 39	men	Total students 328 325 completed questionnaire	Number of tutors	Level of classes	Hours per week	Average number in class	Range 4-17
deleted	deleted	deleted	5	15	72	4	PE to 2	9	15	13-17
			13	32	104	6	PE to 2	7.5	9	4-15
			3	6	24	1	PE to 1	2-4	8	7-9
			4	0	34	2	PE to E3	4	9	5-12
			5	5+2	43+2	4	PE to E3	2-4	9	5-12
			1	0	6+1	1	L1	2	6	6
			3	1	14	2	PE to E3	4	5	4-5
			1+1	0	7	1+1	E1 to E3	2	7	7
			3	0	21	3	PE to E3	9	7	6-9

What's your main reason for learning English? This question was an open question but have gathered the answers into categories to reflect motivation. Would like ideas about further groupings. The final diagram organised by the group is on p. 144

	Frequency	Percent
0	3	.9
1. children and 29. family life	38	11.7
2 .help myself and 23. For me 25. Speak on my own and 30. To be independent	33	10.1
3.job	84	25.8
4. talk to people 11.understand and 14. communicate 20.speak	51	15.7
5.doctor	12	3.7
6.improve	35	10.8
7.avoid problems	1	.3
8. Qualifications and 9.Study	24	7.4
10. live in England and 26. Always need	14	4.3
12. life easier 13.social life 17. Daily life18. a good life and19. join society	14	4.2
15. 16. writing & sp	7	2.1
21. shopping	2	.6
22.like	3	.9
24.personal	1	.3
27.key worker	1	.3
28. passport	2	.6
Total	325	100.0

Mean = 7.19
Std. Dev. = 6.312
N = 325
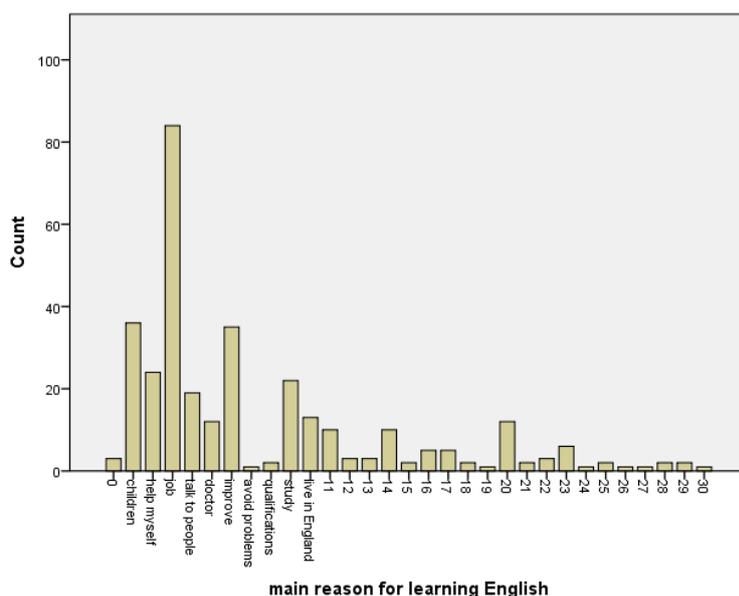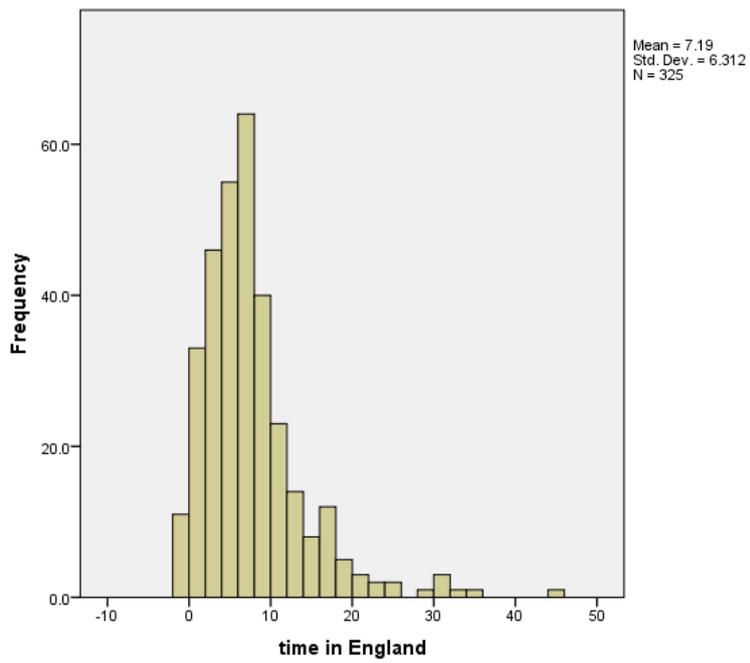
Time in England?

29 countries of birth	Frequency	Percent
Angola, Azerbaijan, Baluchistan, Germany, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Portugal, Sri Lanka	1	2.4
Czech republic, Italy, Ivory Coast, Spain , Syria, Tobago	2	3.6
Algeria ,China, Romania	3	2.7
England	5	1.5
Ethiopia, Lithuania	6	3.6
India, Slovakia, Sudan	9	5.4
Iraq, Iran	10	6.2
Kurdistan	11	3.4
Somalia	53	16.3
Yemen	58	17.8
Pakistan	71	21.8
Total	325	100.0

40 different languages as first languages
Arabic, Urdu, Somali, Kurdish and Farsi.
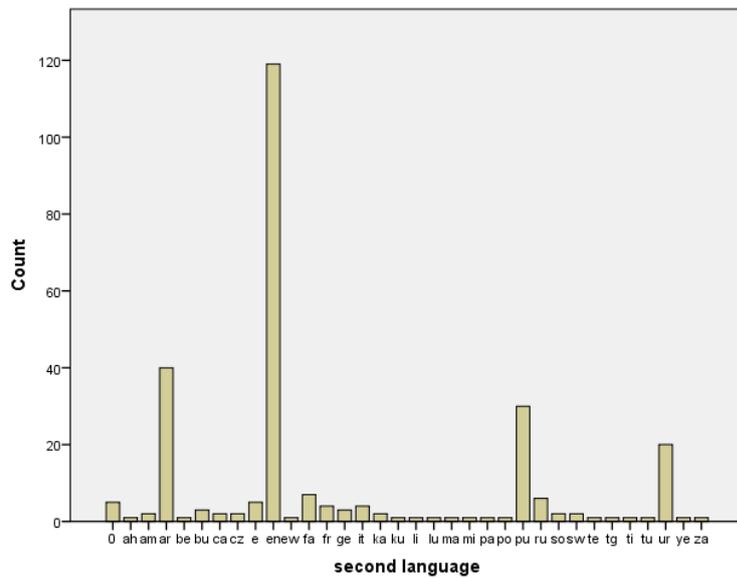
The number there is English. Many speakers who report only one other language Arabic speakers and some Somali speaker.
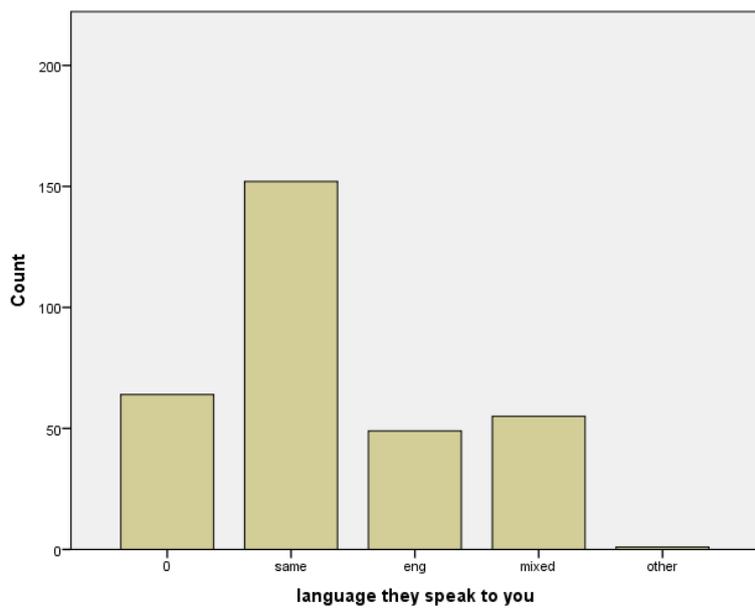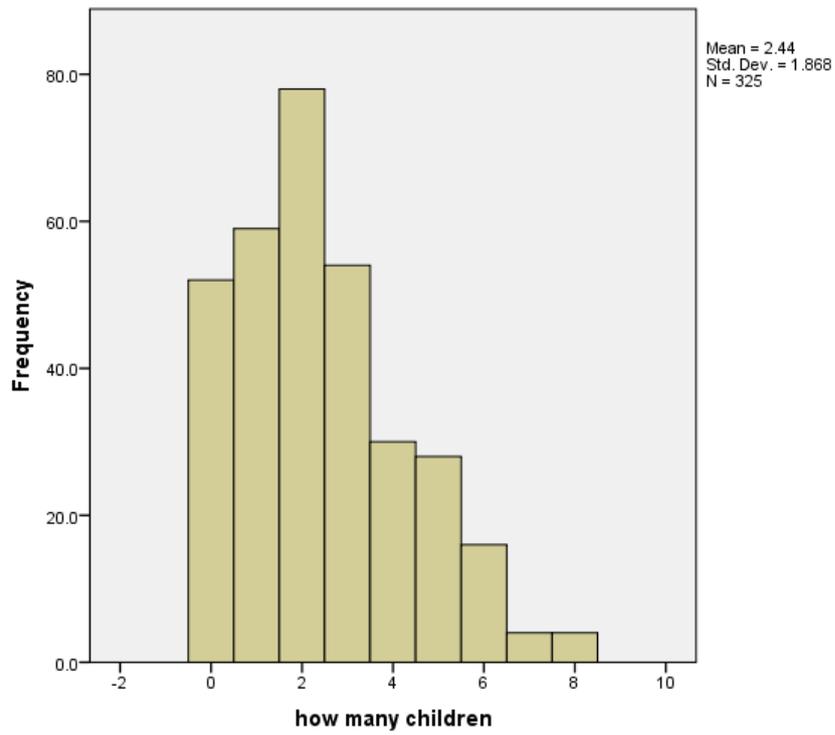
Languages children speak to parents

	level of class					
	PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
0	0	0	0	0	3	1
yes	31	51	59	69	44	18
speak to neighbour in no	12	8	7	11	7	3
speak in shops in E						

		level of class					
		PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
	0	0	0	1	0	2	1
speak to doctor in E	yes	16	36	51	74	52	20
	no	27	23	14	6	0	1

		level of class					
		PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
volunteer?	yes	2	4	4	22	14	7
	no	41	55	62	58	40	14

		level of class					
		PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
work?	yes	2	7	16	13	6	9
	no	41	52	50	66	48	12

			level of class					
			PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
			Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
		0	0	0	0	0	0	1
gender	f work?	yes	2	4	4	12	4	5
		no	39	41	41	57	44	11
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	m work?	yes	0	3	12	1	2	4
		no	2	11	9	9	4	1

		level of class					
		PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
gender	f	41	45	45	70	48	17
	m	2	14	22	10	6	5

|		level of class					
		PE	E1	E2	E3	L1	L2
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
	0	0	0	1	1	2	1
speak to friends in E	yes	7	31	46	61	44	17
	no	36	28	19	18	8	4
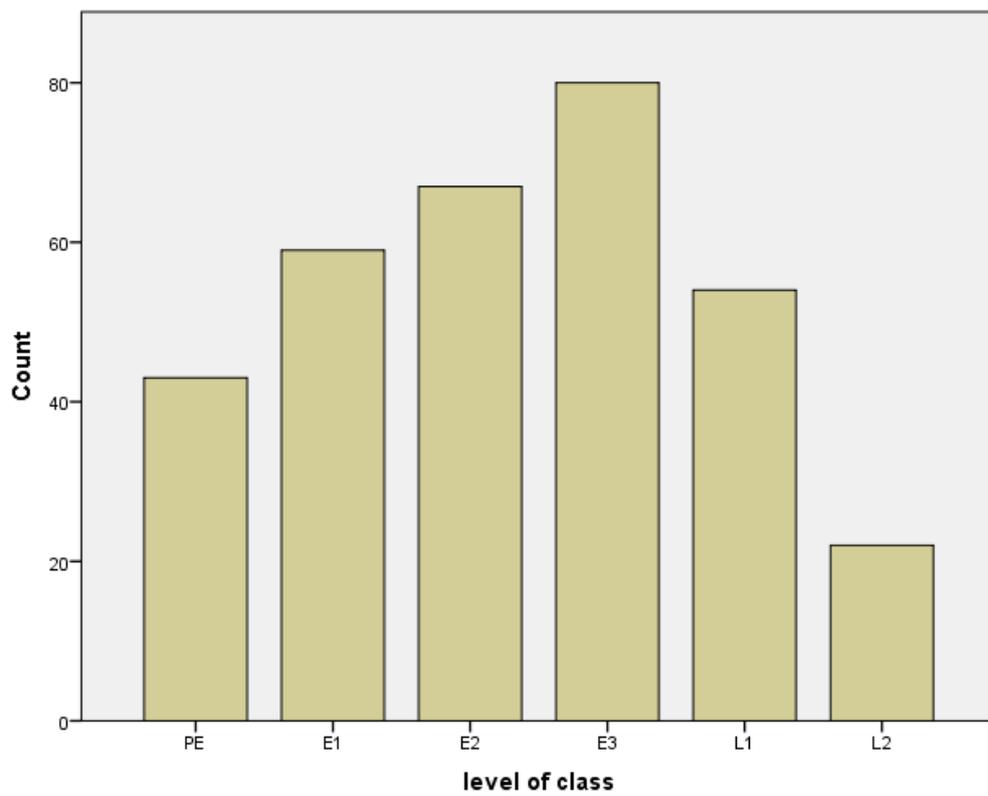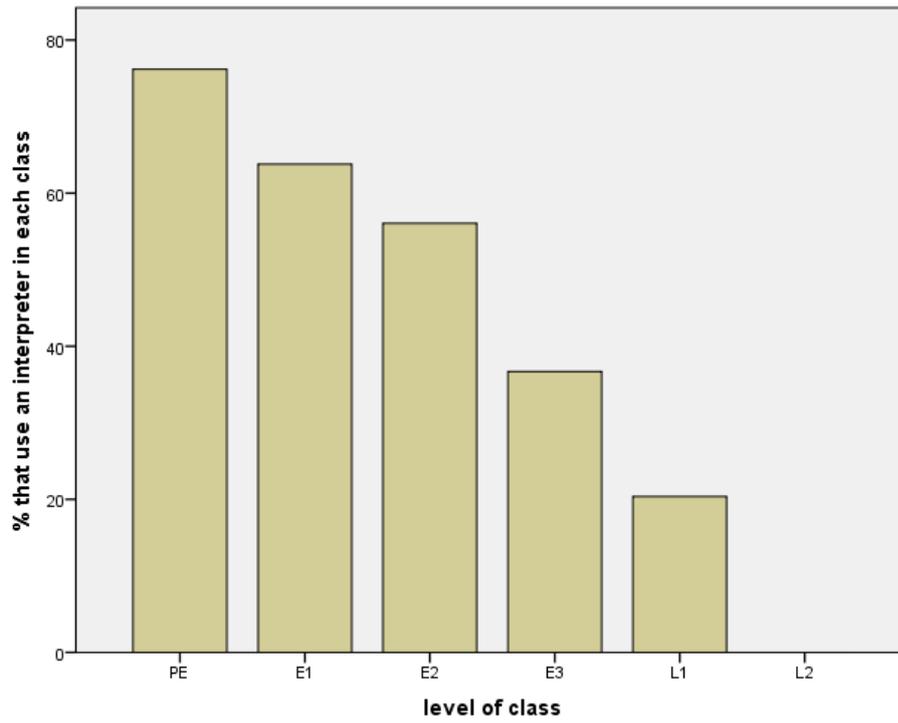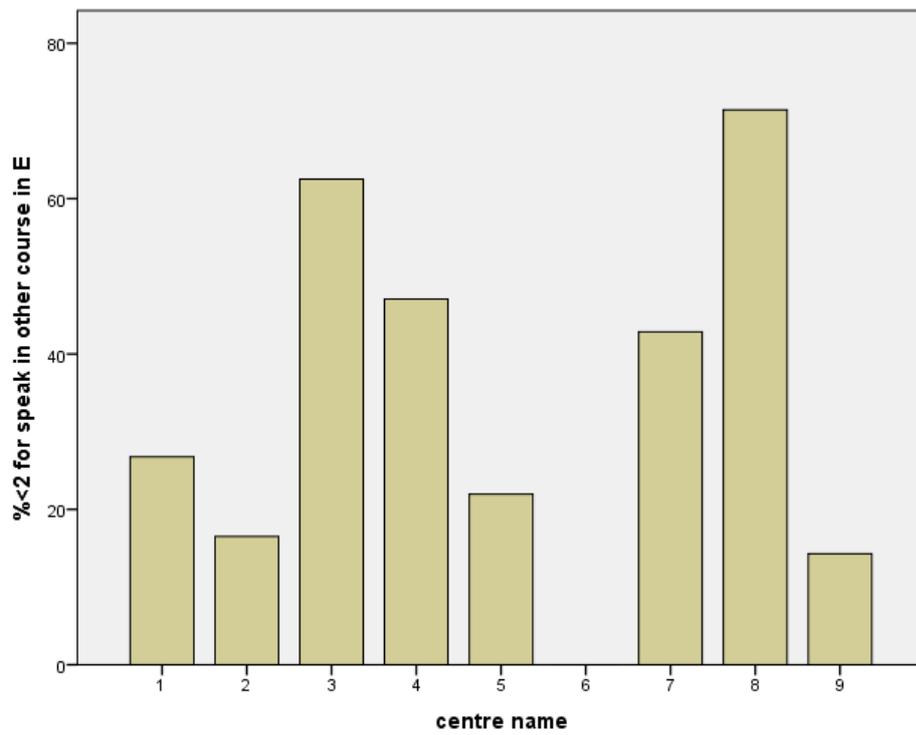
"We all work together"

The research involved every English language class for adults in the ward of Burngreave and was conducted from 2012 to 2015 funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) by Katherine Swinney, School of Education, University of Sheffield. Contact kswinney1@sheffield.ac.uk.

84% of the English language students who took part in the research in Burngreave were parents and 81% were women. They reported increased interaction with their children's school at each higher level of English class. This interaction included increased attendance at parent's meetings, increased ability to talk to their children's teachers and increased ability to help with children's home work.

Increased school interactions
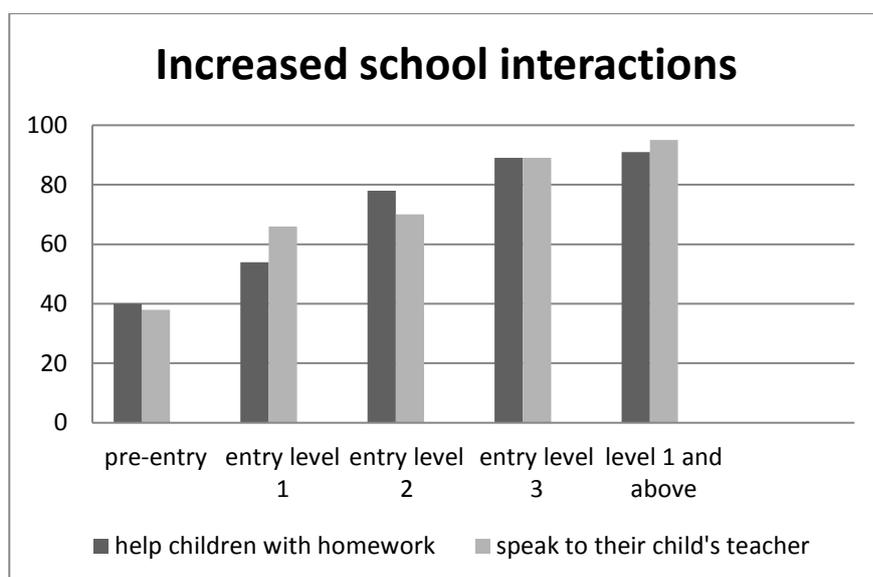
Many of the English language classes for adults in Burngreave were located in local primary schools where learning and attendance was supported by the extended   schools team. The majority of adult students had pre-school children as well as children in primary school and schools served both as an accessible location and as an entry point for parents to engage with their children's education. In community schools and other centres which offered a range of services and support, adult students were more likely to be volunteers and more likely to be engaged on other courses than their counterparts in college. In these centres and schools, classes were networked to the community via the Adult Learning Working Group, The community newspaper and community activities.

Adult students were concerned that children were able to speak the same languages as their parents as they felt this had an impact on parents' ability to educate their children. 60% reported that their children spoke exactly the same languages as themselves including English. 20% reported that their children spoke a mixture of languages which was different to the parents' with English spoken more often, and 20% reported that the children spoke English only. Parents considered access to English classes crucial and the research results showed that as parents' level of English increased they were more able to support their children's learning. In beginner English classes 40% of parents already helped with homework but this figure rose at every level of classroom attainment to over 90% in the higher level classes. The research results showed that families helped each other with their learning.

Parents said that as their confidence increased "We all work together". Though support was mutual, parents offered increasing levels of support as their English level increased and children were called on for less support as their parent's English level improved. Schools in Burngreave have shown that they value the role of parents in their children's learning by hosting English language classes for parents within the school premises. This school had five classes at four levels and hosted a wide range of family learning and engagement activities. This brought parents into school on a very regular and consistent basis in recognition of their importance both in their relationship with their children and the role they can play to improve performance.

The research focuses on the parents' perspective of working collaboratively with their children and gaining an understanding and involvement in local schools as active adult students and community members. Students were motivated to learn "for myself" and "to be independent" and also to negotiate the various roles they play in life, in relation to their membership of the community, their working lives, their roles as parents both in relation to their children's schooling and to their personal relationships with their children.
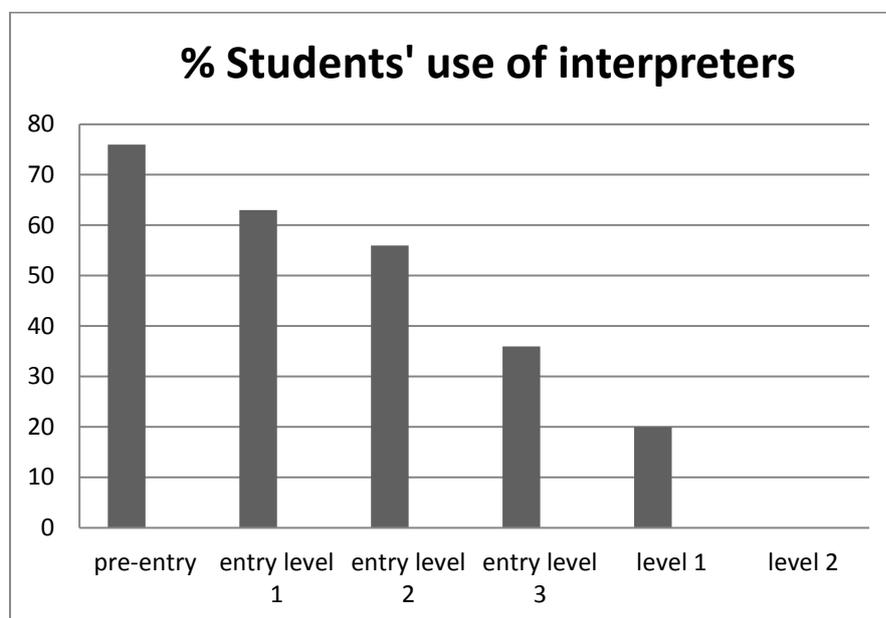
English language students in Burngreave reported increasing abilities to speak English in the wider community, at each higher level of classroom attainment. This was evidenced by the reduction in students' use of interpreters. The number of students using an interpreter fell at each level of classroom progression until there were no students in the highest level classes who used an interpreter. Increasing ability to speak English outside the classroom was evident from a range of questions.

In summary 84% of the English language students in Burngreave were parents and at each higher level of classroom attainment, they reported increasing interaction with their children's school including attendance at parent's meetings, ability to talk to their children's teachers and increasing ability to help with children's home work. Parent's reported "We work together". English language students and their children helped each other with their studies. Contact Kath Swinney: kswinney1@sheffield.ac.uk for more information.

Interview with Isla (pseudonym) editor of the community newspaper and chairperson of the Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) on the date in the community newspaper office. The interview lasted two and a half hours.

I have given psuedonyms for the three super connectors: Aram, Isla and Aisha, substituted letters for names of other workers mentioned and given centre numbers instead of names of community and school venues.

1   Kath: **Can you tell me about the Adult Learning Working Group started and what its role is?**

2   Isla: It started as a working group which was part of the Community Action Forum. There were a few
3   working groups which dealt with different aspects of community life such as health or young people
4   and buildings was another one. At some point after New Deal or during it the Adult Learning
5   meeting got chaired and absorbed into **the council.** TT was the development worker from the
6   council and help set up the **local community newspaper** and Community Action Forum (CAF). We
7   became part of the structure so when New Deal ended the meetings were funded by the council.
8   We tried to re-establish the networks which existed before New Deal.

9   The Adult Learning Working Group (ALWG) meeting is the only part that has been continuous over
10 15 years. The community newspaper took over it when BCAF collapsed. What gave ALWG its
11 continuity and constancy is that the money was there and the council development worker TT had
12 the collaborative approach and we had a community learning budget which was really open. It was
13 a very democratic, collaborative sharing of resources and the meeting had a very practical purpose.
14 The council don't talk about all their budgets in the way our community area planning officer did
15 with the adult learning. It was the way we worked and still do with the planners: TT initiated it.

16 The extended services job located in the family of schools: Aram's role has been very important over
17 the years first developing the adult learning work at Centre 5 school where she involved all the
18 providers in the area in one school as a worker and then later xxx. For the ESOL classes working with
19 schools was a real breakthrough. School premises are convenient for parents and safe and secure.
20 Once the classes became regular and established we (the ALWG) developed progression routes. The
21 tutors got established within the schools and then the xxxxx workers established themselves in the
22 schools. Alongside this we developed the Adult Learning Guides and we had already started
23 reporting more on education in the community newspaper and working with the students through
24 the ESOL classes both as readers and writers of the community newspaper.

25 We tried to keep other interesting things in the ESOL provision remember the course S developed
26 with the Fire Brigade when we had talks in the Vestry Hall and that young fireman split his trousers.
27 Remember the exploding speedboat video? Remember 'Talk to your Children More' when Charles
28 Desforges gave that talk in the Vestry Hall. Some of the extended schools team have continued that
29 work: working with Family Learning to get the right tutor and the right students on the course.
30 There is lots of Family Learning now which could never take off before because they needed people
31 like S and Z to engage and support the learners and the ESOL provision to bring people in. The
32 Family Learning goes in the Adult Learning Guide and that is the way we keep tabs on the provision,
33 not just the council provision but all the provision. The Adult Learning Guide is an incentive to keep
34 in touch and submit details to both the printed version and the on-line version as it recruits students

35 and everyone is aware of the scope of the provision. Looked what happened to IT. The council
36 started charging and the IT provision dropped off. In some areas people just can't afford it. We have
37 made an IT plan in the last year (*2013 to 2014*) to address that. But we can look back in The Adult
38 Learning Guide and see how the IT provision used to be.

39 The schools are really full at the moment so space for the adult provision is getting squeezed and the
40 extended school workers are being given more child centred jobs like attendance for example.

41 When all the cuts happened in 2010 we (ALWG) picked up the slack.

42 We coped between us and it was horrific and now we have got used to a new reality. The big bad
43 people rely on the fact that we can't face the prospect of the collapse of the provision. It's all so
44 invisible and you daren't look back. We absorbed all the cuts to…, to the adult learning just by
45 working harder and Aram felt the same way. We ran the xxxx twice and xxx just because we were
46 stubborn. This year we have absorbed even more…all those council jobs. It's still not clear what
47 they are doing with their contracting out….We want the provision to come through one local
48 provider that we trust who is interested in the area not just the council keeping their own
49 organisation going. The extended school workers have got involved in campaigning and are leading
50 on the library campaign from Centre 7. The schools have a tendency to look inward and to focus the
51 workers inward so without Aram bringing the workers into the local networks and linking them all
52 together I don't know what will happen.

53 Now I'm oscillating between thinking I can do that and this and that.and thinking I don't want this
54 anymore.

55 **Kath: Tell me exactly what the ALWG does but first who is in it?**

56 Isla: The list is big about 100 people about 50 of them are active in adult learning and some are from
57 the same organisation. We don't put time in taking old people off but we add new people. So some
58 people might have retired like T T. Occasionally we get contacted by people who will come for a
59 while if they need support to access the network to recruit learners or for money.

60 The people who come to meetings are Aram, who coordinates the extended schools network and
61 who really created it. The extended school workers, the planner from the council has now got a
62 brief across the whole city he still comes and puts his budget on the table. Other providers come,
63 the xxx attends regularly and supports our arguments with councillors etc. He works with the
64 network to support and recruit for provision which is part of the area progression routes and
65 planning. He takes part in the structure but doesn't show us his money.   The XXX is an infrequent
66 attender and not part of the planning process. We know what they are putting on when they do it.
67 Burngreave Works which was about getting people into jobs by supporting application etc. the area
68 coordinator and Learning Champion.

69 What happens is an email goes out to all these people reminding them of a twice termly meeting.
70 We talk about the last half term and then the following half term or longer. There's no money now
71 but these new posts are funding the minutes and agenda and its being hosted at xxx

72 The ALWG also coordinated the Adult Learning Guide which used to be published twice a year but is
73 now printed once a year with an online termly update.

74 **Kath: So what jobs does the ALWG do?**

75 It brings together the providers and the extended school network and the community newspaper.
76 We would like all providers to come but sometimes they might feel they don't want to share in. We
77 know what the Council Lifelong Learning budget is and we continue to prioritise ESOL. We need to
78 know what the issues are so we can address them. We focus on what learners need and want. Who
79 needs it and who will come. Why we are not recruiting. Is it venue? Is it tutor? Is it time? We need
80 to link the classes to other groups so we know what's happening eg: TARA (Tenants and Residents
81 Association) because adult learning is not an isolated activity it has links with other activities like
82 health.

83 Me and Aram have that overview to use all the resources to understand what is needed and make it
84 happen using all the connections you have got. An example we were trying to do is adult learning at
85 the adventure playground. We want all the providers to come so that they can be a part of it.
86 Schools can mobilise large numbers of people. Centre 4 are involved in the Adventure Playground
87 (which is threatened with closure) and Centre 7 are involved in the library (which is threatened with
88 closure). S and Z are direct contacts to people you want to support and see progress and the ESOL
89 classes are active in these campaigns.

90 We ask questions like "Why did the IT course not take off at Vestry Hall?" They will know. (the
91 members of the adult learning working group). They might directly know some of the learners or
92 might have experience of that tutor or they might have heard about a venue issue through
93 somebody else. It's alright to try when you can to come back to a group and say "Right, what can we
94 do? What can we change? That's the right way to develop things." Other organisations should
95 come and maybe they would if they knew how we do it.

96 **Kath: I'm interested in the idea of a networked community.**

97 How networked is Burngreave? There are still gaps. We sometimes feel frustrated that we can't
98 respond to everything. Sometimes it is money we can't access. We were part of the bid to keep
99 Verdon Street Recreation Centre open and now we are involved with the Playground.

100 **Kath: Is this all reactive?**

101 We'd rather not be reactive but we are semi-reactive because we have got plans and ideas of what's
102 important. Parts of the community are not as well developed xxx have been here longer.

103 **Kath: The academic argument at the moment is that it is not useful to consider ethnicity or**
104 **national grouping as the only or most important way of understanding people's needs. What do**
105 **you think about that?**

106 Well this would be a white organisation and in some ways is if I didn't think about it. When I last
107 recruited I didn't have the capacity to take on someone who needed support and took on a white
108 person because they clearly had the skills. At the moment I'm working in the schools with the
109 parent's group to diversify the contributors and readers of the community newspaper. We have to
110 have Somali organisations supporting Somali people.

111 Some things bring everyone in. It is two Somali woman x and x working with Z at Centre 7 who are
112 leading the Library Campaign and that campaign doesn't belong to any particular ethnic community
113 group, the other one is the Adventure Playground. It belongs to no community but is being
114 supported by everyone. We are connected through the schools and through the ESOL. No one is on
115 the management committee of the playground though. People hate meetings. Management
116 committees are real British Institutions. Mothers of Burngreave is all Somali women but they don't
117 know how to get money. We're (*Isla and Aram*) doing some fundraising with them. It they can get
118 that communication they have got so much weight.

119 They have got so much weight the parents and they are wielding it now. Because of the parents at
120 Centre 7 we have got a local councillor on side and that is great.

121 What started it was the ESOL. Ever since the ESOL campaign, people are not afraid to campaign on
122 issues they care about. I remember visiting Centre 4 at that time (*2010*) One woman asked me "Is it
123 really OK to complain to a councillor?" because there was an anxiety about complaining to authority
124 whether it would somehow get you in trouble. I said" You don't need to worry, that is what they are
125 there for. They are there to hear your complaints". Winning helps. I think because we won we
126 know that it makes a difference. We have lost since then on the study support and the pre-school
127 funding but it has not put people off. People are still anxious about speaking in public. In the library
128 campaign all the people from all over the city are white. We were the only BME campaign. We are
129 networked but there is still work to be done. In Centre 4 last week everyone was engaged with S in
130 changing the school menu. People's knowledge has developed. I was in Centre 4 to talk about the
131 library and everyone was aware about the issues relating to volunteers that they needed to be
132 trained and supported and would be less reliable that paid workers and would need training.

133 **Do you know about actor network theory about hubs and nodes? (explained a bit)**

134 I am not a hub but I know who the hubs are and there are so many of them in Burngreave. I can
135 connect up people so we can act collectively.

136 Aisha is the same. She's not just the Yemeni connection. Me, Aisha and Aram have got that
137 overview. We know who the important people are: I can't mobilise 20 Somali women but I go and
138 ask someone else. We have a discussion about what is possible.

139 Aisha will get involved. We have that broad 'this is what is going off' discussion- there is no formal
140 meeting for that: We are friends.

141 For all that to happen you need people like me and Aram and these active people. M I can get 20
142 people on a litter pick because people have to have confidence and trust in someone on the ground.
143 In Centre 4, people trust S and so they trust me because S trusts me.

144 It's frustrating when people come from the outside who want to use all this to tick their boxes and
145 then they go off with their boxes ticked. These people who are hubs are very important. We try to
146 keep our hubs cause we can't do without them in Burngreave.

Interview with Aisha lasted an hour and I asked a question at the beginning and then she the interview was unstructured until I asked a question (line 51). I have put in xxx when I have censored information to retain anonymity. Intelligent Verbatim Approach.

1 Kath: How are you involved in the networks in the adult learning networks in Burngreave?

2   Isla uses me for city-wide networks. Because I go to the city wide networks, I know who is winning
3 the contracts and the localised organisation. I can see what services Burngreave has got and where
4 it is missing out- strategic stuff. I don't like it. The more strategic I get the more frustrated I feel-
5 you are banging your head –

6 We miss out on a unified voice. We have got strength and diversity but sometimes it is too much
7 because there isn't one organisation. Other areas have less community activity going on but it is all
8 through one organisation. (gives some examples) But how have these organisations grown? X has
9 grown just as a result of council contracts. Once they are successful on one bid, regardless of
10 outcomes, they are considered to be an organisation with experience in that area. Isla and I have
11 questioned (that). They say there isn't an organisation in Burngreave who can deliver. We need to
12 build a consortium. But X had no experience in x until they got their first contract.

13   The management fee on that contract is going out of the area. How can they deliver in a way that
14 benefits Burngreave? Their expertise is not in a superdiverse multi-lingual area.

15 Do you know about the big lottery money?

16 Kath: no

17   It is xxx. It is a national initiative and involves three local authorities in Sheffield.   Though
18 Burngreave ticks all the boxes, there was no one from Burngreave at the meeting because no one
19 told us about the meeting and they made the decision there and then with the people who had been
20 told. We are missing the communications and in this time of cuts the small organisations are in
21 competition for resources, which is desperate. This is what people use me for. Representing us in
22 meeting and keeping an eye on what's there.

23 But sometimes I need to come back to the centre to remind me why I'm in this game.

24 I don't want to be a person sitting in meetings talking about deprived people. The passion goes. Six
25 months ago I decided to stop going to meetings unless there was a good reason. Sometimes I'm
26 invited to be a (Black Minority Ethnic) BME face at the meeting because they need to make the
27 meeting more representative- it is tokenistic and I'm usually the only BME person. I can count the
28 strong BME people on one hand in this city.

29 You get political strength from politicians. We challenge politicians. Because of xxx I have lost
30 supportive mechanisms.

31 It is important to have support.

32   We have had to build our own capacity with officers and departments because of our
33   professionalism and track record in delivering contracts eg: the xxx contract,.. We have had to go
34   elsewhere and council funding is a minority of our funding. It is the same for xxx. As a campaigning,
35   scrutinizing local organisation they have to go elsewhere for money competing at national level for
36   lottery funding and similar.

37   People talk to me at meeting in one way and then they find out I'm xxx and they turn all professional
38   on me. I have a reputation for being an activist. My name is known- the minute they know I'm xxx
39   people will speak out for me, when I introduce myself as from xxx, I'm seen as down there (pointing
40   to the floor) as a very local person. Xxx generally think they are bigger and better. When they hear
41   xxx- they then think about working in partnership.

42   Kath: So what benefits do you bring to Burngreave?

43   I add a professional voice. Not many professionals bother with voluntary community work- or come
44   to meetings.

45   People say where do we stand on this xxx? People feel comfortable knowing I will go away and
46   research: Immigration, welfare, benefits, housing, civil liberties, crime-everything people round here
47   need.

48   I'm on the management committee of (names six organisations)- too much workload. People in the
49   council want to speak to me because boards have more clout than workers.

50   Kath: How is the centre networked?

51   We do other services (names them)- not just adult learning. We signpost people to projects inside
52   or outside the organisation. Recently one of the students came to see the advice worker and she
53   was referred for female support through the domestic abuse project and has been rehoused.

54   Everyone doesn't just focus on the job description, doesn't just teach but engage with students.
55   Nursery staff do the same, they do family support. It's all stuff we don't get money for this is all stuff
56   people do to help people with problems.

57   The (new development) will open it even further.

58   I think having the extended school worker from centre 4 here has also helped. Her links from the
59   school has brought in people. Individual workers in the area have long established histories but
60   when they bring in new workers who have no connection to the area, who don't bother to get to
61   know the area it is so bad because there are so many local people who could have done the job. It
62   achieves nothing. Local people understand the importance of each job but sometimes there is a
63   wasted role because there is no passion to go out and do what was needed. There are some great
64   people: the stop smoking woman works so hard and is so appreciated nothing is too much trouble
65   and she cares, the Health Champions have been great, the careers service and Ashiana. Most of the
66   staff in our xxxxx started off as volunteers.

67   Sometimes I am not the right person to go to a meeting. I know when I'm going to cause more
68   problems by going there. For example: the libraries. I will help behind the scenes because the
69   councillors need to be on our side. They haven't forgiven me for xxx.

70   Aram has a way with words. She is able to be nicer. She has challenged what was happening

71   without causing offence. Out of the three of us, Isla is the most challenging. She has an investigative

72   role from xxxxxx and has a powerful tool to talk to the community. But she has had to seek her

73   funding elsewhere. She cannot get council money because she is a thorn in their side. She knows

74   more about the council than the council themselves and she holds them to account when it matters

75   and it matters so much at the moment. Because she has got nothing from the council- even though

76   she has got such a superb cohesive tool which has kept this area together and positive and involved-

77   she is always seeking funding.

78   If we haven't seen each other at a meeting we update each other on the phone. She doesn't get

79   distracted, her strategic skills are focussed here. She is more concise.

80   I am involved in too much but it can dilute what we are doing and get me stressed. Isla focusses her

81   stress.

82   Too many people have a deficit attitude. We should be grateful for what we have got rather than

83   campaign for what we should have. xxx who are not active and who are complacent can stop people

84   from thinking action is worthwhile- it is the reputation of politicians.

I have inserted xxx when I have censored information to retain anonymity. Intelligent Verbatim Approach. **The interview lasted two and a half hours.**

1 Kath. What is your role?

2 My job is to oil the wheels for example there are lots of agencies that want to work in Burngreave if I
3 weren't there they wouldn't know who to talk to. They wouldn't get started until 6 months down
4 the line. I introduce the right people to the right people. Going back as far as 9 years people were
5 already saying it's so useful to have one person to speak to in a school. Enquiries don't know who to
6 pass emails on to. An example is xxx. This connection is so good and I know who can work with it
7 and it will contribute to the cultural fabric of our city for years to come. I made an application to xxx
8 with xxx I gathered all these people together and we had a discussion. I can be a link with well to do
9 white folks, cultured people who are interested in Islam. We did this event where there was an
10 international concert violinist, guitar player and a bangra player.

11 I've also tried to focus on the women's voice idea: insist that the more educated Asian mums have a
12 responsibility to act where they can- you have a responsibility to act where you can- you have to
13 stand up and be counted as a spokesperson. I think of the example of Barack Obama who can say
14 things that other politicians can't. "You can take it from a brother". I can say some things which
15 won't be seen as racist or playing to a stereotype or even telling people off. I'm a local mum. I live
16 in the area. The children go to the local school. On every count I can speak with passion. I can
17 encourage action without it being negatively construed.

18 I have a role with the local mosques and I got family learning into…. Instead of going to the Imam
19 who is in the same position in a school as a headmaster, with a lot of responsibilities I have
20 developed links with people who are able to do thing like attend meetings or support activities. I
21 know my mosque contacts in other capacities: one of my contacts I know as a parent governor, one
22 works for Activities Sheffield, another is a teacher in the family of schools in this way the links are
23 already there and our mutual credentials are already established.

24 As a woman there are more possibilities. If it's a man linking with other men- it's a done deal-
25 excludes the women and perpetuates the male council making the decisions for the whole
26 community behind closed doors- the women don't get a say. Because I represent the schools my
27 role is recognized. It's not just a role- personal characteristics make some things possible. I have
28 brought some representatives to delicate meetings when we have been trying to develop a
29 relationship with the mosques and an insensitive approach can blow the whole thing out the water.
30 I come from a mosque outside the city- I'm a shia but it doesn't matter.

31 What's important is not asking people to do something you are not prepared to do yourself. How
32 they first knew me was I was walking with a shalwar chemise on, pushing a buggy taking my children
33 to school. How I met T T (the area planner for lifelong learning and skills) was on a computer course.
34 My confidence was low as though I had been a working person, I hadn't worked for more than three
35 years. You don't know any more how to make a phone call or use a computer. First I did
36 wordprocessing and then desktop publishing. I was an adult learner reskilling myself, just before
37 that I was in the parents' group,xxx link and they asked me to be to be the secretary of the parents

38 group. I had the experience of those nice skilled professionals engaging people. I knew the teacher
39 in nursery and she said would you like to know more about how your child is learning and she got
40 me a place on a family learning course. I was pregnant and had a 2 and a 4 year old. I wanted to go
41 on a parenting course after that and I went to see the head. She knew of a course and paid £350
42 from the school budget for me to go to train as a parenting facilitator. This is how I started- I don't
43 have any formal qualifications in community development. She paid for it with the proviso that I
44 would deliver for her. One of the most important things in community development is to recognize
45 people's potential and feed it.

46 That is what will be lost to some extent because what we have got in school is good teachers and
47 efficient administrators they lack the empathy to engage with people- because they have got too
48 much to get done in a day that they cannot stop and see the person. What I have is the time to stop
49 and listen and dig a little and see what the motivation is. I ask questions about why they want to get
50 involved and their other experience and jobs in their own countries- there's equally loads who don't
51 want paid but want to work for the community and work as mothers- they enjoy what they do and
52 see it as a critical role and I think we have played a big part in that pride about being mothers and
53 the important input. You go to Centre 3 and see all the mums sitting with their kids.

54 There was a mum I first met when my kids were very young and she used to sit religiously with her
55 daughter and look at the book while her daughter read it. She couldn't speak English herself or read.
56 After 4 years she started on ESOL when she had built her confidence, she did entry 1 then entry 2
57 then family learning in maths. Her son at that stage was 7, keystage 2 and was pretty average in
58 maths. She did the family learning course in numeracy- they had to go out to the shops, work out
59 what sweets cost and see what they could get and change for 50p.

60 Then they did a survey at centre 5. What do you like best about this school? What could be better?
61 He put for what do you like best "maths" and drew a picture which had plus signs and equations. He
62 went from being average to being top of the class. I showed that to an OFSTED inspector and he
63 said it was outstanding. That was direct impact which we all had witnessed. I wish I had done more
64 of that evaluating.

65 Her son had to go to A school because he didn't get into B but she appealed. At the first appeal she
66 fainted from nerves and the second time she went back with her niece and got her son into B. The
67 level of confidence came through community development work. She knew she could get support
68 to make her case and she knew she wanted him in B because she could get more support there.
69 That is just one example I wish I had spent more time documenting this. How people grow and
70 develop.

71 Kath: Why didn't you?

72 Because I have always felt I'm too busy doing the work but I do regard it as a failure because when I
73 have evaluated, it has been really powerful.

74 A lot of my work has been opportunistic- using links I already had. When I started at centre 5, I
75 already had some contacts and I knew who was the best family learning tutor so I thought I want
76 her. I thought what provision do I want and who can get it started quickest. The first few classes

77 were so painful. I had to beg 3 people to come- the next time I got 6 people to come- it wasn't
78 magic- I just had to do it. It's what they say each journey begins with a step.

79 There was no strategy- engagement is get anyone you know to walk through your door- the reason
80 we got to the position when three organisations were keen to deliver is because- the effect had
81 started to snowball. By the time we got to the third family learning course we had twenty people
82 and we had to split it into two.

83 The extended schools team are fantastic- all have been there 6 years. What will be lost when I am
84 gone is the support network individually no one can be such a force as together. Look at all the
85 people who have gone. (she names ten)

86 The ESOL teachers are part of the community development team. Everyone does more than they
87 are paid for. Because they no longer get their support from outside they have developed their in
88 school relations.

89 Now (others) are going to pick up my job. They haven't all got the time or the skills to communicate
90 in sensitive areas. I was just building up links with the mosques and someone came in to their
91 meeting talking about child protection and misogyny, blew all the good work out the water and
92 didn't bother to come back.

93 You have to be diplomatic. We have the emotional intelligence when to fight an argument and
94 when to let it go. Most of my links are double links.