Language and Education

Growing Up Bilingual: Language Proficiency and Exposure, and Social Identities and Competences of Complementary School-attendees and Non-attendees in the UK

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Abstract

The UK is linguistically rich but faces a reducing uptake of language learning in schools, as pupils feel more withdrawn and disinterested in learning an additional language to English. A key component in many linguistic minority communities to preserve their language is complementary schooling (CS), which has wide-ranging educational and societal implications (Li, 2006). This study compared social developmental outcomes and patterns among bilingual children who attended CS and those who did not in London. A sample of 153 pupils aged 4-9 years was recruited including 73 across five CS settings and 80 across four state primary schools. Measures included strength of ethnic and national identities, cognitive, athletic and social competences, exposure and proficiency for each language, and family affluence. Results showed that CS-attendees reported higher proficiency in HL, particularly in literacy, compared to non-attendees. Ethnic and British identities were positively associated with the respective language's proficiency and exposure in both groups, while unique patterns were also observed. Regression models confirmed the unique contributions of HL and CS to ethnic identity, but age and family affluence were also significant predictors of English proficiency and social competencies. Findings indicate the supportive roles of CS and HL and identity development. Further considerations of these and other factors in subsequent research are discussed.

Keywords: bilingual, complementary schools, heritage language, identity, social competence

Introduction

In the UK, against the backdrop of a linguistically diverse population, but a lack of overarching

policy on language education, complementary schools (CSs) run voluntarily by communities

have become an important sociopolitical and educational movement for over half a century (Li,

2006). They provide a safe space outside mainstream schools for the maintenance of young

people's heritage languages (HLs) and culture (Lytra & Martin, 2010). These often under-

recognized settings allow for unique opportunities to study bilingualism in the UK, and offer a

focal point for the present study, which aims to examine the social development of children

'growing up bilingual' with and without CSs in London.

Prior research (Kaufman, 2004; Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006) has indicated that growing

up bilingual can promote social benefits, particularly for those with proficient HL through

community (such as CS) involvement. However, much of the past research has involved

adolescents or adults (Brown, 2009; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001), and how

bilingual social benefits may manifest through childhood or early development is less known.

This study was designed to investigate bilingual children's' social identities and social

competences, and how these outcomes are associated with growing up bilingual with or without

the CS context.

Bilingualism & Social Development

The social benefits that have been attributed to learning an additional language, particularly in

maintaining a HL, tend to involve socio-emotional adjustment. When looking at immigrant

families for example, who have to acculturate to a new host culture and often language,

maintaining their HL language alongside the host language (e.g., English) was found to be most

advantageous and was associated with positive youth adjustment (Liu, Benner, Lau, & Kim,

2009). This language acculturation as such has been shown to play a role in positive academic and social-emotional outcomes, as well as being positively linked to family well-being (Müller et al., 2020). Other social benefits include more positive attitudes and lower emotional stress (Kaufman, 2004), and overall better mental health (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006). Just as maintaining a HL as an integral part of ethnicity is linked to parental support (Smith et al., 1999), HL loss is linked to communication rifts within the family, alienation from the community, and a sense of cultural loss, low self-worth or identity crises (Brown, 2009).

Social Competence

The development of social competence, critical for later achievement (Wentzel, 1991), is one aspect of social development that has been studied in association with bilingualism in children (Ren, Wyver, Rattanasone, & Demuth, 2016). Social competence reflects the ability to handle social situations effectively, and includes skills such as getting along with others, forming and maintain close relationships, and being likable amongst peers (Harter, 1982). In early childhood, social competence, specifically, has become more emphasized and studied as a predictor of an array of other outcomes, including school readiness (Raver, 2002) and vocabulary development (Mendez, Fantuzzo, & Cicchetti, 2002). These outcomes position social competence with important ties to early language learning and additional language acquisition.

A longitudinal study (Oades-Sese, Esquivel, Kaliski, and Maniatis, 2011) on social competence and academic achievement of preschoolers from low-income families found a positive association between early social-emotional development and bilingualism. Bilingual children identified as socially competent and with higher ability in either English or Spanish showed more academic success and growth in English skills compared to their peers in the follow-up two years later. However, as this proficiency-mediated advantage was found with a

sample primarily of only low-income families, further research with a consideration of wider family socioeconomics, apart from language skills, would aid in researching these outcomes further.

Social identity

As a language reflects the culture of a community in which it is used, being bilingual often involves developing a sense of self, including one's identity as a member of more than one culture or ethnic group (Fielding, 2015). As such, the children in this study are not just growing up bilingual, but 'bicultural'. Biculturalism can be defined as having comfort and proficiency with one's heritage culture as well as the culture of the country or region in which one has settled (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). There has been growing research that suggests that those who form strong and positive multiple social identities report better self-esteem (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997), and even better academic attainment (Fuligni & Witkow, 2004), than their peers with singular ethnic identities. Even more so, recognizing the culture and identity of students has been shown to be important for schools' social integration and language education (Arnot et al., 2014).

The associations between HL and ethnic identity are also becoming more apparent in research; particularly for those who grow up in a dominant linguistic culture, the retention of a HL supports the formation of that identity (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). Recent research in the UK has reinforced this notion showing that the HL's proficiency independently contributes to both ethnic and British identities among self-identified bilingual and bicultural pupils (Lam, Chaudry, Pinder, & Sura, 2019). While the subjective sense of identity is a complex construct, children as young as 5 years of age are able to talk about their belonging to a national or ethnic group (Barrett, 2007). This sense of identity increases considerably through childhood,

imbued by cognitive changes and social influences. The study of multiple (e.g., ethnic and national) identities as an outcome of bilinguals' development warrants more investigation, considering that the construct is under-researched (Marks, Patton, & Coll, 2011).

The England context and complementary schools

Most studies on early bilingualism, some reviewed here, have been conducted in the North American context, while bilingual development in the UK presents different opportunities and challenges for research. While the government in England[1] does recognize the use of minority languages, enabling pupils to study community languages for GCSEs in their final few years at secondary school, alternative accreditation for languages has been in decline as well as effective transition from primary to secondary schools in relation to languages to ensure uptake (Collen, 2020). Without a national strategic language education policy and with the different language communities being dispersed unevenly across England, teachers have expressed a lack of confidence and training for meeting the needs of English as an additional language (EAL) learners (Dixon, 2019; Foley, Anderson, Conteh, & Hancock, 2018). In this context there is more pressure to conform to speaking English making it more difficult to successfully maintain other languages (Mehmedbegović, 2017). This has wide implications and warrants more research into current bilingual experiences in England, with a particular focus on the breadth of the community languages being used and how their learners are supported, including through the complementary sector.

Complementary schools (CS), also known as community or HL schools outside the UK, have grown in prominence, even though they have faced a range of challenges not limited to time, resources and funding (Sneddon & Martin, 2012). However, CSs offer much more than just language learning, but also cater to social and cultural needs. Several studies have noted how

communities value their CSs, as schools not only provide support and a familiar space for newly arrived families or parents from minority communities, but also allow for children to reflect on their overlapping cultures and make use of opportunities to develop as bilinguals (e.g., Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; Gaiser & Hughes, 2015). Being aware of the gaps in mainstream school provisions, CSs offer a context conducive to promoting positive personal and community identities (Hall, Özerk, Zulfiqar, & Tan, 2002; Szczepek Reed, Said, Davies, & Bengsch, 2019). Attendees and their parents have reported that CSs help to enable greater parental engagement and positively impact student motivation (Maylor et al., 2011). These reports are corroborated by research highlighting the importance of active parental participation or a larger linguistic community to achieve proficient bilingualism (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010).

However, the general lack of public visibility and recognition of CS by the mainstream is important to address, as it weakens any positive connection and psychological integration between children's community or home-life and their mainstream school-life (British Academy with the Academy of Medical Sciences and the Royal Academy of Engineering and the Royal Society, 2019). Although it has the potential to be an educational asset, some bilingual children, particularly of the second- or further generation, actively conceal their HL because of embarrassment (Nesteruk, 2010). It is important, therefore, for studies on CS settings to ascertain how competence in multiple languages, and institutions that foster it, may bring about social benefits, specifically in social competence and identity formation.

This Study: Aims & Hypotheses

Given this background, we aim to address these questions:

Do bilingual children who attend CS differ from their bilingual counterparts who do not attend CS, in their language and social development?

How much does CS and language proficiency contribute to bilingual children's social developmental outcomes?

Our underlying hypothesis is that CS not only enhances HL, but also provides associated social developmental benefits in the form of stronger ethnic identity and social competences for attendees. We also hypothesize that higher proficiency and exposure in either language will be positively associated with the corresponding identity (i.e., HL with ethnic, English with British) and social competences overall. Finally, lower family affluence (FA) may negatively impact both languages' proficiency and exposure, and potentially social competences, due to the fewer opportunities and resources for language learning. Thus, besides measures of ethnic and national identities and social competences, children's language proficiency and exposure and FA data were taken to explore whether such factors influence outcomes.

Method

The Sample and Schools

A total of 153 bilingual pupils were recruited, including 73 (43 male, 30 female) across five CSs, and 80 (42 male, 38 female) across four state primary schools. Recruitment of CS-attendees was aided by the researchers' collaborator, a local voluntary body that assembled and lobbied for CSs. Some of the primary schools which the CS-attendees attended, if this information was given by parents, were also invited in writing as well as other primary schools in the borough. Parents from the participating schools were asked to opt in. Pupils did not have to fulfil specific criteria, aside from age, and they did have to have some competence in English to sit through the two social and cognitive sessions. The diversity of boroughs was such that all participants were bilingual or had a HL. The study is intended as part of a larger, longitudinal project. Thus,

invited children were aged 4 to 9 (M=6.78, SD=1.34) years to ensure that they would be still in these schools for follow-ups. There was no difference between the CS-attendees and non-attendees in age (M(CS)=6.77, SD=1.45; M(non-CS)=6.79, SD=1.21). After the first social measures session (scales included below), five participants' data was excluded because of speech or comprehension difficulties. None of the pupils in the sample had a diagnosed vision problem, hearing impairment, language or learning disability.

The CSs involved two Tamil, one Albanian, one Gujarati, and one Russian schools. Across the state primary schools, these languages were also represented as well as 31 other languages. Across the sample 35 languages were thus spoken, including 13 from Europe (e.g., Russian N=15, Albanian N=16, Portuguese N=7, Polish N=5), 12 from Asia (e.g., Tamil N= 34, Gujarati N=15, Bengali N=8, Urdu N=5), and 9 from Africa (e.g., Hausa N=6, Yoruba N=4, Akan N=2). Of the total sample, 107 were born in the UK, while the remaining 46 moved to the UK before school-entry. CS-attendees and non-attendees did not differ in the number of years they had been in the UK (total M(CS)=5.84, SD=2.34; M(non-CS)=5.65, SD=2.31). The parents of the majority were not born in the UK (N=125), while others had either one (N=17) or both parents (N=11) being born in the UK.

All schools and participants were based in East London suburbs. All four primary schools were central or local government-funded to serve children within their 'catchment' areas. All five CSs shared the objective of preserving the HL and culture, of largely second-generation children, meeting once a week on Saturday or Sunday for two to four hours, alongside yearly community events. They have been operating for at least ten years with founding ties to the heritage country. While they differed in funding sources and fees paid by families, the CSs primarily relied on volunteers.

Materials and Fieldwork Approach

Data for this study were collected in individual sessions not exceeding 30 minutes after written consent was obtained from parents.

Given the young ages of participants, ethical and safeguarding issues were considered in the planning of sessions. Children were briefed on the study at the beginning of each session in a simple form of words explaining that we would ask some questions about them, their languages, and their home and school-life. Children were told that they could ask the researcher if they did not understand anything, or to tell her if they wanted to omit a question or stop the session at any time. A session would not proceed unless the child clearly gave verbal assent to start, ensuring consent was ongoing and inclusive. This is in line with guidelines for conducting research with children (Shaw, Brady, & Davey, 2011). A challenge in child research, and certainly in studies such as this that rely on self-reporting, is the power imbalances at play; children may feel they must perform or answer in a particular way, assuming a familiar student role. To reduce this imbalance, the researchers aimed to be reflexive by being aware of how they presented themselves and allowing the child agency in a safe and reassuring environment (Phelan & Kinsella, 2013). For instance, questions were asked informally as a conversation and the session kept short with the use of simple language and piloted pictorial aids to ensure accessibility. While the information collected was not deemed as sensitive, a risk assessment was conducted, and a safeguarding contact for each school was maintained, should any information be shared that entailed a breach in confidentiality. The researchers, who had previously worked in primary schools and had research ethics training, made sure to stay observant to all verbal and nonverbal cues from the child and be sensitive to his/her needs, including signs of fatigue, during the research.

Four scales were entered into an online questionnaire for the researcher to complete, while with the child, via the secured platform Qualtrics. All the chosen scales had been widely used in previous research to reliably measure the constructs we aimed to investigate. Once combined as a questionnaire, the scales were piloted using pictorial aids (e.g., smiley faces for a 5-point Likert scale), to ensure that questions would be asked in a clear and effective way across our age groups while also fitting into a 30-minute session. The scales chosen were therefore very specific and adaptable by age group where appropriate. Details are given below. The scales are described in the order they were completed.

Strength of Identification Scale (SoIS). This scale was used to measure the degree to which participants identified with their ethnic and national groups (Barrett, 2007). Participants were asked five questions from the scale on being British, and six questions on being part of their ethnic/cultural group. To determine which ethnic/cultural group label to use for the questions, participants were asked at the beginning of the session what they would call themselves (e.g., "Some people say they are English, others say they are Spanish, Indian or suchlike, what would you call yourself?"). The other questions asked about children's degree of identification, affect (positive to negative), internalisation, importance, and pride in simple language (e.g., "How important is it to you that you are British?"), and pictorial scales (1-4 or 1-5) were piloted and included for clearer illustration. The appropriate items on the identity scales were reverse-scored, and rescaled when required (from 1-4 to 1-5). The SoIS showed moderate reliabilities (Cronbach's Alpha; CS: British α=.65, ethnic α=.55; non-CS: British α=.63, ethnic α=.52). An aggregate score was generated by averaging the item scores for each identity.

The Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q). Children were asked to self-rate their proficiency in, and exposure to, each language using an adapted LEAP-Q (Marian et al., 2007). To simplify the responses for children, a 5-point, rather than 10-point, scale was used. Piloted pictorial scales were also used as the questions were read out to the child. The questionnaire included four questions on proficiency, requesting children to rate their speaking, understanding, reading and writing skills compared to children of their age in the UK. This was followed by four questions on how much they used the language when with family or friends, on the TV or Radio, and how much they read in that language. These eight questions were asked for each of the child's two languages, before background data (e.g., birthplace, parental birthplace and number of years/age of arrival in the UK).

The combined LEAP scale had moderate reliabilities for English (CS α=.44; non-CS α=.49) and the HL (CS α=.67; non-CS α=.60). The proficiency (English, CS α=.46; non-CS α=.57; HL, CS α=.57; non-CS α=.53) subscales showed similar figures, but those of exposure (English, CS α=.37, non-CS α=-.77; HL, CS α=.47, non-CS α=.26) gave mostly lower reliabilities. These figures, for English in particular, could be attributed to the variability in English exposure at home between participants as indicated by a subset of their parents during the initial parental surveying as part of the wider project. Due to the differential reliabilities, separate LEAP scores for proficiency and exposure were generated and used for data analysis.

Harter and Pike's (1984) Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and social acceptance for children aged 4-8 years old, and Harter's (2012) Self-Perception Profile for children over the age of 8. The competences domains from both measures were correspondingly used based on the child's age, as deemed relevant to our research study questions. The three subscales chosen were to measure children's perceived social, athletic and cognitive competences. The subscales were

taken together as they are shown to be moderately related to one another, and each show internal consistency when used as a survey (Harter, 2012). There were six questions each, with a practice question at the beginning of the task. Children below the age of 8 completed the task with the pictorial scales, which were printed and bound as a booklet with versions adapted for the sexes and age (4-5 and 5-7 years) groups. Children over the age of 8 received the same number of questions and subscales, but from the age-relevant self-perception profile, which were read out to them. In all cases, the answers were recorded on Qualtrics by the researcher as they were given. The procedural manual was used to aid in administrating the task; children were told they were going to play a picture game called "which boy/girl is most like me" and that in each case they had to point or say which picture/description would be most like them.

The cognitive (CS α=.63, non-CS α=.72) and social (CS α=.72, non-CS α=.57) competence subscales showed acceptable reliabilities, but the athletic subscale's figures were lower (CS α=.47, non-CS α=.33) potentially attributable to gender differences (cf., Harter, 2012). Item scores were summed for each subscale for analyses.

Family Affluence Scale (FAS). The session ended with six questions from the FAS, which is an indicative measure of socioeconomic status, without relying on parental reporting, which often yields low returns where the disclosure of some details could be deemed sensitive, such as income and occupation (Hartley, Levin, & Currie, 2016). Questions included how many cars or bathrooms the family/household had, or if the child had their own bedroom, requiring simple answers. The six items showed moderate reliabilities (non-CS α=.46; CS α=.47). An aggregate score was subsequently generated using the same criteria and response categories as in previous research (Hobza, Hamrik, Bucksch, & De Clercq, 2017).

Results

This study aimed to compare bilingual children who attend CS, to those that do not in their language and social development, and to explore how much CS and language proficiency contribute to bilingual children's social developmental outcomes. Data was downloaded from Qualtrics into the SPSS version 26 (SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL) software for sorting, computation of mean/aggregate scores, and analysis of sample trends and between-groups comparisons or split-groups associations (CS-attendees, non-attendees). Tables 1 and 2 present mean scores for each language component and each social outcome by attendees/non-attendees. The groups differed in family affluence (t(151)=3.66, p<.001), with the CS-attendees being more affluent (M=10.63, SD=2.78) than the non-attendees (M=9.00, SD=2.72). Family affluence (FA) was therefore entered as a covariate in all subsequent analyses, alongside age, which was also correlated with the dependent variables.

Table 1. Mean English and HL proficiency and exposure scores of CS-attendees and non-attendees (standard deviations in brackets)

		CS-attendees	Non-attendees	F
Proficiency	**Overall English Proficiency**	4.46(0.47)	4.26(0.62)	2.69
	Speaking	4.56 (0.60)	4.40(0.85)	1.18
	Understanding	4.49 (0.75)	4.25(0.88)	2.81
	Reading	4.44 (0.87)	4.34(1.03)	0.01
	Writing	4.34 (0.80)	4.03(0.99)	2.42
Exposure	**Overall English Exposure**	4.06(0.56)	3.99(0.49)	0.35
	Friends	**4.52 (0.78)**	**4.80(0 .46)**	**7.72****
	Family	3.14 (1.22)	2.85(1.34)	2.01
	TV/Radio	4.14 (1.05)	3.89(1.21)	1.66
	Reading	4.45 (0.67)	4.43(0.78)	0.12

	Overall HL Proficiency	**3.81(0.70)**	**3.41(0.82)**	**9.43****
Proficiency	Speaking	4.05(0.93)	4.03(1.08)	0.01
	Understanding	4.14(0.86)	4.11(0.97)	0.13
	Reading	**3.36(1.20)**	**2.76(1.50)**	**4.80***
	Writing	**3.70(1.12)**	**2.75(1.43)**	**20.18*****
Exposure	**Overall HL Exposure**	3.31(0.76)	3.33(0.70)	0.39
	Friends	3.01(1.33)	2.69(1.49)	0.97
	Family	4.40(0.94)	4.60(0.63)	2.60
	TV/Radio	**2.77(1.39)**	**3.31(1.40)**	**6.83***
	Reading	3.07(1.16)	2.74(1.34)	1.85

*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

Comparisons: CS-attendees and Non-attendees

CS-attending and non-attending groups were compared across all measures by conducting a multiple ANCOVA, entering age and family affluence as covariates (see Tables 1 and 2). These comparisons are detailed in turn below.

English and HL proficiency and exposure. The majority of participants considered English as the language they were best at (N=106), and no significant differences were found between the groups on overall English proficiency or exposure (see Table 1). Parallel analyses on the specific subscales, however, show non-CS attendees reporting more English use with friends [$F(1,149)=7.72$, $p=.01$]. FA's effect on English proficiency reached significance [$F(1,149)=3.65$, $p=.05$]; those with higher FA reported higher English proficiency, which is partly in line with our hypothesis on the effect of FA on proficiency. Separate comparisons showed that FA specifically affected proficiency in English reading [$F(1,149)=4.21$, $p=.04$]. There was also an age effect on English exposure and HL proficiency [$F(1,149)=5,53$, $p=.02$; $F(1,149)=4.01$, $p=.05$]. Separate

analyses found that, with age, participants reported hearing less English in the family [F(1,149)=8.01, p=.01], but also lower HL-speaking proficiency [F(1,149)=3.75, p=.05].

The groups differed in HL proficiency [F(1,149)=9.44, p=.03], with CS-attendees scoring higher versus non-attendees (see Table 1). Separate analyses could attribute this to CS-attendees scoring higher in writing and reading [F(1,149)=4.80, p=.03; F(1,149)=20.18, p<.001]. However, these were not accompanied by a difference in overall HL exposure. The separate comparisons reveal non-attendees reporting more exposure through TV/radio than attendees [F(1,149)=6.83, p=.01]. These results link to our main hypothesis and partially support it in that CS attendees do show higher HL proficiency compared to non-attendees, but not necessarily higher HL exposure.

Table 2. Means of social developmental measures for CS and non-CS groups and corresponding group differences (St. Dev.)

		CS-attending	Non-attending	F Value
	Overall British Identity Score	3.53(0.60)	3.48(0.63)	0.04
British	Degree of Identification	2.89(0.99)	2.96(1.02)	1.10
	Pride	3.34(0.90)	3.15(0.97)	1.28
	Importance	3.11(0.89)	2.93(1.05)	1.12
	Feeling	4.03(1.03)	4.05(1.03)	0.04
	Internalization	4.30(0.86)	4.33(0.86)	0.11
	Overall Ethnic Identity Score	3.87(0.48)	3.98(0.42)	1.78
Ethnic	Degree of Identification	3.34(0.84)	3.41(0.81)	0.23
	Pride	3.64(0.56)	3.61(0.70)	0.10
	Importance	3.55(0.88)	3.60(0.78)	0.10
	Feeling	4.56(0.65)	4.70(0.58)	2.41
	Internalization	4.26(1.00)	4.58(0.74)	3.17

Athletic Competence	18.16(3.48)	18.15(3.47)	0.08
Cognitive Competence	21.01(2.84)	20.11(3.39)	1.93
Social Competence & Acceptance	17.33(4.40)	17.56(3.73)	0.95

British and ethnic identities. The two groups did not differ in their overall British and ethnic identities (see Table 2). Separate analyses on the identity components also did not find differences between CS-attendees and non-attendees; both groups scored ethnic identity higher than British identity across all components. Age had a significant effect on ethnic identity [$F(1,149)=6.67$, $p=.01$]; older children reported stronger ethnic identity compared to younger children [$F(1,149)=5.70$, $p=.02$].

Perceived competences and social acceptance. The CS-attendees and non-attendees did not differ in this set of measures (see Table 2). There was an age effect on all three subscales, with competences declining with age [social, $F(1,149)=13.39$, $p<.001$; academic $F(1,149)=16.71$, $p<.001$; athletic, $F(1,149)=7.41$, $p=.01$]. This links back to our first hypothesis and goes against our predictions, as no differences were found between the two groups on our social outcomes.

Associations: Language Proficiency and Exposure and Social Outcomes

One-tailed partial correlations, controlling for age and FA, were conducted to examine the associations between language proficiency and exposure and social outcomes in each group (see Table 3). In terms of proficiency and exposure measures, HL proficiency was positively and moderately correlated with HL exposure for both groups, but English proficiency and exposure were similarly correlated only for non-attendees. English proficiency was also positively and moderately correlated with British identity, and HL proficiency with ethnic identity, for both

groups, supporting in part our second hypothesis. Unique to the CS-attendees, British identity

was positively, if weakly, correlated with ethnic identity, and similarly between British identity

and HL proficiency, and their ethnic identity was also positively but weakly correlated with

English proficiency.

Table 3. One-tailed partial correlations, controlling for FA and age, between English and heritage language proficiencies and exposure, Ethnic and British identities, and perceived competencies (CS-attending participants above the diagonal, non-attendees below the diagonal)

	English Proficiency	English Exposure	HL Proficiency	HL Exposure	Ethnic Identity	British Identity	Athletic Competence	Cognitive Competence	Social Competence
EP		.142	.068	.125	.278**	.421***	.070	.279**	.041
EE	.318**		-.105	-.118	-.048	.071	.270**	.123	.197*
HLP	.125	-.076		.490***	.497***	.313**	.221*	-.101	.101
HLE	.118	.081	.448***		.288**	.223*	.079	.052	.202
EI	-.030	-.110	.357**	.160		.278**	.145	-.019	-.031
BI	.441***	.231*	.038	.193	.060		.283**	.120	.275**
AC	.493***	.089	.233*	.236*	.181	.127		.198*	.280**
CC	.499***	.246*	.272**	.293**	.062	.112	.338**		.211*
SC	.212*	.357**	.297**	.283**	.116	-.044	.389***	.391***	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Most competencies also showed positive correlations with proficiency and exposure, but

primarily for the non-attending group, who showed positive correlations between competences

with both English and HL proficiency and exposure (except for academic competence–English

exposure). These correlations were stronger involving English, particularly athletic and cognitive competences. Few of such correlations were found in the attendees: between athletic competence and English exposure or HL proficiency, between cognitive competence and English proficiency, and between social competence and English exposure (all weakly). Thus, our second hypothesis concerning social competences was partially supported. All competencies correlated with one another, for both groups, but unique to the CS-attendees British identity was positively correlated with athletic and social competences (see Table 3).

Predicting Social Outcomes

Based on the correlational relationships observed, and our second research question on how much CS and language proficiency contribute to bilingual children's social developmental outcomes, hierarchical regressions were conducted to examine the contribution of language proficiency and exposure, and background factors of age, FA and CS, toward ethnic identity, British identity, and social competence.

For ethnic identity as the dependent variable, a four-stage hierarchical multiple regression was conducted, with age and FA in the first block, HL and English proficiency and exposure in the second, CS (attendance/non-attendance) in the third, and British identity in the final block. As the collinearity statistics (i.e., tolerance, VIF) were within accepted limits, multicollinearity was not deemed to be an issue. Age and FA explained just 5% of the ethnic identity's variance (R^2=.046; F(2,150)= 3.61, *p*<.05). Introducing language proficiency and exposure explained an additional 14% of variance and this change was also significant (F(5,147)= 6.78, *p*<.001). The addition of CS to the model explained another 4% of ethnic identity's variance, a significant change (F(6,146)= 7.11, *p*<.001). Finally, British identity could explain an additional 2% of the variation in ethnic identity, but this change was not significant. The strongest unique predictor

emerged as HL proficiency (Beta= .232, t=4.64, $p<.001$), followed by CS attendance (Beta= .193, t= 2.65, $p=.009$), and age (Beta= .093, t= 3.67, $p<.001$). The remaining predictors were not found to be significant. The final multiple regression model with all predictors accounted for 24 per cent of ethnic identity's variance, $R^2=.240$, F(8,144)= 5.69, $p<.01$.

For British identity, a five-stage model contained the same first three blocks as for ethnic identity above, but the final two blocks consisted of ethnic identity, and then athletic and social competences. The age and FA block was not significant, but the addition of English proficiency and exposure made the model significant, explaining 22% of its variance ($R^2=.219$; F(6,146)= 6.82, $p<.001$). Adding CS-attendance, ethnic identity and athletic and social competencies to the model collectively explained just 2% more of the variance, and the change was not significant. The only significant unique predictor of British identity was English proficiency (Beta=.418, t= 4.63, $p<.001$). The final multiple regression model with all predictors accounted for 23 per cent of British identity's variance, $R^2=.231$, F(10,142)= 4.26, $p<.01$.

Finally, for social competence, a five-stage model contained the same first three blocks as for British identity above, but the final two blocks consisted of British identity, and athletic and cognitive competences. Age and FA explained 6% of the variance in social competence ($R^2=.06$; F(2,150)= 4.76, $p=.01$). Introducing proficiency and exposure to the model explained a further 13% of the variance, and the change was significant (F(6,146)= 5.72, $p<.001$). Adding CS to the model added just 1% to the variance, and this was not significant. British identity also did not significantly add to model. The final addition of athletic and cognitive competences explained another 8% of the variance, which was significant (F(10,142)= 5.71, $p<.001$). The strongest unique predictors of social competence were athletic competence (Beta=.270, t=2.83, $p=.001$), cognitive competence (Beta=.273, t=2.47, $p=.015$) and English exposure (Beta=1.72, t=2.93,

p=.004). Age was significant (Beta= -.66, t=- 2.71, *p*=.007) when first entered into the model, as well as HL exposure (Beta= 1.10, t=- 2.36, *p*=.02), but neither was a unique predictor in the final model, nor FA, HL proficiency, CS attendance and British identity. The final multiple regression model with all predictors explained 28 per cent of social competence's variance, R^2=.281, F(10,142) = 5.54, *p*<.01.

Discussion

This study aimed to examine the language and social outcomes of children growing up bilingual, with or without the additional CS provisions. We predicted that CS-attendees would demonstrate higher levels in these measures, as they had an additional relevant setting in which to learn the HL and hence should be more involved with their ethnic heritage community. These 'extras' were expected to not only boost HL proficiency and exposure, but also social identities and competences as attendees had more opportunities to explore and be reinforced with senses of heritage belongingness or the nous to navigate across social settings.

Comparisons between CS and non-CS attendees: HL learning

Partly in line with our first hypothesis, we found that CS-attendees reported higher HL proficiency compared to non-attendees. It is important to note that CS-attendees' higher overall HL proficiency was mainly attributable to their stronger HL literacy, which was likely bolstered by their formal CS education (cf., Lam et al., 2019). However, the two groups did not differ in their overall HL or English exposure, and even though non-attendees reported using more English with friends, they also reported greater exposure to their HL through TV/radio. The role of complementary schooling in developing HL literacy, particularly when exposure at home might be minimal, has also been highlighted in previous research (Sneddon, 2000).

The higher amount of broadcast media (usually mediated in the home) reported by the non-attendees could be a further reflection of efforts by the families for extra exposure to the HL with what resources they had (cf., Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010), if other exposure stayed broadly similar. Additionally, the greater amount of English exposure via friends may reflect the exclusivity of English use in peer relations without a CS, which was available to their attendee counterparts. Non-CS attending children in our study could be showing compensatory strategies (such as using media) in the home, but it is necessary to obtain data from families to ascertain this possibility. Our findings nonetheless suggest the role of CSs in enhancing HL proficiency through literacy and peer interactions (Lytra & Martin, 2010). These elements may be more difficult to foster in many Anglophone countries, particularly where most children here were English-dominant second-generation and their HL proficiency declined with age, in line with previous research of immigrant families (Nesteruk, 2010).

Comparisons between CS and non-CS attendees: Social-developmental Outcomes

Contrary to the second hypothesis, attendees and non-attendees did not differ in social identities and competences. Both groups reported higher levels of ethnic identity than national identity, However, the groups showed different *patterns* of associations between language proficiency/exposure and these social outcomes. The degree to which either or both languages, CS and child-background factors (age and family affluence) contributed to those outcomes can offer further clues to the relationships between language, identity and social competence among bilingual children.

Language Proficiency and Identity. Both CS-attendees and non-attendees showed positive associations between each language's proficiency and its respective identity (i.e., HL-ethnic; English-British), supporting the third hypothesis. Additionally, positive associations were found

between ethnic and British identities, and between HL and British identity unique to CS-attendees. This is in accord with previous research of other CS-attendees (Lam et al., 2019), and these findings from this study highlight the role of the CS in the process of bicultural adaptation among bilingual children from a wider spectrum of settings.

The regression model further extricated the contributions of HL proficiency and CS to children's ethnic identity. The impact of the relevant HL on ethnic identity formation has been identified in previous research, if with adolescent minorities (Marks et al., 2011; Phinney, Cantu, and Kurtz 1997; Phinney et al., 2001). This study adds to the literature by highlighting the role of HL as an integral part of the identity (Smith et al., 1999), and the facilitation by a community-based body (the CS) as purported in other research (Creese et al., 2006; Gaiser & Hughes, 2015). In contrast, English proficiency uniquely predicted British identity. However, caution must be exercised in terms of interpreting potential causation—it is quite plausible that the relationship between language and identity is bidirectional and iterative (Lam et al., 2019), and any link between HL education and British values and identity in the CS context complex and nuanced (Szczepek Reed et al., 2020). The present study provides the initial understanding of a highly diverse group of relatively young children across multiple CS settings and those without one, in terms of their ethnic and national identities as emerging bilinguals and possibly 'biculturals' (Schwartz & Unger, 2010).

Competences & Family Affluence. The CS groups did not differ in any of the competence domains, but instead competences declined with age, in line with historical trends reflecting children's more realistic self-reflection as they mature (Harter, 1982). Of interest were, however, also the associations between language proficiency and exposure and competences, particularly where most of those were unique to the non-attendees and involving HL. While these might

speak to the role of maintaining the HL in social competences (Ren et al., 2016), particularly for bilingual children who do *not* have an extra linguistically and culturally bolstering setting (CS), the associations involving English were generally stronger. Also, for CS-attendees, most of the competence associations still involved English. The function of this mainstream language in social functioning should not therefore be undermined, with it being the only common language across their diverse environments, even if its dominance may underpin the current sample's age-related decline in HL proficiency, and the progressive loss of HL over generations (Brown, 2009).

One factor to keep in mind is also the lower family affluence of non-CS-attendees versus attendees. While research of bilingual preschoolers indicates an early association between social competences and skills in both languages (Ren et al., 2016), social competences may precede and support language learning (Mendez, Fantuzzo, and Cicchetti 2002). In low-income families particularly, bilingual preschoolers who are *already* socially competent develop better English skills later (Oades-Sese et al., 2011). Apart from cautioning about deducing causation, previous findings point to existing attributes and backgrounds of children that may influence language and social competence development. In particular, partially supporting the final hypothesis, we also found a positive (if weak) family affluence effect on English proficiency. This is in line with research showing children with lower SES having different language trajectories and fewer opportunities to practice English (Hoff, 2013). Although family affluence was accounted for in our analyses and neither CS nor language predicted social competence, the associations between competences and language *unique to* non-CS-attendees should therefore be considered with the implications of affluence (such as resources and opportunities for language and other learning).

Also worthy of note is the British identity–competence (athletic and social) associations unique to the CS-attendees. Although the identity was not predictive of those competences in the regression model, that the association applied to only those with the CS context is curious and cannot be easily explained by the data available here. Previous research did identify a positive association between national identity and sport participation, which varies by SES, with children from wealthier homes reporting more participation (Lam & Corson, 2013). As sport and physical activities likely foster athletic competence, which was also associated with social competence in this study, considering the CS-attendees' higher family affluence the associations might bear out their greater opportunities to develop such competences. However, it would be necessary to source activity data to ascertain this explanation.

Considerations for Future Research & Conclusions

This research establishes the language proficiency and exposure and interim social outcomes of bilingual children with and without the additional context of CS. Apart from understanding the trajectories of these outcomes using a longitudinal design in the future, other factors that further research can address include more familial as well as school (CS and regular) data on language and other practices. While variability is a strength in a sample, caution needs to be exercised if attempting to generalize findings where bilingual experiences vary at multiple levels. Further qualitative approaches that explore home or school resources and parents and teachers' engagement (cf., Lam et al., 2019; Maylor et al., 2011) would gain more insights into the motivations behind CS and opportunities and challenges of language learning, especially among the second generation. Doing so would enable a better understanding of the roles of family and school for bilingual language and socio-emotional development.

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With the longstanding disconnect between community-based language learning (in CS) and mainstream education (Li, 2006), the present study sheds light on the role of complementary schooling, both directly in enhancing HL and ethnic identity, and perhaps indirectly in promoting bilingual and bicultural adaptation. Notwithstanding the demographic variations among children that can or cannot attend CSs, developing bilingual skills likely extends to social competences, perhaps more for those who are less affluent. Given the increase in linguistic diversity in schools (Department for Education [DoE], 2019), this study informs about the value of HL and its links to identity and other social outcomes in bilinguals, the supportive role of CSs for attendees, and the potential of CSs being a resource for wider education. Future work should further tease out the roles of family affluence and other demographics, specifics in the home and school, and how these interact, to better understand and support bilingual children's development.

Note

[1] The UK consists of four states and while England may have no official policy on language education Scotland has a 1+2 Language Policy (https://www.gov.scot/policies/languages/language-learning/) since 2012, Wales has a Welsh Language Strategy since 2017 (The Cymraeg 2050: https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/publications/2018-12/cymraeg-2050-our-plan-for-2017-to-2021_0.pdf), and Northern Ireland has a Languages for the Future Strategy since 2012 (https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/languages-for-the-future.pdf).

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