FORGOTTEN REFUGEES: UNDERSTANDING THE LANGUAGE AND LITERACY PRACTICES OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN

by

Assadullah Sadiq

B.A., Northeastern University, 2012

M.A., University of Massachusetts, Boston, 2013

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

(Language and Literacy Education)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

October, 2020

The following individuals certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies for acceptance, the dissertation entitled:

FORGOTTEN REFUGEES: UNDERSTANDING THE LANGUAGE AND LITERACY PRACTICES OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN

submitted by Assadullah Sadiq in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In Language and Literacy Education

Examining Committee:

Dr. Jim Anderson, Professor, Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Supervisor

Dr. Marianne McTavish, Professor of Teaching, Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-supervisor

Dr. Marlene Asselin, Associate Professor, Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Supervisory Committee Member

Dr. Bonny Norton, Professor, Language and Literacy Education, UBC

University Examiner

Dr. Samson Nashon, Professor, Curriculum and Pedagogy, UBC

University Examiner

Abstract

Most refugees arriving in permanent resettlement countries, such as Canada, come from first asylum countries, or countries that refugees move to first to escape the crisis in their homelands. Refugees arrive in permanent resettlement countries with various educational experiences and these pre-settlement educational experiences have largely remained undocumented, a phenomenon Dryden-Peterson described as a "black box" (2016, p. 131). In light of this gap, the purpose of this study was to document the language and literacy practices of young Afghan refugees in Pakistan in their homes, at school, and in their community, and to describe their parents'/guardians' beliefs about language and literacy. Informed by sociocultural theory and Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, this qualitative study used ethnographic methods and focused on four Afghan refugee children and their families over five months. Language and literacy events were observed and analyzed using Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña's (2014) procedure for qualitative research. Findings showed the children spoke Pashto at home but used Urdu and Pashto in the community. At school, the children spoke English, Urdu, and Pashto, but reading and writing were only taught in English and Urdu. The children participated in various literacy activities at home, including engaging in storytelling and practicing religious supplications. The female children were successful in their schoolwork and, with some assistance, could read and write in Urdu and English. The male children, however, could not complete most assignments that required them to read and write in English or Urdu independently and relied on their classmates, teachers, and resources (e.g., posters) to complete those assignments. In the community, the female children tutored others with schoolwork, Quranic reading, or religious supplications. The male children attended Quranic lessons to practice Arabic words to prepare for reading the Quran. Parents/guardians valued literacy and

languages highly. Many believed that reading allowed one to see and that literacy instilled manners in one. This study enhances our understanding of the literacy practices of one of the largest refugee groups in the world, about which little is known. Specifically, insights about their literacy and language practices as they relate to codeswitching or translanguaging, and literacy brokering are revealed.

Lay Summary

This study focused on four Afghan refugee children and families to explore how language and literacy was used in their homes, at school, and in the community. The study also documented the parents' and guardians' beliefs about language and literacy. The families greatly valued literacy and language. All families spoke their first language at home and encouraged their children to learn other languages. Literacy practices in the home included engaging in storytelling and learning religious supplications. School instruction was in English and Urdu. The female participants succeeded in school while the male participants struggled. In the community, the children spoke Urdu and Pashto and their literacy included lessons on the Quran or Quran primer and tutoring children from the community. This study offers an example of how four refugee children and their families practiced language and literacy at home, at school, and in the community.

Preface

This dissertation is an original intellectual product of the author, A. Sadiq. The fieldwork reported in Chapters 4-6 was covered by UBC Ethics Certificate number H17-01358.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank Allah Almighty for instilling a thirst for knowledge in my heart and for allowing me to tell the world about my people and their assets. Thank you, Allah, for everything. Without your support and love, I would have never reached this milestone.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) reminds me that, "He who does not thank the people is not thankful to Allah" (Hadith 39, Book 43). The successfully completion of a thesis requires a number of dedicated people who believe in the research wholeheartedly. I wish to thank the school founder who willing and happily allowed me to conduct the research at her school. Thank you for all that you did to help me, may Allah reward you. I also thank the participants in this study. Without them, this thesis would cease to be. They welcomed me into their lives and trusted me with their stories and glimpses of their lives. I thank them from the bottom of my heart and will remember them as the most resilient people I have known. Dera, dera mannana!

I am grateful and blessed to have had Dr. Jim Anderson and Dr. Marianne McTavish as co-supervisors. Dr. Jim, I do not know where to begin but I know for sure that you will leave a lasting impression on my life. It has been an honor to learn from you. You have taught me that research and putting it into practice can go hand in hand through your work with PALS (Parents as Literacy Supporters). Moreover, beside your research, the way you approach teaching is something that I have never experienced from other professors. The dedication with which you approached teaching was nothing short of amazing. For instance, the detailed comments on our papers caught many of us students by surprise. I would count myself successful if I am half as good as you at teaching and research. I will miss the many, many conversations I have had over

the years with you in your office and as we walked to a coffee shop. Thank you for all that you have done for me, I really appreciate it.

Dr. Marianne, thank you for your wisdom and support throughout the program. You pushed me to think critically about my work and how it is situated in the world. You reminded me to think carefully about the biases I brought into the research and ways to limit these. At the same time, you helped me acknowledge that my lens was limited and has been shaped by own experiences of being educated in the USA and Canadian contexts. I believe these kinds of insights helped me to work effectively with the participants and allowed me to continuously remind myself that I am a learner. Thank you for your quiet wisdom throughout the years. I will continue to think of you when I need to push myself beyond my comfort zone.

Thank you also to committee member Dr. Marlene Asselin. Dr. Marlene, having you in the committee enriched my research and knowledge. You often asked me to search deeper and to continue asking questions in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of a subject matter. Similarly, you inspired me with your work with libraries in Ethiopia and I hope one day to do similar work in Afghanistan. Thank you for inspiring me and for never holding back your compliments to me. You helped me set higher standards for myself. It has been an honor learning from you.

Thank you also to the university examiners Dr. Bonny Norton and Dr. Samson Nashon. Drs. Bonny and Samson, it was a privilege to have you both on the committee; thank you for the honor. I also thank Dr. Sharon Murphy, the external examiner. Dr. Sharon, thank you especially for your close reading of the thesis and the detailed comments you left on the merits of the scholarship and suggestions for improvements. I really appreciate your level of attention and dedication to the thesis.

I also thank the Public Scholars Initiative (PSI) and Faculty of Education at UBC. Thank you, PSI, for reminding me that my research matters and for supporting me financially. This support lifted a weight off my shoulders and allowed me to focus optimally on my research. Thank you also to the Faculty of Education at UBC: I am truly blessed to have learned as a student within a faculty that is dedicated to literacy and language education. Your dedication to teaching and research makes UBC a wonderful place to learn and grow.

Within my family, I am most thankful to my father. Baba, your support for my PhD and work with Afghan refugees will forever be a reminder of your love for education. I feel as if you were a co-student with me in this program. You reminded me to get up early, go to the library, and be dedicated to my studies at a time when I needed it most. Dera mannena for your support. May Allah give you a long and healthy life, Ameen.

Lastly, I thank the people around me, including my cohort: Margaret McKeon, Carl Ruest, Zhuo Sun, Jun Ma, Adam Vincent, Natalia Archacka, and Youngeun Jee. Zhuo, thank you for considering me your "sweet burden" as I bothered you and asked you question after question. Margaret, thank you for the beautiful conversations and amazing long walks!

Due to lack of space, I wish to thank all those who have in one way or another supported me. Thank you and may the way be bright for you!

Dedication

To the Afghan refugees:

The bravest and the most resilient people that I have ever known

•

To the victims of current genocides (while the world stays silent):

The Uighur Muslims in China

The Rohingya people in Myanmar

The Darfurians in Sudan

•

To my father, Abdul Aziz Sadiq:

I will never forget your support for my PhD.

•

To Dr. Jim Anderson:

Thank you for your 30 years of teaching and research. You enriched the literature on language and literacy and impacted many students through your teaching.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

. . . . i want to go home,
but home is the mouth of a shark

home is the barrel of the gun
and no one would leave home
unless home chased you to the shore
unless home told you
to quicken your legs
leave your clothes behind
crawl through the desert
wade through the oceans
drown
save
be hunger
beg
forget pride
your survival is more important

no one leaves home until home is a sweaty voice in your ear
saying-
leave,
run away from me now
i dont know what i've become
but i know that anywhere
is safer than here

(Warsan Shire, 2013)

Early in the afternoon of January 5, 2020, I sat in a Starbucks in Boston, enjoying a cup of coffee while I revisited Shire's (2013) poem. Reading the poem reminded me of the difficulties many refugees encounter as they leave their homeland because of issues, such as war, conflict, famine, and persecution. At present, wars and genocide (such as the Darfuris in Sudan, and the persecution of the Rohingya people in Myanmar) are happening in various countries around the world. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

website, “We are now witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record” (UNHCR, 2020). The UNHCR (2020) website reported that 70.8 million people have been forced to leave their homes for reasons such as war and persecution. More than 41 million of them have been displaced internally within their countries, while 25.9 million are refugees who have left their countries of origin, and 3.5 million are asylum seekers who have migrated to countries such as Australia and Germany. Of the 25.9 million refugees, half are under the age of 18.

Shire’s poem deeply resonated with me. As a former refugee, it reminded me of the Afghanistan of my childhood where I was regularly woken at night by my mother to run to the basement because rockets were being fired above our apartment in Kabul. I also remembered playing on discarded military tanks, (remnants of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that lasted from 1979-1989) with other neighbourhood children. And painfully, my mind flashed to the faces of my relatives who had been lost to the unending wars in Afghanistan.

Despite the historic number of displaced people, few studies of refugees’ experiences have included young refugees, such as children between one and 11 years old, (e.g., Chatty & Crivello, 2005; Chatty et al., 2010; Hampshire et al., 2008; Hinton, 2000; Lowiciki & Pillsbury, 2004). Indeed, even fewer studies focus on the language and literacy education of young refugees (Crivello, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, & Chatty, 2005; Zeus, 2011). This study contributes to closing this gap by examining the language and literacy experiences of elementary school-aged Afghan refugee children and their families living in Pakistan.

Rationale for the Study

In this study, I document and examine the language and literacy activities and events that four children and their families engaged in at home, at school, and the community in their country of first asylum. First asylum countries are countries that refugees move to first to escape the crisis in their homeland before moving to their permanent resettlement country. Many Afghan refugees, for example, first move to Pakistan or Iran, before being resettled in countries such as Australia, Canada, or the United States. At the same time, while Pakistan is a country of first asylum, a number of Afghan refugees end up spending many years there. Khan's (2014) report, for example, signaled that for some Afghan refugees, Pakistan becomes a permanent resettlement country, but without gaining citizenship status. However, in 2018, Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan announced that he would consider providing Afghan refugees with citizenship, but this suggestion drew criticism from the country's politicians and the topic has since been set aside.

Most refugees resettled in permanent resettlement countries come with various educational experiences, although their pre-settlement educational experiences remain relatively undocumented (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Dryden-Peterson (2016) described this situation as a "black box" (p. 131) to highlight the "absence of reporting in these countries [of first asylum] on where or if refugees find education" (Uptin, Wright, & Harwood, 2013, p. 603). Literature on refugees' education mostly focuses on refugee families and children at the time of their arrival in their permanent host country (e.g., Canada, the United States). Although studies focused on refugees' post settlement education have provided important insights, they have also provided a relatively narrow and incomplete view of refugee educational experiences. This restricted view can potentially lead educators to make assumptions about refugee children's abilities and

mischaracterize the trauma and struggles that refugees experience during pre-settlement. For example, in Roy and Roxas' (2011) study of Somali refugees' educational experiences, educators and social workers at an elementary school in Texas complained about the aggressive behavior displayed by the Bantu students. They attributed this behavior to "issues at home" (p. 528), despite the fact that none of the school staff could provide specific information that connected the behavior to the students' experiences at home. The teachers did not recognize that children who have experienced trauma often cope with stressful experiences by using aggressive behavior (Davies & Webb, 2000; Shaw, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). Furthermore, factors such as stereotyping, language barriers, cultural differences, and misunderstandings can impact the perception of teachers in post-settlement countries (Bigelow, 2010; McBrien, 2011; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). This lack of awareness and knowledge on the part of teachers has "implications for the continued educational experiences of refugee children upon resettlement" (Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 133). Teachers need to understand refugee children's pre-settlement educational experiences in order to meet their academic and psychosocial needs (Dryden-Peterson, 2015).

Although some refugee children enter school in their permanent resettlement country, others attend it in their country of origin and in their country of first asylum. Most Afghan refugees resettled in countries such as in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States first found asylum in Pakistan; however there has been no research (that I am aware of) documenting the educational contexts, and language and literacy activities that Afghan children engaged in while living there. The dearth of knowledge about pre-settlement experiences as they pertain to language and literacy learning and development of refugee children has led scholars to call for a fuller, more nuanced understanding (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Gahungu, Gahungu, & Luseno, 2011; Isik-Ercan, 2012; Prior & Niesz, 2013).

Context

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in Asia that shares borders with Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and China. The capital city is Kabul, a metropolitan city bordered by several provinces, including Wardak, Paktia, and Laghman. The current population of the country is 35 million. The country has two official languages: Pashto and Dari. Afghanistan is home to a number of ethnic groups, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Aimaks, Balochs, and others.

Pashtuns form the largest ethnic group and comprise about 42 percent of the Afghan population. They speak Pashto and follow a unique way of living known as Pashtunwali, which is a "code of life" (Khan, 2002, p. 469) that includes values such as hospitality, courage, giving shelter to the one who asks for it (including an enemy), and revenge (unless the aggressor asks for pardon). Some rules of Pashtunwali have sometimes been used to limit the opportunities for education, specifically for girls. However, this situation seems to be changing and many Pashtuns no longer abide by aspects of this practice that contradicts Islamic principles. Islam plays a major role in the lives of Pashtun people, including in their traditions and customs. The other 58 percent of the Afghan population, although comprised of a number of different ethnic groups, typically speak Dari. Although the constitution declares that Afghans be fluent in both Pashto and Dari, this is not always the case. Despite the language differences, Pashtuns share several similarities with the other ethnicities. For example, with the exception of the Hazaras (the majority of whom are Shia Muslims) the Tajiks, Uzbeks, Aimaks, and Balochs are predominantly Sunni Muslims, like the Pashtuns.

For much of modern history, war and conflicts in Afghanistan have limited children's access to education, with the exception of religious schools for males. However, between 2002

and 2019, primary school enrollment in Afghanistan increased from one million to 8.5 million (UNICEF, 2019). Despite these gains, Afghanistan continues to have one of the lowest literacy rates in the world (Hervé, 2018; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, [UNESCO], 2017). According to UNICEF (2019), violence, poverty and drought are the main barriers to children's access to education in Afghanistan. Furthermore, almost 1,000 schools have remained closed as a security measure because of the potential of attacks. These issues have resulted in almost 3.7 million Afghan children not attending school. The ongoing conflict has also placed them at risk of injury and exposed them to violence (UNICEF, 2019). Literacy rates among Afghan refugees in Pakistan are "extremely low" (Hervé, 2018, p. 12), while Pakistan struggles with its own educational challenges as the country with the second largest number of children out of school (25 million) (UNHCR, 2016a, p. 45).

In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and, for the last 40 years, the country has been in a state of war and conflict. The year 2018 marked "the highest ever recorded civilian deaths, including the highest ever recorded number of children killed in the conflict" (Amnesty International, 2019, para. 5). There were nearly 11,000 casualties, including 3,804 deaths and 7,189 injuries in 2018 alone, resulting in 360,000 Afghans being displaced internally (within the country). Moreover, a June 2019 report by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), described Afghanistan as the world's "least peaceful country" (IEP, 2019, p. 2) replacing Syria, which is now ranked second least peaceful. The upheaval in Afghanistan has resulted in large numbers of Afghan people fleeing to Pakistan and Iran. Pakistan is the largest Afghan refugee hosting country and has hosted Afghan refugees for decades. Approximately 1.5 million Afghan refugees were registered in Pakistan (Amnesty International, 2019; UNHCR, 2016a) while there are believed to be another one million unregistered Afghan refugees living in the country

(Amnesty International, 2019). Afghan refugees can be found throughout Pakistan, most live in Islamabad, Quetta, Peshawar, and Karachi.

Although Pakistan hosts a large number of Afghan refugees, it is not a signatory to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Amnesty International, 2019). As a result, Afghan refugees' access to education is limited. They are not able to open bank accounts or buy property (Amnesty International, 2019, para. 22) and work opportunities are limited. Pakistan's police force has routinely raided Afghan shops, excluded Afghan children from Pakistan's schools, and frequently threatened deportation of Afghan refugees (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2017).

As mentioned previously, Afghanistan and Afghan refugees continue to have one of the lowest literacy rates in the world. If educators in first asylum and permanent resettlement countries are not aware of the language and literacy practices in Afghan refugee families' homes and communities, they may regard Afghan refugees as being literacy impoverished and may hold deficit views of the children, their families, and communities. Similarly, teachers in permanent resettlement countries may struggle to support the language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees if they are unfamiliar with the language and literacy practices that Afghan refugees already engage in (see, for example Sidhu, Taylor and Christie, 2011). Thus, in order to meet the language, literacy, and overall education needs of Afghan refugees, it is essential to understand the language and literacy practices they already engage in, particularly in their countries of first asylum. This is especially important given that the limited literature available on refugee education focuses on specific refugee populations (e.g., Sudanese, Somali, Karen) other than Afghans; McCloskey and Southwick (1996) suggested that the findings from these studies are not generalizable across cultures. Thus, in order to understand the language and literacy practices

of Afghan refugees and to support their language and literacy learning, studies that specifically focus on Afghan refugee children and their families are needed.

As Purcell-Gates (2005) stated, "literacy is conceived of and practiced in different ways by different peoples" (p. x) and these practices are patterned and influenced by cultural and social factors. Notions of literacy, learning, and teaching differ across cultural groups, and literacy practices can be shaped by beliefs, cultural values, social domains (i.e., home, religion, work), and power relations within a community (Purcell-Gates, 2005). Moreover, as Razfar and Gutiérrez (2003) noted, literacy is "a socially mediated process that cannot be understood apart from its context of development, the forms of mediation available, and the nature of participation across various cultural practices" (p. 4). Purcell-Gates (2005) affirmed that while studies have begun to reveal the literacy practices of a diverse group of people, more research in this area is needed. She wrote, "we need many more studies . . . to build our knowledge base—a full picture of literacy as a process and a product" (Purcell-Gates, 2005, p. x) in various communities and cultures. The current study documents and analyzes the language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, their country of first asylum.

Purpose and Research Questions

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to document the literacy and language practices of Afghan refugee children living in Pakistan. The study had two foci: 1) documenting the literacy and language events that children and adults engaged in at home and in the community, and while the children were at school; and 2) understanding the beliefs about language and literacy of four low-income and less educated Afghan refugee families living in Pakistan.

Research Questions

The following questions guided this study:

1. What language(s) do adults and children in low-income Afghan refugee families in Pakistan use at home, at school, and in their communities? What literacy activities and events do adults and children in low-income Afghan refugee families in Pakistan engage in at home, at school, and in their communities?
2. What are the parents'/guardians' beliefs about language and literacy? Are these beliefs[1] related to the language and literacy events that children and adults engage in at home and in their communities, and while the children are at school, and if so, how?
3. Do parents/extended family members who have minimal formal schooling support their children's literacy learning? If so, how?

Significance of the Study

The study is important for a number of reasons. First, there are very few studies that explore refugees' language and literacy practices in their first asylum countries. Therefore, this study will contribute to the limited available literature on refugees' pre-settlement educational experiences. As will be seen in Chapter 2, the few studies documenting the educational experiences of refugees in first asylum countries tend to focus on educational issues more generally, and not on language and literacy in particular. Moreover, this study may be the first to provide an account of the language and literacy learning that occurs in the homes, communities,

[1] I use the word belief to refer to "psychologically held understandings, premises, or propositions about the world that are felt to be true" (Richardson, 1996, p. 103).

and schools of Afghan refugees in a first asylum country. This is especially important because "three decades of recurrent conflict has led to the education of successive generations of Afghan refugee children being disrupted, discontinued or forgotten" (Jenner, 2015, p. 3). In order to meet the educational needs of Afghan refugees, educators need to be aware of the language and literacy practices in Afghan refugee families' homes and communities. Otherwise, researchers and educators risk creating literacy programs that lack relevance to the lives and culture of Afghan refugees. A review of the literature on the educational experiences of refugees in their first asylum countries showed that most research focuses on older youth and adults, rather than on elementary school-aged children. As such, the results of the current study will help fill a gap in the literature by focusing on the language and literacy circumstances of elementary school-aged refugee children. The study has implications for teachers and other professionals working with refugee children and families in the country of first asylum and indirectly, in the country of permanent settlement. The study will also have implications for policy related to providing access for refugees to education in first asylum countries and providing professional development opportunities for educators in schools that serve refugees.

This study also contributes to theory. Purcell-Gates (2007) stated that, "Research within a literacy-as-social-practice frame has been conducted with only a relatively few communities who are thus impacted by official constructions of successful and unsuccessful literacy" (p. 11). Despite the fact that Afghans are "one of the largest and longest displaced populations in the world" (UNHCR, 2015, p. 3), they are also a group that has largely been left out of research. Thus, this study will provide an understanding of literacy as a social practice within a community where many of the people are considered illiterate and literacy impoverished by the outside world. Furthermore, this study will provide insight into some of the ways that sociocultural

theory and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological theory may or may not be useful in terms of understanding the language and literacy practices of refugees.

Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of six chapters, including this introductory chapter. In Chapter 2, I situate the study within sociocultural theory of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological theory. Then, I review the relevant literature pertaining to the education of refugees in countries of first asylum (including Kenya, Lebanon, and Turkey) and literature related to the language and literacy practices of refugees in permanent resettlement countries (e.g., Canada, Germany, the United States). Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the study, including the research design and a rationale for employing a qualitative methodology. I also describe the data collection methods and the data analysis process. The chapter also describes my role as a researcher while undertaking this study and the measures I took to ensure trustworthiness in the findings. In presenting the findings, I separate them by gender because of the differences between male and female children's literacy practices and achievements. Chapter 4 describes the language and literacy practices of the female focal children and their parents'/guardians' beliefs about language and literacy. Chapter 5 focuses on the findings pertaining to the male focal children and their language and literacy practices as well as their parents'/guardians' beliefs on language and literacy. In Chapter 6, the final chapter, I begin with a discussion of the major findings, highlight some of the insights gained, and outline the implications for teachers, policy makers, and families. I also discuss the limitations of the study and suggest areas for further research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

I begin this chapter with an introduction to the theoretical framework of the study. Following this, I review the literature pertaining to refugee families, first by distinguishing refugees from immigrants and characterizing refugees as a unique and well-recognized group. Then, I review the empirical research pertaining to the education of refugees, specifically addressing scholarly work that examines refugee language and literacy learning experiences in their countries of first asylum. Next, I focus on the language and literacy practices of refugee families and children in their permanent resettlement countries such as Canada and the United States and conclude with a summary of the chapter.

Theoretical Framework

Sociocultural Theory

Within sociocultural theory, culture is seen as playing an important role in cognitive function and ways of learning (Rogoff, 2003). From this perspective, historical, cultural, and social contexts serve to shape teaching and learning. According to Gregory, Long and Volk (2004), sociocultural theory "transcends academic disciplines and focuses on the inextricable link between culture and cognition through engagement in activities, tasks or events" (p. 7). Vygotsky (1962, 1978), whose research and scholarship underpins sociocultural theory, emphasized that learning and thinking are both social and historical in origin. Vygotsky (1978) highlighted the use of signs (e.g., oral language, numbers, writing systems) in mediating human development and learning. He suggested that thought first occurs on the interpsychological plane (between people) and then moves to the intrapsychological plane (within the individual) For example, an adult first guides a child to write their name, but later, the child learns how to do this

on their own. Vygotsky drew particular attention to the role that adults play in facilitating children's learning. For example, adults can structure activities and learning experiences that help children bridge the gap between what they can do independently, and what they may accomplish with the guidance of a more skilled individual. Vygotsky called this gap the *zone of proximal development* and suggested any skilled individual can enhance a less skilled individual's learning (i.e., more capable peers can aid in a child's learning). Rogoff (2003) demonstrated that notions of apprenticeship and learning differ across cultures and may vary significantly with respect to who guides the learning and how they do it. For example, Gregory's (2001) research with Bangladeshi families in the United Kingdom showed that siblings, rather than their parents, supported each other's learning at home.

Sociocultural theory characterizes the child as "an active member of a constantly changing community of learners in which knowledge constructs, and is constructed by, larger cultural systems" (Larson & Marsh, 2015, p. 100). In this regard, adults, or more competent members of the community (such as siblings), do not just impart knowledge to the child; instead, both the child and the adult "acquire valid and meaningful knowledge if they are able to transform the information offered to them into something personal" (Kuiper & Volman, 2008, p. 244). Similarly, sociocultural theory centers specifically on what people from a particular community *do* with literacy, rather than focusing on what they do not do (Larson & Marsh, 2015; Rogoff, 2003; Street, 1984, 2001). For example, in communities where storybook reading is less common, other equally valid forms of literacy practice, such as oral storytelling, may take place. In other words, sociocultural theory emphasizes the importance of culture in learning instead of "isolating culture from the practice of everyday life" (Larson & Marsh, 2005, p. 2). Rogoff (2003) further noted that culture is not "an entity" that impacts individuals; instead, "individual

and cultural processes are *mutually constituting* rather than defined separately from each other" (p. 51, emphasis in original).

From a sociocultural perspective, a singular definition of literacy and learning is insufficient, making it important to recognize alternative and expanded definitions of literacy and learning. Literacy and learning in the home and community may differ from, complement, or supplant what takes place in formal schooling. From a sociocultural perspective, members of a community are not viewed as deficient if they lack a skill (e.g., reading or writing). As Purcell-Gates (1995) asserted, "conceptualizing literacy as a cultural practice denies any notion of deficit. A cultural perspective on behavior implies the study of *difference* rather than deficit" (pp. 185-186, emphasis in original).

Bioecological Theory

Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) bioecological theory also informs this study. Bronfenbrenner proposed that children's development occurs within an ecological system of five interrelated environments nested within each other with the individual located at the center (see Figure 2.1). The five systems influencing the child include the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. The microsystem, which includes interactions among people in the home, classrooms, or daycare environments, is the most proximal setting to the individual, and therefore has the most influence on the child. For example, a child's literacy abilities can be influenced in a home where there are opportunities for verbal interactions and the child engages in literacy activities supported by significant others (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The macrosystem, which includes the legal, social, political, and educational systems (Rosa & Tudge, 2013), also influences the individual's development. As Luff (2010) affirmed, "the historical, economic, social and physical contexts in which individuals live and interact

provide environmental resources which will affect their growth" (p. 6). For instance, children who grow up in war, conflict, or famine-afflicted countries will experience a very different, and possibly impaired, kind of development compared to children growing up in communities without such problems. These larger societal issues most likely impact children at the microsystem level through malnourishment, lack of resources, injury, trauma, or disability.

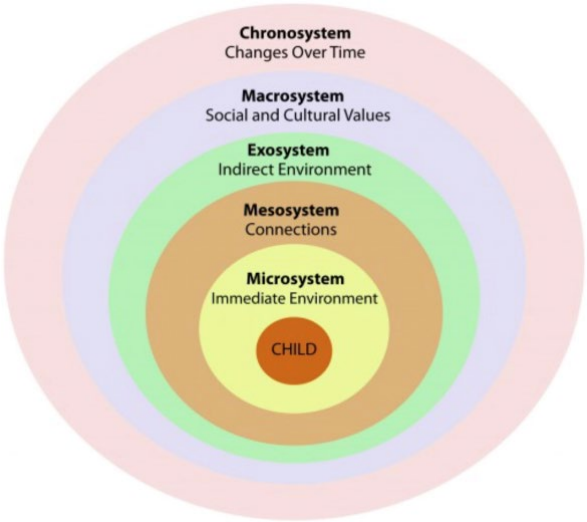

Figure 2.1 Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model

Note. Reprinted from "What is Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory" by *The Psychology Notes HQ*, 2013. Retrieved March 18 2019, from https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/bronfenbrenner-ecological-theory/. Copyright 2019 by The Psychology Notes Headquarters. Reprinted with permission.

While the multiple, interrelated systems described in Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory exercise influence on the individual, this does not mean that the individual does not have agency. In his later work, Bronfenbrenner (2005) added the Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) concept to highlight the role that the individual play in their own development (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). One of Bronfenbrenner's goals in adding PPCT was to focus on the reciprocal

relationship between the environment and the individual (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). For example, he indicated that individuals who are curious or are likely to engage in an activity, including with others, will be able to "sustain proximal processes, whereas those that are disruptive can impede or interrupt them" (Rosa & Tudge, 2013, p. 253). Bronfenbrenner and Evans (2000) stated that children require active participation with others, such as parents, grandparents, or teachers in order to develop socially, emotionally, and intellectually.

Both sociocultural theory (Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky 1962, 1978) and bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005) provide the theoretical framework for this study. The theories align in some respects. For example, both theories reflect a social-constructivist view of knowledge, which posits the creation (rather than the discovery) of knowledge by individuals. As such, learning becomes a process of constructing meaning, and therefore "it is how people make sense of their experiences" (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999, p. 260). Both sociocultural theory and the bioecological theory consider participation of significant others' in learning to be essential to the individual's process of understanding. Similarly, the theories also acknowledge the importance of the environment in the individual's development. Moreover, the theories imply a reciprocal relationship between the child and the environment (e.g., the child both influences, and is influenced by, the environment).

While these two theories have much in common, the differences between the theories also contributes meaningfully to this research study. Sociocultural theory allowed me to attend to the focal children's immediate context (e.g., their families), while Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory supported my examination of the external factors influencing the families (e.g., status of being refugees, financial difficulties, etc.). Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen

and Frater-Mathieson (2004) argued that Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory is particularly useful for working with refugee students. They explained:

> Bronfenbrenner's theory provides a useful conceptual framework for considering the needs of refugee children as it allows us to consider the impact of personal and environmental factors on the development of refugee children. This is because at its core the theory conceptualizes development as the interactive lifelong process of adaptation by an individual to the changing environment. (p. 4)

The notion of adapting to a changing environment provides a lens though which to consider refugees' experiences because their context is dominated by a new setting and they are usually learning new languages and facing new barriers in a first asylum country. For example, Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) theory allowed me to consider how cultural, social, and linguistic contexts affected the participants, including their language and literacy practices. More importantly, Bronfenbrenner's theory allowed me to see the impact of the social environments on the children (e.g., a focal child engaging in adult-like work) and therefore offered me a more holistic understanding of the participants. Sociocultural theory supported my interpretation and understandings of the immediate contexts surrounding the focal children. For example, it provided a lens through which to consider who the children engaged with and what types of activities they engaged in at home. It also offered a lens to consider the kind of support parents, guardians, and significant others provided the children. In all, both theories provided a lens through which I could understand the focal children and their language and literacy practices by concentrating on their immediate context (such as their families) as well as the external legal, social, political, and educational structures affecting them.

Literature Review

Refugees

According to the Geneva Convention of 1951, a refugee is:

> any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country. (UNHCR, 2010, p. 14)

Refugees are people who are forced to leave their country because of a lack of protection. On the other hand, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (n.d.) defines an immigrant as "a person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born and has acquired social ties to this country" (p. 1). Therefore, immigrants can be characterized as people who willingly move to another country in search of better opportunities than the ones afforded them in their homelands (Ogbu & Simons, 1998), including jobs, education or religious and political freedom. The UNCHR (2016) advises that the terms should not be conflated.

In terms of educational trajectories, refugee students face greater instability (e.g., interrupted schooling) than immigrant students. For instance, refugees tend to be less educated compared to immigrants and have limited proficiency in the dominant language (e.g., English, German) of their host country (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Koyama & Chang, 2019). The educational opportunities available to refugees, including those available in their first asylum countries, were likely interrupted, limited, or non-existent, resulting in low literacy skills (e.g., reading and writing) even in their first language (Due & Riggs, 2009; Picton & Banfield, 2018).

Refugees are also likely to be subjected to high levels of trauma from their exposure to violence, war, natural disasters, and death (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Hodes, 2000; Koyama & Chang, 2019). As a result, some refugee students find it difficult to concentrate and are mentally withdrawn in school (Yu, 2012). Nonetheless, many refugees speak more than one language (He, Bettez, & Levin, 2017) and come "from families and communities rich in cultural assets and resources" (Koyama & Chang, 2019, p. 137). Generally, refugees are eager to learn, once they are resettled in countries such as the United States or Canada (Koyama, 2015).

Most refugees (86%) arrive in resettlement countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, the United States) from a country of first asylum which is normally a developing country (e.g., Kenya, Pakistan, Thailand) where they escape conflict, drought, natural disaster, and/or other crises (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). According to a UNHCR (2017) report, "the impact of refugee outflows [was] most acutely felt in the countries' neighboring the conflict zones, with nine out of ten refugees hosted in developing countries" (p. 7). More than half of all refugees are children whose educational opportunities were often limited in their countries of first asylum. For example, refugee children are five times more likely not to be enrolled in schools than non-refugee children (UNHCR, 2016a). In Pakistan, where the current study took place, the percentage of refugee children attending primary schools is about "half of that of their host country peers" (UNHCR, 2016a, p. 11).

In the following section, I first focus on refugees' language and literacy experiences in school in first asylum countries. For instance, many refugee students have to learn a new language in their first asylum country (as they do in their permanent resettlement country). For some refugee children, going to school in a first asylum country may not even be an option, as they may have to work outside of the home to support their families. Then, I describe the

literature on refugees' educational experiences in their permanent resettlement countries focusing on issues including the mismatch of curriculum and pedagogy, the importance of understanding refugee students' backgrounds, and the significance of the dominant language of this population.

The sections should not be read as separate and exclusive topics with practices specific to only one or the other category of country (first asylum or resettlement), but rather the reader should be aware that the practices described in first asylum countries may apply to resettlement countries as well, and vice versa.

Refugees' Educational Experiences and Language and Literacy Practices in Countries of First Asylum

Although refugee children's educational experiences in their countries of first asylum have been under-researched (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Guo, Maitra & Guo, 2019; UNHCR, 2016a; Uptin, Wright, & Harwood, 2013), the following studies do provide some insight. I first focus on the broader educational issues affecting refugees in their first asylum countries, and then on their language and literacy practices. As noted, much of the limited literature on refugee language and literacy learning, focuses on the experience of older students—very little focuses on elementary school-aged children as does the present study.

Understanding Students' Experiences

Refugee students' experiences in their first asylum country have a profound impact on how they approach their education later, particularly as they transition to new schools in their resettlement countries. The following studies were conducted in resettlement countries (Australia and the United States), with the exception of the Bellino and Dryden-Peterson's (2019) study, which was conducted in a first asylum country. However, the studies conducted in permanent

resettlement countries focused on the refugees' experiences in their first asylum countries (prior to coming to Australia and the United States), and thus are included in this review.

Bellino and Dryden-Peterson (2019) explored the educational experiences of Somali students in refugee camps and urban areas in Kenya. They drew on multiple interviews with members of organizations working with refugees, teachers, and refugee students, and field notes gathered through observations at primary and secondary schools. Their findings showed that students were aware that their education in the refugee camp was lower in quality compared to schools outside of the camps, despite the fact that the same curriculum was used in both environments. They also learned, for example, that the absentee rate of teachers in the refugee camps was higher than in non-camp schools. Moreover, teachers in refugee schools were less qualified than the teachers in government schools, with most only having a high school diploma. The students also appeared to believe that teachers, who were themselves refugees, "devalue[ed] their education" (Bellino and Dryden-Peterson, 2019, p. 229), even though teachers with lived experience as former refugees were better positioned to understand the refugee students' experiences, especially in comparison to the Kenyan national teachers. Bellino and Dryden-Peterson (2019) also reported that the local Kenyan teachers experienced frustration with the refugee students' lateness for classes and lack of progress in learning, which they interpreted as the students not being serious about learning. Furthermore, refugee students who were well off enough to attend government schools believed they were receiving a better education. Students also reported experiencing verbal abuse such as being called "terrorist" (p. 232) by Kenyan students and teachers in the government schools, which resulted in some students concealing their refugee identity in order to protect themselves.

Uptin, Wright, and Harwood (2013) investigated the educational experiences of refugees living in Australia. Twelve youths between the ages of 16 and 21 participated in semi-structured interviews and a focus group interview. The interviews focused on the youths' educational experiences in their first asylum countries, where they had spent most of their lives. Many of the participants considered their education in the first asylum country to be worthless and indicated having had a negative experience. For example, one of the participants referred to the school as a place "where people who didn't know anything teach us" [*sic*] (Uptin, Wright, & Harwood, 2013, p. 604). Participants also described several classrooms as places to pass the endless hours with few educational resources, such as lack of books and blackboards. A few of the participants also indicated that they endured insults. However, some participants shared that they had positive experiences in their first asylum schooling, and several perceived school as a place where they could retain a collective identity and enjoy school practices, such as storytelling.

Tandon (2016) examined five Burmese refugee parents' experiences with schools in first asylum countries and the effect those experiences had on their children once resettled in the United States. Data gathering included weekly classroom observations, semi-structured interviews, and home visits. Most of the parents had not experienced formal schooling in their home countries and they felt intimidated by the school and teachers in the United States. One parent, who was familiar with the educational system in Malaysia, was also able to advocate for her child in the United States, finding her daughter summer classes to further her academic progress. However, some parents were suspicious of the schools partly because of their experiences of violence and persecution as refugees in Thailand. Tandon (2016) noted that while the parents' fears were understandable, these fears, served to hinder their children's academic

progress by limiting their contact with the schools and the community. For instance, most students were not tutored and did not interact with native English speakers.

These studies provide examples of the educational experiences refugee students have in first asylum countries. Bellino and Dryden-Peterson (2019) and Uptin et al. (2013) foregrounded refugee students' concerns that they believe the quality of education was low. Erwin, Sewall, Tippens, Nyaoro, and Miamidian (2020) similarly found that the education available to refugees was low quality; it was common to find large number of students taught by a few untrained teachers, and that the refugees experienced discrimination. Bellino and Dryden-Peterson (2019) also highlighted the obstacles refugees face, including the need to shield their refugee identity for reasons of safety.

One recommendation the authors included is that teachers in resettlement countries become more familiar with the educational circumstances in refugee camps to better equip them to meet students' needs (Uptin et al., 2013). Tandon (2016) also recommended that educators talk with refugee parents and visit their homes in order to establish trust, dispel fears, and overcome negative perceptions of schooling. Collectively, these studies indicate that policy makers and schools need to do more in first asylum countries to provide better opportunities for refugee students. They also indicate that refugee students highly value education.

Language Barriers

Language is often a barrier to refugees' education in first asylum countries. Aydin and Kaya (2019) focused on the education of Syrian refugees in two elementary schools in the inner city of Istanbul. Seven teachers and two principals were interviewed three times about the Syrian refugee students in their schools. The researchers described a welcoming school environment for Syrian students and noted that, in general, the refugees had the same rights as Turkish students.

However, the participants indicated that learning Turkish was the main obstacle confronting the Syrian students. This language barrier prevented them from participating in the mainstream classes because they could not understand what was being taught. One teacher reported that he did not ask his Syrian students with low Turkish proficiency to participate in class so as not to embarrass them. Independently, the teachers developed ways to help the Syrian students succeed. For example, one teacher who provided extra after-school tutoring in Turkish allowed the Syrian students to write in Arabic. Another teacher enrolled in an Arabic course so as to understand his Syrian students' writing. The researchers concluded that the teachers in their study were supportive and tried to help Syrian students succeed academically, but that they needed more support to meet students' needs.

Dryden-Peterson (2003) investigated the language barriers of Congolese refugees living in Uganda and reported that language differences negatively affected the educational progress of the Congolese students. The Congolese were taught in French in their home country, but in Uganda instruction was in English. Many of the students had to repeat grades or were placed in lower grades with much younger students in an attempt to improve their English proficiency. A lack of qualified teachers also impeded the students' education. Congolese teachers, who were also refugees, were denied employment in the schools that served the refugees because they had little command of English.

These studies highlight the importance of language in refugees' academic progress in the host country. Furthermore, the studies foreground that, while the refugees were able to take part in the host country's education programs, and teachers were generally empathetic and supportive, there was little or no assistance provided to help refugees learn the dominant language of the country. In terms of recommendations, Dryden-Peterson (2003) suggested that

students be provided "intensive [English] language classes to elevate pupils to the level of their peers" (p. 29), rather than placing older students with younger students. On the other hand, Aydin and Kaya (2019) advised that Syrian students have access to tutoring in both Arabic and Turkish. They also called for more funding for programs that teach Turkish to Syrian students.

Refugee Children and Work

Schooling may not be an option for refugee children living in first asylum countries as some children are required to work to support their families. Lowicki (2002) focused on issues of protection and care for Afghan children and families in Pakistan and interviewed more than 60 participants, including children, adults, and representatives from the United Nations (UN), non-government organizations (NGOs), and the government of Pakistan. According to Lowicki, all the participants indicated that "the main barrier to education was a lack of money to cover basic living expenses and school-related costs" (p. 15). Many children had to work, collecting plastics to recycle, making bricks, weaving carpets, or begging in order to help their families financially.

Kanso (2018) reported that more than three-quarters of the refugees in Lebanon survived on less than four dollars a day. As a result, fewer than half of the Syrian refugee children were enrolled in school as they were required to work in order to help their families' meet their financial obligations.

Both Lowicki's (2002) study of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Kanso's (2018) study of Syrian refugees in Lebanon identified child labor practices that refugee families engaged in to survive in their countries of first asylum. Both authors underlined that there were limited educational opportunities for refugee children due to the many obstacles their families faced. Lowicki (2002), for instance cited "school-related costs" (p. 15), such as admission fees, textbooks, school supplies, and uniforms as barriers that prevented Afghan students from

attending school. Lowicki recommended emergency educational interventions for Afghan refugees. Kanso (2018) suggested that some families may simply not have a choice but to rely on their children's work to survive. In this case, Syrian refugees in Turkey were not allowed to work legally until 2016 which resulted in a black market and many underpaid jobs (Crul et al., 2019). To mitigate the poverty faced by the families, children were required to work rather than going to school (Crul et al., 2016).

Safety and Wellbeing

In addition to financial obstacles, access to education for refugee children in first asylum countries is hindered by a lack of safety and compromised wellbeing. Mareng (2010) reported on his own experiences as a refugee in Kakuma Camp, Kenya and also interviewed other refugees there. He described students who were happy with their education but who were more concerned with finding enough to eat. Other challenges included the distance students walked (upwards of 10 kilometers) in extreme heat to reach their schools. Mareng (2010) commented that his study illustrated the "reality of human life" (p. 480) in the Kakuma refugee camp.

Winthrop and Kirk (2008) explored the safety and wellbeing of three groups of refugees: internally displaced Afghans in Afghanistan, Eritreans in Ethiopia, and Liberians in Sierra Leone. Data collection included classroom observations, questionnaires, school mapping, and textbook analysis. Winthrop and Kirk indicated that the student participants, ranging from eight to 19 years of age, believed that going to school would improve their lives and provide them with greater opportunities in the future. Yet, the students also talked about the disturbing practices and criminal activities of their teachers that undermined their wellbeing, such as the use of corporal punishment, sexual exploitation of female students, and accepting bribes in exchange for good grades.

Maadad and Mattthews (2018) interviewed 91 participants, including refugee parents, students, teachers, community leaders and government bureaucrats about the educational experiences of Syrian refugees living in Lebanon. The students were generally glad to attend school and create opportunities for themselves. Some students described teachers who were moody or "always angry" (Maadad & Mattthews, 2018, p. 13) and some who were abusive. Kiwan (2019) also found that the use of corporal punishment by teachers created barriers between teachers and Syrian refugees in Lebanon.

The literature reported on in the previous sections reveals that refugees often struggle to access the basic necessities of life in their first asylum countries. As well, language barriers, inadequate curriculum and pedagogy, and issues of wellbeing and safety impact refugee children's ability to access an adequate education. Indeed, some of these obstacles are not confined to first asylum countries; they continue to affect the refugees in their permanent resettlement countries. These studies provide valuable insight into refugees' educational experiences and identify issues that need to be addressed in order to create better educational systems in first asylum and permanent settlement countries. Among the recommendations, Winthrop and Kirk (2008) called on policy makers and educators to ensure that children's voices are heard and that children are seen as active agents, rather than helpless beings, in order to bring meaningful reforms to refugee children's education. Similarly, Maadad and Matthews (2018) suggested that schooling for refugees be taken seriously as a method of "reconstructing communities of safety" (p. 15) and recommended more teacher training in order to improve the quality of education.

The following section focuses on refugees' educational experiences in their permanent resettlement countries. Although the context of a first asylum country is different from the

context of a permanent resettlement county, it is reasonable to assume that there would be common educational experiences inherent in both. As such, canvasing the literature on the educational and language and literacy experiences of refugees in their permanent resettlement countries provides greater insight into refugees' educational experiences more broadly. Furthermore, the educational experiences in the first asylum country have an effect on the refugee student's education in their permanent resettlement country (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). As such, it is important to focus on both contexts to gain insight into the barriers refugee children face when they enter different educational systems. For example, teacher-centered pedagogy is the dominant form of instruction in refugee education in some first asylum countries (Dryden-Peterson, 2015) and in much of the developing world. While the instruction style varies in countries like Canada and the United States, it is usually student-centered whereby teachers expect students to ask questions, work in groups, and present information to the class. As Dryden-Peterson (2015) noted, because of these differences, refugee children in permanent resettlement countries may bring different approaches to learning and exhibit different behaviors in the classroom that require teachers to explicitly support their students to ask questions or engage in group work.

Refugees' Educational Experiences and Language and Literacy Practices in Countries of Permanent Settlement

In the transition to their permanent resettlement location, refugees often leave behind extended families, social networks of support, and material belongings. They also face economic challenges and language barriers, while adjusting to the cultural practices and expectations of their host country. In the educational context, for example, some cultures prioritize rote

memorization and drill (e.g., reading the same passage over and over again for memorization), rather than, for example, reading for meaning and enjoyment or play-based activities or learning through play. Refugees also bring previous knowledge, skills and educational experiences, what Moll (1994) referred to as "funds of knowledge" (p. 2). Understanding the cultural background and knowledge base of refugee students is critical to understanding their educational needs and experiences. Recognizing their language and literacy practices is also critical to beginning a conversation about how best to support their learning needs in their permanent settlement countries.

In the following section, I first discuss some of the literature that deals more broadly with refugees' educational needs and experiences. Then, I examine more closely refugees' language and literacy practices.

Cultural Mismatch and Understanding Students' Backgrounds

A number of studies showed that insufficient understanding of refugee students' and families' backgrounds significantly impacted interactions with teachers and how teachers regarded them (Davies, 2008; McBrien, 2005; Mendenhall, Bartlett, & Ghaffar-Kucher, 2017). For example, Mendenhall et al. (2017) observed that refugee and immigrant students are often seen as the same by teachers and school staff, resulting in lack of attention to their unique experiences and affecting the services they receive. In their research on the children of four Burundian families settled in the US, Gahungu, Gahungu, and Luseno (2011) noted that because the children did not respond to questions the way the other kindergarteners did, the teachers thought of them as mentally challenged. The teachers were unaware that conventions of names, birthdays, and age and the concept of time were quite different in Burundi than in the US, which is why the children did not understand certain questions asked of them. Likewise, the teachers

failed to recognize that because the students had never encountered certain objects in their lives, they were unable to identify items such as snowmen, which the teachers considered common.

Nykiel-Herbert's (2010) reported on observations of 12 Iraqi-Kurdish refugee students (ages 8 to 11 years) attending mainstream classes in New York City schools. Nykiel-Herbert (2010) noted that students were believed to lack necessary background knowledge because, for example, they had no knowledge of "the concept of earth as a planet . . . [and] had never seen a map or a globe" (p. 5). The teachers lacked sufficient understanding of their refugee students' experiential and academic backgrounds to support the students' academic skill development. Other studies (for example, Miller, Ziaian, & Esterman, 2018; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010) also identified issues of cultural mismatch and the importance of understanding refugee students' backgrounds.

These studies demonstrated that teachers would benefit from working collaboratively with families and understanding their students' funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, & Gonzalez, 1992), rather than taking a normative stance and assuming that all children came to school with a common knowledge base. Gahungu, Gahungu, and Luseno (2011) further recommended that teachers undergo training to recognize and eliminate their cultural biases and to become more familiar with the cultural backgrounds of students. For example, if teachers knew how time, names, and birthdays were perceived in the Burundian culture, they would be better equipped to assess the students' understanding of these concepts. Nykiel-Herbert (2010) similarly recommended that teachers make an effort to understand their student's background and advocated for the use of oral storytelling as one way to learn more about students' experiences and cultures. These recommendations would benefit teachers in both first asylum and permanent resettlement countries as they reinforce the need for teachers to know more about, and to

cultivate refugee students' assets, including their families. For example, some refugee guardians may not know how to read or write, but they likely know a great deal about certain crops or plants that they can share with other students.

Curriculum and Pedagogy Mismatch

Researchers have also documented a mismatch in how refugee families view curriculum and pedagogy in their permanent resettlement country. Tadesse, Hoot, and Watson-Thompson (2009) interviewed four refugee mothers from Ethiopia, Liberia, Sudan and Somalia with preschool aged children enrolled in a Head Start program in New York City. They found that the mothers' expectations of their children's education differed from the teachers. For example, Tedesse et al. (2009) reported on a program in which the preschool children were enrolled that emphasized learning through play, while the refugee mothers placed less importance on play, preferring a structured learning environment for their children. The mothers also felt that the teachers inappropriately assessed their children because of their different cultural backgrounds and their refugee status. One mother explained that she had taught her child to be reserved, but that this trait led to an unsatisfactory score in the social and communication domains of development. Another reported how a teacher misinterpreted the cultural practice of avoiding eye contact with authorities (such as teachers) as an indication that the child was abused and unsafe in the home.

Isik-Ercan (2012) conducted in-depth interviews with 28 Burmese refugee parents with a child or children in kindergarten through grade three in a metropolis in the midwestern United States. Although the parents expressed a desire to be involved in their children's education, they encountered barriers to involvement. For example, due to language barriers, the parents expressed difficulties understanding their children's homework assignments, the school's

curriculum, and the teacher's instructional methods. The language barriers were such an issue that the parents requested that the school provide interpreters for them, in order to lessen the burden.

Both Isik-Ercan (2012) and Tadesse et al. (2009) found that while the parents of refugee children were eager to be part of their children's education, the lack of communication regarding the curriculum and the assigned homework prevented the development of a positive relationship between parents and teachers. Isik-Ercan (2012) suggested that teachers could learn much by visiting their student's homes, although this practice would be time-consuming and might not be an appropriate way of engaging with some families due to cultural practices (i.e., some families may be uncomfortable with teachers visiting their homes). Arranging a regular time for families to meet with teachers at school to talk about the curriculum might be a more effective strategy for improving the communication between teachers and parents. Similarly, Tadesse, Hoot, and Watson-Thompson (2009) maintained that teachers have a responsibility to inform refugee parents about the curriculum. For example, it would be important to inform parents about the value of learning through play, as this way of learning may be new to some refugee parents.

Importance of the Dominant Language

Learning the dominant language of the host country is an important asset that most refugees need to gain in their resettlement countries. Yamashita (2018) used a mixed-methods research design that included qualitative interviews with parents and children and a battery of assessments intended to measure the children's literacy skills in both their heritage language and in English. The participant group consisted of children from five Syrian refugee families that had resettled in Toronto, Canada. According to Yamashita (2018), the children highly valued learning English, with many reporting that it was essential in order to make friends at school and

to “fit in” (p. 18). Participants described the multiple methods and modes their teachers used to help them learn English, such as gestures and visuals. Many of the parents lacked proficiency in English, which was a barrier to them advancing in their careers. It also negatively affected their involvement in their children’s schooling as in the case of one student whose mother was unable to understand what the school staff told her about her child skipping classes.

The three Karen refugee parents in Duran’s (2017) qualitative study faced difficulties in the United States because of their low English language skills. Through analysis of interviews, participant observations, and participant artefacts, Duran concluded that the parents highly regarded education for their children, but language barriers dissuaded the parents from interacting with the school. Parents were uncomfortable talking to their children’s teachers and therefore did not express concerns about their children’s academic progress. Similar to Tadesse et al. (2009), Duran (2017) noted that even though parents wanted to learn about the school’s curriculum and instructional methods, the language barriers discouraged them from attending school activities.

Observing and interviewing eleven refugee children in grades three to five over a two-year period in in Sweden, Dávila (2017) found that some students felt a sense of “safety and comfort in the newcomer classes” (p. 6) where they received individualized Swedish language support. However, students also worried about their transition into mainstream classes where they would be required to interact with native Swedish speakers. None of the students enrolled in their first language classes, despite the availability of relevant after school classes. Dávila (2017) concluded that students were invested in learning Swedish “sometimes at the expense of [their] home language development” (p. 6).

Although their study took place in a country of first asylum, Norton and Kamal's (2003) study also focused on the importance of the dominant language, which is the case of English in Pakistan. The study focused on Pakistani students at a middle school in Pakistan who wanted to help the Afghan refugees with their English and literacy development. Data collection consisted of interviews, observations and questionnaires. Findings from Norton and Kamal (2003) indicated that the students viewed literacy more than just reading and writing and was "also about education more broadly" (p. 306). For example, some students noted that a literate person is able to reason compared to a person who is illiterate. Furthermore, the Pakistani students believed that it is important for the Afghan refugees to learn English as it is an international language as well as language of the media, science and technology. Many of the Pakistani students also mentioned that English would give Afghan refugees access to resources, such as getting admission into schools.

As Duran (2017) and Yamashita (2018) reported, not speaking English disadvantaged refugee parents by limiting or curtailing participation in their children's education. These studies foreground the importance of providing meaningful support to refugee families and students in learning the dominant language of their resettlement country. Further, they provide a glimpse into refugee students' commitment to learn the dominant language of their host country, in part, to fit in and make friends. Yamashita (2018) suggested providing refugee students with language and academic support, as well as providing heritage language classes at schools. As well, Duran (2017) advised that schools use interpreters at school events in order to ease the language barrier, especially for parent-teacher conferences. Duran (2017) also proposed that schools hold some events at informal locations, such as a park, so that parents could meet with teachers without feeling intimidated. As such, while learning the dominant language holds many benefits such as

being able to navigate the commerce, work and social activities of the community, it also holds particular importance for refugee children by enabling them to develop friendships and feel part of their school environment. Similarly, mastering the dominant language enables parents to support and participate in their child's education.

Children as Literacy Supporters

Refugee children often play an essential role in teaching, translating, and brokering language and literacy for their parents and other family members. Perry's (2014) 18-month study of a six-year-old Sudanese refugee student named Remaz focused on her role in facilitating her parents' English literacy learning. Drawing on data from fieldnotes, interviews and artefacts, Perry (2014) noted that Remaz was an "active literacy broker" (p. 318) at home and that she helped her parents complete English language tasks by reading to her mother and helping her mother complete her ESL homework. As well, Remez taught her parents about literacy norms and practices in the United States. For instance, Remaz showed her mother how to sign a permission form and explained why it was important. Remaz also explained the purposes and features of the different kinds of school forms (e.g., book purchase form, field trip permission slip) for her parents.

Siblings in refugee families also support each other's language and literacy development, especially when their parents do not know the new language. Millikin-Lynch's (2009) year-long study focused on a Somali Bantu refugee family's language and literacy learning in the United States. Utilizing interviews, photographs, and artefacts, she observed that the older siblings supported their younger siblings' English learning by using environmental print and by correcting errors in their homework. Language and learning experiences were multigenerational and multidirectional in that both the siblings and the parents enhanced one another's learning.

Perry's (2014) and Millikin-Lynch's (2009) studies showed different ways children in refugee families take on the role of language and literacy supporters. Whether supporting their parents' oral language development in the dominant language or helping a sibling with homework, the children engaged in complex literacy practices (Perry, 2009, 2014). Gregory's (2001) work with immigrant Bangladeshi families in the United Kingdom also showed that siblings, rather than parents or guardians, supported each other's learning. To help refugee children and families, Perry (2014) suggested that teachers be explicit about the print materials they send home. For example, she recommended that teachers model how to fill out a field trip permission form and explain why it is necessary, in order to make it easier for students, especially refugee students, to explain it to their parents or guardians. Furthermore, although some refugee families may be unfamiliar with "contemporary" forms of literacy, such as digital media or print literacy, they do practice other equally valid traditional forms of literacy, such as storytelling, which teachers can encourage. Overall, Millikin-Lynch (2009) suggested that teachers should strive to know more about their students' lives, literacies, and diverse ways of learning outside of school in order to validate and incorporate them into the curriculum.

Storytelling Practices

School practices related to language and literacy learning should be purposeful and authentic for all children, including refugees. Storytelling is a common practice in many cultures and ethnic communities (Strekalova-Hughes & Wang, 2019) which suggests its value in pedagogy. Geres (2016) interviewed three teachers regarding their use of storytelling as an instructional practice with youth from refugee, immigrant, visitor, or temporary worker families enrolled in English as an Additional Language (EAL) classes in a secondary school in Saskatchewan, Canada. The teachers indicated that, through storytelling, they learned more

about their students, which enabled them to tailor the curriculum to meet their students' needs. Through storytelling and journaling activities, for example, one teacher learned about his students' interest in sports, which he in turn used as a conversation topic and in the process, developed trust with his students. Another teacher recognized that the students' stories were relevant to school-related lessons, particularly to the history curriculum. While teaching units about the American and French Revolutions, the teacher realized through the refugee students' stories "that we [had] students who [were] from countries that [were] in a revolution right this minute" (p. 80). Geres (2016) concluded that "storytelling as a classroom strategy encouraged literacy development" (p. 81) for the refugee students.

Strekalova-Hughes and Wang (2019) examined how family storytelling was perceived by Nepali, Somali and South Sudanese refugee children ages three to eight who had resettled in New York City with their families. From an analysis of 18 semi-structured group interviews, the researchers concluded that the children viewed storytelling as a way to maintain their home language and to connect with others from the same linguistic community. For example, one participant indicated she wanted to learn to write in Somali so she could write letters to her brother who lived in another state. Participants also believed that if they shared their stories at school, their peers would enjoy them. However, many children did not share their stories at school because they believed they did not know how to translate some words or phrases from their native language into English. Interestingly, the Strekalova-Hughes and Wang (2019) noted that the children were retelling the read-aloud stories from school to their families at home. Strekalova-Hughes and Wang (2019) feared that this one-sided communication, in which the children felt that they could tell school stories at home, but not home stories at school might be

“perpetuating language loss” (p. 17) in refugee communities. Similarly, while the children felt welcomed at school, they believed that their home languages were not valued there.

Perry (2008) explored the use of storytelling with three Southern Sudanese refugees in the United States through interviews, participant observation, and artefact collection. She found that prior to settling in the United States, the Sudanese youth engaged in the oral storytelling traditions of their homeland; however, once they were in the United States, the practice transformed to a written one, which, Perry contended, reflected a practice that was valued in their new environment. Perry (2008) also found that the youth’s experiences as refugees served as a basis for their storytelling and that they were eager to write and share their stories with others. Perry (2008) asserted that, “storytelling, whether traditional or transformed, may offer an important motivation for refugees to engage in print literacy practice” (p. 352). For the refugee youths, storytelling “was a practice that gave them legitimate reasons to engage with reading and writing and to develop their English language abilities” (ibid, p. 352).

To reiterate, storytelling is an important literacy practice in many refugee homes and can also be used in schools to further support refugee students’ learning. As Geres’s (2016) study indicated, storytelling allowed students to bring their experiences to school, while simultaneously allowing teachers to tailor the curriculum. Strekalova-Hughes and Wang (2019), on the other hand, focused on how storytelling was, in part, sustaining the home language for the participants. They observed, however, that the teachers did not encourage storytelling and did not place much value on the students’ home languages. Consequently, Strekalova-Hughes and Wang (2019) recommended that teachers show respect for their students’ native languages and “nurture” (p. 18) storytelling practices in the classroom. They suggested, for instance, that a teacher could share a story from memory with their students as a way to model “explicit

motivation to share stories 'with others' and 'in the future'" (Strekalova-Hughes & Wang, 2019, p. 18). Perry's (2008) study, on the other hand, showed how the Sudanese youth meaningfully engaged in English learning through storytelling and sharing important knowledge. Refugee parents also used storytelling to pass on important values to their children (Roy & Roxas, 2011). Perry further stated that storytelling can be a powerful way to engage refugee students in print literacy and second language learning. For example, refugee students can write down oral stories or write about their own experiences. As a result, storytelling might be one way to mitigate situations where refugee students are "being asked to lose or deny their languages, literacies, cultures, and histories in order to achieve" (Paris & Alim, 2017, p. 1).

Gender and Refugees' Academic Performance

Gender is an important concern in social science research, and the field of education is no exception. Studies have generally indicated that females perform better in academic tasks when compared to males (Ferguson, 2016; O'Grady et al., 2016). For instance, Ferguson's report noted that girls scored higher than boys in reading and science in Canada and in most of the participating countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). However, I have not found any studies that have focused on the role of gender in refugee students' achievement in first asylum countries. This is not surprising considering that the literature on refugee's education in first asylum countries is in itself very limited (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Nonetheless, some studies have been conducted in permanent resettlement countries that have indicated that gender, among other factors, plays an important role in refugee students' educational achievement.

Berthold (2000) investigated the relationship between Khmer adolescent refugees' exposure to war trauma and their academic, behavioral, and psychological well-being. The study

with 144 adolescents and their parents/guardians took place in three high schools in the western United States. Fifty-six percent of the students were classified by their schools as having limited English proficiency, but "females were significantly more likely to be classified as being fluent in English" (Berthold, 2000, p. 27) and had a higher GPA (grade point average). At the same time, Berthold (2000) noted that male adolescents had much more exposure to violence when compared to females. Additionally, the male students were also reported for behavior problems in schools more frequently than females.

Using semi-structured interviews, Mosselson (2007) focused on the educational experiences of 15 female adolescent refugees from Bosnia in New York. The findings indicated that the female students were passionate about learning and valued the education opportunities they found in the United States. Furthermore, all 15 females were doing well in school, including in language and literacy. However, most of the students suffered from stress and depression due to their memories and experiences of enduring war in their home country.

These studies highlight that, in order to support refugee students' education, gender is an important factor that needs to be considered closely when focusing on the achievement of refugee students in schools. As these studies show, female refugee students experienced more success in academic outcomes when compared to male refugee students. Berthold (2000) recommended that schools offer culturally appropriate counseling services to refugee students in order to address their individual experiences of trauma, as well as any possible learning challenges they face based on their previous educational experiences. Mosselson (2007) recommended that schools make a greater effort to understand refugees as individuals rather than only focusing on their academic achievement or language skills, or lack thereof.

The studies in this section centered on the language, literacy, and educational experiences of refugees in resettlement countries. Interestingly, the same challenges refugees encountered in their first asylum countries continued as obstacles in their permanent resettlement countries. Language barriers and discrimination stand out as issues refugees have to deal with in both first asylum and permanent resettlement contexts. However, these studies also shed light on how to achieve meaningful literacy learning through the use of storytelling. In addition, the studies stressed the importance of teachers' understanding of their students' backgrounds in order to provide culturally sensitive instruction that takes into consideration previous experiences.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the conceptual framework that guided the current study and proposed the idea of refugees as a unique group different from other groups, such as immigrants and migrants. I also reviewed the relevant literature pertaining to the study. In particular, I focused on language and literacy practices, as well as the broad educational experiences of refugees in their first asylum and permanent resettlement countries. Given the dearth of research on the educational experiences of Afghan refugees, this literature review drew on studies pertaining to the language and literacy learning experiences of refugees from diverse ethnic groups and across a wide age range. Furthermore, much of the literature focused on the educational experiences of refugees in permanent resettlement countries, rather than in their first asylum countries. As Dryden-Peterson (2016) noted, the educational experiences of refugees in first asylum countries has remained, in general, unexplored. The literature on educational experiences in permanent resettlement countries emphasized the high value refugees placed on learning the dominant language and described the collective efforts of parents and siblings to

help one another learn the language of the host country. In addition, researchers encouraged teachers and other professionals to ensure that language and literacy learning practices have relevance to refugees, and that they include techniques such as storytelling in classroom instruction. The literature further detailed the formidable obstacles that many refugees faced as they pursued their education in the host countries, including being subjected to violence and abuse by teachers in some of the first asylum countries. In the next chapter, I introduce the methodology for the study.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

In this chapter, I present an outline of the methodology used in this study. I begin by presenting a rationale for using a qualitative research design. Then, I describe the data gathering and data analysis methods. Finally, I describe my role in the research and discuss issues of trustworthiness.

Research Design

Rationale

I conducted this qualitative study using ethnographic methods to document the literacy activities and events that Afghan refugee children and adults engaged in at home, in the community, and at school. My research questions required a methodology that allowed for the creation of detailed descriptions in order to understand the language and literacy practices within the three contexts. Creswell (2007) stated that this kind of understanding "can only be established by talking directly with people, going to their homes, and allowing them to tell their stories" (p. 40). Furthermore, Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) noted that "[no] other research tradition matches the ability of ethnography to investigate the complex phenomenon known as culture" (p. 617). Thus, they argued that qualitative methodology is the most appropriate method to achieve such understanding. In order to utilize ethnographic methods, a researcher needs to be "immersed in the day-to-day lives of the people" (Creswell, 2013, p. 104). Data mostly consist of observations, interviews, artefacts, and other sources of data (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative methodology allowed me best to achieve my goals because it required me to visit the participants and spend time in their homes, communities, and in the case of the focal children, at their school.

I also interviewed male parents or guardians,[2] the school founder, teachers of the focal students (teachers at the Afghan School and Harun's mosque teacher), and the school security guard, who was also a community leader.

As stated in Chapter One, my research questions centered on documenting and understanding the languages and literacy events of children and adults engaged in at home, school, and in the community. I also wanted to know the parents' and guardians' beliefs about language and literacy. Lastly, I was curious to explore how parents, guardians, or extended family members, with minimal schooling, supported their children's literacy learning. Data collection occurred in multiple settings and focused on how the participants used literacy and language in their daily lives. I conducted interviews with the focal children, their parents or guardians, and their teachers. I followed and observed the focal children in their school, their homes, and in the community, with the goal of observing what the children "do with literacy" (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p.6) and language(s). I also took photos of the children's writing, homework, and drawings.

Setting

Location of the Study

This study took place on the outskirts of Islamabad (the capital of Pakistan) in an area I will refer to as Brishna (a pseudonym), thirty minutes away from the city center. There one can see both modern homes and homes made of mud; however, the section of the city where I

[2] I did not interview the mothers or female adults in the focal children's home due to Afghan cultural norms where an unknown man generally does not speak to women.

conducted the study was especially known for farmhouses, which were surrounded by a large open agricultural area used for growing a variety of fruits and vegetables. On the main road, vendors set up carts selling oranges, watermelons, and dried fruits. Next to the road, there was a private university that mainly prepared students to work in the technology field.

The majority of the people living in Brishna were Punjabi; however, there were other groups of people, such as Kashmiris and Balochi in addition to the Pashtuns of Pakistan.[3] Brishna also had a sizable population of Afghan refugees, many of them working in the trades, constructing homes, schools, and other kinds of buildings. Some Afghan men worked at different shops in the main bazaar, while others had opened up their own stores.

In the main bazaar, one could find almost any kind of service or tool. For example, there was a mobile phone store where, in addition to buying a phone, one could pay phone bills and purchase mobile data cards. The bazaar also included salons, bakeries, convenience stores, and tailors who stitched and made clothes, including traditional Pakistani clothes. Although most of the store signs were written in Urdu, some stores used signs written in a combination of English and Urdu. Throughout the bazaar, one could also see posters and advertisements for private schools[4], including elementary, middle, and high schools. These posters were usually in English, and they advertised open or "free admission" to indicate that no fee was required to register a student. Often these ads included phrases such as "Medium of instruction is English," to

---

[3] Although different from Pashtuns of Afghanistan, however Pashtuns share the same language, customs, and ethnicity. Pakistan Pashtuns are citizens of Pakistan.

[4] Private schools were very common in Brishna and throughout Islamabad. People who could afford it, chose to send their children to private schools, as they believed these schools provided better quality education compared to public schools.

highlight the benefits of attending the school. This meant that other than Urdu and Islamic studies classes, most of the subjects were taught in English.

One would also see Islamic posters not only in the bazaar but also throughout Brishna, advertising opportunities such as classes that men could enroll in at the mosque, important Islamic gatherings, and other events organized in the city. The presence of these ads increased prior to the month of Ramadan to encourage community members to take advantage of the events, classes, and gatherings offered. For example, one poster, written in Urdu, showed the date and time as well as the photos and names of a number of scholars who were to perform Islamic *nasheeds* (chants) at an upcoming event. Another sign highlighted the twenty-seven courses available at the mosque, including "How to Pray," "Remembering Allah," "The Status of Women in Islam," "Islam and Marriage," and many others.

Selection of the School

After applying for and receiving approval from the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board to conduct the study, I looked for a school that not only had an Afghan refugee population, but also catered to their needs, such as by offering low tuition fees. It was also important for me to find a school that wanted to be part of the research study and demonstrated some commitment of support towards the Afghan refugee population. I wrote to the school founder of the Afghan School,[5] describing my research study and including my research questions. The school founder, Mrs. Jennifer Khan,[6] believed the questions were important and that the findings could further support the needs of Afghan refugee children and

[5] Pseudonym of the school.
[6] All names in this dissertation are pseudonyms, including the names of the participants, school, community, etc.

families in their language and literacy development. In her email, Mrs. Khan wrote that she had shared my research questions with the teachers and mentioned that they were similarly supportive of the study. I first met Mrs. Khan in Saudi Arabia where we both taught English to first-year university students in 2014. We lived right next to each other and, through informal conversations, her husband (who is Pashtun from Pakistan) began to share with me the work Mrs. Khan was doing with Afghan refugee students in Islamabad. From there on, we met several times over lunch to discuss the struggles of Afghan refugees and their educational barriers in Pakistan. When I began my PhD, I kept in touch with Mrs. Khan and shared my research proposal with her. We both agreed that the school might be a meaningful site for my project, as it had a large Afghan refugee population. In addition, Mrs. Khan and the teachers were supportive of the study (as described earlier) and believed it would help them meet some of the needs of the Afghan students and families. Lastly, the school gave me access and welcomed me to begin the research, which was a further reason why I chose this school. Specific information about the school is included in the next section.

The Afghan School

All the focal children attended the Afghan School located in the center of Brishna. The Afghan School had many students who attended for free, or who paid very little tuition. The school enrolled about 200 students, more than half of whom were Afghan refugees. The Afghan School served students in preschool to eighth grade and was funded largely through donations. The school founder and her colleagues regularly held events in the United States to raise funds for the school. For many of the Afghan refugees, it was their first time in school. A growing number of non-Afghan students, such as Punjabi and Kashmiri students, enrolled in the school as

well. These students were usually from low-income families that were interested in having their children attend the school because it cost very little and was free for families that could not pay.

The school had a total of 14 classrooms and 21 teachers, as well as a security guard, and a cook. The school also had a small library near the office, with books in English and Urdu. These books were limited, and the library did not loan books to be taken home. In addition, the school had 14 desktop computers and students from grade one onward took a computer class weekly for an hour. The students in elementary grades learned the basic information about using a computer and also completed basic typing in English. Occasionally, they also used the computers to play educational games. Each teacher had a limited supply of art materials in their classroom although some art materials were also available in the office. The languages of instruction were Urdu (60% of the classes) and English (40% of the classes). Arabic was taught twice per week as part of the Islamic studies class. The students did not have Arabic textbooks although Arabic print was found throughout their Islamiat books, which were in Urdu. The teacher taught Arabic mostly using the board. The age range in each class varied; for example, in a first-grade class, students ranged in age from five to eight. The lower grade classes (kindergarten to grade three) ranged in size from between 20 to 28 students. The upper grade classes (fourth grade and up) ranged in size from ten to 18 students[7] per class. All of the school's textbooks were in English, except the books used for the Urdu literacy and Islamic studies classes. The books used for Urdu class were written in Urdu. Books for Islamiat class were also written in Urdu but incorporated some Arabic, such as passages from the Quran or Hadiths (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad).

---

[7] The school founder mentioned that the lack of space is an issue at the Afghan School, since the school could only accommodate a limited number of students. The majority of upper grade students were encouraged to enroll in one of the nearby schools.

Even when the texts were in English, the instruction was mostly in Urdu or a combination of English and Urdu.

The School's Ethos

The school's motto was "Teaching for Understanding" and lecturing was discouraged. The school supported hands-on learning and provided training for teachers to help them incorporate this approach into their teaching.

Almost all the teachers were new to the Afghan School and some were also new to teaching. Most of the teachers had some level of higher education and there was a range of teaching experience from little to several years. The school founder, Mrs. Jennifer Khan mentioned that retaining teachers was one of the issues facing the school. However, there was a sense of collegiality among the teachers and co-principals. The teachers appeared to enjoy teaching and seemed to care about the children they taught. Furthermore, many teachers mentioned that the Afghan School was a place where they felt comfortable; they believed it stood out among many schools in Pakistan because the school practiced and honored Islamic principles. Teachers particularly appreciated that they were allowed to wear their veils and headscarves in the school. They also mentioned that unlike other schools, the Afghan School, allocated time for the students to perform their prayers.

The Afghan School featured an abundance of printed messages (in English and Urdu) and anywhere one looked one could read sayings and messages that had been painted on the walls. For example, there was a verse from the Quran painted in capital letters high in the school's courtyard that stated, "O Lord increase my knowledge" in English. Similarly, another saying stated, "Forget injuries never forget kindness." There were also reminders to students, such as, "Don't hurt the plants they are alive" written in both Urdu and English. The national anthem of

Pakistan (which the students sang at the morning assembly), written in Urdu, was printed on the wall near the kindergarten class.

Personal Biography

Before explaining the procedure for participant selection and the participants in this study, it is important to state my own role as a researcher and my positionality in relation to this study. While I began this study as a doctoral student in the Department of Language and Literacy Education at UBC, I was also an insider in my research site. Firstly, I shared my country of origin, ethnicity as a Pashtun, first language (Pashto), and faith with my participants. I am also familiar with Pashtunwali—a code of conduct with Indigenous roots that defines a Pashtun. Like my participants, I lived as a refugee in Pakistan for five years. My family had left Afghanistan due to the instability in the country and have lost several extended family members to the ongoing conflict there. Lastly, I had previous experience working with Pashtun refugee families and their children in Boston, United States, where I helped them access and understand the resources available to them.

It is important to note, however, that I was also an outsider. It had been almost 15 years since I had lived in Pakistan. Since December 2000, I have lived in the United States and Canada. Moreover, although my family lived in Pakistan as refugees, we were privileged enough to live in a comfortable apartment. The families participating in this study struggled to make ends meet. While I usually wear a shirt and pants, during the study I only wore a traditional Afghan garment for men, known as a qamees. I did this to fit in and to respect the rules of modesty. Whenever I asked the family members questions, I made it clear that they could also ask me questions. Lastly, I worked closely with Mr. Dost (the school's security guard and

Afghan community leader) and followed his guidance to ensure that I conducted myself according to the Pashtun culture when I engaged with the Afghan families. As a Pashtun, I was invested in making sure that I behaved according to my Pashtun culture. At the same time, I acknowledge that due to my time away from Afghanistan, I was at a slight disadvantage in remembering how to live by the rules of Pashtunwali. Mr. Dost informed me that my behavior and interaction with the families were positive and that the families were appreciative of the way I conducted myself toward them.

Selection and Description of the Participants

Selection of the Participants

The selection of participants was purposive rather than random in that I sought four Afghan refugee families with a child between the age of four and eleven. This age range was purposeful as, according to The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2015 report, children "below the age of 14 account for half of the 2.45 million Afghan refugees in both Pakistan and Iran" (p. 3). As well, I focused on families whose first language was Pashto and who were low-income with limited schooling. I defined families with limited schooling as those in which the parents or guardians either had no formal school experience (that is, the parents or guardians had not attended school) or those in which the parents or guardians had limited formal school experience, such as some middle or high school, but not higher education. I used the World Bank definition of low-income to determine low-income status, which in 2018 was one dollar and ninety cents (200 Pakistani rupees) per day (Jolliffe & Wadhwa, 2018). I also sought two male and two female focal children, each child from a different family, so as not to privilege one gender over the other.

The staff at the Afghan School worked with me to identify families that met the criteria for participating in the study, and sent out notices (information about the study, and permission forms) to all qualifying families in both English and Pashto. I visited each class along with one of the principals and explained the main components of the study in Pashto to students in kindergarten to grade three. The co-principal then reiterated the main points to the class, in Urdu. I provided Informed Consent forms (the consent and assent forms can be found in Appendix A) to the students and asked them to share the form with their parents and inform them that they had one week to decide if they would like to participate in the study. After one week, I collected the forms and although the response was generally low, 13 families with children in each grade level responded. The families that responded included three with a child in kindergarten, five with a child in grade one, three with a child in second grade, and two with a child in third grade. I then met with all the students whose families had agreed to participate to learn some basic information about them, such as languages they spoke at home, where they lived, and what their parents did for work. After gathering this information, I selected the children whose families had more flexibility and availability in terms of observing and conducting interviews with them. For example, some students came to school in a van, rather than walking to school. Since I knew I could not follow such students from school to home for observation, nor find their homes on my own, I did not select these students for the study. Some students also mentioned that their male guardian would not be easily available to meet with due to their work schedules. Again, I chose not to select these families as I did not want to burden them with finding the time for an interview. After this process, I was left with six potential families and I consulted with the co-principals to ensure that the selected families met the criteria described. The co-principals together suggested that I not include two of the focal children. One child had a learning disability

according to the teacher and the co-principals, and the co-principals were looking into alternative schooling for him, as the school was unable to meet his needs or provide him the level of attention that he required. The second child's father had informed the school that they were going to move to another province in Pakistan at the end of the month. Thus, I was left with four potential focal children, two males and two females.

I shared information about the potential focal children with Mr. Dost, the school's security guard and community leader, and he accompanied me to each of the focal children's homes, where I met with the parent and guardians and the focal children. I began my conversation with each family by going over the consent forms that they had signed and explained all the information included in the consent form in Pashto. The parent/guardian of each focal child listened, and Mr. Dost elaborated on certain points. For example, when I talked about observing the children in the community, Mr. Dost told Arman's father that, for instance, if Arman goes to the store, I would be following him and observing him and his interactions at the store. After I translated verbally into Pashto what was included in the consent form, I asked each parent/guardian to briefly explain the main points in the consent form back to me in Pashto. Mr. Dost suggested this idea and informed me that this would confirm that each parent/guardian had understood the main tasks and scope of the research. Afterwards, each parent/guardian was asked if they had any questions; I answered any question the parent/guardian had in the presence of Mr. Dost. I also informed all participants that, at any time, they could withdraw from the study without any explanation. I also informed the participants that if they were uncomfortable with anything I asked about, they did not have to answer. Then, I spoke to each focal child in Pashto with the parent and guardian present and explained the main points on the assent form and shared information about the study. I explained to each child that he or she could choose not to

participate in the study at any time. Furthermore, I explained that I would ensure anonymity throughout the study and would not use their real names, the school name, or the name of the community. Consent and assent letters can be found in Appendix A including for the focal children, the parents and guardians, the teachers, and other participants. In addition, at the end of the study, each family received 18.000 PKR (CAD $150) to help with purchasing any essential household items, such as blankets or cooking utensils, as a gesture of appreciation for their time and willingness to participate in the study. During my first visit to each focal child's home with Mr. Dost, I informed each parent/guardian that they would receive this monetary assistance, even if they chose to withdraw from the study at any time. Below, I describe, in detail, the interviews conducted with the different participants as well as the focus of each of the interviews.

I provide more information about the focal children and their families below. The reader will notice, however, that I provide more information on the male parents and guardians than on the children's mothers or female guardians. In Afghan culture, it is considered impolite to inquire specifically about females or to ask questions pertaining to them, especially as I am a male researcher. Therefore, I relied on the male parents and guardians to volunteer details about the mothers, rather than probing to ask specific questions about them.

The Participants

Safa Noor and her Family

Safa Noor was an energetic and confident, eleven year-old student in the third grade at the Afghan School. She was born in the province of Peshawar, Pakistan. My introduction to Safa best describes her confident nature. When I first visited the school, I sat near the gate with the school's security guard. An Afghan man rode up on his motorcycle and parked it near the school to pick up his children at the end of the school day. Curious about the motorcycle, I asked the

man if it was easy or hard to ride. Before he could answer, Safa standing nearby, said, in Pashto, "Sir, it is very easy . . . we can ride it too, but we are women" (Fieldnotes, January 26, 2018).

Safa's family consisted of eight people: her father Sajjad, her mother Zargoona, and six children (three girls and three boys). Sajjad came from Afghanistan to Pakistan as a refugee in 1978 and settled in Peshawar at the Akore camp with his parents and siblings just before the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He worked in construction while Zargoona took care of the home and the two cows the family kept. Both Sajjad and Zargoona were unable to read or write in any language. Sajjad attended school until third or fourth grade (he could not remember), and Zargoona never attended school. Their oldest daughter, Shereena (17), completed grade eight. Shereena worked part-time as a tutor, helping the neighbourhood students with their homework. Pashtana was the second oldest daughter and was about 15-years-old. She attended school for approximately three years but discontinued. Sajjad and Zargoona also had three boys, Abbas (7), Abdulhamid (5), and Eissa (3). Abbas and Abdulhamid were in the Afghan School with Safa, while Eissa stayed at home.

Living Conditions. The Noor family of eight lived in a small, two-bedroom house made of clay. The parents slept in the first bedroom and the six children slept in cots in the second bedroom. The second bedroom seemed crowded with the cots, and there was not much space to move. On the windowsill, there were three Qurans each covered in a cloth. Other than the Qurans, I did not see any other books in the Noor's home. Outside, there was a small veranda where the family would sit and drink their tea. To the left of the veranda was the bathroom. The family did not have any running hot water and had to heat water over a fire in order to shower. Sajjad was the only member of the family who worked full time. He worked in construction building homes, schools, or other buildings. As the sole income earner for the Noor family, he

struggled to provide for the household's needs. He told me, "One day if I don't work, Allah knows my situation; I am in trouble" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto) and mentioned the struggle he faced to pay the bills.

Seemena Angar and Her Family

Seemena Angar was a quiet ten-year-old student in the second grade. She was tall and had a pierced nose, which made her easy to spot among her classmates. Seemena was born in an Afghan refugee camp in Peshawar, Pakistan. Her family who had lived in Pakistan for more than four decades, consisted of her father, Dawud, her mother, Kinza, seven male children, and five female children. Except for Seemena, all the girls were married and no longer lived with the family, leaving Seemena, her parents, and her six brothers living under one roof. Her eldest brother lived separately along with his wife and children due to lack of space in Seemena's home.

Dawud and Kinza only spoke Pashto and could not read or write in any language. Dawud's parents were too poor to send him to school, while Kinza had not attended school because, as Dawud told me, it was uncommon for girls to do so. Other than the nephews and nieces that lived in the house (the children of her brothers), Seemena was the only person in her immediate family to attend school. When I asked why his sons did not attend school, Dawud told me that they had to work to support the family.

Dawud used to be a police officer in Afghanistan prior to moving to Pakistan. After completing his service as an officer, he had been a farmer. In Pakistan, he initially worked as a farmer to support his family. As he recalled, "I borrowed some land and grew different kind of things on it" (Interview, February 1, 2018, translated from Pashto). Then he started doing construction work with other men from the refugee camp. The work was physically demanding

and the pay was very little. He told me that his day's work would conclude "at dawn . . . I would get 30 to 35 rupees [about US .21 cents] and go home" (Interview, February 1, 2018, translated from Pashto).

Living Conditions. The Angars lived in a five-bedroom house which was situated on a steep slope and it was a struggle to reach the door as there were no proper stairs. The focal participant, Seemena, shared a room with her three nieces: Jannath (9), Habiba (6), and Wowrah (7). At the back of the room was a pile of mattresses, pillows, and blankets. On the windowsill, there were notebooks from Seemena's English, math, Urdu, science, and social studies classes in previous grades. Except for her Urdu notebook, most of the writing in these notebooks was in English. Seemena's Quran, Separah (Quran primer), and Dua (supplication) books lay wrapped in a special cloth on top of the notebooks. Other than these texts, I did not see any other books at the Angar's home. Outside the rooms, there was a small mud stove for cooking. A small bathroom was located near Seemena's parents' room. Outside the home, there was an area for the livestock. The family had four cows, two goats, and several hens and chicks.

Dawud was elderly with several health issues and had retired from work. His legs suffered from extreme pain and his two eldest sons, Yunus (47) and Toryahleh (33), regularly took him to the hospital for blood transfusions, for which either son was the donor. His medical visits added another burden to the family's expenses. Despite the fact that all of Dawud's sons were working, they struggled financially as labor work was not always available.

Harun Sabr and His Family

Harun Sabr was a nine-year-old friendly student in the first grade. He was born in Peshawar, Pakistan. His family had been in Pakistan for nearly 30 years after leaving Afghanistan to escape the war. Four years prior to the study, Harun's family had moved back to

Afghanistan because they faced financial difficulty in Pakistan. As the schools in Afghanistan were located too far from his parents' home and were unsafe because they were frequently targeted by insurgents, Harun stayed behind so he could attend school in Pakistan. Harun's large extended family household included his grandparents and uncles, their wives, and their children. Habeebullah, his youngest uncle, was specifically in charge of looking out for Harun.

Habeebullah completed grade 12 but could not attend university because of his refugee status. He read and wrote Urdu fluently. He could also read some English words. Habeebullah's bothers, Radwan and Omid, completed second grade and sixth grade, respectively. Their wives were all homemakers and had not attended school at all. All of the children in Harun's extended family attended school, except for Farooq. Farooq (15) used to attend Afghan School and completed fifth grade, but stopped attending to take care of the livestock and run errands for the family.

Living Conditions. The Sabrs lived in a seven-bedroom house, including the guestroom. The guestroom is a common type of space within the home in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has two doors, one that connects to the community and one with the home. The room's main purpose is for community activities or events. For example, whereas in Canada people may gather to socialize and children may attend an after-school program in a community center, in Brishna this would occur in the guestroom. Harun shared a bedroom with three of his male cousins. The bedroom had four cots and an oversized metal box with clothes inside it. I did not see any books or texts in this room. However, in the grandfather's room, on top of the closet was a Quran. Habeebullah's room also had a small wooden bookcase. It included the Quran, Sunnah (sayings) of the Prophet (in Urdu), and various other Islamic books, also in Urdu. There was one English language book *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*, that Habeebullah had read in secondary school.

Habeebullah and his two brothers were the only adults who worked outside of the home. They struggled to make ends meet, especially because of their large family size. Therefore, Habeebullah and his brothers did what they could by working as laborers to help meet their financial needs. Habeebullah mentioned that sometimes this was not possible. For example, only the grandparents, Haji Sabr and Aisha Sabr had Afghan passports, because the rest of the family could not afford the cost to obtain their Afghan passports.

Arman Khushal and His Family

Arman Khushal, an energetic seven-year-old kindergarten student with a happy disposition, was born in Islamabad, Pakistan. His family included his father Arian, his mother Waheeda, his three brothers Abderrazzaq (23), Abdulbasit (14), and Gulam (3), and his three sisters, Noora (35), Qamar-Gula (10), and Sameera (7). Like the other participants, his parents came to Pakistan as refugees in 1974 to escape the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and had been living in Pakistan ever since.

Arian had only completed the fourth grade before leaving school to help support his family. Neither Arian nor Waheeda could read or write in any language, although Arian spoke fluent Urdu, while Waheeda spoke Pashto and rudimentary Urdu. In order to help his family financially, Arian collected plastic bottles for recycling, when he was a child. Currently, he worked at his own dry hay business, along with his sons. Abderrazzaq completed seventh grade before leaving school to help his father run the hay business. Abdulbasit was 14 years old and had completed fifth grade. He struggled at school and had decided to leave it to help pack hay in bags and transport it. Arian's older daughter, Noora, was married and did not live with the family. The other daughters, Qamar Gula and Sameera (Arman's twin) were in second grade and kindergarten, respectively.

Living Conditions. The Khushals lived in a small, three-bedroom mud house. Arman shared his bedroom with his brothers. Toward the back of the room, on top of the cabinet were four Qurans, stacked on top of one another. Other than these Qurans, I did not see any other texts at the Khushal's home.

As indicated, the Khushals ran a dry hay business; they bought dry hay in large quantities, which they then repackaged in different smaller amounts and sold to the nearby families that had livestock. When compared to the rest of the participant families, the Khushal's financial situation was much more stable. For example, the family did not have to worry much about lack of work. Nevertheless, the Khushals worked very hard and made many sacrifices to keep their business afloat. As an example, Arian was rarely at home; he left in the morning, came home for dinner, and then went back to work. He slept in a little room (converted from a jeep) at the hay business worksite and came home in the morning for breakfast.

Staff Participants from the Afghan School

Mrs. Khan, founder of the Afghan School, had taught for more than 30 years in the United States. She held a Master's degree in education from a university in the United States. Mrs. Khan founded the school specifically for impoverished children, such as children who worked in the streets and students from poor and refugee backgrounds.

Mr. Dost or Kakah, the security guard at the Afghan School, was a Pashto speaking Afghan living as a refugee in Pakistan. He was also the leader for the Afghan community and therefore knew many of the families. The families also sought his advice regarding their children's progress at the school. For instance, if a parent wanted to meet with a teacher, they would first speak to Mr. Dost and then he would communicate the request to one of the co-principals. Mr. Dost was also a strong supporter of education and three of his children attended

the Afghan School. He played an important role in this study in that he interacted daily with the focal children. In addition, all of the focal children and their guardians had a close and trusted relationship with him. He personally accompanied me on my first visits to each of the focal children's homes.

Mrs. Aisha taught kindergarten at the Afghan School and had been employed there for one year. She held a high school diploma and had taught at another school for one year before joining the Afghan School.

Mrs. Hajar taught English to grades one, two, and seven. She had a Master's degree in English Language and Literature from the National University of Modern Languages, in Islamabad. She had been at the Afghan School for one year, but she had taught for almost 30 years. She was also the only Pashto speaking teacher at the school.

Mrs. Zara taught Urdu and social studies to the grade one students. She had a BA in business and math, and a Master's degree in Pakistan Studies from a small, private university in Punjab, Pakistan. Prior to joining the Afghan School, she taught for three years at another primary school.

Mrs. Tuba taught Urdu to the grade two students, and she also taught arts and sports classes to all grades. She was working towards her BA degree in social sciences. Mrs. Tuba had been at the Afghan School for five years. Before then, she worked as a teacher for a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in Pakistan that supported Afghan refugees. Many of the Afghan refugee families in Brishna knew Mrs. Tuba and considered her a close friend.

Mrs. Fowzia taught English to the grade three students and Urdu to grades six through nine. She had a Master's degree in Urdu and a Master's degree in Education from the University of Sargodha in Punjab, Pakistan. She had taught at the Afghan School since July 2017 and had

about ten years of teaching experience.

Mrs. Sarah taught social studies and math to third grade students and social studies to grades six through eight. She had a Master's in social studies. She had been teaching at the Afghan School for seven months and this was her first teaching position

Mrs. Madinah taught Islamiat (Islamic) and Urdu to the second and fourth grade students. She also taught science classes to grades one, two, and three. She had a BA in Urdu and certificates of completion for several Arabic language courses. She had been at the Afghan School for six months and this was her first teaching position.

Data Collection

As noted, data collection for this qualitative study used ethnographic methods. My objective was to develop rich descriptions of the ways language and literacy were enacted and practiced within the homes, schools, and communities of the focal Afghan refugee children and their families. Data collection included participant observation, semi-structured interviews, a reflective journal, and photos. Data collection occurred over a five-month period from January to May 2018. See Table 3.1 for a summary of all data collection. Below, I describe in detail each data collection method.

Table 3.1 Data Collection

Participants	**Number and name of participants**	**Data collection method**	**Frequency**	**Location(s)**	**Duration**	**Language**
Focal children	4 (Safa, Seemena, Harun, Arman)	Semi-structured interviews	3 times	Home School Community	20-35 minutes	Pashto (translated to English)
Parents	4 (Sajjad, Dawud, Habeebullah, Arian)	Semi-structured interviews	3 times	Home	30-60 minutes	Pashto (translated to English)
Teachers (**Interviews conducted in English**- no translator)	4 (Mrs. Hajar, Mrs. Zara, Mrs. Madinah, Mrs. Fowzia)	Semi-structured interviews	2 times	School	45-60 minutes	English
Teachers (**interviews conducted in Urdu**-co-principals served as translator)	3 (Mrs. Aisha, Mrs. Sarah, Mrs. Tuba)	Semi-structured interviews	2 times	School	45-60 minutes	Urdu with interpreter (translated to English)
Mosque teacher (co-Pashto speaking teacher served as translator)	1 (Qari Burhan)	Semi-structured interview	1 time	Mosque	35 minutes	Urdu with interpreter (translated to English)
Security guard	1 (Mr. Dost)	Semi-structured interview	1 time	School	30 minutes	Pashto (translated to English)
School Founder	1 (Mrs. Khan)	Semi-structured interview	1 time	School	40 minutes	English
Focal children	4 (Safa, Seemena, Harun, Arman)	Participant observation	1 time/week for 18 weeks	At home, at school, and in the community	2 hours	Fieldnotes written in English
N/A	N/A	Artefacts (photos, assignments)	N/A	At home, at school, and in the community	N/A	Photos of artefacts in Urdu and English (translated to English)

Interviews

Interviews were an important component of this research study as they allowed me to gather information regarding language and literacy in the lives of the participants. Spradley (1979) emphasized that interviewing begins with building rapport with participants. In order to build rapport with the participants, I followed the rules of Pashtunwali in terms of making sure that what I asked was appropriate and in line with the Pashtun culture. For example, in Pashtunwali, there is an emphasis that you begin interviewing and speaking with participants with their own life story and situation. Thus, my first interview questions centered on having the parents and guardians share their family history, their migration from Afghanistan and their current challenges and any pressing issues that I could help with. The interviews used in this study were semi-structured, meaning "the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions" (Given, 2008, p. 810). Although the researcher has more control over the questions or topics in the interview (Given, 2008), it is open in that "there is no fixed range of responses to each question" (Given, 2008, p. 810). Using semi-structured interviews helped me guide the interview and included questions that were related to my research questions. However, it was quite open ended; for example, some parents/guardians talked extensively about the natural beauty and resources in their provinces in Afghanistan and other chose to talk about the lack of security and lack of schools available in their provinces. I then had a chance to probe and ask questions pertaining to aspect of their provinces that related to my questions and if the participant wanted to elaborate, he or she could. In essence, the main benefit of using interviews allowed me to find out "what is in and on someone else's mind" (Patton, 1990, p. 278). A limitation is also that some participants "may be reluctant to share what is on their minds" (Hatch, 2002, p. 92). Below, I describe, in detail, the interviews conducted with the different

participants as well as the focus of each of the interviews. Interview questions for all participants (e.g. parents/guardians, focal children, teachers, etc.) can be found in Appendix B.

Interviews with the Focal Children

I interviewed the focal children three times, at the beginning, middle and end of the study. The first semi-structured interviews were conducted in Pashto at the children's homes and lasted between 20 and 35 minutes. These focused primarily on getting to know each focal child. For example, I asked the focal children to tell me about their section of the bedroom[8] and to show me some of their toys and the games they played. I used a black SONY audio recorder about four inches long with a built-in-USB that connected easily to my laptop, and I used my iPhone as a backup for each interview. I did not audio record these first interviews, as this was a new practice for the children. For example, I noted: "Safa asked me twice if I was going to record what she said. When I informed her that I would, she asked me if I could please interview her another day. I then asked her if she would like me not to record and instead take notes on the interview and she agreed excitedly" (Fieldnotes, February 12, 2018). Therefore, I decided it was better to conduct the first round of interviews without the audio recording; however, I wrote summaries of these interviews in my reflective journal. As the children became comfortable with me and the research process, they allowed me to audio record our interviews. I eased them into the practice by explaining that it was a tool to help me. I demonstrated this by repeating the alphabet or speaking in Pashto to the focal child and then replayed it and we would both laugh.

The second interviews took place in April 2018 and, as I mentioned, I audio recorded

[8] None of the focal children had their own room, rather they shared a room with their siblings or other relatives living in the house.

them. The questions asked in this interview focused primarily on the children's schooling experiences. For instance, I asked them to describe a school day, or show me their schoolwork (e.g., what they were writing, drawing, or reading). I also inquired about their language use at school, including what languages they spoke and where at school they spoke those languages. In addition, I inquired if they spoke Pashto at school, and, if so, where specifically (e.g., classroom, recess) they spoke it.

The third interview was conducted in May 2018 and was also audio recorded. I told the focal children about what I had observed and gave them an opportunity to ask me any questions. My questions focused on what they did when they were bored and the activities they engaged in at home in the evening. This interview also probed for information about their plans, such as what they wanted to be when they grew up. I asked these questions in order to understand the children's aspirations (or lack of aspirations) for their future.

Interviews with the Parents and Guardians

I conducted three semi-structured interviews with the fathers or male guardians of the focal children. The first interviews took place at the end of January and beginning of February. All the interviews were conducted in Pashto at the participants' homes, and each one lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The goal of the first interview was to become acquainted; for example, I asked the parents or guardians to tell me about the other members of their family, such as their names, ages, and occupations. I also asked about the parent's or guardian's occupation in Islamabad and the types of skills required to perform their work.

The second interviews focused on the parent's or guardian's educational experiences. The second interview with Dawud Angar was conducted on April 17, 2018 and with Arian Khushal on April 24, 2018. Habeebullah Sabr and Sajjad Noor were not available for the second

interview and this interview was rescheduled and conducted with them on May 13, 2018. [I could not interview the parents around the same time due to their work and personal demands at home.] Of those parents/guardians who had attended school, I asked them what type of school they had attended (e.g., public school, religious school). Of those who had not attended formal school, I asked them why they had not attended school and whether they believed that attending school would have improved their lives and in what way. Similarly, I wanted to know what literacy meant to them, how they practiced literacy in their homes, and how people in their community used literacy.

The third interview focused on asking the parents and guardians about things I had observed or that they had spoken about that was unclear to me. This interview also provided them with an opportunity to ask me questions.

Interviews with the Staff at the Afghan School

I conducted and audio recorded two interviews with the focal children's teachers (the teachers mentioned previously) at the Afghan School. One interview was conducted at the beginning and one at the end of the study. The interviews were conducted in English with four teachers, and in Urdu with three teachers, with the co-principals serving as translators (described in detail later). Each interview lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes. The first interview concentrated on the teachers' backgrounds and experiences and the Afghan students. For example, I asked about their teaching qualifications, and what they found enjoyable and challenging about their jobs as teachers. I also asked contextual questions about the Afghan School, including asking them to describe their teaching experiences and the students the school served. In addition, I asked them to talk about the challenges that the Afghan students faced, and the role of first language at school. In the second interview, my questions focused on learning

more about the classes the teachers taught, how they defined literacy, what skills or aspects of the Afghan culture were used or studied in the classroom.[9] Lastly, I had the teachers talk about what they thought about students speaking their first language at school and if they believed that the Afghan School should find a way to help students develop and maintain their first language.

I interviewed Mr. Dost, the school's security guard and a community leader, on April 16, 2018. The interview was audio recorded at the Afghan School. The interview was in Pashto and lasted for about 30 minutes. In the interview, I asked Mr. Dost to tell me about himself, his job at the school, and his life as a refugee. I also asked him about the role of the school in the Afghan refugee community. For example, I asked him, "Do you think this school is meeting the needs of Afghan refugee students? If yes, how, and if no, why not?" Additionally, I asked Mr. Dost if the Afghan School should support Pashto language and literacy development, and if so how.

I interviewed Mrs. Khan on April 11, 2018. The interview was audio recorded, conducted in English and took place at the Afghan School. The interview lasted for about 40 minutes. In the interview, I asked about the school's mission and the criteria used for hiring teachers. For example, I asked, "What characteristics do you look for in teachers when hiring?" Furthermore, I asked about the school's literacy curriculum and how and if the school supported the Afghan children's first language at the school.

---

[9] For example, teachers were asked "Are there topics, knowledge or other resources related to Afghanistan or the Afghan culture that are used in your class?" If the teacher answered "yes," I followed up by asking "Could you please give me an instance when this happened? What was the activity?"

Interview with the Mosque Teacher

I interviewed Qari Burhan (Harun's mosque teacher) on May 7, 2018. The interview was conducted in Urdu with a co-Pashtun mosque teacher serving as a translator. The 35-minute interview took place at the mosque and was audio recorded. In the interview, I asked about Qari Burhan's own educational background and about what kind of learning students engaged in at the mosque. I asked about what was read in the mosque and in what language. I also asked questions about what languages were encouraged at the mosque and if there were any languages that students were expected to speak at the mosque.

Observational Fieldnotes

Observational fieldnotes are a common method of collecting data in qualitative research and has several affordances. For example, Spradley (1980) noted that, "participation allows you to experience activities directly, to get a feel of what events are like, and to record your own perceptions" (p. 51). For example, observing Harun partake in the Naseehath (moral storytelling) allowed me to see how this event is structured, what are the rules for participating in this event, and how this event connected to the family's literacy beliefs (described in detail in Chapter 5). At the same time, being a participant observer allows a researcher to understand social practices that are normally hidden from the public gaze (Spradley, 1980). For example, this helped me to understand why some parents/guardians viewed themselves as blind because they could not read and write; this understanding required that I understood their view of literacy and their life experiences, including the difficulties and challenges they faced and continued to face in Islamabad as refugees. Similarly, since my goal was to generate rich, in-depth descriptions, I observed each of the focal children regularly in their immediate environments once a week for a total of 18 weeks. This included observing them when they were at home, when they were out in

the community (e.g., shopping or at the mosque), and during school (e.g., in the classroom and on the playground). I observed each child in two-hour periods at school and at their homes (e.g., two hours at school and two hours at home). I continued to observe them if they went outside to play or run errands in the community during that time. At school, I observed the children through all aspects of their day including while in their English, Urdu, math, science, Islamiat, and art classes and during recess. I aimed to schedule my visits with each focal child at school at different times of the day in order to create a composite picture of their daily experiences. This meant I sometimes observed the focal child in the morning, sometimes in the afternoon, and sometimes when the school day was close to ending. When visiting focal children at home, I strove to be respectful of the families and their privacy. For example, each day I visited a child, I walked home from school with them. Then, when we got close to their home, I informed the child that I would not come to the house for approximately thirty or forty minutes. I did this to allow the focal child to eat and relax and for the child to spend some time at home, prior to my observations. While I waited, I reviewed the notes I had taken during the school observation and I highlighted things that were unclear to me, such as what happened during an activity in class that the focal child had engaged in at school, as well as points that I felt allowed me to get children's perspectives. Then, during my in-home visit (if the opportunity arose), I asked the focal child for further information to clarify. I also made fieldnotes to capture what I observed of the activities and events as they happened. Sometimes, I was unable to write fieldnotes during an activity or event because I was involved in the activity myself or my writing would cause a distraction for the focal child I was observing. In those cases, I briefly jotted down key words or phrases regarding what I was observing. I then filled in my fieldnotes as soon as possible after the session, but before leaving the site.

The purpose of my visits to the focal children's home was to observe their literacy and language activities and events in the home. Spradley (1979) referred to participant observation as "a strategy for both listening to people and watching them in natural setting" (p. 32). For example, I focused on the languages the focal children used at home, and the languages spoken to them by the adults. Similarly, I noted the languages they used when they were interacting and playing with other children. In addition, I made note of the different kinds of resources and materials such as prayer beads, Islamic calligraphy, or Qurans that were visible or that were used by the family members and the focal children during any language and literacy activities or events. My observation, in part, also focused on how the extended family members, siblings, and parents were engaged in language and literacy activities with the focal children. For example, I observed the interactions between the focal child and their family members (e.g., Safa translating for her father or using her supplication book to teach her sibling; Arman communicating with his siblings in Pashto).

While in the community with focal children, I noted instances when the children read, wrote, or spelled words. I also focused on the language(s) the focal child used in the community and what languages people spoke to the children. Similarly, I was able to observe literacy and language events on special occasions and different contexts, such as Arman's brother's wedding, Safa's Quran completion ceremony, and at a presentation the students at the Afghan School prepared for their parents.

While observing them at school, I focused on the language and literacy events and activities that the focal children were exposed to or engaged in. For example, I noted what language the child used in the classroom and during recess. I also observed the focal child as he or she interacted with the other children (Afghan and non-Afghan); in particular, I noted the

language the child used in these different instances. Similarly, I focused on the reading and writing activities, tasks, and assignments the focal children engaged in at school. For example, I paid attention to the language students read in during their Science or Social Studies classes, as well as the language(s) that were used to discuss the texts.

Role of the Researcher

In the children's homes and in the community, I took on the role of a participant observer. This meant that if the focal child invited me or asked me to participate in his/her activity or game, I engaged in the activity and observed at the same time. For instance, when Arman asked me to play a marble game, I happily agreed and tried my best to play according to his directions. Similarly, in the community, I also greeted the shopper when the children were shopping and offered my opinion when the focal child asked me about something. In contrast, at school I took on the role of a non-participant observer. I sat at the back of the classroom and observed the focal child and took notes. Occasionally, I walked around the room when students were working on their classwork to ask the focal child to describe what he/she was doing or to translate for me what the teacher said, as I do not speak Urdu. I did not help the children with their classwork or assignments. I noticed that my role as a non-participant observer helped the students (including the focal children) see me as an adult who was also learning at their school, and not as a teacher. I aimed to present myself more as a learner than a teacher, and I believed that doing so would help the focal children feel comfortable describing things about their school or their teachers that they may have not felt comfortable sharing with a person they viewed as a teacher.

Reflection Journal

I wrote in a reflection journal or "jotted" (Miles et at., 2014, p. 94) regularly throughout the research as a way to talk about my "presuppositions, choices, experiences, and actions during the research process" (Mruck & Breuer, 2003, p. 3). The goal of a reflection journal is in part to help the researcher examine their own assumptions, beliefs, and subjectivities (Ortlipp, 2008). I concur with Ortlipp (2008) that using a reflection journal "enabled me to make my experiences, opinions, thoughts, and feelings visible and acknowledged part of the research design" (p. 703). For example, in the beginning of my fieldwork when I noticed the male focal children trying to copy from their classmates at school to complete assignments, I was a bit bothered that the teachers did not notice this, since I viewed the children's behavior as cheating. I wrote my views about these observations and described my own feelings with regard to what I was noticing. When I wrote my regular "memos from the field" to my committee members (explained and described in the data analysis section), I included some of my views on the male focal children's behavior pertaining to cheating on school assignments. The committee members, suggested that I observe these behaviors even more closely and suggested that I ask the children questions about if they sometimes do not know the answer to questions in the school assignments or if they find the tasks challenging. As a result, the reflection journal allowed me a place to write about my experiences, views, and understanding of what I was observing. It also enabled me to share these with my committee members in an effort to guide me as a researcher and to reflect critically on my own understandings. In the data analysis section, I elaborate further on my use of the reflection journal and provide an excerpt to explain how using it helped me to reflect on my data more closely.

Photos of Artefacts

Artefacts include children's work, school records, official documents (e.g., report cards or progress reports), and any materials used in the setting being studied (Hatch, 2002). Artefacts are important in that they provide another insight into the way people act and think (Hatch, 2000; Hodder, 1994). Hatch (2000) noted that one of the advantages of data such as artefacts is that "they can be gathered without disturbing the natural flow of human activity" (p. 119) and can be especially useful when engaging in triangulation. For instance, as I will describe later, the photos of Arman's homework diary were an important source of evidence that complemented my observations and interviews with him, his teachers, and his father. However, as Hatch (2000) noted, using data such as artefacts should complement other sources of data (e.g. interviews, participant observation), as using them in isolation can lead to misrepresenting events and social contexts. Photos were an important source of data in this study as they provided glimpses of the focal children and the language and literacy events or activities they engaged in. The photos I collected included photographs of the children, their schoolwork (e.g., drawings, writing), toys, games, and items they made. To contextualize the setting, I also took photographs of the school and of things found in the community. At the study's onset, I gave each family a folder and explained that the purpose of the folder was to hold items like a drawing or written letter that the focal children had produced and that they wanted to show me later. I purposely did not specify exactly what they should put in the folder so as not to influence or restrict the type of materials they chose. However, this method was unsuccessful as none of the children or parents/guardians

used the folder.[10] In retrospect, if I had reminded the parents and children more often, I may have been more successful in collecting artefacts from the children. However, I did not remind the children as I did not want them to view this as an assignment. Despite this, I was able to take photos of artefacts at home, at school, and in the community, throughout the duration of the study. Table 3.2 lists the subjects of the photos and where they were taken.

Table 3.2 Photos Collected for this Study and Where They Were Taken

Subjects of the Photos	Setting
School and areas of the focal children's homes	School and home
Focal children's schoolwork (e.g., writing samples, books, planner pages, drawings, workbook pages, selected pages from textbooks)	School
Focal children at play and doing activities at home or in the community (e.g., playing marbles, using a book for an activity, reciting a supplication or engaging in prayer)	Home and community
Focal children either posing for the camera or engaging in an activity (e.g. writing on the board)	School and home
The community, the market, shops, and fruit carts	Community
Photos of me, the parents and guardians, the community leader, and the focal children	Home and community (e.g., at Arman's brother's wedding)

[10] Harun and Safa misplaced their folders while Seemena brought me the empty folder and explained that she had nothing in it. Arman's folder contained a notebook page with the names of Allah written on it that he had found on February 13, 2018 on his way home from school.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, both the data collection and data analysis take place in a recursive manner. In this study, data analysis was ongoing as I collected data. The ongoing analysis assisted me with identifying emerging patterns and themes (e.g., focal children's use of first language at home and teachers' views of first language at school). In addition, the categories derived from the initial analysis of the data were modified and changed as the data collection progressed. While analyzing the data, I focused on discovering meaningful categories of activities, events, or ideas. Finally, I connected the different categories of activities, events, or ideas that had a linkage or commonality among them and formed interpretations (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Merriam, 2009). My analysis of the data was informed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña's (2014) strategy for qualitative data analysis. Below, I first describe transcribing and gathering data into Microsoft Word application and the process of deductive coding, prior to explaining the three steps outlined by Miles et al. (2014) and how I followed each step.

Transcribing and Collating the Data

As the study commenced, I created a document folder in Microsoft Word application for each focal child. Each folder contained all the data pertaining to the focal child and his or her guardian as they were written. For example, Arman Khushal's folder contained all the transcripts of each interview I conducted with him, his father, and his teachers. Furthermore, I included all the fieldnotes I wrote and the photographs I took of him and the artefacts that pertained to him along with their descriptions. I organized the information chronologically by date and source of data in each focal child's folder. Regarding interviews, I was the sole interviewer for all interviews conducted with the focal children, their parents/guardians, the school's security guard, the school founder, and Mrs. Hajar, Mrs. Zara, Mrs. Madinah and Mrs. Fowzia. For example,

with the focal children, the parents/guardians, and the security guard, I conducted the interviews in Pashto. With the school founder, I conducted the interview in English. On the other hand, Mrs. Aisha, Mrs. Sarah, and Mrs. Tuba preferred the Urdu language for the interviews, even though they spoke and understood some English. The co-principals agreed to serve as translators for them. This meant that one of the co-principals was present during each of my interviews with Mrs. Aisha, Mrs. Sarah, and Mrs. Tuba. The principal translated my question to each of these teachers in Urdu and Mrs. Aisha, Mrs. Tuba, and Mrs. Sarah answered the question in Urdu. The principal then translated the question to me in English. I am confident with the translation service provided by the co-principals. For example, the teacher spoke for about minute and then paused so that the co-principals could translate the information to me. Meanwhile, while the principal was translating, I asked the teachers to listen carefully to the translation and to nod to indicate that the translation was correct from their understanding, based on what they had understood of the English translation. This was a helpful practice, and the teachers sometimes elaborated and provided a further example to help me understand their views. Sometimes the teachers used English to help explain their responses. Furthermore, even though the co-principals served as translators for these teachers, I made sure that when I asked my question, I always looked at the teacher who was being interviewed.

I also transcribed all of the fieldnotes and interviews into English. For example, I listened to each interview first to become familiar with it and then translated word for word from Pashto to English, or English to English (in the case of teachers with whom English was used for interviews). When translating from Pashto into English, I retained some Pashto words in my English translation as these were either common words that I felt readers would know (e.g., Assalyum alaikum). I also used Pashto for words that were significant when I believed it would

be better to include the word itself and provide some explanation with it, as I did with the word Nar twoob (See page 140).

I strived to translate the words of each participant as closely as possible to their speech. For example, for the teachers with whom interviews were conducted in English, I maintained their English grammatical structures in the interviews but added clarifying phrases if needed. However, I chose not to note hesitations such as "umm" or "ahh." In addition, a Pakistani post-graduate student who was fluent in Pashto, Urdu, and English helped me translate all the data from Pashto into English. For instance, the interviews with each focal child, their guardians, and their teachers were checked by the post-graduate student for accuracy. This service was particularly helpful for the interviews where the co-principals served as translators. I asked the post-graduate student to listen to the teachers' answers in Urdu and the co-principals' translation of the teachers' responses and indicate if there were any major differences. He did not indicate any major differences and believed that the co-principals had genuinely captured the teachers' responses well. The post-graduate student also assisted me with translating artefacts from Urdu into English. For example, the focal child's written classwork or homework from Urdu was translated into English. My meetings with the post-graduate student occurred on a weekly basis over a month and each meeting consisted of two to three hours.

Deductive Coding

Before I started coding, I read through each data type (I read all of the interview transcripts, fieldnotes, photo descriptions) to increase my familiarity with, and gain a holistic understanding of, the data. My codes began with my "start list" of codes or deductive coding. For example, one of my codes was "Language(s) at home" to describe what language(s) were spoken at home. Another was "Language(s) at school," which focused on the language(s) focal

children spoke and were spoken to at school. Miles et al. (2014) stated that deductive coding "comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas, and/or key variables that the researcher brings to the study" (p. 81). My deductive coding was based on my research questions and my knowledge from the literature. For instance, I used Barton and Hamilton's (2000) definition of literacy events as "activities in which literacy plays a role and usually involves texts" (p. 8), and I made notes of any activity or event involving texts.

At the same time, it is well recognized that some ethnic minority communities rely on oral tradition which does not depend on books or printed materials to tell stories (Heath, 1982, 1983; Luo & Tamis-LeMonda, 2017). For instance, storytelling is an important practice in many refugee communities, such as the Afghan, Somali, and Sudanese communities. It is used to pass on important values and cultural beliefs (Ong'ayi, Yildirim, & Roopnarine, 2020). Moreover, oral storytelling has been an indicator of children's literacy success, as it usually uses a more complex language than needed in daily conversation (Kanaya & Santiago, 2019). For example, Riojas-Cortez et al. (2003) found that Latino parents and guardians used oral storytelling to promote children's language and literacy development. Luo and Tamis-LeMonda (2017) further noted that storytelling does not require written material and may be a preferred activity among parents and guardians who have not learned the skills of reading or writing and among non-English speaking parents and guardians. For these reasons, in this thesis I also describe the Nasheehath [moral] storytelling as a literacy event. I categorize it as such because it aligns with the parents' and guardians' view of literacy and incorporates aspects of what they believed a literate person is. For example, as will be seen later in the thesis, many of the parents and guardians described instilling manners in people as an important component of what literacy does. As well, when describing the roles of the participants, I drew on Rogoff's (1990) model of

guided participation and particularly focused on the "routine and engagements that guide children's increasing skilled and appropriate participation in the daily activities valued in their culture" (p. 191). Therefore, for each literacy event that I observed, I tried to describe the event (e.g., the function and purpose of the event), noting the participants involved, how they were participating, as well as the language they used, the language of the text, and the physical location of the activity. My first question focused on the language and literacy practices of the focal children in three settings. For this, I developed the following codes based on my research questions: Language(s) at home, language(s) at school, language(s) in the community, literacy events at home, literacy events at school, and literacy events in the community. Table 3.2, shows the coding categories that I used for each of my research questions.

Table 3.3 Conceptual Matrix of Codes

Identifying characteristics of the participants	Language	Literacy	Other factors pertaining to language and literacy
Afghan refugee families	Language(s) at home	Literacy activities and events at home	Literacy support and resources at home
Focal children 4 to11 years old	Language(s) at school	Literacy activities and events at school	Refugee documents (e.g., food ration cards, refugee cards)
Age/gender/ Occupation	Language(s) in the community	Literacy activities and events in the community	First language support and barriers
Pashtun	Parents/guardians beliefs about language	Parents/guardians beliefs about literacy	Family roles in language and literacy events
Muslim (role of Islam in their lives)	Community leader, school founder, & teachers' beliefs about language	Community leader, school founder, & teachers' beliefs about literacy.	Teachers, mosque teachers, and friends' roles in language and literacy
Neighbourhood/ shops/ mosques/etc.	Parents/guardians views of war/instability on their language development	Parents/guardians views of war/instability on their literacy development	Religion and cultural practices

Procedure for Data Analysis

My procedures for analyzing the qualitative data came from Miles et al. (2014). They proposed three concurrent steps: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification.

Data Condensation

During data condensation, the researcher uses the research questions to sort and categorize the data. The researcher then engages in a process of selecting and simplifying as well as extracting codes and themes from transcriptions. As Miles et al. (2014) stated, data condensation starts even before data is collected. For instance, my data condensation began as soon as I decided on my conceptual framework, the research questions guiding the study, and the data collection methods I employed, such as interviews, observational fieldnotes, and taking photos of artefacts. As I collected the data, I engaged in further data condensation, which included coding, writing summaries, developing themes, and writing memos (which I describe later on).

Data Display

The researcher then represents the data in other forms such as charts, matrices, networks, or discussion. Data displays present the results of the data reduction in an accessible summary that enables the researcher to draw conclusions (Alexander, 2004). In this project, I found charts and matrices to be most useful in displaying my data, making sense of my data, and enabling me to draw conclusions. For example, I used data collection tables (described in detail later) that focused on my research questions. The data collection tables helped me to ensure that I was collecting relevant data and to clarify anything that was unclear to me. I also used matrices (described in detail later) to describe some of the literacy activities that the focal children engaged in.

Drawing Conclusions

During the drawing conclusions phase, the researcher interprets the main themes and draws conclusions from the patterns identified during the reading and rereading of the transcribed fieldnotes, interviews, and descriptions of artefacts. The researcher must be attuned to patterns or propositions from the very beginning of the data collection while keeping in mind that these conclusions may change until they are grounded and explicit (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In this stage of the data analysis, I reread my data and focused on the emerging patterns and themes. As part of this process, I reviewed the notes I had made in my reflection journal and used memoing to draw conclusions. I also used the charts and matrixes to help me summarize the findings. For instance, when looking at the parents/guardians' views on their first language, the chart helped me look at the responses of my participants simultaneously and see the similarities and differences. Rereading the data and the themes, and using the charts not only helped me become familiar with the data; it helped ensure that my conclusions were grounded in the data.

First Cycle and Second Cycle Coding

After completing the deductive coding, I began to work on each focal child's digital folder and engaged in "first cycle coding" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 73). Miles et al. (2014) stated that first cycle coding "is a way to initially summarize segments of data" (p. 86), and that "First Cycle coding processes can range in magnitude from a single word to a full paragraph" (p. 72). During first cycle coding, I identified codes inductively. Within each focal child's folder, I began to code all the data that pertained to the focal child, such as the interviews with their parent or guardian and the fieldnotes from observing them at home, at school, and in the community. Below, I provide an excerpt from my fieldnotes and the results of the first cycle coding exercise.

The initial codes are shown in bold in the following example. I will explain these particular codes in more detail following the transcript.

Class: Science
Focal student: Harun Sabr
Date: March 5, 2018

Mrs. Madinah begins class by asking students to sit quietly and keeps saying "ketab band karo" meaning close your books.- **tr. asks class to close books-in Urdu-science- Harun** Then she takes her marker and writes "Write and draw five sense?" [sic] on the board.**- tr. writes write/draw five senses-in English- science- Harun** The class becomes a bit noisy as students are raising their hands to come up and write one of the senses. The teacher calls on a student and he comes up to the board.**- class noisy-students raise hands to volunteer to write/draw five senses- science- Harun** He begins by drawing an eye and writes "see." The teacher asks class, in English, "Is it correct?" and class answers, in English, "Yes" and "Yes, mam."**- student draws eye and writes "see"- tr. asks if correct in English-science-Harun** She then instructs the student to go back to his seat, in Urdu.**- tr. Instructs student to sit-in Urdu-science-Harun** Next, she calls on Afghan girl, and she places her hand on the board and uses the markers to trace her hand, while the class looks on. Harun is looking at the board intently.**- Afg student traces hand- five senses- Harun focused on board- science-Harun** She then writes "tooch" and again Mrs. Madinah says in Urdu, "Saheeh hey?" meaning is it correct.**- Afg. Student writes "tooch"- tr. asks in Urdu if its correct-science-Harun** The class shout back with a mixed of yes and no. She then takes the marker from the student and says, in Urdu that the spelling is wrong, and changes "tooch" to "touch."**- class shouts yes and no regarding Afg. Student spelling- tr. corrects spelling- science- Harun** Then she asks the class, in Urdu "touch mana?" meaning "touch means" and they yell "Chona."**- tr. asks what touch means in Urdu-students say chona- science- Harun** Next she calls on Harun and he draws a plate with what looks like rice but does not write anything. The teacher talks to him and replies back quietly explaining his drawing.**- Harun draws food on plate- does not write with drawing- tr. talks to him in Urdu about drawing- five senses- science- Harun** The teacher then takes his marker and points to Harun drawing and then points to her nose, and waves with her hand, indicating the smell that would be coming from the cooked food. The class yells "Smell, smell, mam smell." She then writes the word "smell" next to Harun drawing and ask him to sit.**- class helps Harun and tr. with naming the sense portrayed in Harun's drawing- class yells "smell"- tr. writes it-in English- science-Harun** As Harun is sitting, he tells the Afghan boy next to him, in Pashto, "Raise your hand higher, than mam will see you" and he tries to raise his hand even higher.**- Harun advises classmate to raise hand higher-in Pashto- science- Harun** Next she calls on another student and she attempts to draw what looks like an open mouth with french fries. Before writing, she [the student] turns to Mrs. Madinah standing next to her, and asks her and the teacher says loudly "Tasty na ye, taste" meaning, "it's not tasty, [but] taste."**- student draws mouth for taste sense- talks to tr. about sense and tr. tells her the**

> **sense is taste, not tasty-in English and Urdu- science- Harun** The student then writes "tast" and the class gives a mix of yes and no, Mrs. Madinah takes the marker from her and adds an "E" to the word.**- tr. corrects students spelling- adds "e" to "tast"- science- Harun** Then, the teacher calls on another student to draw and write the last sense. He draws an ear and writes "hear" **student draw ear and writes "hear"-science- Harun** and once he sits down, the teacher asks the class to open their notebooks, in Urdu. She explains, in Urdu, that they are to draw and write all the five sense in their notebooks and mentions the word "classwork" informing the students to ensure that this is written on top of the page along with the date. **– tr. tells class to copy five sense and drawing in notebook- ask them to include "classwork" and date-in Urdu- science- Harun** Harun opens his notebook and begins copying from the board right away. He is writing neatly and keeps looking at the board.**- Harun focused on assignment- copying five senses and drawing- science- Harun** When he finishes drawing and writing, he asks Saiful for his crayons, in Pashto and he hands him a few crayons.**- Harun asks for crayons- in Pashto- science- Harun** Mrs. Madinah notices that they are coloring and comes to look at Harun's and Saiful's work. She then tells them something in Urdu, and Harun replies back, and she smiles and walks away. When I ask him what the teacher said, he tells me that she said coloring is not necessary.**- Harun translates for me what tr. said- coloring not necessary- science- Harun**

I followed this method when coding my fieldnotes and the interviews. As shown in the excerpt above, through the First Cycle coding process, I tried to capture the main points of the fieldnotes, beginning with labeling the activity and the subject of the class (e.g., drawing/writing five senses, science class). Similarly, I focused closely on the use of language and literacy throughout the activity. In the excerpt above, for example, I coded the language of the words written on the board, as well as the language spoken by the teacher, students and the focal child throughout the class. I noted that when interacting with the first student, the teacher asked the class in English, "Is it correct," but asked the question in Urdu when interacting with the second student. Similarly, I also made a note of the teacher translating between languages, such as when she asks students what the word touch means in Urdu, and they reply "Chona" ("touch"). In addition, the codes highlighted the focal child's behavior, engagement (e.g., paid attention to what was happening at the front of the class), and the use of language throughout the activity. Each code

ends with a dash followed by the child's name to help me organize the fieldnotes data for each focal child, which in this case was Harun. In essence, I made an effort to follow Merriam and Tisdell's (2016) advice during the process of inductive coding, where they propose that the researcher "be as expansive as you want in identifying any segment of data that *might* be useful" (p. 204, emphasis in original).

After engaging in first cycle coding, I proceeded to "second cycle" or pattern coding. Second cycle coding is "a way of grouping those summaries [from the First Cycle coding] into a smaller number of categories, themes or constructs" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 86). In this stage, I reviewed the data and my initial coding, looking for patterns or repeated "behaviors, actions, norms, routines, and relationships" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 88). I then grouped the data into categories and from there into sub-categories to which I applied sub-codes. Each sub-code included the codes from the first cycle coding. Below, I provide a sample of how my fieldnotes were organized in the second cycle coding process using the same data as above. I also provide additional examples from the data from other focal children that fall under the same categories and codes. I only provide two fieldnotes entries under each code due to space restrictions.

Category: Teachers' and classmates' use of languages of instruction (Urdu and English) at school

Code: classmates/teacher speaking (and listening) in Urdu (e.g. oral vocab, board work, etc.)

- Mrs. Madinah begins class by asking students to sit quietly and keeps saying "ketab band karo" meaning close your books.- **tr. asks class to close books-in Urdu- science- Harun**

- Teacher has two models of clocks and asked selected students, in Urdu, to come and show the time the teacher asked them to. **– teacher has clocks in hand- ask selected students to show the time she indicates- math-in Urdu- Seemena.**

Code: classmates/teacher speaking (and listening) in English (e.g. oral vocab, board work, etc.)

- He begins by drawing an eye and writes "see." The teacher asks class, in English "Is it correct?" and class answers, in English, "Yes" and "Yes, mam."**- student draws eye and writes "see"- tr. asks if correct in English-science-Harun**

- Teacher takes attendance and student either says "present" or "present teacher"- **tr. takes attendance-students answer in English-Arman**

Category: Focal children's use of languages of instruction at school

Code: Focal children speak in Urdu in school/classroom

- Next she calls on Harun and he draws a plate with what look like rice and but does not write anything. The teacher talks to him and replies back quietly explaining his drawing.**- Harun draws food on plate- does not write with drawing- talks to tr. about drawing-in Urdu- five senses- science- Harun**

- Safa stands up and share her story, while also using her hands to demonstrate part of her story about the parrot. **- Safa shares story of parrot- uses hand to demonstrate part of her parrot story-in Urdu- Urdu class- Safa**

Category: Focal children's use of first language at school

Code: Focal children use Pashto in the classroom

- As Harun is sitting, he tells the Afghan boy next to him, in Pashto, "Raise your hand higher, than mam will see you" and he tries to raise his hand even higher.**- Harun advises classmate to raise hand higher-in Pashto- science-Harun**

- Arman is talking with Liaqat and telling him that he has bought new stickers that show different vehicles. Liaqat tells him, "Show me, I have six rupees" and Arman tells him "When it is recess, I can show you" and Liaqat continues and says that he wants "big stickers" and Arman tells him that he will give him the bigger ones.**– Arman and Liaqat talking about stickers- in Pashto-morning circle- Arman**

Code: Focal children assist or explain to classmates Urdu words, phrases, concept in oral Pashto

- An Afghan girl turns to Safa and asks her, in Pashto, how to say "good memories" in Urdu. Safa clarifies and asks her if she wants to say "I have

good memories of my village" and the girl nods. She then says the sentence for her and the girl raises her hand to share it with her classmates.**- Safa helps classmates with Urdu phrase- village assignment- Urdu- Safa.**

- Najwa asks Seemena, in Pashto, what the difference is between Naat and Mili Naghma. Seemena replies in Pashto, that Naat is a religious poem or song, and that Mili Naghma is the country's [national] song. **– Seemena helps explains difference between two words- religious song- national song- Prep for Quiz-Social studies- Seemena.**

Category: English print at school

Code: English print use during classwork (board writing, reading, etc.)

- Then she takes her marker and writes "Write and draw five sense?" on the board.**- tr. writes write/draw five senses-in English- science- Harun**

- 1. A man help old man 2**.** A good citizen they help to keep their neighborhood clean. 3**.**Good citizen help others. 4**.**Good citizen always care about their country. **– tr writes students' sentences about good citizen qualities-in English- Social studies- Seemena.**

Code: Classmates/teacher reading and writing in English print

- He begins by drawing an eye and writes "see." The teacher asks class, in English "Is it correct?" and class answers, in English, "Yes" and "Yes, mam."**- student draws eye and writes "see"- tr. asks if correct in English-science-Harun**

- She then writes "tooch" and again Mrs. Madinah says in Urdu, "Saheeh hey?" meaning is it correct.**- Afg. Student writes "tooch"- tr. asks in Urdu if its correct- science-Harun**

Code: Classmates/teacher correct(s) or assist(s) student's reading and writing English print

- The class shout back with a mixed of yes and no. She then takes the marker from the student and says, in Urdu that the spelling is wrong, and changes "tooch" to "touch."**- class shouts yes and no regarding Afg. Student spelling- tr. corrects spelling- science- Harun**

- Teacher asks Tahirah to write a sentence in English with the photo of the cat that seems to be sad. Tahirah writes "Cat mad" another student shouts "sad, sad." Teacher says, "The cat is sad, the cat is sad" Then asks the class to repeat it and helps Tahirah write the sentence on the board. **–Tr. asks student**

to write sentence - helps student write sentence- phonics - English class- Arman.

Code: Teacher translates English (L3) print into Urdu (L2)

- Then she asks the class, in Urdu "touch mana?" meaning "touch means" and they yell "Chona."**- tr. asks what touch means in Urdu- students say chona- science- Harun**

- Then the teacher reads each sentence and translates the sentence along with the students. She states loudly, "Simple mana ____" [simple means ___] students answer "sadah", "Flying mana ___" and students yell "Urna."**- tr. asks class what "simple" and "flying" means in Urdu- students state the Urdu meaning of the words- English class- Safa**

Category: Focal children's active engagement at school

Code: Focal children focus on their own work and proud of their work

- Harun opens his notebook and begins copying from the board right away. He is writing neatly and keeps looking at the board.**- Harun focused on assignment- copying five senses and drawing- science- Harun**

- Another boy is helping Arman with the numbers and Arman tells him, in Pashto, "Do your work, I know" and he continues writing the numbers in order in the chart. **– Classmates attempts to help Arman- Arman rejects the help- "I know"- math class- Arman**

The process from First Cycle coding to Second Cycle coding served to "pull together a lot of material from First Cycle coding into more meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 86). Therefore, the First Cycle coding summarized the data, whereas the Second Cycle coding allowed me to organize the summarized data into categories—a process sometimes referred to as axial coding (Charmaz, 2014)—which helps identity an explanation, configuration, or an "emergent theme" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 86). Second Cycle coding is an ongoing process and may involve things like renaming a category to be more precise or demoting categories to subcategories (and vice-versa). As Miles et al. (2014) remind us, Second

Cycle coding is "not always a precise science—it's primarily an interpretive act" (p. 90). For example, initially, I created the code "Focal children speak in English in school/classroom," but later realized that unlike focal children's experience with Pashto and Urdu, some of the focal children struggled to speak and answer in English when their teachers asked them to. I realized I needed an additional code to explain that some of the focal children struggle with speaking in English in the classroom and placed these instances under the code "Focal children struggle to answer/speak in English." Also, the process of coding from first to second cycle allowed me to examine my data more closely. For instance, when engaging in first cycle coding, I found that teachers regularly translated English words, sentences, and phrases into Urdu. Through the second cycle coding, I realized that not only did the teachers frequently translate from English to Urdu; they sometimes retained the English words in their Urdu translation. For example, one teacher used the English words "water" and "sunlight" when describing, in Urdu, the things that plants need to grow. I placed instances in the data where the teacher retained English words in their Urdu translation under the sub-code "Teacher retains English words in Urdu translation."

The two cycle coding process was time consuming and required me to continually reread my data and revisit my codes to ensure that the codes captured the data as best as possible. This resulted in ongoing modification of certain codes.

Further Analysis

The data analysis also involved checking in with the participants throughout the study to confirm accuracy and to ensure that I had not misunderstood any of the information I had gathered. This process was essential as it helped "fill the gaps in interviews and informal conversations" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 70). I shared summaries of my fieldnotes with teachers and, parents and guardians regularly and shared brief information with the focal children about what I

was writing. In other words, I provided verbal summaries to confirm that I had gathered accurate information from the participants. I checked in briefly with the parents or guardians when they dropped their children at school or I met them in their homes. I describe this process in more detail later in the chapter. Similarly, while walking with the focal children weekly, I shared some information about what I had learned about them and gave them a chance to ask me any questions. Toward the end of the study, I also provided transcripts of the interviews to each teacher that I interviewed. I asked them to look through the transcripts and let me know if they had any concerns or wanted to change or clarify anything that they had said. Most of the teachers were happy with the interview transcripts and did not make any changes. Two teachers, Mrs. Zara and Mrs. Madinah, indicated that their English-speaking abilities were at a beginner's level and asked me to correct anything they said for clarity. However, I decided to keep their original words and informed them that I might add clarifying words or phrases in parenthesis if necessary.

I also reread my field notes, rechecked my transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews, and wrote memos to capture my immediate thoughts. Miles et al. (2014) described a memo as "a brief or extended narrative that documents the researcher's reflections and thinking processes about the data" (p. 95). I wrote memos throughout the data collection and data analysis. I found the practice particularly useful as it helped me with my "code choices and operational definition" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 96) and with capturing "emergent patterns, themes, concepts, and assertions" (p. 96). I wrote the following memo about the theme "Parents/guardian want children to learn to read and write in Pashto/L1- Oral Pashto not enough":

November 26, 2018

Theme: Parents/guardians want children to learn to read and write in Pashto/L1-Oral Pashto not enough

I chose to label this theme beginning with the parents/guardians' desire for their children or children in their household to learn to read and write in Pashto and added the second part "Oral Pashto not enough" because this was an important component of the parents/guardians' goal for first language. While parents/guardians acknowledged that they and their children or children in their household spoke Pashto fluently, they mentioned that this is not enough [in addition to speaking Pashto, the parents/guardians wanted their children to be able to read and write it as well]. On the other hand, many teachers referenced the Afghan children's oral Pashto to justify that the children already "knew" Pashto or L1. This theme specifically highlights the parents/guardians desire for their children to know the skills of reading and writing in Pashto/L1.

In this manner, my memos helped me extend my thinking about the themes, make connections between the data (e.g., the parents' desire for their children to learn to read and write in Pashto vs. the teachers stating that Afghan children already know spoken Pashto), and determine the properties that were associated with each category.

Similarly, I wrote "memos from the field" to my committee members on a regular basis. These memos consisted of essential information about what I was learning from my participants and included my questions and concerns. The committee members provided important feedback that helped me clarify things or assisted me in finding a solution to an issue I was experiencing. For example, in one of the memos, I explained that some of the focal children experienced difficulties with schoolwork. The committee members asked if the school provided academic support, such as a homework center for students who needed extra help. I was able to find out that the school did not provide any such support to the students but learned that there were many private homework centers in homes within the community.

I also engaged in jotting or writing in my reflective journal throughout the duration of the study. Miles et al. (2014) described jotting as "the researcher's fleeting and emergent reflections and commentary on issues that emerge during fieldwork" (p. 94). It can include things like "personal reactions to some participants' remarks or actions, inferences on the meaning of what a key participant was 'really' saying during an exchange that seemed somehow important" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 94). I used jotting regularly to reflect on my observations or after an interview. Below, I provide an excerpt from my journal that describes my reflections after an interview with one of the focal children's parents.

> **Participant:** Dawud Angar
> **Interview 2**
> **Location:** Home-guest room
> **Date:** April 17, 2018
>
> I was amazed at how education and literacy were described by Dawud and it is similar to what I am hearing of the other participants too, including the security guard. Dawud described the person who had literacy as someone having "eyes" and the one without it as being "blind."
> His definition of literacy centered on the skill of reading and writing. Therefore, a literate person to Dawud was one who could read and write. His respect for literacy (one who could read and write) was, I felt to such an extent that he described himself as a blind person and furthermore as a "blind rooster" meaning he has in fact not reached his full humanity as a result of not being able to read and write.
> He amazes me because he is an elderly man and to see him care so much about the skills of reading and writing. I was also a bit surprised to learn that he cared so much about his daughter's education. [I found this surprising because Dawud mentioned that during his lifetime it was uncommon for girls to go to school as their main tasks were bound to the home and taking care of the children.] However, it may also not be surprising because he kept reflecting on his life, and what he is able to do and not do, especially in regard to reading and writing. So, like when he receives a letter, he has to ask Seemena to read it. Having to have Seemena read the letters and print that the family receives may also serve as a reminder to him that had he gone to school and learned to read and write, he would be able to read the letters on his own. This way, he would also have been "independent" which is one aspect of reading and writing that he mentioned previously- that reading and writing allows one to be independent and not in need of others. And the fact that he may care so much about Seemena's education could be that he does not want her to struggle like he is with reading and writing and instead may want her to have an easier life, one with a level of dependency.

In this way, jotting helped me reflect on important points related to language and literacy. As I was writing, I reflected on the fact that I am surprised Dawud cared about reading and writing to such an extent. However, as I continued to write, it occurred to me that perhaps I should not be too surprised by this as he was an elderly man reliant on his daughter to read and interpret texts for him. Furthermore, he had mentioned the independence that reading and writing allowed a person and because he did not know these skills, he could not have that independence.

Throughout the data analysis I also used photos of artefacts, events, and places (e.g., school, classroom). I created a digital folder on my iPhone, using the "Notes" application for each focal child and included each child's photos along with descriptions. These photos were also included in each child's Microsoft Word data folder (which included interview transcripts, fieldnotes, etc.) along with their descriptions, as mentioned previously. Photos of the school and the community were stored in a folder titled "Sadiq's Research Photos." The purpose of the photos was to supplement my fieldnotes. They were particularly useful in terms of providing additional details and examples from my fieldnotes, especially in instances when I found taking extensive fieldnotes a challenge. For instance, when describing the abundance of print materials in the school, I took photos of the materials that I saw in the school and later used the photos to add the phrases that appeared in the school to my fieldnotes. Under each photo, I wrote a description. For the photos of children, I noted the date and the name of the child, and what he or she was doing. However, when I took photos of the children's documents or assignments, I made sure to include information such as the name of the focal child, the date, the type of assignment (e.g., quiz, homework, classwork), the language of the document (e.g., Urdu, English), and any other pertinent information, such as the score the child received on the assignment. When analyzing, I opened each focal child's digital folder in the "Notes" application and coded each

one. For example, one of the photos I took was of Arman's notebook page showing a group of Jolly phonics words that he glued onto his notebook page. Underneath the photo, I wrote, "Arman-May 7, 2018-classwork-English- Teacher directs students, including Arman, in English and motions with her hand, to glue the words into their notebook. Arman starts gluing immediately. The teacher then reads each word and ask students to repeat after her, Arman is repeating and smiling." I coded this photo "Arman- English- Jolly phonics- "Word box 1"- tr. reads and asks class to read after her." After coding the photos, I organized them into one file in the "Notes" application to help me access and find them easily. I organized them into groups such as "Photos of school, photos of community, photos of assignments, photos of children." Within the "Photos of assignment" folder I had "literacy/language assignment photos", "textbooks/workbook photos," and "other subjects (math, art) photos."

Photos were also helpful in terms of confirming some of my findings (described later in the "confirmability" section) and sometimes were used to prompt participants to describe or provide further information about something. For example, I used one of the photos of Arman finding and keeping safe a piece of paper, which he found on the street, bearing the name of Allah. When I showed the photo to Arman's father, he believed that Arman's practice of keeping such papers safe was part of the moral lesson he had instilled in his children. Therefore, the photos were useful throughout the study. However, other than coding and organizing them into groups, I did not analyze the photos in depth, but rather used them to supplement my fieldnotes and to provide further information or insight into the children's lives.

Interpretation and Verification of Findings

Using my fieldnotes, the interview transcripts, my memos and the descriptions and photos of the artefacts, I attached preliminary meaning and significance to patterns across the language and literacy events taking place within each focal child's home, school, and community, and the parents/guardians beliefs regarding language and literacy. In order to generate meaning from the data, I focused on the relations between the variables (the focal children's progress in school and their views on the use of their first language at school), identifying intervening variables, building a chain of evidence across the data (from the fieldnotes, interviews, and artefacts), and making conceptual coherence (Miles et al., 2014).

Throughout the process of analyzing the data, I used matrices to help me summarize, analyze, and draw conclusions. For example, I developed a matrix to help me consider the kinds of printed materials available in the children's homes and understand how the children used them. My table included information, such as "print material at home, language(s) of print, participants involved in print activity" for each of the four focal children. The chart helped me examine what purpose the texts served and allowed me to focus closely on the related literacy activities. For instance, when Arman read the Separah at home, he did so on his own—other family members were not involved in reading it with him and did not assist him with his reading. However, in Safa's home, there was usually another member she could read to or explain the meanings of printed material. Thus, the chart was useful to me in terms of not only understanding the different printed materials that the focal children used at home, but in understanding the way print materials were used, particularly when it came to who was or was not involved in the literacy events.

In addition, I created data collection tables that were particularly useful to me as they helped me gather the main information related to my research questions and allowed me to clarify phrases, comments or something I had gathered from the participants that I was uncertain about. For example, after transcribing an interview, I would add the main details to the tables. If I did not have time to transcribe the interview right away, I listened to the recording of the interview and noted things I found confusing, that stood out to me, or were insightful or surprising. For example, at the beginning of the study I was surprised that parents/guardians and their children spoke only Pashto in the home, despite decades of being away from Afghanistan. Since I noted this surprise, I was able to ask questions about this and the parents/guardians then shared their belief about the importance of maintaining their first language. Similarly, creating the data collection tables and rereading my data helped me interact with my data and also allowed me to look for commonalities and differences across the language and literacy activities that the focal children engaged in. To provide some examples, after entering the information into one of the tables, I was able to see patterns emerging about the parents/guardians' beliefs about language and literacy. For instance, all parents/guardians mentioned the importance of having their children read and write in Pashto, that being able to speak Pashto is not enough, and that a Pashto class at school would be important. Similarly, while many of the parents recognized the value of their children learning English, one guardian also had concerns that differed from the other parents (discussed in detail in the male focal children's finding[11] chapter).

[11] Findings are separated by gender in order to provide some coherence for the reader, but also because there are differences between the male and female focal children, among them, their achievement in school literacy. The female focal children were, for the most part, successful in school literacy, while both of the male focal children struggled significantly with it.

In this regard, the tables helped me analyze and understand my data more thoroughly and highlighted aspects that needed clarification. For example, after reviewing Arian's (Arman's father) statement "there is so much beauty in Pashto, but we have no choice" (Interview, April 24, 2018), I realized I did not know what he meant by the phrase "but we have no choice." This process of tabulating the data provided me the opportunity to ask him for clarification while the study was still underway. I explain what he meant by this phrase in the female focal children's finding chapter.

Similarly, the format of the data collection tables enabled me to look for apparently contradictory findings (or findings that appeared contradictory to my knowledge). It highlighted, for example, how a comment Habeebullah made about how a mother can teach literacy to her children appeared to contradict a statement he made later in the interview when he told me, "The women in our household are illiterate, they do not know how to read or write, but they are making sure that the children go to school and to madrasa [Quranic class] on time" (Interview, May 13, 2018). Prior to beginning the next interview, I asked him about this statement and learned that he had meant that mothers can teach their children manners—manners being an important component of literacy in Habeebullah's eyes—even though they might not be able to teach their children how to read and write. This table appears in Appendix C along with these two examples being highlighted.

To explore the language and literacy practices of the children and their families through the lenses of sociocultural theory and Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) bioecological theory, I needed to focus on the micro and macro contexts. For example, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory enabled me to focus on the micro context, such as family roles, the family's socioeconomic status, the focal child's responsibilities, and the resources available in the

community along with other important variables, such as being a refugee, that were central to the focal children's language and literacy practices. On the other hand, sociocultural theory helped me look at the larger, but still important variables that played a role in the language and literacy practices of the focal children and their families. Some of these variables included religion, power, and gender. At the same time, I focused on how lack of power and issues to do with displacement affected the family's language, literacy, and educational plans. In essence, I strove to gain an understanding of the families' language and literacy practices within the micro and macro contexts.

Trustworthiness of the Study

Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed four criteria for qualitative researchers to use to assess the trustworthiness of their project: (1) credibility, (2) transferability, (3) dependability, and (4) confirmability. Below, I discuss each criterion and how it pertains to the current study. I also discuss the issue of application and focus on ethics, as an independent criterion.

Credibility

The credibility of study means that the results are believable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In other words, the study provides a genuine understanding of what the researcher observed. To establish credibility for this study, I engaged in a process of triangulation. I triangulated my data by taking extensive fieldnotes during my observations; by conducting multiple semi-structured interviews with the focal children, their parents/guardians, and their teachers; and by collecting artefacts (or photos of artefacts) that related to language and literacy. I also engaged in theory triangulation and used Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological theory and sociocultural theory to interpret and analyze my data. In addition, I used data source triangulation and made an effort to

collect data from participants that differed in composition. Furthermore, I undertook consistent and prolonged engagement in my participants' homes, school, and communities. From January 2018 to May 2018, I observed each child weekly at home, at school, and in their community. I also used member checks as a strategy of checking in with the participants to involve them in interpretations of the data. For example, before conducting a subsequent interview with a participant (e.g., the focal children, the guardians, their teachers), I reviewed the main themes I identified in the previous interview and asked for clarification on aspects that were unclear to me and had the participants confirm or clarify my interpretations. Doing this provided the participants with a chance to provide an explanation or more information about what I had observed, and it helped me to avoid any possible misinterpretations.

At the conclusion of my study, I verbally provided each focal child's family with a summary of my findings, as well as a short summary of each interview and the main points I had gathered from each interview. I told each family they were allowed to make any changes that they wanted. I also showed the focal children and their guardians' photos of the artefacts I had gathered as part of the research. I told them that I would delete any photo if they were not comfortable with me having access to it. The parents/guardian all approved the artefacts and the photos served as the basis of a lengthy discussion in some instances.[12]

[12] For example, Arian was quite interested in Arman's practice of collecting papers with the names of Allah written on them and felt that this was part of the moral behavior he and his wife had instilled in the children.

Transferability

Transferability, or external validity, refers to using findings from one setting in a study and applying them to another similar setting. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), it is not a qualitative researcher's main priority to generalize their finding. Thus, the researcher leaves the matter of transferability to be decided by the reader. In order for the reader to make this decision, the researcher needs to provide detailed descriptions of the data. I accomplished this by providing "thick descriptions" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 314) of the community, the school, the families, the teachers, and the language and literacy activities and events that they engaged in as evidence of my findings. The reader is able to make an informed decision regarding the applicability of the findings to other settings and contexts. I also frequently used direct quotes from participants to support my arguments and analysis. Lastly, I collected data from focal children and families who represented the majority of the Afghan refugee population's reality in Brishna.

Dependability

Dependability relates to "the stability of findings over time" (Bitsch, 2005, p. 86). To help ensure the dependability of this study, I focused on three clear research questions and collected data using ethnographic methods. I also provided a rationale to support my decision to use ethnographic methods. I collected data over a period of five months on different days of the week and at different times of the day in order to increase the dependability of my findings. To confirm that my interpretations were informed by the data and not my biases, I triangulated both my methods and my sources**.** For example, in order to learn about the language and literacy practices of the focal children at home, I drew from the observations I recorded in my fieldnotes as well as from our semi-structured interviews.

As previously outlined, I provided a verbal summary of each interview to each parent and guardian, in Pashto, which they preferred, as they could not read English. Other than adding a few comments to my summaries, they did not request changes. Furthermore, throughout the study, I met with the parents and guardians either at their homes or at school to clarify anything in the data that was unclear to me. I followed the same strategy with the focal children. These opportunities helped keep the parents and guardians and the focal children at the center of my attention. Teachers were given a copy of the interview transcripts, and, as mentioned previously, two teachers gave me permission to change anything that did not make sense, due to their relative unfamiliarity with English. I chose to keep their original words and added clarifying words in parenthesis, in cases where it was necessary.

Confirmability

The notion of confirmability in qualitative research is concerned with ensuring that a researcher's interpretations and findings pertain to the data and that the researcher's biases are curtailed as much as possible. Guba and Lincoln (1989) believe that confirmability is established once credibility, transferability and dependability have been ascertained. In this study, I provided clear information on the kinds of data and how it was collected and organized. For example, in the data analysis section, I provided a discussion of how I coded the data, providing examples of First Cycle and Second Cycle coding. Similarly, as noted previously, I used the practice of memoing throughout the study to help define and explain some of the codes. In the data analysis section, I also provided a sample from my reflective journal to show how I recorded my own personal reaction and remarks based on my observations. Writing in the reflective journal was important as it provided me an opportunity to think and reflect on what I was observing and it helped me limit any biases that I may have brought into the research. In addition, the findings in

the study were supported by multiple sources of data (interview transcripts, observational fieldnotes, and photos of artefacts) to help me draw conclusions by triangulating the data. For example, during the interview Mrs. Aisha mentioned that Arman rarely did his homework and that he was not receiving support at home. When I turned to my interviews with Arman and the observational fieldnotes, I found evidence that similarly showed that most of the time he did not complete his homework. Furthermore, when I analyzed the photos of the artefacts, I found evidence that Arman regularly wrote a reminder about homework in his diary which was assigned most days, despite claiming that he did not have homework when we discussed the matter in his home. Overall, triangulating the data allowed me to use multiple sources of data as evidence.

Application

Application focuses on what the research does for the participants and the researcher. The participants, particularly the parents, and the teachers appreciated the study. For example, when interviewing parents and guardians, I acknowledged that I was using their time and apologized for it. However, they told me that they felt the study was important as it was the first time someone had taken an interest in their stories, and they thanked me for listening to them. For example, Safa's father, Sajjad, mentioned that it was important for others, including Pakistanis, to know that Afghans want to be educated and value learning. He believed that this study would help bring some of this awareness. Similarly, the teachers acknowledged that by participating in the study, they gained a better understanding of the children's language and literacy practices at home and in the community. Several of the teachers in particular were surprised to learn that the parents and guardians were very supportive of their children's learning and encouraged them to do well in school. Some teachers also acknowledged that the school practice of discouraging use

of one's first language may be putting the students at a disadvantage. They mentioned they would think about ways to possibly provide some opportunities for students to use their home language for classroom activities. Lastly, the school founder mentioned that the study could help the school personnel better understand the Afghan students and their families and therefore serve their needs more effectively.

In terms of the contributions this study makes to knowledge, it is my hope that this study will highlight to other researchers, educators and policy makers the valuable insights to be gained by learning more about the educational and language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees. As mentioned at the outset of this study, for three decades, Afghans were the largest refugee group in the world. They are now the second largest group; however, there is almost no research focusing on them, especially regarding their language, literacy, and educational practices. More importantly, I hope that the study helps educators realize that despite lacking certain literacy skills (such as in reading and writing), and not knowing a particular language (e.g., the language of their first asylum country or one of the dominant languages, such as English or French), refugees still engage in rich language and literacy practices. For example, as will be seen in this study, families and children engaged in storytelling, reading religious texts (Quran, Separah), brokering texts such as invitation cards, the meaning of Duas, and translanguaging between English, Pashto and Urdu. I believe such understanding is essential in order for educators not to see students from a deficit viewpoint. Finally, I hope that the study will contribute to governmental policies that improve the lives of refugee children and families. In particular, I hope that the study helps change some of the policies in first asylum countries regarding the school experiences of refugee children. Such policies would support refugee

families and children improve their language and literacy skills, such as learning to read and write in their first language.

Summary

In this chapter, I described the methodology for the study. I began with a detailed description of my research design and explained my rationale for the design. I also described how I selected the research context, the school, and the participants. Furthermore, I explained the data collection process, the data sources, and how I conducted the data analysis. Finally, I concluded this chapter with a discussion about the trustworthiness of the research using Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria. I described each criterion and explained in detail how it pertained to my study.

In the next two chapters, I present the findings. The findings are organized according to gender, beginning with the female focal children followed by a chapter that focuses on the male focal children. Each chapter begins with the research questions that it addressed.

Chapter 4: Language and Literacy in the Female Focal Children's Lives

In this chapter, I answer the following research questions: 1a) What language(s) do adults and children in low-income Afghan refugee families in Pakistan use at home, at school, and in their communities? 1b) What literacy activities and events do adults and children in low-income Afghan refugee families in Pakistan engage in at home, at school, and in their communities? 2a) What are parents'/guardians' beliefs about literacy and language? This chapter describes the language and literacy practices of two young females, Safa Noor, a third grader, and Seemena Angar, a second grader, at home, at school, and in the community. The chapter also explores Safa's and Seemena's parents' beliefs regarding language and literacy. As indicated previously, due to cultural protocols of the participants, I did not interview the mothers of the focal children, rather I interviewed the male parents/guardians and the children themselves.[13] Similarly, I did not interview the female Quranic teachers or observe the focal children who had female Quranic teachers. Since the Quranic classes were held in the teachers' homes, Mr. Dost asked that I not interview the female Quranic teachers due to cultural and privacy reasons. However, I was able to observe instances of the focal children at home as they practiced and prepared for their Quranic classes. I was also able to interview Harun's male Quranic teacher at the mosque and observed him there. Furthermore, I was able to interview female teachers at the Afghan School. These teachers were not Afghans or Pashtuns except for Mrs. Hajar. They were willing and happy to be interviewed, including Mrs. Hajar. At the same time, it is important to note that my

[13] I was able to obtain some information pertinent to the mothers' roles based on comments shared by the male guardians and focal children.

focus in the results chapters are on the four focal children, whom I followed, observed, interviewed and engaged with in their homes, school, and community.

I begin the discussion by explicating Safa's language practices at home, in school, and in the community and then describe her literacy practices in these same contexts. I follow this with a discussion of her father's beliefs about language learning and literacy. I use a similar format to report on Seemena's language and literacy practices, and her father's beliefs about language learning and literacy.

Focal Child: Safa Noor

When I met her, Safa was a confident 11-year-old in the third grade at the Afghan School. She lived with her parents and five siblings. Safa enjoyed school and spoke Pashto and Urdu fluently. She was at the novice level in speaking English. Safa could read and write fluently in Urdu and was able to read and write in English, as it related to her school assignments. A typical day during the school week began early with Safa rising at 7:00 a.m. At 7:40 a.m., like her brothers, she left home in order to be on time for the daily morning assembly, which started promptly at 8:00 a.m. At school, she attended eight, 45-minute-long periods every day except Friday when school ended at 12:45 p.m. Safa's classes included math, science, social studies, Islam/Question and answer, English, computer applications, and Urdu. After coming home from school at 3:00 p.m., Safa had lunch with her family and played for about an hour. Then she attended Quranic lessons at a female teacher's home in the community. When she returned from the Quranic class, Safa played with and took care of, her siblings until the evening, when she worked on her homework, which usually entailed creating sentences with vocabulary words in

Urdu and English, rewriting the multiplication tables multiple times, or memorizing an Urdu poem. Then she had dinner, and went to bed around 8:30 p.m.

Safa's Language Practices at Home

Pashto was the language of communication in Safa's home. For example, I observed Safa playing with Abbas. She told him to pretend that her doll had a headache and to take it to the doctor (who was Safa). I noted,

> Then, she sits on the ground crossed legged. Abbas comes and says, "My daughter's head hurts," and she tells him to greet her first. Then he says, "Salamu Alaikyum" and she replies, "Walikum salam, did you say your daughter's head was hurting?" and he says, "yes". Safa placed the doll on the ground and after checking the heart rate, Safa turned to Abbas and informed him, "her heart is very good" and then placed her hand on the doll's head and said, "Ah, your daughter's head is very warm, she has a fever." Then she continued, "I will give her [liquid] medication now" and placed the doll on her lap and pretended to give it medication while still talking to Abbas. (Fieldnotes, April 24, 2018)

Safa spoke Pashto to all her siblings, including Abdulhamid and Abbas. Even though Abbas and Safa were fluent in Urdu, they never spoke Urdu at home when addressing one another.
Safa also spoke Pashto to her parents. Safa's mother, Zargoona, only spoke in Pashto. Sajjad, her father, could speak Urdu and Pashto, but neither he nor Zargoona could read or write in any language. During my time in their home, not once did I hear a family member speak any language other than Pashto (similar to other focal children's homes).

Sajjad believed that the Pashto language was an important aspect of identity. During our interview, he mentioned to me "Pashto is important because it is our mark" (Interview, May 13,

2018, translated from Pashto). He explained that this mark goes back to Khalid Bin Walid, a companion of the prophet, Muhammad, who was a Pashtun. By "mark," Sajjad meant that Pashtun is a distinctive cultural identity and is a crucial part of who he is. He further stressed the importance of speaking Pashto, explaining that "for as long as we are alive and our children are alive, god willing, Pashto cannot be forgotten, nor will Allah forget it." Sajjad also declared that Pashto would not be forgotten, meaning that it would always be spoken in their home. Furthermore, he stated that because God would never forget Pashto, it would never become a forgotten language.

Safa's Language Practices at School

Before focusing on Safa's language practices at school, I will briefly introduce the activities Safa engaged in while at school. At the Afghan School, teachers, rather than the students, rotated to their classes each period, for each subject, beginning in first grade. The school's languages of instruction were Urdu and English, and students were required to speak both during school. For example, Safa was required to speak and answer a question in English in her English class. For instance, on one occasion in the English class, the teacher asked the students, "Where we go to sit and enjoy nature?" and the students answered "Park." Then she asked, "Where we see different animals?" and the students answered "Zoo" (Fieldnotes, January 29, 2018). In the math class, the teacher explained how to solve division problems using Urdu and English. When she wrote several problems and asked for a volunteer, Safa raised her hand and said in English "Mam, can I try?" and the teacher handed her the marker (Fieldnotes, March 13, 2018). Similarly, in Social Studies class, the teacher asked students for examples of goods and services and students could answer in either language (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2018). Most of the writing that she engaged in, even tests, involved copying down questions from the board

and answering them in her notebook. For example, during a social studies class, the teacher wrote the following, in English: "Q1: Describe Pakistan's flag?" Safa copied the prompt from the board and answered, "Pakistan flag has green and white colour and it has a craseist [sic] [crescent] and a star" (Fieldnotes, February 12, 2018). The teacher marked her page and gave her a score of two out of two.

Safa also engaged in frequent read aloud activities in which the teacher asked individual students to read aloud from the textbook[14] while the class listened. For instance, I observed Safa reading aloud from her science textbook (in English) about different types of plants. When she finished reading the passage, the teacher asked the class, in Urdu, what "shrub" meant (Fieldnotes, April 12, 2018). Students also borrowed Urdu or English books from the small classroom library to use during the reading period. Occasionally, there were opportunities for students to write about a topic that the teacher selected, such as describing the province where they were born. In addition, during her classes, Safa memorized (particularly words for dictation tests in Urdu and English) or engaged in the Make Sentences activity, described in the next section[15].

As mentioned, the languages of instruction at the Afghan School were Urdu and English. Safa spoke both Pashto and Urdu at school fluently and spoke at a beginner's level in English. She was required to speak only English in her English class, but she used English and Urdu in

---

[14] Safa read aloud mostly in English, except while in the Urdu class.

[15] These activities also were typical activities Seemena and Harun engaged in at school, as they were also in elementary grades and shared some of the same teachers. Therefore, in order to reduce redundancy, a description of these activities will not be included for Seemena and Harun. Arman's schedule differed a bit, and a section describing his typical activities at school will be introduced when his language and literacy practices are described in Chapter 5.

the other classes. She sometimes spoke in Pashto with her Pashto-speaking Afghan friends. For example, during an Urdu literacy class, the teacher wrote a list of vocabulary words on the board and asked students to create oral sentences for each word. I observed, "Another Pashto speaking student speaks to Safa in Pashto regarding what sentence to say for one of the words written on the board." I noted that Safa began to explain in Pashto, "I think it is *muaffi* [Urdu word for forgive]" and then switched to speaking in Urdu to explain why she thinks that it is" (Fieldnotes, January 23, 2018). The girl then said to her, in Pashto, "Was it because he gossiped?" and she responded back, in Pashto, "Yes, he said that he is crazy [because he's] blind." This practice of codeswitching between Pashto and Urdu was common for Safa when she communicated with her peers at school. However, during recess, Safa spoke in Pashto more frequently than when she was in class. For instance, one day while playing tag with her Pashto and Urdu speaking friends, another Afghan girl tried to tag her. Safa told her, in Pashto, "You cannot catch me when my hand is touching the wall." While Safa used Pashto in this exchange, I also noted that sometimes she used both languages "to communicate with her friends about the game" (Fieldnotes, February 15, 2018).

One day, in her Urdu class, the lesson featured parrots in one of their texts; Mrs. Madinah (her teacher) asked whether any of the students had ever seen a parrot. Safa was one of the few students who shared a story about a parrot. As I observed, I noted that Safa used "her hands to demonstrate part of her story about the parrot. She spoke Urdu throughout and spoke loud enough for everyone to hear, while looking at the teacher and the students" (Fieldnotes, January 29, 2018). On another occasion, I observed Safa drawing a map of the city in an art class. The teacher walked around to check on the students' maps and I noted, "Mrs. Tuba (Safa's art teacher) ask Safa about her city map, and she explained in Urdu, while pointing to the school, the

stores, and the market [on the map] that is near to her home" (Fieldnotes, February 12, 2018). After the teacher left, I spoke with Safa, and noted, "Safa says that the teacher says her map is good but that she needs to add one of the roads near the school [to the map]." Safa was able to answer the teacher's question, explain the features of her map, and understand what was missing, all in Urdu.

As mentioned earlier, Safa spoke English at a novice level at school. Safa could answer basic questions and understand some directions given to her in English. For example, Mrs. Fowzia (her English teacher) asked one student to come to the board and write a sentence containing a vocabulary word. The student wrote the word "May" in her sentence, and the teacher said, "Why did you write it with a capital letter?" (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2018). When the student did not answer, the teacher continued, "You don't know why but you wrote with capital letter." Safa, along with some other students, raised their hands and volunteered to answer the teacher's question. The teacher called on Safa and she said, "This month name, it's proper noun." Although Safa omitted the verb "is" between the words "this" and "month," the sentence was correct and understandable. Similarly, Safa also sang and performed Islamic songs in English for important events, such as function day.[16] On this day, she practiced a song called "My Mother." The song featured the following lyrics:

Who should I give my love to?

My respect and my honor to

Who should I pay good mind to?

---

16 A day celebrating the end of the school year with student performances, speeches, food, etc.

After Allah

And Rasulullah [the Prophet]

Comes your mother

Who next? Your mother

Who next? Your mother

And then your father

Cause who used to hold you

And clean you and clothe you

Who used to feed you?

And always be with you

When you were sick

Stay up all night

Holding you tight

That's right no other

Your mother

As I watched them sing and perform, I noted, "Safa and her group are singing the song, and their movements are quite in tune with the song itself. When the lyrics state, 'Who used to feed you?' they demonstrate through their hands as if they are feeding someone. They do the same when the lyrics talk about cleaning, holding, and clothing" (Fieldnotes, March 13, 2018). As can be seen, for Safa, English language was an important part of her schooling, especially in terms of reading and writing (as will be seen later in the chapter).

Safa's Teachers' Views on Learning and Speaking Pashto at School

When I interviewed her, Safa stressed that she spoke Urdu mostly at school and wanted the school to require the use of Urdu more broadly. Moreover, she stated, "I speak less Pashto in school. With Pashtuns and Punjabi, I speak one language" (Interview, April 12, 2018, translated from Pashto). By "one language," Safa meant Urdu. Safa was also opposed to using Pashto at school, even though she spoke it regularly with other Pashtun children. When I asked her what she would change at school, she answered:

> I say if there was no Pashto in school, Pashto is too much in school so that's why. If there was more Urdu and English, it would be better**.** More English, if there was more English. I like English, that's why I want more of it. (Interview, April 12, 2018, translated from Pashto)

At first, her answer confused me, as there was no class in Pashto at school, nor were any subjects taught in Pashto. Safa clarified that she meant the Pashto that students (including herself) spoke to each other during recess and in class, such as when asking another student for an eraser or a pencil. When I questioned her further about what other languages she would like the school to emphasize, she said, "and Urdu" (Interview, April 12, 2018, translated from Pashto). I asked Safa why she did not want Pashto spoken at school and she said, "if there was less Pashto then they would not call to others 'Pathan, Pathan.' Students say 'Pathan, Pathan' and I don't like that, so that's why if Pashto can be less, it would be good," Pathan is another word for Pashtun—it is not derogatory, but Safa explained that this was the reason she did not want Pashto spoken at school. However, while the word itself does not appear to be disparaging, the co-principals of the school informed me that slurs and offensive words between Pashtuns and Punjabi students (directed at each other's ethnicities) were common.

Safa's opinion of her first language cannot be examined in isolation as she shared many of her teachers' views on the topic. The Afghan School strongly discouraged students from speaking their home language at school. As Mrs. Madinah (Safa's Urdu teacher) stated, "We say them that don't use your own language in school, because school languages are English and Urdu and you learn these languages at the school" (Interview, January 24, 2018). Like Mrs. Madinah, the other teachers expected students to avoid using their home language while at school. Mrs. Sarah (Safa's social studies and mathematics teacher) also stated, "most students should not talk in their native language and try to learn Urdu and English" **(**Interview, February 12, 2018, translated from Urdu).

When I enquired whether the Afghan School should help Afghan students develop their home language, most of Safa's teachers believed that the home was the optimal place for first language development and maintenance. Mrs. Madinah, for example, answered, "their home is the best place where they learn their mother tongue" (Interview, May 7, 2018). She added, "Otherwise, school English and Urdu is enough," meaning that English and Urdu are "enough" for students to learn at school. Similarly, Mrs. Sarah expressed the view that supporting the home language at school was "less important" as the families now lived in Pakistan. She regarded home language maintenance as the parents' duty, stating that, "[the] mother tongue they learn from their parents" (Interview, May 10, 2018, translated from Urdu). Mrs. Sarah not only saw home language development as a parent's duty; she also showed resistance to supporting the student's home language in school, adding "in school [they] must [learn] English and Urdu." Mrs. Fowzia (Safa's English teacher), also believed that, because the Afghan students already knew Pashto, school support of Pashto would not provide much benefit. She stated with a smile, the students "already know about Pashto. They know very well Pashto" (Interview, January 24,

2018). She believed that the school should instead offer a professional development class for teachers to learn basic Pashto as "mostly students…belong to Afghan families, so when they are talking …we can't understand what they are [saying]." Mrs. Fowzia appeared to be referring to the Afghan students' oral language skills during recess and the codeswitching they engaged in when they asked each other for something, or when they explained concepts or instructions in class. Her response also indicated that, despite the school's efforts to discourage codeswitching, students still engaged in it, and Mrs. Fowzia thought that knowing some Pashto would help teachers better understand their students.

Safa's Language Practices in the Community

Safa spoke Pashto and Urdu, but not English,[17] in the community. When she was with other Pashto speakers, she used Pashto, but when she communicated with non-Pashto speakers, she used Urdu. For example, one of Safa's favorite play activities was building little houses using mud and broken chinaware pieces. One day, I noticed Abbas and Safa building houses together and observed:

> They talk about how many bedrooms their homes are going to have, how big the veranda will be, and the importance of using wires on top of the wall to keep thieves away. Seeing wires on the walls is a common sight in Islamabad. I noticed that all of the conversation took place in Pashto. (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2018)

I went on to note that Safa switched to speaking in Urdu when Fereshta, her next-door neighbour, asked whether she could play with them. However, even then, "I noticed that each time Abbas and Safa addressed each other, it was in Pashto, but when either talked to Fereshta,

[17] None of the children spoke English in the community as most people spoke either Pashto, Urdu, or Punjabi.

they used Urdu." Fereshta continued to work on the house while Safa and Abbas spoke to each other in Pashto; she did not seem bothered by it, but rather appeared to be used to this kind of exchange. This interaction was similar to the codeswitching Safa engaged in at school. It also illustrated how Safa and Abbas were able to codeswitch between Pashto and Urdu without any difficulty.

On another occasion, I accompanied Safa to deliver cloth to the tailor so he could make clothes for her father in time for the Eid (holiday after the month-long fasting of Ramadan) celebration. Safa spoke with the tailor in Urdu and conveyed that she wanted him to sew a traditional qamees, the garment worn by many Afghan and Pakistani men. She showed the tailor Sajjad's qamees that she had brought as an example and asked him in Urdu to use the same measurements when making the new one. Afterwards, I asked her what the tailor said, and she explained, "He said he has a lot of clothes to stitch and said why didn't you bring it earlier. He didn't know if he can get it in [time for] Eid, but he said he will try to have it before Eid" (Fieldnotes, May 21, 2018). Safa successfully communicated to the tailor what she wanted and when she needed it, and she understood the benefits of having made the order earlier. Because the tailor was Punjabi, she used Urdu exclusively in this conversation. In the next section, I focus on Safa's literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community.

Safa's Literacy Practices at Home

Safa's literacy practices at home comprised of brokering for and teaching her siblings, her nearby neighbour's child and her father. For example, Sajjad, her father, spoke specifically about how Safa "helps the younger two brothers a lot. She also teaches nemanz (prayers) and Duas (supplications) to the young one" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). I saw this when I visited Safa on May 9, 2018. She used a Separah (Quran primer) to teach Eissa the

Arabic letters. She often used money for motivation when he lost interest. Regarding this, I wrote, "When he becomes less engaged, she tells him, 'Okay, read this good, then I will give you five rupees.' Upon hearing this, Eissa regains his attention" (Fieldnotes, May 9, 2018). In addition, Safa used her Duas book to teach her brother and the neighbour's child the six prayers that a Muslim should know. On this day, she asked the neighbour's child if he had memorized the first prayer (see Figure 4.1). When he did not answer, she read the beginning to him, and he completed reciting the prayer. She then said, 'shabas,' meaning 'good.'"

لَآ اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ ط

Figure 4.1 The First Prayer or Kalima

Note. The text states, "There is none worthy of worship except Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah." Arabic is read from right to left.

Safa also helped Sajjad translate, read, and comprehend print texts, as he was unable to read in any language. For example, using her supplication book, Safa taught Sajjad to read the Duas that she had learned in school. This book included many supplications, such as before going to the bathroom, after leaving the bathroom, before putting on clothing, when waking up in the morning, and so forth. These prayers come from the Sunnah[18] the second most sacred text in Islam after the Quran. When Sajjad talked about the benefit of having his children attend school, he stated, "Look at this one, she knows the Dua for going to sleep, the Dua for eating, I promise

[18] The Sunnah contains the saying and actions of the prophet that a Muslim strives to follow. The supplications are in Arabic, as is the Quran.

you I do not know these Duas, but my children know it" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Sajjad also mentioned, "At night when [I] am going to sleep, I say, Child can you please read me the Dua for sleeping?" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Through these comments, Sajjad made it clear that through Safa, he learned as much as he could about the supplications that one recites prior to sleeping, eating, or leaving home. After the interview, the community leader, Mr. Dost, and I joined Sajjad for dinner. I noted:

> Before we begin the meal, he [Sajjad] said the Dua for eating aloud, and smiled that he learned this from Safa, who was serving us . . . Sajjad further mentioned that Safa never hesitates to teach him the Duas or new Quranic verses. He mentioned that sometimes, she has to read the Urdu translation more than once before she can translate it into Pashto. (Fieldnotes, May 13, 2019)

Safa played a central role in Sajjad's spiritual journey by guiding his learning of the supplications. Her approach was to read the supplication in Arabic, and then read the translation of the supplication, in Urdu, and finally translate it to Pashto (aloud) for her father. Her Duas book was organized so that the Duas, in Arabic, appeared first, followed by the translation of the Duas in Urdu (see Figure 4.2). Although Safa could read the Dua in Arabic without any difficulty, she could not understand it without reading the Urdu translation. This was primarily because her interaction with the Arabic language consisted of being able to read and recite the Quran and Duas fluently, with the correct pronunciation and elongation. As Sajjad recalled, Safa sometimes needed to read the Urdu translation several times to provide an accurate translation of the supplication to her father in Pashto.

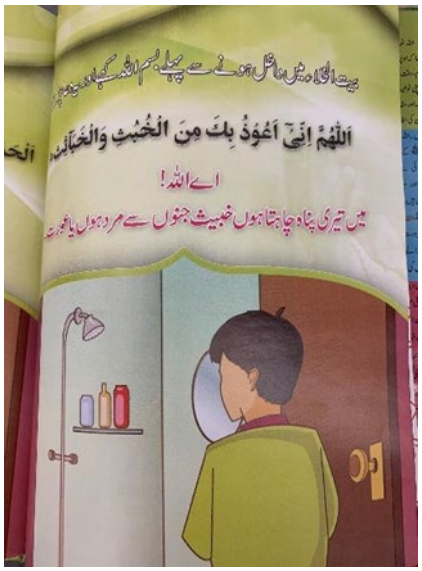

Figure 4.2 A Page of Safa's Dua Book

Note. The first line of text is in Urdu and describes when to say the supplication: "Dua before entering [a] bathroom." The second line (in Arabic) is the Dua, which states, "Oh Allah I seek refuge with you from all evil." The third line is the meaning of the Dua in Urdu.

Safa also supported Sajjad in everyday activities, such as translating texts from the television screen. Sajjad watched Shamshad, a Pashto TV channel based in Afghanistan, and Pakistani Urdu channels regularly in the evening to stay informed of the news. He remarked that he often called for Safa to translate the text on the television screen, such as headlines of breaking news. When I asked if she could read the text on the television screen, he stated, "Yes, she can. She reads it and tells me, the older one does too, and now the younger brother is getting better too" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). When I asked, "Do they read it to you in Pashto?" He responded that the children "translate it for me into Pashto, but they read it in Urdu." Through this process, Safa and her siblings acted as literacy brokers for Sajjad. They could read the print in Urdu that Sajjad could not, and then, to help their father understand, they translated the Urdu text into Pashto for him. While Safa was able to speak Pashto, she could not

read or write it. As Sajjad explained, “The Pashto writing comes on the screen and I ask Safa or her brother [to] say what did this say and they don’t know it,” whereas, when the television screen texts were in Urdu or English, “they will say it very well” (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Throughout the time I spent with Safa, I did not see a single book or other type of print media in her home, school, or in the community that was in Pashto. In fact, the Quran (written in Arabic), and the Duas were the only books in her home. Nor did Safa read for pleasure. Therefore, I was not surprised when Sajjad reported that Safa struggled to read in Pashto, particularly as the language instruction at school focused exclusively on learning and speaking Urdu and English.

Safa’s Literacy Practices at School

One of the most common instructional activities Safa engaged in at school, especially in her English and Urdu classes was the “Make Sentences” lesson. Figures 4.3 and Figure 4.4, shows the Make Sentence board work from Safa’s Urdu and English literacy classes. This activity occurred three to four times a week wherein the teacher wrote a list of vocabulary words on the board and then asked students to construct sentences that included each word. Safa was an enthusiastic participant in this activity and usually appeared eager to share her sentences. During an English class conducted by the Principal (teacher was absent), I observed one boy write the sentence, “There are many girls,” (using the vocabulary word “girls”) on the board. When the Principal asked the class if the sentences needed any corrections, Safa raised her hand, came to the board, and wrote, “There are many girls in our class.” I also noted, “Another student writes ‘four walls in my class’ and again Safa stood up and said, ‘There are four walls in my class.’ [The] principal says, ‘Good job’ and inserts the words ‘There are’ into the sentence on the board” (Fieldnotes, April 24, 2018).

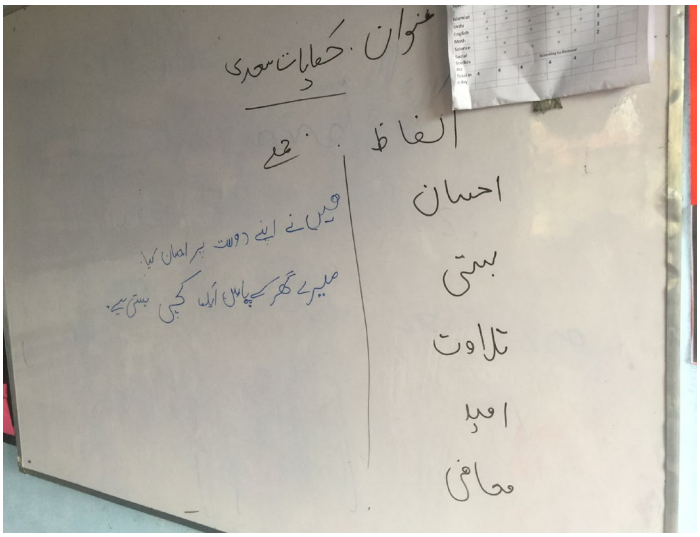

Figure 4.3 Make Sentences Exercises in Urdu

Note. Urdu is written from right to left, so the vocabulary words are on the right and the corresponding sentences are on the left.

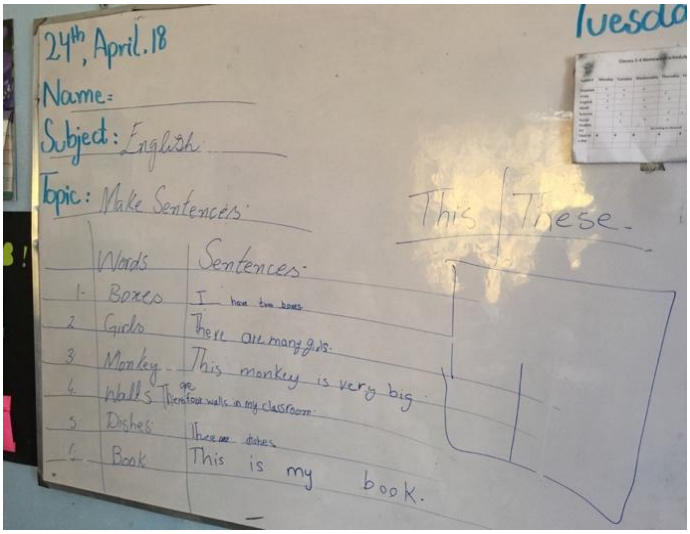

Figure 4.4 Make Sentences Exercises in English

In the Urdu class, the teacher also asked students to create oral sentences, or saying sentences out loud, using the vocabulary words. I did not ask Mrs. Madinah (Safa's Urdu teacher) why she employed this practice; however, I believe that by asking the students to use the words in a sentence, she ensured that they knew and understood the contextual meaning of the words. The other Urdu teachers also used this method. For example, the teacher asked the students to use the Urdu word "افسوس [Apsooz]" meaning "pity," in a sentence. After Safa finished responding, the teacher said, "Saheeh" meaning "correct" (Fieldnotes, January 23, 2018). Similarly, on another day, Safa volunteered to create a sentence for each of the first two vocabulary words. After Safa spoke her two sentences, Mrs. Madinah corrected one word in her sentences. Furthermore, I noted, "The teacher [wrote] Safa's sentences with the first two words and [waited] for other students to make oral sentences with the other words" (Fieldnotes, May 3, 2018). As visible on the previous page, Figure 4.3, showed Safa's two sentences. The first vocabulary word is "احسان [Ihsan]" meaning goodness, while the second is "بستی [Bastee]" which means township, or small town. Safa's sentences were, "I did good with my own friend," and "Next to my home, there is a small town."

Safa actively participated regularly in the Urdu class, and her classmates often turned to her for assistance. In one instance, when the students were working on a page from their Urdu workbook, I noted that Safa's classmate "shows Safa two words written on her hand and asks her which word goes in the sentence and Safa shows it to her" (Fieldnotes, April 12, 2018). Overall, I noticed that Safa frequently provided help and support to her classmates during the Make Sentences activities.

Safa experienced success in both the Urdu and English language and literacy classes. Notably, her teachers often used Safa's classwork as an exemplar to the other students in the

class. For example, Mrs. Fowzia asked students to, “Fill in the blanks with the rhyming words” (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2018). After the students copied down and completed the sentences, she called on Safa to finish the sentences on the board. When Safa finished this task, I noted, the “Teacher asks [the] children to look for any mistakes and then goes over each one and says, ‘good job, Safa.” Furthermore, during an interview, Mrs. Fowzia stated, “And now Allahmdullelah, Safa trying to best her, that she talk Urdu, she talk in English, and she talk to other students, speak in English, they are trying, they learn and they try” (Interview, January 24, 2018). Mrs. Fowzia attempted to convey in the interview that, for Safa, it was easier to transition to speaking English in the English class compared to the other students. Moreover, she meant that while Safa could have resorted to speaking Urdu in the English class, she spoke English as much as she was able to.

Likewise, Safa demonstrated confidence when she engaged in writing in the Urdu class. For example, after the class went to a famous rose garden for a field trip, Mrs. Madinah asked the students to write a few sentences about the trip. Safa volunteered to go first and wrote, “One day we went to the rose garden for an educational trip” (Fieldnotes, May 9, 2018). As seen in Figure 4.5, Safa added marks to the letters in her sentence, similar to those in the Arabic alphabet to ensure accurate pronunciation. Similarly, on another day, after reading a passage in Urdu from the textbook, Mrs. Madinah asked the students to write a sentence or two about the story. Safa wrote, “These children love each other very much. Saleeha also gave her clothes to these children and this is also a good deed” (Fieldnotes, May 17, 2018). Like Mrs. Fowzia, who had commented on Safa’s English speaking ability, Mrs. Sarah (Safa’s social studies and mathematics teacher) also referred to Safa’s literacy abilities in Urdu. She said, “Safa is Mash

Allah, Alhamdullelah[19] nice" (Interview, February 12, 2018, translated from Urdu) and when I asked whether she meant that Safa was good at reading Urdu, she explained, "With Urdu reading or writing or … she is a position holder[20] in our class."

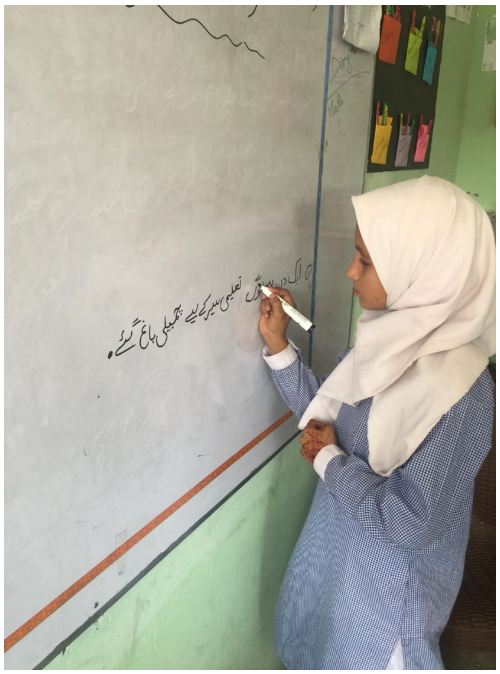

Figure 4.5 Safa Writing a Sentences about a Class Field Trip

Safa's Literacy Practices in the Community

Safa's literacy practice in the community revolved around improving her reading and recitation of the Quran. Every day after school, Safa attended a Quranic class at a female teacher's home in the community, along with other female students. The teacher taught (e.g., explaining, giving instructions, guiding students' pronunciation) in Urdu, but read the Quran in Arabic (as the Quran is in Arabic). On one occasion, I observed Safa preparing for her lesson by

[19] Phrases commonly used to praise or appreciate one.

[20] A student becomes a position holder if they achieve high marks on the end-of-year summative exams.

reading and reciting a chapter titled “Al-Fajr” meaning “The Dawn.” The teacher had told her to read the passages at least three times and focus on how she pronounced the letters “ق [Qaf]” and “ك [Kaf].” I noted, “She reads it in a careful rhythmic manner, while pointing her finger to each word on the page” (Fieldnotes, January 23, 2018). It is quite common for learners of Arabic to experience confusion between alphabet letters that sound similar. In this case, although they both sound the same, “ق” is pronounced with more emphasis while the letter “ك” is pronounced with less emphasis. Thus, to become proficient, one must work harder through continuous practice to learn the proper pronunciation of the letters with respect to elongation and rhythm. Because Safa’s Quranic class stressed the proper reading of the Quran, she was compelled to read and reread the chapters to develop her competence in this regard. Her Quranic reading centered on the performative aspect (pronouncing and reciting correctly) and not on comprehension which is why Safa could “read” the Quran fluently, but did not understand what she read.

According to Safa, “we all practice our own lesson, then we read it to the teacher” (Fieldnotes, January 31, 2018). In other words, the students in her Quranic class progressed at an individual pace. Students who did well in a lesson moved on to the next lesson, while students needing more practice stayed behind until they mastered it. Despite this, Quran reading included a communal element. For example, on the day she finished reading the Quran, Safa had to recite certain chapters to the teacher and her classmates as part of the completion ceremony (Khatim) after which the teacher would pass sweets to celebrate (Fieldnotes, February 2, 2018). Furthermore, Safa mentioned that after reading it, the teacher would say, “Takbir” and the class would respond by saying, “Allahu Akbar” meaning “God is great.” Other than practicing her Quran’s reading and recitation, I did not observe other literacy activities or events in the community. Next, I turn to Sajjad’s beliefs about language and literacy.

Safa's Father's Beliefs about Language and Literacy

Sajjad's Beliefs about Language

Safa's father, Sajjad, was passionate about language and literacy, especially for his children. However, he felt that while Pashtuns served in every industry and worked hard, "in education, we are behind" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Sajjad also strongly believed that Pashtuns needed to increase their access to a quality education, and that fluency in Pashto (speaking, reading, and writing) was congruent with that growth. When I asked which languages he felt his children should be proficient in, he mentioned that he would like his children to know Pashto as their first language and this included being able to read and write in it. He wished that the Afghan School offered Pashto class and asked me to inquire at the school if they could do this, claiming that because the family spoke Pashto at home, his children would "progress further than they are in [their] Urdu or English" classes (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto).

Sajjad also encouraged his children to learn English as the opportunities for them to learn to read and write in Pashto were limited in Islamabad. In other words, he wanted his children to learn to read and write in Pashto first, but because there was no opportunity for this, he encouraged them to learn English. He believed that having English as a second language would be advantageous, particularly if he was forced to return to Afghanistan as English is an important language in the educational system there. He stated, "If I go to Afghanistan... and my children do not know Pashto, reading and writing they don't know in Pashto, so it will be a must that they know how to write in English and know how to ask and answer a question in English" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Indeed, since 2001 English has been "the most dominant foreign language in the country" (Alamyar, 2010, p. 4) and students learn it

starting in the fourth grade. Even though they were lacking literacy in their first language, they would still have an advantage because of their proficiency in English. Sajjad also seemed to recognize that the English language was a common language in the world that one needed to know. For example, he stated, English "has become a language for all countries, it is used everywhere" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto) and so, he encouraged his children to become proficient in it.

Although he knew Urdu would be of little use in Afghanistan, Sajjad also encouraged his children to learn it so they could engage with the Punjabi people in Pakistan. In Sajjad's words:

> Let's say I am Punjabi, and you are Pashtun. If we come together, you are also a brother of the Kalima[21]and I am also a brother of the Kalima. We do not harbor hate for each other, and we are passing our lives as Muslims, so I must know your language and you must know my language. (Interview, January 26, 2018, translated from Pashto)

In other words, Sajjad believed that being able to speak a common language (Urdu) would help the different ethnicities unite and live together in harmony. This was the only thing he mentioned when talking about the benefits of having his children learn Urdu. Furthermore, Sajjad did not identify more instrumental or utilitarian functions and purposes of learning Urdu. Indeed, he viewed Urdu as a temporary language that he and his children needed while living in Pakistan and mentioned, "Urdu will be left from us, in Pakistan we are guests for five days" (May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). He mentioned "five days" as a metaphor to describe that he is considered a refugee in Pakistan and can be forced to leave anytime, despite living there for decades.

---

[21] Kalima translates as a "declaration of faith;" in other words, Sajjad is saying that he is a Muslim.

Sajjad's Beliefs about Literacy

Sajjad used the idea of vision as a metaphor when he talked about literacy. In Saijad's mind, literacy was equated literally and figuratively with vision; for example, he stated that it would be beneficial if his children were literate in Pashto, "so our eyes will not be closed when we go back to Afghanistan" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Sajjad furthered the analogy of sight in suggesting that those who did not have literacy skills, specifically the ability to read and write, were blind. He said, "School is a light, and we are blind, we who are uneducated, and who are illiterate, we are an example of being blind" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Because he could not read or write, Sajjad included himself among the blind in this statement. When I asked why he thought of himself as being blind, he answered:

> We do not know anything. We can barely write our names, I cannot read a letter. A literate is a person who can read, who can write. These [skills], I call light, they are able to see with their eyes. I am blind, I can see things, I can see that you have the book in your hand, but I am blind because I do not know what you wrote. . . . The pressure that I am placing on my children is so that they can have this light. I want my children's eyes to be open, we are left blinded. (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto)

By "pressure," Sajjad referred to his expectation that his children did well in school, so that, unlike himself, they would be able to "see," or to read and write.

At one point during our interview, I asked Sajjad if he had gone to school when he was a child. He answered:

> There was school in our time, but we did not have the kind of attitude to it the way it is today. For example, when Safa comes, or her brother, at night I ask them what homework

> did they give you? What did you learn? These were the types of things that were not asked of us by my parents. (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto)

Certainly, Sajjad believed that a parent's attitude toward their children's schooling played an important role in their learning success. Furthermore, as he mentioned, he asked his children about their homework and what they were learning in order to keep himself informed of what they were learning and stated that such questions were not asked of him by his parents. Despite his interest, however, Sajjad could not help his children with their homework, stating, "I cannot, because I do not know myself" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Nevertheless, the younger children had an older sister, Shereena, who helped them. Sajjad recounted, "At night, the older sister tells them to get their backpacks and they work on their homework. If they are stuck, the older sister helps them, and explains it to them."

As seen in this section, Safa spoke Pashto and Urdu fluently and at home, engaged in various literacy activities such as brokering, teaching others, and reading the Quran. Sajjad was also passionate about languages and literacy. In addition, he viewed literacy as an essential life skill and wanted his children to be successful in attaining it. In the next section, I introduce Seemena Angar and describe her language and literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community. I also report on her father's beliefs about language and literacy, before concluding with a summary of the chapter.

Focal Child: Seemena Angar

I met Seemena when she was ten years old and in the second grade at the Afghan School. She lived with her parents and six brothers, two of whom were married and had children of their own. Thus, Seemena was surrounded by parents, siblings, nieces, and nephews. A studious

individual, Seemena was passionate about being able to attend school. She spoke Pashto and could speak, read, and write Urdu fluently. Although she could read (with the support of her teacher) and write in English, she spoke it at a beginner's level. For example, if a text contained new vocabulary words, she needed the teacher's help to pronounce them.

Seemena made sure she was present and on time for school each day. During the week, a typical day would begin with Seemena getting up around 6:45 a.m. and performing the ablution before the morning prayer. After that, she had breakfast with her nieces before walking to school with them. Because their home was quite far from school, they had to leave very early to be there when classes started at 8:00 a.m. Seemena's school schedule was the same as Safa's with forty-five minutes for each subject. After school, Seemena ate lunch and played with her nieces for about an hour. She would then help children from her community (including her nieces) with their homework and Quranic reading for 60 to 90 minutes. Afterward, Seemena would play with her nieces at home until it was time to do her own homework. She had dinner with her family at about 8:30 p.m. and then performed the last prayer of the day at around 9:00 p.m. before going to bed.

Seemena's Language Practices at Home

Seemena spoke only Pashto at home. Her parents, Dawud and Kinza, did not speak any other language. One day, Dawud was getting ready to go to the hospital with his eldest son, Yunus. As he was getting ready, he told Seemena to bring him his medication from his room. Before going to get it, Seemena asked him, "Baba, should I put all of the medication in, or just the ones for your legs?" (Fieldnotes, April 25, 2018). Dawud asked her to pack all the medications as a precaution. When she came back, he further instructed her to put his medical report and some money in the bag. Throughout this instance, they spoke in Pashto. On another

occasion, I observed Seemena conversing with her niece, Jannath (9), as they washed laundry in a basin (Fieldnotes, February 21, 2018). As they washed, Seemena stated, "It is very strong [detergent], don't use too much." As with the earlier conversation, this one followed a similar pattern in that throughout their conversation, Seemena and Jannath spoke only in Pashto. When I asked if only Pashto was spoken at home, Dawud answered, "Of course, yes, that is what we speak. This is the language. We do not speak Hindko or Urdu" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). Despite living for decades in Pakistan, Dawud acknowledged that he did not speak Urdu. He told me, "I have spent so much time with them [Punjabi people], and I do not understand them, and when we speak Pashto, they do not understand" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). Additionally, speaking in Pashto was important to Dawud as it connected him to Afghanistan. For example, he stated, "Afghanistan is all Pashto speakers. If you go to Kabul, it will be Farsi, in another province it maybe Farsi, but other than that it is all Pashto" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto).

Seemena's Language Practices at School

As mentioned previously, Urdu and English were the languages of instruction at the Afghan School. Seemena regularly spoke Urdu and Pashto at school. She was also beginning to learn basic English. Her English teacher, Mrs. Hajar, required that if a student answered a question in Urdu, they had to translate the answer into English. If the student could not translate their answer into English, she would not accept it. Seemena commonly spoke in Pashto with her Pashto-speaking classmates, especially when the teacher was not present. For example, during one of Seemena's science classes, the lesson focused on identifying the physical features of the earth. As part of the lesson, students were required to draw the features on a sheet of paper and write their names in English. After Seemena completed her drawing, she turned to her classmate,

Toora, and began helping her, even though Toora did not ask for her help. I observed, "She tells her 'Draw a mountain here and underneath draw a river.' Toora tells her, 'I have drawn a mountain [already].' Seemena then replied, 'Ok then, draw a river,' and after she drew it, Seemena helped her color it" (Fieldnotes, January 19, 2018). The conversation continued in Pashto, and I wrote, "Afterwards she says, 'You need an island too.' Toora then tells her, 'Island means like small mountain, there's water with it.' Seemena nods." As Seemena helped her classmate to finish the drawing, the two continued to converse in Pashto. When Seemena informed Toora that she needed an island, too, Toora confirmed her definition of an island and described it in Pashto to which Seemena nodded in confirmation.

While Seemena helped her classmates, she also occasionally asked them for help. For instance, during a lesson on reading time, Mrs. Sarah spoke in Urdu about the importance of the small and big hands of the clock and provided a few examples. After the instruction, she used a model clock and asked the students to identify the time displayed on the clock. While Seemena tried to figure out the time, I noted, "Seemena turns to Belqis and says, 'The teacher said that to look at which [hand] first?' Belqis said, 'The small one, then the big'" (Fieldnotes, January 19, 2018). Because Belqis was an Afghan and a Pashto speaker, Seemena posed the question to her in Pashto and, similarly, received the response in Pashto. However, when the student nearby was not a Pashto speaker, Seemena exclusively used Urdu, not English, when codeswitching. For example, in the English class, students were learning about common and proper nouns and I noted, "Zaynab asks Seemena if she has written 'Karachi' in the correct category of a proper noun. Seemena tells her in Urdu that she has. When Zaynab asks about the word 'hospital,' Seemena points to the common noun category and in her explanation stated, in Urdu, 'It's not Islamabad Hospital, it's not name'" (Fieldnotes, April 17, 2018). She meant that the word

hospital is a common word, not a proper noun like Islamabad Hospital, and therefore is not capitalized.

Seemena spoke English at a beginner's level in her English class, as well as during other classes, such as science, or social studies. For example, when Seemena stood to identify a characteristic of a good citizen, she answered in English, "Be honest" (Fieldnotes, May 10, 2018). In another instance, Mrs. Hajar asked Seemena, "What does singular mean?" (Fieldnotes, January 25, 2018). When Seemena answered in Urdu, the teacher said, "This is your English period, speak in English," to which Seemena responded "one." However, Seemena was not always able to translate her answer to English, as Mrs. Hajar required. For example, on one occasion, the students read a story from their English textbook. When the story was completed, Mrs. Hajar posed the question, "Should we help our mother in the kitchen?" (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018). When the whole class answered, "Yes," she asked, "How?" When students attempted to answer, she insisted, "In English, in English!" I then observed, the "teacher comes to Seemena and asks her the same question, she replies in Urdu, but the teacher says, 'in English, in English' and she is unable to answer." As Seemena was still at a beginner's level, she sometimes struggled to answer a question in English; even though most of her reading and writing was done in English.

Seemena's and Her Teachers' Views on Learning and Speaking Pashto at School

Even though Seemena spoke regularly in Pashto at school, when asked what she thought about the possibility of having a Pashto class at school, she was not in favor of it. She looked surprised at the question and responded by saying, "I don't like it" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). When I asked why, she answered, "My friends, our friends do not speak Pashto. They speak Urdu" in reference to the non-Pashtun students (e.g., Punjabi, Kashmiri,

Balochi) at the Afghan School. I then asked if she would be in favor of a Pashto class for the Pashto speaking students only, and she asked, "to be separated from Punjabis?" to clarify my question. And I said, "Yes, for the Pashto class," and Seemena answered, "No, no." She disliked the idea of being separated from the other students and among only Pashtuns. When I followed up with Seemena regarding the Pashto class, she also mentioned that there was no time for a Pashto class as there were already too many classes. In her words, "Pashto class will make [school] day very long" (Fieldnotes, May 4, 2018). I noted, "Seemena also seems to be worried about Pashto class adding to an already packed schedule of classes, if it was to be included in the school's schedule." Furthermore, she reasoned with me stating, "Pashto, I know" indicating that because she spoke Pashto, it was not necessary to learn it in school.

Like Safa's teachers, Seemena's English and Urdu teachers held very similar ideas about the students' home language. For example, Mrs. Tuba stated, "They cannot say it in their own language . . . if it is English [class], they have to speak English most of the time, if it is Urdu [class], they should speak in Urdu" (Interview, February 21, 2018, translated from Urdu). Moreover, she believed that home languages should be used only within the home. She used an example from her own life to illustrate for me what she meant, stating, "Basically, I belong to Punjabi, I know to speak Punjabi, but I never use Punjabi outside of my house. Because I am living in this society." Although Mrs. Tuba acknowledged the importance of her first language for her family and the Punjabi people, she felt that in the community and outside her home, she needed to use Urdu because it was the common language. She elaborated and extended this example to Afghans, stating, "Same is for Afghans, [the] Pashto that they are speaking is important at their house. But outside of the home, they must have to speak Urdu."

Similarly, when I asked Mrs. Hajar (the school's only Pashto-speaking teacher) whether the school had a Pashto class for students, she answered, "No, no such things are here" (Interview, January 26, 2018), and went on to say, "Most of the students are already Pathan and they know their Pashto very well." Like Mrs. Fowzia, Mrs. Hajar, noted that most students at the Afghan School were Pashtuns and therefore knew their language. Mrs. Hajar also explained why a Pashto class would not be welcome in school, stating, "And Punjabis or the others, they never, like they don't like Pathans, they don't like Pashto, why would they like want to learn [Pashto]?" This response could explain, in part, why Seemena was surprised at my question regarding a Pashto class in school, and her concerns about being separated from the non-Pashto-speaking students. Furthermore, Mrs. Hajar believed English was a language all Afghan students should master and when asked why, she answered, "Because English is the language of science and technology." She concluded that around the world, English was a language that was valued by people.

At the same time, Mrs. Hajar recognized that if the school offered a Pashto class, it would be beneficial to the Afghan students. When asked if the school should help the Afghan students develop their first language through a Pashto class, for example, Mrs. Hajar answered, "Actually, if one has resources, it is good because learning more language is an extra qualification" (Interview, May 25, 2018). Mrs. Hajar initially referred to the Pashto class as an "extra qualification" and thus as an additional benefit, rather than a necessity. However, as the interview progressed, her opinion seemed to change a bit. For example, she recalled her own schooling in Peshawar (a province in Pakistan) where Pashto was a compulsory subject. She compared her experiences as a student learning to read and write in Pashto with those of her nieces and nephews who were going to school in Islamabad. She pointed out, they "can't read

Pashto, they can't write Pashto," but they can speak it. When Mrs. Hajar talked about taking Pashto as a subject in school, I asked, "Do you think similarly, that would be good for these students?" and she answered, "Of course, they should, they should." Moreover, she mentioned that, "If I see a book of Rahman Baba or Khushal Khan Khattak, I feel very easy; I can read it…like I feel happy when I read in my own language." Here, Mrs. Hajar referred to the two prominent Pashto poets whose poetry she could read and it made her "feel happy" to be able to read in Pashto. While in the beginning of the interview, Mrs. Hajar spoke of the Pashto class as an extra benefit to the Afghan students, by reflecting on her own experience of learning Pashto in school, she began to see it as more than that.

Seemena's Language Practices in the Community

Seemena spoke Pashto and Urdu in the community but did not use English. When she conversed with a non-Pashto speaker, she used Urdu. However, when she communicated with a Pashto speaker, she spoke only in Pashto. On one occasion, I observed Seemena interacting with an Afghan seller who sold fabrics and fashion jewelry on his cart. In Pashto, Seemena asked to see a red necklace and then tried to bargain for it. The seller told her "For 400, we didn't buy it, give me 500." (Fieldnotes, February 7, 2018). Seemena continued to bargain with the seller in Pashto and was able to get it for 500 rupees.

On another occasion, after Seemena and I arrived at her home, Dawud informed Seemena that the landlord had stopped by and although he knew it was about the rent, he could not communicate with the landlord. Dawud, Seemena, and I walked to the landlord's home and when a girl opened the door, Seemena informed her in Urdu that we were there to see her father. After we all greeted the landlord, I observed:

> Dawud tells Seemena, "Tell him that when [my] sons come today, I will give you complete rent, but for now take the four thousand." Seemena translates it to the landlord and then he talks to her in Urdu. Then she informs Dawud that the landlord says it is not a problem but that he owes money to another person and he wants to repay him very soon. Dawud tells Seemena to let the landlord know that as soon as her brothers come today, he would get the rest of the money. Seemena again translates this to the landlord and he smiles and shakes our hands, and we leave. (Fieldnotes, May 4, 2018)

In this exchange, Seemena effectively communicated in Urdu what her father wanted to convey to the landlord. Moreover, she was able to tell her father the reason the landlord needed the money urgently. As a result, Seemena played an important role in bridging the language gap between Dawud and the landlord. In the next section, I describe Seemena's literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community.

Seemena's Literacy Practices at Home

Seemena's literacy practices at home consisted of practicing and performing prayers in Arabic, translating print materials for her parents from English or Urdu into oral Pashto, and participating in Naseehath (moral) storytelling with her parents.

Praying five times a day is a religious requirement in Islam. In the prayers, one recites the memorized passages or small chapters from the Quran in Arabic. In addition, the prayers include movements, such as prostrating, bowing, and kneeling. Although she was not yet required to perform the five daily prayers, Seemena had been diligently practicing them. During each prayer, she recited from memory the Quranic verses in the required order. For example, one day, as I was about to leave Seemena's home, I saw her holding the prayer mat and I asked if she was preparing for prayer. When Seemena answered that she was, I asked if she knew how to pray,

and she stated that she had been learning at school and from her mother (Fieldnotes, February 01, 2018).

Seemena had a Salah book written in Urdu that depicted and explained how to perform the Wudu (ablution) and the prayer. The Salah book was in Urdu but included passages from the Quran, in Arabic. I asked to see the book, and as I was looking through it, she stated that she sometimes forgot the steps of the ablution. She said, "I turn [to] that page, and I do my ablution" (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018). I then asked, "So, do you look at the pictures or the notes under each when doing ablution?" and noted, "Seemena says she uses the pictures as she forgets the order of the ablution and said 'otherwise, I know that when washing any part, right is first.'" Thus, the pictures played an important role in helping Seemena perform her ablution in the proper order. As Seemena explained, she knew that when washing her hands or arms she had to wash the right side first; similarly, when washing her feet, she had to wash her right foot first and wash each foot three times. Although she knew the procedures of the ablution, the pictures helped her perform the required steps in the correct order. However, through time and continuous practice, Seemena likely will have no need for the Salah book, as the steps of both the ablution and the prayer will become a routine.

Seemena could read and understand the instructions for each step in Urdu. For example, when I asked her if she could read the instructions, Seemena read it fluently and then told me in Pashto while pointing to her elbow, "It says wash your arms up to here three times. Right then left" (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018). Figure 4.6 shows the page in the prayer book from which Seemena read. While she performed the prayer, Seemena needed her mother or another adult to listen (and remind her of the words) as she prayed and she referred to her Salah book as she assumed the positions to make sure that she performed them properly. As a result, Seemena

referenced the Salah book often to improve her ablution and prayer practice to align with the requirements of her faith.

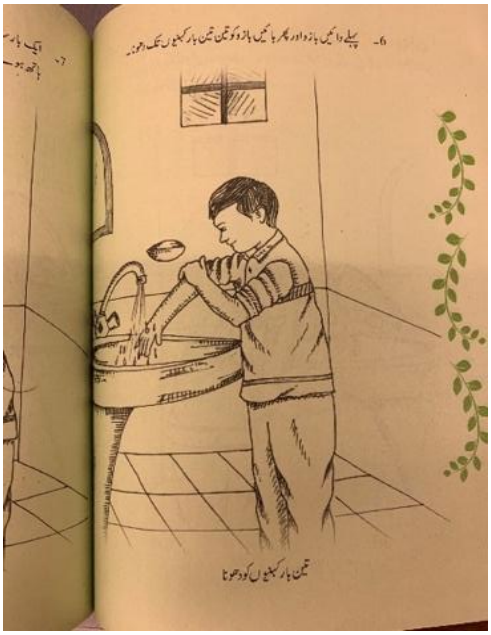

Figure 4.6 A Picture from Seemena's Salah (Prayer) Book

Note. The page states in Urdu "Wash your arms up to elbow, three times. Right arm first then left arm."

Seemena was also the main person in the family to read and interpret any printed texts that arrived. For example, Seemena saw all of the wedding invitations, cards, and bills. Dawud mentioned, "She is Mash Allah very good, for example, we get a wedding or some letter, we say, 'Seemena come here, we do not know this,' and she tells us everything on it, that 'this is what this says, and this is what is written.' She tells us and our eyes open up" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). Dawud did not know exactly the language used on the invitations, although he believed they were in either Urdu or English. Dawud continued, "She tells us this

person sent this to us and they have written this, and this is where they have invited you." He gave an example, mentioning, "A few days ago, a card came . . . she read it to us, and then we went to Akore, there was the wedding." Because Seemena was able to relay important information, such as who sent the card or invitation, what the message said, the location of the event, and so on, Dawud and his family were able to attend the wedding. Thus, an important part of Seemena's literacy practices at home included translating the printed content on invitations, bills, and school correspondence (e.g., permission slips, school letters) into Pashto for her family. Dawud highlighted her role further and stated that Seemena demonstrated leadership skills through her skills in reading and writing. For example, on May 10, 2018, I noted, "Dawud tells me that the person who 'lead us' is Seemena. He says that she sees all the letters and cards that the family receives" (Fieldnotes, May 10, 2018).

Seemena also engaged in the practice of Naseehath (moral) storytelling. Naseehath consists of telling a story, a saying, or giving advice about something with the intention of teaching a lesson, while incorporating and building on Islamic values. This practice of storytelling can also be about other topics, such as sharing events from one's life (e.g., hardships, overcoming obstacles, successes). At the same time, the practice of Naseehath is unique to each family, and the practice may differ from home to home. When I asked Dawud about the Naseehath practice in his home and what it entailed, he said, "The Naseehath is that she is now in this school, we don't want absolutely nothing from you in terms of chores or other type of work from you at home" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). Dawud emphasized right in the beginning that the main Naseehath theme in his home was to inform Seemena that they did not want her to do any chores or housework. He continued, "What you need to do, is straighten your back for this school and learn it with 'nar twoob' and we will be very happy." With this

statement, Dawud explained why he did not want Seemena to do any housework and that she needed to "straighten" her back for school, which meant that all of her focus should be on her schoolwork. He also used the phrase "nar twoob," which translates as "male confidence."[22] By using this phrase, he told his daughter to be confident and strong like a man in the pursuit of her studies.

Comparably, when visiting Seemena at her home, I noticed that the conversation regularly centered on Seemena's performance at school. For example, after observing Seemena's brother, Yunus, ask about her social studies test, I wrote, "She says it was easy and 'one question was hard.' He then asks what it was about, and she says she doesn't remember but it was about Jinnah's [Pakistan's founder] life" (Fieldnotes, March 16, 2018). Yunus continued and asked Seemena if she would show him the test when she got it back. Another time, I asked Seemena why she held her notebook while walking from school. She told me "that she doesn't want to forget to show the vocabulary quiz to Yunus and Dawud" (Fieldnotes, February 28, 2018). Even though Yunus could not read or write himself, he often asked Seemena about school and inquired about her performance in tests. Dawud also checked on Seemena and asked about her homework. On another occasion, while Seemena was playing outside her home, Dawud asked her, "Daughter did you do writing?" (Fieldnotes, May 22, 2018) and when she informed him that she did not have a lot of homework, Dawud replied, "Ok, then it is good." Thus, as Dawud concluded, "These are the Naseehath (moral stories) that we tell, what else can we tell? We tell this often, and make sure it reaches her ears. We do not let her go without it" (Interview, April

[22] The English translation of Nar twoob as "male confidence" does not do justice to explain this term. Although it may appear as a discriminatory term, Nar twoob can be used for anyone exhibiting courage and confidence.

17, 2018, translated from Pashto). Seemena's family not only used Naseehath to convey their attitude about her performance in school; they maintained a constant dialogue with her about her studies and progress at school, as the earlier examples indicated.

Seemena's Literacy Practices at School

Seemena read and wrote in Urdu and English every day at school. As with Safa's classes, Seemena's Urdu class also engaged in the Make Sentences activity. One day, in her Urdu class, the students created sentences using the vocabulary words "wish," "mercy," "happy," and "difficulty". Mrs. Tuba then selected several students to share their sentences, which she then wrote on the board. Seemena raised her hand and was called on to share her sentence for the third word "خوش [khush]" meaning happy. Mrs. Tuba wrote Seemena's sentence on the board as well. I asked Seemena about her sentence and she told me that it said, "I said, I am happy that I am fine" (Fieldnotes, January 30, 2018). After the Make Sentences activity concluded, Mrs. Tuba asked the students to copy the sentences into their notebooks as she went around the classroom checking their work. Similarly, on another day, Seemena successfully wrote in Urdu the sentences, "Allah does not like a person who lies" and "I trust my mother and father" (Fieldnotes, April 10, 2018) using the vocabulary words trust and lie.

In both her Urdu and English classes, Seemena engaged in reading comprehension activities pertaining to a story, poem, or a passage from a text. These activities usually involved students providing factual answers and using complete sentences, rather than giving an opinion or describing their thoughts about a passage or poem that they had read. For example, on April 25, 2018, Seemena and her classmates were responding to questions about a story they had read in their Urdu textbook. The first question asked, in Urdu, "What was written on the grave of the person who died in the desert?" and Seemena wrote, in Urdu, "There was a wallet of money on

the side of the grave [of the man] who died in the desert and it was written that you cannot fill your stomach with gold and silver." In response to the next question, "In this lesson, which sins are discussed that lead you to hell fire?" Seemena answered, "The backbiting, and to feel jealous are the sins that can lead you to hell fire." The last question was, "How did the rich person get to heaven?" and Seemena answered, "The rich person got to heaven just because of dried stick." Mrs. Tuba placed multiple check marks on Seemena's answers to indicate where she answered correctly and corrected the three instances of misspelled Urdu words.

In her English class, Seemena also engaged in answering reading comprehension questions, but she performed these together with her class. In these activities, Mrs. Hajar (Seemena's English teacher) would write a question on the board and then ask the students to volunteer their answers, which she then wrote on the board. Mrs. Hajar also encouraged the students to refer to the text for answers. For example, on February 1, 2018, the students read a story titled, "An Iftar Party." [23] I noted, "The teacher reads the question out loud two times and asks students to look for the answer in the story. 'Look in your book,' she says" (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018). Students looked for the answer in the story and I observed Seemena underline "Grandfather is in the living room reciting the holy Quran." The teacher continued to prompt the students to refer to the textbook. I noted that in response, "four students read the answer out loud by reading that part of the text." Then, Mrs. Hajar wrote the answer under the question on the board and students copied the answer in their textbooks. Finally, they copied both the questions and the answers into their notebooks.

---

[23] *Iftar* is the time of breaking the fast during Ramadan.

Similarly, on another day, Seemena and her classmates read a story called "The Red Rose." After reading the story and the accompanying question, Seemena looked for the answer in the textbook and either underlined it or wrote it down in her notebook. I noted, "When the class finishes, Mrs. Hajar writes the questions on the board and repeats each question more than once. Then she asks students where the answer is in the book for each of the questions" (Fieldnotes, May 10, 2018). After some students read aloud the answer from the book, Seemena and her classmates copied the question and answer into their notebooks.

In her Urdu class, Seemena answered the comprehension questions on her own before Mrs. Tuba reviewed them for accuracy. In contrast, in Mrs. Hajar's English class, she answered the reading comprehension questions together with her classmates and copied the questions and answers from the board into her workbook afterward. Apparently, Mrs. Hajar was intentional about having the students answer the reading comprehension questions in a whole class format. For instance, when the class ended, we discussed the lesson I had just witnessed and I noted, "Hajar told me that the students are not able to answer [the questions] on their own yet, and that in the high-quality schools (e.g., Beaconhouse[24]), students answer the questions on their own" (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018). Mrs. Hajar implied that because students in Pakistan's prestigious private schools are required to use English consistently, they are able to answer reading comprehension questions on their own without their classmates' or teacher's support.

Seemena read and wrote in English in all her classes except in her Urdu and math classes. In the Islamic class, she used both Urdu and English. For example, toward the end of one Islamic class period, Mrs. Madinah (Seemena's Islamic and science teacher) shared an oral story in

[24] One of the prestigious private schools in Pakistan.

Urdu. Although I did not understand it, I observed, "the students laugh several times" (Fieldnotes, May 4, 2018). Then, the students shared their stories, in Urdu, without having to raise their hands. While the students were sharing their stories, I noted that, "Seemena reaches for a book on a small bookshelf near her and quickly finds a part to read out loud." The story told of a bet between an employee and his employer. It was a humorous story and while she read aloud, I noted, "the class laughs, including the teacher." Seemena successfully read the story in Urdu, understood its humor, and was able to share it with her class at the appropriate time. Furthermore, even though she did not engage in the oral storytelling, she found a way to participate in the activity with the rest of her class by reading from a book.

Seemena was also required to read aloud from her textbooks. For example, in her science class, Mrs. Madinah asked her to read in English, from the science textbook and Seemena read, "v. Mineral salt: They are important for the human body because their deficiency can lead to serious health problems" (Fieldnotes, January 25, 2018). I noted that Seemena struggled to say "deficiency" and "serious," but that Mrs. Madinah helped with the pronunciation. After the reading, I noted, "[The] teacher writes the different groups on the board 'meat group, dairy group, cereal group, fruits and vegetable' and students are called on to write down the food under each group." Consequently, Seemena engaged in reading and writing English throughout her day at the Afghan School. In addition, she also regularly read and wrote in Urdu as noted in the Urdu and Islamic classes.

Academically, Seemena was considered to be a successful student by all her teachers. For example, one day Mrs. Sarah asked students to draw an insect and label the body parts as shown on the computer screen. I observed, "Seemena is the first to finish and the teacher shows her notebook [to the rest of the class] and says in Urdu 'Isn't it done well?' and the whole class

answers in English, and says, “Yes” (Fieldnotes, April 10, 2018). Seemena’s English teacher, Mrs. Hajar, also mentioned to me that, “Seemena is able to do the work” (Fieldnotes, January 25, 2018), but that sometimes she does the assignments too quickly, which affects the quality of her work. When Mrs. Hajar noticed that Seemena had hastily completed an assignment, she had Seemena redo the entire thing. I observed that Mrs. Tuba regularly asked Seemena to help students sitting near her. For example, one day, Mrs. Tuba asked the class to read silently from a passage about a storekeeper. Afterward, she asked Seemena to read for her and then to listen to, and help, the girl sitting next to her (Fieldnotes, February 14, 2018). On the same day, I noticed a girl in front of Seemena turn around and ask for help pronouncing a word. In addition, when Mrs. Sarah (Seemena’s social studies teacher) found out I was observing Seemena, she was surprised. I noted, “She looked quite surprised and said, ‘Is she Afghan?’ and when I told her that she is, she smiled and said she is very good student” (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018). Because Seemena was so successful in school, Mrs. Sarah did not know that she was Afghan and therefore was surprised when she learned of her background. Some teachers had generally lower expectations of the Afghan students, believing that they came from families that did not support their learning; students like Seemena challenged their assumptions.

Seemena’s Literacy Practices in the Community

Seemena’s literacy practices entailed considerable community service, provided through tutoring neighbourhood children with their academic homework and their Quranic reading during the week. Other than the tutoring, I did not see Seemena engage in any other literacy events in the community. Around 3:45 p.m. each day, several Afghan children, from kindergarteners to third graders, came to Seemena’s home where she tutored them in the guest

room.[25] The number of children differed, but five to seven children attended each day. Each child opened up their Quran, Separah (Quran primer), or notebook and read to themselves until Seemena called on them. Then, they showed their assignments to her and asked for her help. For example, I observed Seemena helping Feroza read from the Quran and noted, "Seemena listens and corrects her, and Feroza then repeats the correction . . . then she asks her to go back to her sitting spot and practice the page and the words" (Fieldnotes, February 28, 2018). Similarly, Aliyah, who was in kindergarten, needed help matching Urdu vocabulary words with their pictures. I noted, "Seemena asks her to read the word and then the girl tells her in Pashto the meaning and points to the picture and Seemena says, 'Wo,' meaning 'yes'." When Aliyah mispronounced the Urdu word for "city," I noted that "Seemena laughs and says, 'No, it is not shar, it is shehr,' and Aliyah points to the drawing of [a] building that she has copied from the board." Seemena assisted her until she had completed drawing a line connecting each word to its respective illustration. Afterwards, Seemena asked Aliyah to go back to her spot and finish the rest of the assignment, which involved writing out each word five times.

In addition, Seemena regularly worked with Bassim, a kindergartener, on his math homework and with reading the Separah. For example, one day, Seemena helped Bassim practice addition. I observed, "Seemena uses her finger for him to do the simple addition. When he writes 7 backwards, she erases and writes it for him. Then she asks him to use his fingers [to count] (Fieldnotes, May 22, 2018). Afterwards, Seemena helped Bassim read the alphabet in the

---

[25] Although the guest room is part of the home, its main function was for community use. The room had two doors, one that opened to the house and one that opened directly to the community. Children coming to see Seemena entered through the door from the community. The guest room is viewed as a more public space where guests were received. These guests did not go into the private living quarters beyond this room.

Separah. As he was reading the Arabic alphabet, I noted, "Seemena reads it to him and tells him to read each letter three times" (Fieldnotes, May 22, 2018). When Bassim forgot the names of the letters, he returned to Seemena for a reminder.

Occasionally, Seemena did not know the content and was unable to provide help with homework. For example, on February 14, 2018, Abdulmajid, who was in third grade, asked for Seemena's help on his science homework entitled, "What is matter?" (Fieldnotes, February 14, 2018). Seemena looked through the material and then told him in Pashto, "I didn't learn this," and handed his notebook back to him. Nonetheless, Seemena provided an essential service to the children in her community by helping them with their homework and Quranic reading.

It is important to note that Dawud played an important role in Seemena's tutoring practice. For example, he was almost always present when Seemena tutored the children. He informed me that the children misbehaved without adult supervision and sometimes fought over "small things" like money or candy (Fieldnotes, May 22, 2018). During our interview, when I asked Seemena about the tutoring, she said proudly, "I help them with school work and the homework that they have" (Interview, May 22, 2018, translated from Pashto). Seemena clearly enjoyed tutoring and I believe this was because it connected to her future career goals. When asked what she wanted to become in the future, she answered, "I want to be teacher**.** You know with teaching you can help others, so I want to teach" (Interview, May 22, 2018, translated from Pashto). Helping others was an important goal for her. Not only was Seemena a fluent speaker of Pashto and Urdu, but she was also a successful student and provided essential tutoring to the children in her community by assisting them with homework or Quranic reading. In the next section, I describe Dawud's beliefs about language and literacy.

Seemena's Father's Beliefs about Language and Literacy

Dawud's Beliefs about Language

Unlike the other parents or guardians in this study, Dawud did not speak Urdu, despite having lived in Pakistan for decades. He acknowledged this, noting that while his children had become fluent in Urdu, he struggled with learning it (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). To Dawud, speaking in Pashto was integral to being a Pashtun, and therefore was a way of life for him. For example, he stated, "Pashto is another thing, it is a male language. You treat the guest with deep honor and dignity and Pashto is Pashto" (Interview, May 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). By referring to Pashto as a "male language" Dawud implied that speaking Pashto is honorable (because men are honorable) and prestigious. Note that here, Dawud is not implying that women are not honorable, but he is focusing on the codes of Pashtunwali and uses men as a symbol of treating the guest with utmost respect. For Dawud, then, the values he holds as a Pashtun were integral to the Pashto language. Furthermore, when I asked him whether Pashto was important to him, he answered, "Of course, it is important" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). He stated that if his children could read and write in Pashto, they would "know their way, and their language." By way he meant that his children would be able to read about Pashtuns and also learn the poetry of Rahman Baba, some of which he had memorized from his own father. Dawud's father could not read, just like him; however, he mentioned that the poetry of Rahman Baba was memorized by many people, including his father. These poems were recited and shared when the men gathered in the community.

However, he did not think it would be possible for them to learn to read and write in Pashto, as there were no resources or someone who taught it. For Dawud, being able to read and write in Pashto would mean that his children would not lose their Pashtun heritage and culture.

Dawud also believed that the Pashto language connected him and his children with his homeland, Afghanistan. He stated, "Afghanistan is all Pashto speakers" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto), meaning that it is the most commonly spoken language there which is why he hoped that his children would learn to read and write in Pashto while they lived in Pakistan. He mentioned, "It will be good to show them Pashto at school, they will know it." In other words, he believed that offering Pashto as a school subject would be valuable in preparation for a time when they might be forced to return to Afghanistan. While Dawud could not teach his children how to read and write in Pashto, he instilled in them the belief that Pashto was very closely connected with the Pashtun culture. In other words, a Pashtun needed to know Pashto and behave like a Pashtun. The last time we spoke, he referred to the code of Pashtunwali, which dictates how a Pashtun man and woman live and behave, stating, "I will follow Pashto to make sure one does not become sad from me, or angry at me, and treat them with utmost respect" (Interview, May 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). In saying this, he equated the idea of the Pashtun code of conduct and behavior with full access to the Pashto language through its written and spoken forms.

Although Dawud did not speak extensively about Urdu or English specifically, he was proud that his children knew Urdu, stating "my children all know it" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). He also believed that languages were something "you can put it in your pocket and use." Therefore, Dawud believed that Seemena's language and literacy education would still be valuable in Afghanistan, if they were forced to go back. He stated, "It will not be that she has learned here, and then if we go back . . . all her efforts will go to waste. No, there she also has to be confident." For example, he commented on the transferability of the language skills she had acquired because of the similarities between Urdu and Pashto. I noted, "He

mentioned that Urdu had taken many words from Pashto and said that his sons told him in Urdu they also use the word '*zaroor* [important],' '*ketab* [book],' '*watan* [country]," '*insaan* [human]'" (Fieldnotes, May 4, 2018). Dawud also acknowledged the importance of English language skills and stated, "Most papers are in English now, not in Urdu or Pashto" (particularly formal documents, such as notifications, bills, licenses, and certificates were in English. School notices were in both Urdu and English), making English an important language to know.

Dawud's Beliefs about Literacy

When asked to define what literacy meant to him, Dawud stated, "You are able to write and lead your way. Your brain will be able to receive it; you will not be dependent on others" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). As seen from this statement, his definition emphasized the ability to write. In his statement, he also implied that literacy partly freed one from being dependent on others as one could communicate without needing another person to decode and explain the print. Like Sajjad, Dawud also believed that the one who could not read and write was literally and figuratively blind. For example, when he talked about how Seemena read the cards and letters that he and his family received, he said, "She tells us and our eyes open up," meaning, metaphorically, that her translation helped them to comprehend and "see" the documents. In our last interview, Dawud elaborated on the reason why he referred to himself and others who could not read and write as blind. He stated, "We are blind, when we are walking and find a note, hold it to your face, and you read it, then you know, but we see it, and what is its use to us? We are blind" (Interview, May 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). In other words, a note, such as a letter had little use or meaning to him because he would not be able to comprehend what it said. On the other hand, Dawud believed that if a person could read, they could offer a helpful service. He stated, "But if you find it [note] and it belongs to [some] one, you can read it

and get it to the person" thus emphasizing that a person who can read can do more things than a person who cannot. Dawud also described himself as a "rooster" to signal that the one who could not read and write was not fully human.

I also asked Dawud who helped Seemena with her homework when she struggled. I noted, "He looked at me and said, 'Who would help her?'" (Fieldnotes, February 28, 2018), reminding me that no one at home had the skills of reading and writing. In our second interview, I again asked Dawud if he helped her in some way. He answered "No, I can't help with it." Moreover, he stressed that Seemena had to do it on her own and explained "she looks at it and picks it up, one at a time and do it" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto). He meant that she completed the homework for each subject in her notebooks, and worked on each, one at a time, on her own.

Through the Naseehath storytelling, Dawud wanted Seemena to realize that it was an honor and a privilege for her to be able to read and write. Similarly, in the Naseehath storytelling, he continued to build on the belief that reading and writing allowed one to "see." For instance, he described a conversation that he had with Seemena during which he used the metaphor of a blind rooster to demonstrate that reading and writing allowed one to see. He recounted:

> We are blind roosters, but you will be able to see. You will be able to go well on your way. [We tell her] now that you are reading this, we are to you like blind roosters because we do not know about a thing or two, but you are in our house, and anything that comes we are calling for you, come Seemena see this. You can read it, you can understand it, and you can make us understand. (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto)

Accordingly, being able to read and write were two of the most important skills a person could have, according to Dawud. Clearly, he referred to himself and his family members, who were dependent on Seemena's skill of reading the print literature, as "blind roosters." Continuing the metaphor of blindness, he also emphasized the value of attending school in general, claiming that "school is a good thing . . . because no matter how blind you are, if you go to school, the way will be bright for you." Lastly, Dawud believed that literacy helped one morally become a better person. He pointed out that literacy prevents people from falling into the "bad way, from stealing, from adultery, from other things, and [keeps you busy doing] good things" as people that have gone to school "know the difference between good and bad" (Interview, April 17, 2018, translated from Pashto).

Summary

In this chapter, I described the language and literacy practices that Safa and Seemena engaged in at home, at school, and in the community, and reviewed their fathers' beliefs regarding language and literacy. Both Safa and Seemena were successful students who participated eagerly in their classes and willingly provided help to their classmates. Similarly, the girls provided essential literacy and language support to their families and to community members. For example, Safa taught the Duas to her father and her neighbour's child. Seemena, on the other hand, read and translated letters and invitations for her family. She also provided support to children in her community, helping them with their homework and reading the Quran. Both of the female focal children's environment at home, at school, and in the community required them to read and interpret Urdu and English texts. In other words, the microsystem in which the female focal children were growing up required them to frequently read various texts,

such as letters, invitation cards, reading from textbooks, the Quran, or supplications, and make sense of them. The girls' fathers, Sajjad and Dawud, were deeply committed to their daughters' education and ensured that they did well in school, despite the fact that Sajjad had only a few years of schooling, while Dawud had not attended school at all. They instilled in their daughters the importance of education, towards which they both had similar views. For example, both Sajjad and Dawud believed that the ability to read and write enabled one to "see," while those lacking these skills, as they did, were blind. Lastly, Safa and Seemena were both against the possibility of having a Pashto class at school. Safa was strongly against any form of Pashto at school, including even speaking it during recess. Seemena on the other hand, disliked the idea as such a class would separate her from her non-Pashto speaking classmates and was worried that their perception of Pashto was negative. Moreover, she believed that a Pashto class would add too much to an already busy class schedule. Many of Safa's and Seemena's teachers maintained that the home language should be independent of school and that Afghan students should speak only Urdu and English while at school.

In the next chapter, I turn to the male focal children and discuss their language and literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community. I will also discuss their parent's or guardian's beliefs about language and literacy.

Chapter 5: Language and Literacy in the Male Focal Children's Lives

This chapter reports the findings from research with the male focal children, Harun Sabr, a first grader, and Arman Khushal, a kindergartner, and describes their language and literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community. This chapter also includes Harun's guardian's and Arman's parent's beliefs regarding language and literacy.

Focal Child: Harun Sabr

Harun was a friendly nine-year-old in the first grade at the Afghan School. As mentioned in Chapter 3, he lived with his uncles and grandparents in a large extended family. Harun's immediate family had moved back to Afghanistan as they were in a difficult financial situation as refugees in Pakistan. Although Harun stated that he liked school, he struggled academically. Like the other focal children at school, Harun could not read or write Pashto, but spoke it and Urdu fluently. He spoke some English, and he struggled to read and write in both English and Urdu. During the school week, Harun woke up at 7:15 a.m. and left the house with his cousins around 7:45 a.m. His class schedule at school followed the same pattern as Safa and Seemena's as discussed in the previous chapter. After school, around 3:00 p.m. Harun had a meal with his family. At 3:30 p.m. Harun attended a Quranic class at the Mosque for about an hour. After the Quranic class, Harun carried out his livestock responsibility, with his cousin, Farooq. His chores took about two hours and included feeding the cows and goats, taking them to a field to graze and ensuring they did not stray. At around 7:00 p.m., Harun had some free time, during which he would play baseball with his cousins. After that, he watched Urdu dramas on television with his cousins for about an hour. At 9:00 p.m., Harun would have dinner and then go to bed around 9:30 p.m.

Harun's Language Practices at Home

Harun spoke only Pashto at home. On one occasion, I observed Harun preparing to play baseball with three of his cousins using a plastic baseball. I noted, "Harun tells Rehan, 'This baseball is no good, bring yours,' but he seems hesitant and he tells him, as way of reassuring him, 'If it becomes bad [breaks], I will tell uncle to buy you another one'" (Fieldnotes, January 22, 2018). After Harun's reassurance, Rehan said, "I will hit it first" and Harun replied, "Ok" (Fieldnotes, January 22, 2018). As the game continued, I observed that the entire conversation took place in Pashto. Another day, as Harun flew his kite, his cousin Zafra, came out to tell him that it was time to take lunch to his uncles. I noted, "He says, 'Ok, I'm coming.' Then, as he takes the pot covered in a large scarf, he asks Zafra, 'Is there bread [with it], the other day there wasn't and I came back'" (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2018). Zafra ran home to check with her mother and returned, telling Harun that the meal included bread. As with the previous conversation, the exchange between Harun and his cousin took place in Pashto. Harun also spoke in Pashto to his uncles and his grandparents (Haji and Aisha) spoke only that language. Furthermore, even though Harun and Farooq could speak in Urdu fluently, they also chose to speak only in Pashto.

When interviewed, Harun's uncle, Habeebullah, confirmed that Pashto was spoken at home. Furthermore, when I asked what he hoped the children in his household would be able to do in this language, he stated, "My wish is that first, first [repeated twice for emphasis] they learn Pashto. There are some people that have come here that have forgotten their language" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto) and were now speaking Urdu. He continued to underscore the importance of Pashto stating "There is a saying in Pashto. If I forget Pashto then I

am not Pashtun, and if I forget Leila[26] then I am not Majnun, so you should never forget Pashto." Thus, to Habeebullah, being a Pashtun and speaking Pashto were inextricably linked, in that one could not be Pashtun without knowing Pashto. He ended his response by reaffirming, "So you should never forget Pashto."

Harun's Language Practices at School

Harun spoke both Pashto and Urdu at school. He was fluent in Urdu and could communicate easily with his classmates and teachers. He had limited English speaking ability. For example, toward the end of a science class, Harun had an argument with Dafiq, a Punjabi student. When I asked what was going on, Harun told me in Pashto, "that yesterday his friend gave him a ruler and he broke it. So, he will keep his sharpener" (Fieldnotes, February 8, 2018). Dafiq spoke to me in Urdu, but since I could not understand him Harun translated for me, slowly explaining, "He is saying he didn't do it on purpose, but still he broke it.' He says otherwise he [Dafiq] should give him 10 rupees" (Fieldnotes, February 8, 2018). Although Harun accepted that Dafiq may have not meant to break the ruler, he still believed that he should give him ten rupees to remedy the damage. Similarly, on another occasion, Harun asked Waad, his Punjabi classmate for his notebook. When Waad asked why in Urdu, Harun responded that he wanted to see if he had answered the homework correctly (Fieldnotes, May 8, 2018). The conversation continued in Urdu as Waad asked which questions Harun wanted to check and Harun responded that he wanted to check question number one. I noted, "The boy [Waad] says, 'fish, milk, nut.'

[26] Habeebullan refers to a fable about two lovers, Leila and Majnun, who unite despite distance and familial conflicts. He points out that just as a man cannot be a prince if he forgets his princess, one cannot be a Pashtun if they forget Pashto.

Then the boy helps him spell [the words] as Harun tries to write [them].” In these exchanges, Harun spoke in Urdu, and was able to communicate effectively with his non-Pashtun classmates.

Harun was also able to understand and respond to his teachers when they communicated with him in Urdu. For instance, in the mathematics class, Mrs. Sarah wrote addition problems on the board for the students to solve. I noticed that Harun was eager to participate and observed, “Harun is very excited about the next problem and keeps saying ‘6’ for the problem ___+ 3 = 9” (Fieldnotes, March 12, 2018). When Mrs. Sarah called on him, he wrote the number six in the blank space. Furthermore, I noted,

> When Mrs. Sarah asks him why, he explains in Urdu that six and three added [together] makes nine. Then she asks him in Urdu, what if it was “seven” and he stops to think and then says in Urdu, “ten.” The teacher says “good” and he leaves to sit. (Fieldnotes, March 12, 2018)

In this example, Harun explained his answer in Urdu and when Mrs. Sarah asked him a follow up question in Urdu, he responded successfully. During our interview, when I asked Harun what language teachers mostly spoke when communicating with him, he said, “Urdu” (Interview, April 16, 2018). When I further inquired whether he understood his teachers when they spoke to him, he answered, “Yes” (Interview, April 16, 2018, translated from Pashto).

Mrs. Zara (Harun’s Urdu and social studies teacher) also regularly asked students to prepare oral sentences using vocabulary words. She pretended to use her marker or pen as a microphone and would hold it up to each student’s mouth as they spoke their sentence. After the student spoke, she repeated the sentence and either validated it, such as by saying “acha” meaning “good” or corrected it. For example, on March 1, 2018, Mrs. Zara wrote the Urdu vocabulary word “خواہش [khoaahish]” (which means like or desire) on the board and asked each

student to use it in an oral sentence. I noted, “When Harun’s turn comes he says in Urdu that he would like to become a policeman” (Fieldnotes, March 1, 2018). I had observed earlier that Harun could not read the word, but he understood what it meant when used by the children who spoke ahead of him. And thus, as I noted, “He was able to make a sentence with it orally.” Similarly, on February 16, 2018, Mrs. Zara asked the students to come up with a sentence for using the word “رأت [raat]” (which means night). I noted, “The teacher comes to Harun to say a sentence with the word. Harun said in Urdu ‘Owls comes out at night’” (Fieldnotes, February 16, 2018). During the time I spent observing Harun, I found him to be active and competent when participating in oral sentences activities.

Harun also spoke in Pashto, especially during recess when playing with Ali, a Pashto-speaking Afghan student in the third grade. During recess one day, he, Ali, and another boy, Umer, talked about kites. Harun told Ali, “I have two kites, come today and we can fly them” (Fieldnotes, March 5, 2018). Ali responded saying there was no wind that day and thus the kites would not fly well. Harun then told him of the hill near his home and mentioned that there is always wind there. Umer joined the conversation saying, “Many boys go there” to fly kites, to which Ali responded that he would go there after his Quranic class. Since Ali and Umer were both Afghan and spoke Pashto, Harun spoke with them exclusively in that language. Harun affirmed this when I asked which language he spoke at school, stating, “With my own Pashtun boys, I speak Pashto” (Interview, April 16, 2018, translated from Pashto). Harun tried to relate that with Pashto speakers, he spoke in Pashto, while with non-Pashto speakers, he spoke in Urdu.

Lastly, Harun used Pashto in school to better comprehend and understand lesson content. One day, his English teacher, Mrs. Hajar made a list of categories, and asked the students to provide the missing details. She wrote, “My name ___,” “My age: ____,” “My date of birth:

____," and "My father's name: ____" (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2018). Then, she filled out the list using her own information as an example. Harun copied down the list along with the answers Mrs. Hajar had provided. When he showed it to her, I noted "Mrs. Hajar mentions in Urdu that he has copied from the board, but the information on the board does not apply to him, it is examples" (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2018). I noticed that afterwards, Harun asked Heba, a Pashto-speaking Afghan student, for assistance and observed that, "She tells him, 'Name, write your name here,' 'Write how old you are here," "How old are you?'" (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2018). As Heba talked to Harun in Pashto, Mrs. Hajar came up to them and scolded, quite loudly "Be quiet, just be quiet" (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2018). Although I am not sure why Mrs. Hajar responded in this way, she was strict about not allowing students to speak languages other than English in her class. Furthermore, she maintained control over her class and regularly punished students physically when she believed they were off task. Similarly, on January 15, 2018, Mrs. Zara asked the students to read a few sentences from their social studies (English) textbooks and then translate them from English to Urdu. I observed, "Knowing that he will be asked to read the next sentences, Harun turns to Adil and asks what the meaning of the next sentence is" (Fieldnotes, January 15, 2018). I noted that Adil tells him, in Pashto, "In village there are not too many stores or cars, villages have much nature" (Fieldnotes, January 15, 2018). In this case, because Adil sat next to him and the conversation went unnoticed by the teacher, Harun was able to understand the sentences once Adil translated them into Pashto. Harun's use of Pashto in class for learning was successful only if the teachers did not notice, as the earlier example illustrated. When the teachers noticed Harun talking in Pashto with another student while the class was in session, even if the conversation concerned translating or understanding the content of the lesson or instructions the teachers were quick to ask that Harun focus on the lesson, or work quietly on

the assignment. Apparently, the teachers were not aware of the role that one's first language can play in learning content that is being taught or presented in an additional language (e.g., Cummins, 2013).

Other than his Urdu and Islamiat classes, the majority of Harun's lessons were conducted in English; his textbooks were also written in English. Therefore, most of the time, teachers asked questions in English and all of the writing and reading, including science and social studies, were in English. For instance, in science class one day, Mrs. Madinah wrote on the board:

Topic: Plants

Q: What do Plants need?

1. Water
2. Sunlight
3. Air (Fieldnotes, March 1, 2018)

I noted that after she wrote the answers in English, she explained them in Urdu (Fieldnotes, March 1, 2018), while continuing to use the English words "water" and "sunlight" in her translation. In addition, in English class, I observed Mrs. Hajar using poetry in a lesson. She began by writing the following "poem" (this is what she referred to it as) on the board (Fieldnotes, February 8, 2018).

This is my school.

This is your school.

I like my school.

I've got my pencil.

I've got my book.

Come and look

After writing it, she had the students repeat each line after she read it aloud. Furthermore, she selected students to read the poem as she pointed to each word while the rest of the class listened carefully. Harun was the fourth student selected to read the poem. I noted, "She says, 'Louder Harun' and he raises his voice. He reads each word in a singing tone as Mrs. Hajar points to each on the board. Then she says, 'Good Harun, sit down' and he sits down, smiling." On another day, during a lesson on the human body, Mrs. Madinah asked him to name the body parts. I noted, "He says, 'stem,' 'leaf' and she says, 'body,' 'body' while pointing her hands at herself and Harun says, 'eye,' 'hands,' 'foot'" (Fieldnotes, April 11, 2018). Harun also understood certain commands and directions in English. One day after noticing Harun chewing gum in class, Mrs. Hajar said to Harun in English, "First of all go and empty your mouth." Clearly understanding her instructions, he quickly got up and threw his gum into the trash bin (Fieldnotes, March 1, 2018). Although a beginner in English, he experienced English every day at the Afghan School. The teachers, for example, regularly asked questions, gave directions, and required the students to read and write in English, making it an important component of his learning in school. However, other than understanding some basic commands and phrases, Harun struggled with English, including reading and writing in it (as will be seen later in this chapter).

Harun's and his Teachers' Views on Learning and Speaking Pashto at School

Harun was very supportive of having the Afghan School offer a Pashto class and of learning in Pashto (e.g., learning science in Pashto). He told me, "It would be good, because we learn easy" (Interview, April 16, 2018, translated from Pashto). Although I clarified that I meant a separate Pashto class, I believe Harun was also referring to learning a subject such as mathematics in Pashto, as well. Furthermore, after walking Harun home from school, I noted,

“Harun told me on the way that having [a] Pashto class would be great. He said, ‘When the madams [teachers] speak English we don’t understand them’” (Fieldnotes, April 26, 2018). As most of the textbooks were in English and teachers regularly asked questions and expected students to answer in English, Harun referred to the predominance of English in the school’s curriculum, and the difficulty he had understanding it.

Interestingly, Harun indicated that he enjoyed his English class, despite finding it difficult. On the same day we walked to his home from school, I noted, “At the same time, he said his favorite subject is English” (Fieldnotes, April 26, 2018). In our interview, he told me something similar when I asked what he enjoyed at school. He told me, “I did all work, I like English class” (Interview, April 16, 2018, translated from Pashto). When I asked why, he explained, “In English, we learn new things.” On the other hand, Harun did not like Urdu. He stated, “I don’t like writing. And in subjects I don’t like Urdu class.” I followed up by asking why, and he said, “There are difficult things in it” and when I asked if he meant that the class content was difficult, he replied, “Yes.”

Harun had several of the same teachers as Seemena, including Mrs. Hajar, Mrs. Sarah and Mrs. Madinah. As discussed in the previous chapter, both Mrs. Sarah and Mrs. Madinah believed that a home language, such as Pashto, should be used at home, but not at school. They both strongly supported teaching that involved the school’s primary languages (Urdu and English) and believed that Afghan students, like all other students, should speak both of these languages at school. Mrs. Hajar, the only Pashto speaking teacher, also believed that the Afghan students already knew Pashto, and therefore did not see much benefit in using it in school. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, her opinion changed and she came to believe

that if the school could provide a class that taught the students to read and write in Pashto, it would be beneficial to their learning.

Mrs. Zara, Harun's Urdu teacher, informed me that while they were at school, the students were expected to speak exclusively in Urdu or English (Interview, January 22, 2018). Mrs. Zara also acknowledged that despite this expectation, the Afghan students spoke Pashto to each other, stating, "Sometimes they allow in the friends, like they will talk in Pashto," but that "they shouldn't speak [Pashto], but some of them speak [it]." In other words, the students still spoke privately to each other in Pashto, despite any prohibitions.

In my second interview with Mrs. Zara, I asked if the school should help students develop their first language. She responded, stating, "I think it is not too important because they have problems in initial stage, after [a while] they don't have problems because they know both languages, English and Urdu, and their books and everything is in that languages" (Interview, May 9, 2018). Regarding this statement, I noted:

> Zara almost completely interpreted my question in a different way–she is thinking of first language, in this case, Pashto, only as a way to help students develop the second and third languages. So, she states that the Pashto class is not too important because the students have problems with English and Urdu "in initial stage," meaning in the beginning, when they enroll. Thus, the concept of a Pashto class, in her mind, is not to help students develop and acquire their first language, Pashto. Rather the focus of the class would be how it could help students develop the second and third languages. (Fieldnotes, May 9, 2018)

However, this does not imply that Mrs. Zara did not appreciate the students' home languages. She told me, "We respect to their first language, that the students appreciate their languages"

(Interview, May 9, 2018). At the same time, she explained, "but we don't have to give them proper [first language] classes." She talked about lack of time as the main reason for not offering home language classes to the students. For example, she stated, "and they have no time to give them another language." However, she reassured me that the teachers "give them respect to their language," and stated that Afghan students should focus on learning Urdu and English.

Harun's Language Practices in the Community

Harun spoke Pashto and Urdu in the community, speaking Pashto to Pashto speakers and Urdu with non-Pashto speakers. However, he did not speak English with others in the community. During his class at the mosque, Harun only spoke Urdu. In his daily chores, Harun took care of the livestock with his nephew Farooq, and their conversations were always in Pashto, and mostly centered on the needs of the animals. For example, on February 8, 2018, Harun and Farooq were taking the cows out to the field where they could eat grass. When Farooq directed Harun to bring a cow to him, I noted, "Harun tells him that the place is far and suggests a nearby spot for the cow to graze. Farooq tells him, 'Look there, do you see grass?' and tells him again to bring the cow there" (Fieldnotes, February 8, 2018). Once Harun led the cow to the spot, I continued to observe and noted, "Then he tells Farooq, 'Where is the water bucket?' and Farooq tells him to look in the room where the goats stay at night." Similarly, on another day, the ropes looped around two of the goats' necks became tangled. Harun informed Farooq and requested his help in untangling them. I observed, "Farooq tells him, 'Ok, wait,' Harun replies, 'Hurry, the goats are pulling.' When Farooq comes, he tells Harun to hold one of the goats, while he holds the bigger one. Then they slowly are able to untangle the ropes" (Fieldnotes, April 26, 2018). Conversations like these regarding the care of the cows or goats were common between

Harun and Farooq and they always communicated with each other in Pashto. Figure 5.1, shows Harun on the job, taking care of the cows.

Figure 5.1 Harun on the Job: Taking Care of the Cows

Harun also spoke in Pashto and Urdu when doing errands for his uncles, aunts, or grandparents. For example, on May 2, 2018, I asked Harun what he needed to get at the market, he informed me that his aunt, Safwa, had requested baby powder and hair oil, while his other aunt, Farah, needed yeast (Fieldnotes, May 2, 2018). At the store, Harun informed the man, in Urdu, of the items he needed. I noted, "The man gets the baby powder from underneath and then goes to get the hair oil . . . Then he [shopkeeper] tells him something." When I asked Harun what the shopkeeper said, he told me, "He says that he doesn't have yeast, and that he should go to the bread shop." Speaking Urdu throughout his exchange, Harun communicated fluently with the shopkeeper. When we went to the bread shop, the shopkeeper greeted us in Pashto, and we responded in Pashto in return. I observed, "Harun asks him, 'Uncle, you have yeast?' and the man tells him he does and asks Harun how much he would like." As seen in these examples,

Harun needed to speak in Pashto and Urdu when shopping for his family and he was very comfortable communicating in both.

Harun also attended a daily Quranic reading class at the local mosque. Harun was learning the Separah (Quran primer) prior to reading the Quran. The Separah is in Arabic and focuses on discrete skills of letters, sounds, and elongation and its goal is to prepare one for reading the Quran. During the class, I observed Harun "talking quite a bit with the children near him. He is speaking in Urdu and giggling. The teacher is busy as the student reads to him" (Fieldnotes, February 27, 2018). I also observed Qari Burhan (Harun's Quranic (Arabic) teacher) speaking in Urdu when he asked Harun to read from his Separah. I noted, "He goes and reads the first half of the page to his teacher and he corrects him on a few parts. Then he talks to him and Harun responds back quietly." When I asked Harun how his reading to Qari Burhan went, I noted, "He says it was okay, but that the teacher said he [Harun] needs to study all the previous pages. He says, 'I will be tested on the pages I read' and I . . . [ask] him if that will be hard, he says no but that he has to study them." Thus, Harun understood clearly what Qari Burhan conveyed to him in Urdu without any difficulty.

On another day, Qari Burhan instructed Harun and his classmates to remove the Qurans from the bookcase. I observed, "Harun and the boys talk as they slowly remove the Qurans from the bookcase. They are also speaking in Urdu, even though Shams is an Afghan and is a Pashto speaker" (Fieldnotes, April 20, 2018). When I interviewed Qari Burhan, he spoke about the importance of Urdu. I asked him, "Brother, is there a rule in the mosque regarding what language a student can speak and what language a student cannot speak?" (Interview, May 8, 2018). He answered, "Here it is Urdu language, Urdu" and when I followed up with a clarifying question he answered "Yes, Urdu. If they don't speak Urdu, there are many problems. The student will not

understand [what they learn], so Urdu is must"[27] (Interview, May 8, 2018, translated from Urdu). In other words, Qari Burhan believed that the students needed to speak Urdu in order to make progress in their Quranic learning, and if they did not, it would impede their religious education. For example, they might have trouble understanding the translation or the commentary of the Quran in Urdu. He ended the interview, saying that the mosque encouraged students to "speak Urdu to each other." In the next section, I focus on Harun's literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community.

Harun's Literacy Practices at Home

Harun's literacy practice at home consisted of engaging in Naseehath (moral) storytelling, when he was available. As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, I categorize the Naseehath storytelling as a literacy event because it aligned with the parents' and guardians' view of literacy and because it has been shown to promote children's literacy development (Kanaya & Santiago, 2019; Luo & Tamis-LeMonda, 2017). Throughout the study, I did not see Harun complete homework or engage in any reading or writing at home. Because of his responsibilities (e.g., taking care of the livestock, running errands for the family, attending the Quranic class at the mosque), he did not have much free time during the day (he did have some free time in the evening). However, when he did, Harun spent it sitting with his grandfather, Haji, along with some of his cousins. Haji would often tell Naseehath stories that were meant to either teach them about Allah, the Prophet Muhammad, or the virtues of good manners. One time, Haji told Harun and the children a moral story about how a gift from Allah cannot be taken

[27] Qari Burhan did not speak English or Pashto. He requested his own Pashtun co-teacher at the mosque to serve as a translator for him. I followed the same protocols (e.g., looking at him and asking clarifying questions to ensure that the translation was as close as possible to what he conveyed) as I did with Mrs. Aisha, Mrs. Sarah, and Mrs. Tuba.

away by others. The story was about a time of great poverty when bread would fall out of the sky every day, leaving each person with a loaf for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. He explained how in one family,

> The husband told the wife, 'We should take the kids to the mountain and leave them there and then we would have three of their breads, as well.' However, when it was lunchtime, 'the children [now located on the mountain] received their bread there. The husband and wife only got their two breads.' As a result, the wife and husband went back to the mountain and brought their children back home. At the end of the story, Haji stated, 'So, no matter what Allah has for you, nobody can take it from you, [even your] mother and father can't [take it away].' (Fieldnotes, March 5, 2018)

I noted that Harun, like the other children, listened intently and did not ask questions when the story ended.

Sometimes Haji engaged Harun and his cousins in lecture-like talks about a specific topic. For example, Haji told them about the importance of respecting their elders. He stated, "Whatever they tell you, as long as it is good, you have to do it" (Fieldnotes, April 11, 2018). He went on to inform the children that if an older person asks for something, such as a glass of water, "It is best to do it right away." Haji also told them that they got "good points from Allah," referring to the Islamic belief that angels recorded one's good and bad deeds. Haji informed them that the angel who sat on their right shoulder would note all their good deeds, such as when they respected their elders. Another angel sat on their left shoulder, recording all of their bad deeds. While Haji was talking, I noted, "Dunia and Gulmakai are whispering and Haji says, 'I am talking and you are talking there, instead of listening' and they become quiet without saying

anything." I also noticed that while Harun was listening, he had "something in his hand that he is playing with."

While I observed Haji's storytelling, I did not see Harun or the other children interrupting or asking questions; except for Rehan, who was five and new to the practice. I concluded that, during storytelling, "the children are expected to listen carefully rather than ask or interrupt or participate" (Fieldnotes, April 11, 2018). Furthermore, Harun's participation by itself was a privilege as he only participated when his responsibilities for the livestock were satisfied or when there were fewer chores. For example, on the same day I asked about the livestock, Harun told me "that his uncle Omid took care of the livestock with Farooq. Omid is without job as he finished constructing the building he was supposed to three days ago." Similarly, another day, Harun was again able to listen to the storytelling. I noted, "Harun tells me today he will not take the cows or goats out because of the rain and that Farooq brought the dry hay to them" (Fieldnotes, March 5, 2018).

During my second interview with Habeebullah, Harun's uncle and guardian, he emphasized the importance of the Naseehath storytelling. He stated, "Daily, actually we tell them Naseehath to know your way and do good" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). In fact, he likened being "morally good" very closely to his definition of literacy. I asked him how he defined literacy. He stated, "A literate person is a person of many things, but I say, literacy enables good manners in one, from animal to human" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). In other words, literacy helped provide one with a moral code, and because of this, it changed one "from animal to human" or served to separate humans from animals. Similarly, Habeebullah firmly believed that schooling helped people become morally good. To further explain his point, he told me that, "Before, he [Harun] was in the village and was very naughty"

and that, “Before he didn’t understand the difference between an older person and younger and the respect owed to one, and now he understands it. So, this is like he has become a human now.” With each statement, Habeebullah reinforced the idea of a time “before,” that marked a period in Harun’s life when he was not in school and was therefore considered less human. Habeebullah’s statements also stressed the importance of good manners, emphasized repeatedly through the Naseehath storytelling events that Harun listened to when he was available.

At home, the conversations between Haji, Farooq, and Harun involved things to do with taking care of the livestock. During the time I observed Harun, neither Haji nor Farooq asked him about his homework, progress at school, or anything school-related. Furthermore, I found that Harun was quite busy whenever he was home during the day. It is important to note that Harun differed from the other focal children in that he engaged in physically demanding and, at times, dangerous work normally performed by adults. For example, I observed him filling a medium-sized bucket with water and taking “it up the hill for the goats” and noted, “The bucket is heavy and the hill seems to make it even harder but he continues to take steps slowly” (Fieldnotes, January 15, 2018). On the same day, I observed “Harun carries a long metal round rod from his home to the new one [home].” When I saw what he was doing, I intervened and helped him carry the rod, noting to myself afterwards, “I don’t know how and why he is asked to carry such a heavy item” (Reflective Notes, January 15, 2018). Similarly, on another day, Harun took the goats to the field to graze. I noted, “The goats with ropes are getting caught in different things. One of the goat’s rope got caught in the incomplete wall [about four feet tall]. The brick almost fell on Harun’s feet as he tried to untangle it” (Fieldnotes, February 16, 2018). Although Harun enjoyed caring for the livestock, it nonetheless occupied most of his time during the day and made him vulnerable in terms of his wellbeing. Furthermore, the responsibilities did not give

him much free time during the day, for doing other things such as focusing on his learning or doing his homework. He did have free time in the afternoon and evening, such as playing baseball and watching television with his family, but he did not use these times to do homework. I believe that Harun did not have enough motivation to use these times (used for playing baseball and television) to focus on homework, especially as he struggled with school literacy. Furthermore, no one in his household appeared to encourage him with regards to his homework, as mentioned previously and as will be seen in the next section.

Harun's Literacy Practices at School

As mentioned previously, Harun read and wrote in Urdu and English each day at school. He also sought help from his classmates (speaking in Pashto or Urdu, as needed) to complete any assignment he could not do on his own (even though he was not supposed to). At other times, he would copy verbatim from a classmate's written work. Harun also used resources around him, like posters in his English classroom, to complete some assignments. For instance, he used a poster listing the various professions in his mind map assignment (Fieldnotes, March 5, 2018) which asked students to list some of the different professions. However, when Harun was able to do the assigned activity or task independently, he focused on it with intention and completed it on his own with pride. Harun wrote in Urdu in his Urdu literacy class, and sometimes in his Islamic class; however, there he mostly copied the Urdu writing from the board. In his Urdu class, Harun participated in short quizzes and writing assignments meant to assess vocabulary, comprehension, writing skills, and reading fluency.

One day, in his Urdu class, Mrs. Zara asked the students to identify three things that "We do early in the morning," and to complete sentences from a poem the children had read aloud together, in chorus (Fieldnotes, January 22, 2018). I noted, "As the teacher is talking, Harun

changes seats back and forth and attempts to copy from an Afghan boy." When this did not work, I noted, "Now he is copying from another girl to his left." Because he was not able to do the work on his own, Harun looked for any available help to complete the assignment. Finally, before turning in his test, Harun sat in an open seat near Nasser, a Punjabi student. I noted, "He slowly looks at his [Nasser's] paper and writes and Nasser doesn't seem to mind." I observed Harun, in the process of completing the assignment, seek to copy from three different students before handing in his test to Mrs. Zara for grading. Harun's answers, in Urdu, were as follows, "We say our prayers" (he misspelled say) "We read the Quran" (he misspelled read), and "We go to school." The fill in the blank sentence that he copied from the board stated, "It is not ___ to sleep too much." Harun wrote and misspelled the word "good" in Urdu in the blank space. The last sentence stated, "You get up and go ___" and Harun wrote the word "out" in Urdu, but also misspelled it. Figure 5.2, shows where Mrs. Zara marked the misspelled words and corrected his spelling directly on the paper. She gave his test a score of 10 out of 15.

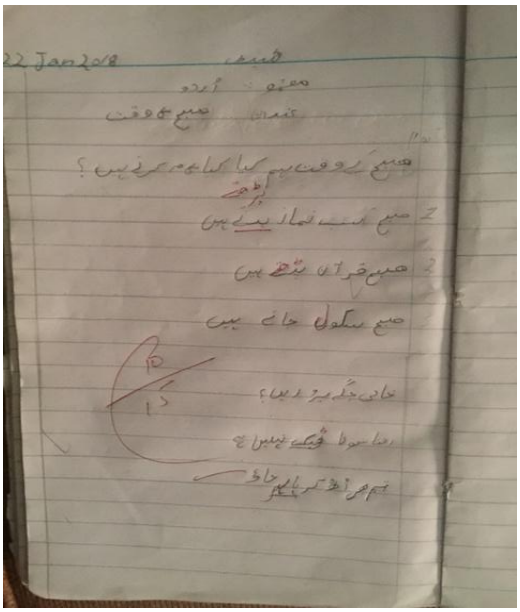

Figure 5.2 Harun's Assignment with Teacher's Corrections

Another day, Mrs. Zara told the children (in Urdu), to “turn the statements into questions” and wrote the statements on the board for the class to copy. She also provided a word bank for the student to use to turn the statements into questions. After copying the statements, Harun read the first question, “You are sick,” to himself. Then, he looked for the word “کیا [kya]” in the word bank and when he found it he turned the statement into the question, “Are you sick?” (Fieldnotes, January 12, 2018). I observed Harun slowly read the second statement, “Mother is going,” twice using his pencil to point to each word. He could not read “going” in Urdu and turned to Adil, who was sitting next to him, for help. I noted, “Adil tells him it is ‘ja rajaay [going]’ and Harun immediately follows up by asking which word is ‘kahan’ [where] and Adil points it out to him.” While Harun knew the spoken word for “where” in Urdu, he could not recognize its printed form; Adil helped him both read the statement and find the word “where.” He similarly struggled to read the last statement, “We will go for outing.” This time, Adil was with Mrs. Zara who was checking his notebook. I noted that Harun moved his chair closer to

Fatima and that he "pretends to be looking at the window but is looking at her notebook." He then copied Fatima's answer to the last statement and took his notebook to be checked by Mrs. Zara. As shown in these examples, since Harun struggled with Urdu reading and writing, he often needed his classmates to help him read and write, and he resorted to copying other children's texts when unable to complete the assigned task independently. Although Harun could speak Urdu fluently, it was not much help when completing the written assignments.

As another example, Mrs. Zara asked the students to construct sentences in Urdu using the word "رأت [rahat]" meaning "night." She began by writing "Topic: Creative writing" and then wrote the following directions, in Urdu: "Explain the scene of night and also draw the diagram" (Fieldnotes, February 16, 2018). The students were to write two to three sentences about night and draw pictures in three boxes underneath. Harun copied the directions from the board, and then moved to sit with his Punjabi classmates, Pardes and Shahid, on the rug. I noted, "Harun speaks to Pardes in Urdu about the assignment. He seems to be asking for help and Pardes shows him his notebook, while Harun begins writing in his notebook." I continued to observe Harun closely, focusing on Pardes' notebook and noted that he "continues to keep his notebook very close to Pardes's and is looking at his writing" as he worked on the assignment. Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4 show Pardes' and Harun's completed assignment. Pardes wrote two sentences "At night it rains at the house" and "At night there is a moon and stars." The image on the left in Figure 5.3 shows a photograph of his assignment with the house, star, and moon that he drew in a separate square. Harun wrote a similar sentence, "At night it rains at the house," but misspelled "house." Similar to Pardes's second sentence, Harun wrote, "At night there is moon and star." Mrs. Zara corrected the sentence and wrote the word "stars" in Urdu, to make it plural. She also added, "are" to the sentence to make it plural. Thus, the sentence, with Mrs. Zara's

corrections became “At night there are a moon and stars.” Harun’s and Pardes’ answers were similar. If Harun had been able to fully copy from Pardes, their answers would likely have been identical, but his attempts to copy were interrupted when Pardes “twice tried to remove his notebook” from Harun. Nonetheless, Harun tried hard to copy from Pardes, as I noted, I saw Harun try to “get closer to it again.”

However, while Harun tried to copy from Pardes to complete this assignment, he also made the effort to do it on his own, with some assistance. I observed Harun asked Pardes how to write the word “owl” in Urdu. Harun’s last sentence states, “At night owl comes,” but Mrs. Zara corrected it to “At night there are owls.” In this instance, although Harun tried to complete the assignment on his own, he again needed Pardes’ assistance (Fieldnotes, February 16, 2018). Although this assignment was beyond Harun’s independent level, as he could not read and write in Urdu fluently, he still made the effort to do some on his own.

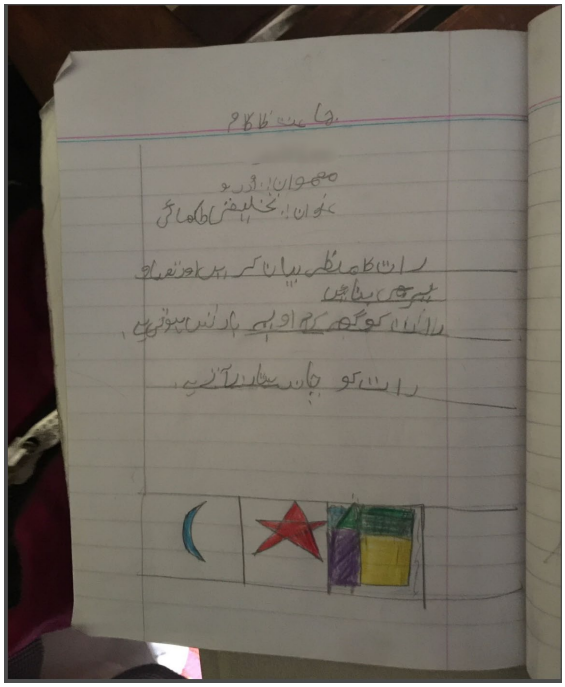

Figure 5.3 Pardes' Creative Writing "Night Scene" Assignment

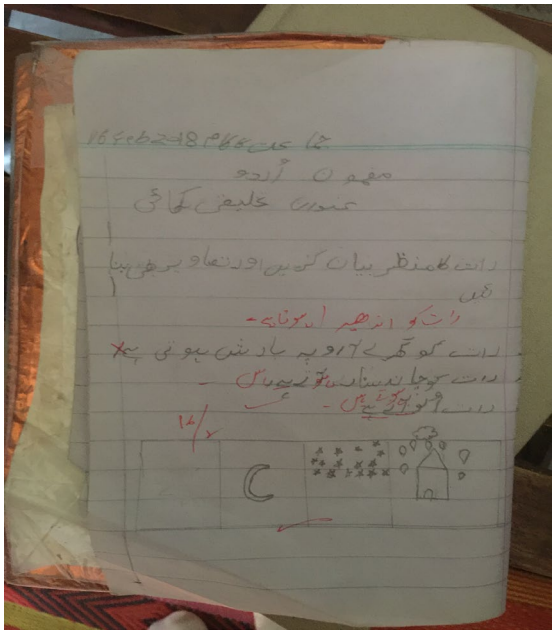

Figure 5.4 Harun's Creative Writing "Night Scene" Assignment

Harun was also required to read and write in English throughout the school day. As with Urdu, he struggled with reading and writing in English, and relied on his classmates and the resources around him (e.g., educational posters) to complete assignments. On one occasion, Mrs. Zara wrote on the board, "Show a mind map about profession" (Fieldnotes, March 5, 2018). I observed, "Harun is copying from the board. Then he leaves his seat with his notebook and stands in front of the wall and then writes in his notebook, when I look up at the wall, I see a poster that the class have made titled, "Different Profession" along with some of the different professions and their pictures."

Similarly, one day, Harun and his classmates were working on a practice test for an upcoming social studies exam. The instructions stated, in English, "Answer the following questions" (Fieldnotes, March 8, 2018). The first question asked, "What does the sun give us?" and I noted that, "Harun keeps staring at his paper and writes something and then just plays with his zipper." He continued to do this, and when Mrs. Zara asked a student to read a section from the social studies book,[28] I observed, "Harun is copying from the boy next to him as Mrs. Zara is listening to another student read to her." On the practice test, Harun answered, "The sun give us ligth? [*sic*]." For question two, Mrs. Zara wrote, "How many days in the weak? [*sic*]" Harun answered "there many days in the weak? [*sic*]." For question three, which asked, "Which things you see in a city?" Harun answered, "Things you us in a city?" Mrs. Zara had marked all of these answers as incorrect. Because there was no one to help him with these questions, Harun used parts of the questions in his answers. He skipped question four, which asked, "Where do we get

[28] The end-of-year test required students to read a selected passage from the textbook to the teacher, which was usually the same for all students.

water from?" Finally, to answer the question about writing out the months of the year, Harun copied from a "Months of the Year" poster on the wall. As soon as Mrs. Zara noticed Harun and another boy doing this, she removed the poster. As seen in these examples, in addition to relying on his classmates for help, Harun used the resources in the classroom to complete assignments in English. These examples also indicate that Harun was being asked to complete and engage in activities that were beyond his capabilities. These tasks were not within Harun's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1979), and so he found any means possible to complete them.

Harun showed pride when he understood the content and was able to complete the assignments in English on his own. For example, in the science class, Mrs. Madinah asked students to draw some vegetables and write their names. I observed, "Harun is copying the directions from the board and is now drawing tomatoes and carrots. After he draws the tomatoes, I see him attempting to spell [the word tomato] but then erases it and writes it again" (Fieldnotes, May 25, 2018). Harun continued to work on the assignment and when Mrs. Madinah passed by to check on the students' work, she stopped and told "him that he has misspelled 'tomato' and helps him spell it correctly." Clearly, Harun understood the assignment and made an effort to do it. Moreover, as I observed him working on the remainder of the assignment, I noted "Harun is very focused on his work" and that "Pardes is sitting next to him," but Harun did not look at his friend's notebook. Another time, Harun and his classmates were working on a review worksheet in their English textbook. The worksheet consisted of connecting the word to its picture as well as writing the missing word in a sentence. I observed, "Harun writes the word 'book' to complete the sentence 'I like to read a ____.' Then he looks at the second sentence and selects the word 'house' for the sentence, 'I live in a ____" (Fieldnotes, March 12, 2018). Even though Harun struggled with some of the English words on the worksheet, he relied on his background

knowledge of some of the English vocabulary words to complete the task. As a result, he did not try to copy or seek help from his classmates. To reiterate, when Harun understood the assignment and felt competent, he put forth an effort and did not seek out other students' assistance.

As the earlier examples have shown, Harun struggled to read and write in Urdu and English. He also frequently sought his classmate's assistance to complete assignments, and he copied their work when he was not able to do so independently. Moreover, he used resources, such as the posters in his English classroom, to help him complete assignments. Harun's teachers were aware that he struggled in class. For example, one day I observed, "Mrs. Hajar looks at Harun's notebooks and says, 'You did not do your homework, look I have written it for you.' Harun doesn't say anything" (Fieldnotes, February 27, 2018). After the class, Mrs. Hajar spoke to me about Harun and I noted, "She said she feels that he is not receiving enough attention at home" in terms of support for his studies, and stated that his uncles may not be prioritizing his education. She told me, "God knows, but . . . he may be here to help his uncles, rather than study," meaning she believed Harun's uncles placed more importance on his duties at home, particularly caring for the livestock, than they did on his schooling. At the same time, she believed that "Harun has improved" compared to the beginning of the school year, and that he could make better progress if he was given more support at home. Mrs. Zara also mentioned Harun's struggle with reading and writing in school. She stated, "Afghan students, our challenge that they have the ability to reading and writing, first of all … Harun don't write and good learn something, I will try to learn little bit sentences, but they don't" (Interview, January 22, 2018). Mrs. Zara tried to convey that one of the most important skills Afghan students needed to have was to be able to read and write in Urdu and English (Interview, January 22, 2018). Despite her

efforts, she recalled that students like Harun struggled to make progress. When I questioned her further, she answered, “Because they don’t have the basic concepts, how they will read and write? They don’t know the shapes and proper shapes and proper sounds, how they can read and write?” In other words, Mrs. Zara believed that students like Harun lacked the basic skills of reading and writing, which prevented them from making significant progress.

I continued to probe further and asked, “What do you think can be the solution for this?” (Interview, January 22, 2018). She remarked that some of the students lacked a point person at home that teachers could contact, telling me, “Actually when I call the PTM [parent-teacher meeting], sometimes their mommy is come here, sometimes another is come here.” Mrs. Zara indicated Harun as an example, saying, “They say that he is living in here now, he is not living with me, he goes to another relative, how I will conversate with them, which person I will conversate with them to that and about that.” By this, she meant that Harun lacked someone at home to advocate for him, and implied that there was some disagreement as to which of his uncles acted as his guardian. She went on to say that one of Harun’s main issues was the “environment at home.” When I asked if she meant that Harun’s home environment was not conducive to learning, she affirmed, “Yes, environment at home, there is no any guardian, proper” and stated, “Yes, because not concentrate there, they live in relatives but they I think don’t concentrate there.” In Mrs. Zara’s view, even though Harun lived with his uncles, she felt they often overlooked his education.

Harun’s Literacy Practices in the Community

Harun’s literacy practices in the community involved reading, listening to, and reciting passages from the Separah (Quran primer). I did not see any other literacy activity in which he engaged in the community. He also read and memorized the names of Allah in the Quran, in

Arabic. As previously mentioned, Harun attended a Quranic class every day except on Friday. Boys of various ages also attended the class. As they sat in a circle holding their Separah or Quran, Qari Burhan would call each student to read the lesson to him in Arabic. Sometimes two students would be called at the same time to read. Qari Burhan was Punjabi and spoke Urdu to the students. However, all the texts were read in Arabic. One day, I observed:

> Harun has his Separah in his hand and is talking with a friend. He is practicing a page from the Separah that focus[es] on forming a word using the different strokes on each letter. Each letter in the word has a different stroke on it that indicates the way the letter needs to be pronounced and stressed. (Fieldnotes, March 19, 2018)

I asked Harun to read me the part he was practicing and noted that, "He seems to have a good understanding of the different strokes on each letter and is able to read the word with respect to its elongation." Harun also identified the stroke on each letter before voicing the sound. Some Arabic letters are pronounced from the throat, some from the tongue, and some must be pronounced from the tip of the tongue. The strokes help the reader pronounce the letter correctly. For example, he said, "Mem alif fatha maa," "lam zer lee," "kaf zer key," "maaleekey" (Fieldnotes, March 19, 2018), which he pronounced correctly.

While the Quranic class usually involved the children reading individually to the teacher, they also recited common prayers from the Quran or read the names of Allah together. I observed:

> Harun runs to the bookshelf along with some other children and gets a copy of the Quran. The teacher instructs them to turn the Quran to the very last page—the back cover—which has the 99 names of Allah. Then they all start with Bismillah [declaration of faith]

> and together say the names in rhythmic tone. When they finish, quietness [descends]. (Fieldnotes, March 19, 2018)

Observing Harun on April 26, 2018, I watched him practice reading from the Separah aloud while the other students practiced their lessons (also aloud), which made the classroom quite noisy. I noted that Harun "stops to take a break and then begins to read again" (Fieldnotes, April 26, 2018). When he lost interest or talked (in Urdu) to a friend, Qari Burhan reminded him to stop talking and read again. I also noted, "He is struggling with the silent letters in the words and turns to the boy and he helps him read the words." Although most of Harun's time in the Quranic class involved recitation, as he did in school, he also drew on his classmates to help him read the Separah. In the next section, I describe his uncle Habeebullah's beliefs about language and literacy.

Harun's Guardian's Beliefs about Language and Literacy

Habeebullah's Beliefs about Language

Pashto was very important to Habeebullah. He associated Pashto with the Pashtun identity and indicated that one cannot be a Pashtun without knowing Pashto. He expressed a desire that the children in his household learn Pashto (i.e., learn to read and write in Pashto). As mentioned previously, he wanted the children to first and foremost learn Pashto. He was worried and indicated that some people have forgotten their languages upon moving to Pakistan and were now speaking Urdu. Furthermore, he explained, "If one can forget their language, you must understand that tomorrow they can also leave their faith, they can become faithless" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). On the other hand, he also believed that if a person maintained his home language, then he would not lose his faith. He continued, "So, what I am

saying is to never forget your language and traditions and culture." In other words, for Habeebullah, language connected to identity, faith and cultural values.

Habeebullah believed Pashto and his culture were important for the children in his household because of the benefit it could yield to them in Afghanistan, should they return there. For example, he declared, "They need to know how to read and write [in Pashto]. These are important because for how long will we be living in other countries, we have to go to our country, you know, one day" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). This, in turn, would ensure that "there will be easiness for you, in your country (Afghanistan)." Habeebullah also commented that while "we can do everything in Urdu, but they are not moving us forward because it is not our national tongue." He meant that while he could speak, read, and write fluently in Urdu, it was of little help in terms of creating opportunities for him because he was not a Pakistani citizen. Habeebullah was referring to the political situation facing Afghans in Pakistan and mentioned that because he is an Afghan refugee, opportunities for people like him are limited, even if they are as fluent as a native Urdu speaker. Consequently, he lamented, "Urdu can only help move one forward if he is Pakistani."

Habeebullah explained that since classroom instruction was in Urdu, a person unfamiliar with the language would have to work harder to learn the content taught in class. He explained, "Harun, now he understands Urdu, but before he did not know Urdu, and it was difficult, Urdu was difficult and school" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). For this reason, Habeebullah approved of the idea of having a Pashto class at school for Harun and the other students. He suggested, "What the school can do is provide a period, just like for English and Urdu, and provide such a period for Pashto." He speculated, "I think it can be even helpful for

the non-Pashto speakers." He suggested that if people of Afghanistan and Pakistan did not learn one another's languages, then they would not understand one another.

Habeebullah was also opposed to what he saw as the overuse of English in Pakistan. He alleged that the use of English had become so ubiquitous that, "Even their own language they don't respect, it is English that is the priority here" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). By this assertion, he meant that Pakistanis undervalued Urdu and, instead, placed more importance on English. He felt that Pakistani society served to encourage Pakistanis to use English and adopt a Western lifestyle. For instance, he complained, "Like they are telling them to put on pants and speak English" and noted that such a lifestyle choice was "not in our faith." He indicated that, previously, there was a period at school for learning Arabic that had been replaced with a period for learning English. For example, he mentioned that all high school students are required to read *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* and that the book did not teach any lessons or manners. He believed that students should be reading in Urdu about the Prophet and his biography. As expressed here, Habeebullah believed that teaching English diminished the purpose of education in Pakistan and that requiring students to read *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*, which he read in high school, put them at a disadvantage. For example, he believed some of the themes in the novel went against Islamic and Pakistani traditions. He also accused some Pakistanis who spoke English of being egotistical and ignorant due to their fluency in English. For example, he stated, "If I were to go to a doctor, I can say my ear is hurting, you understand. There will be some doctors who will say what is 'gwag' [ear in Pashto]. If you are illiterate, can you tell him in English?" I was a bit confused and asked, "and would that doctor be a Pashtun or…?" and he answered, "If he is Pashtun or Urdu speaker, he will see himself as very high that I don't speak Urdu or Pashto. He will want to show his status that he only speaks English." In other words,

Habeebullah felt that some people only used English to boost their egos, deny their roots, and undervalue their own language(s). He largely blamed Western influences for the importance of English in Pakistan and professed, "The outsiders have given us the problem of English, they are telling us to learn English." Furthermore, he mentioned, "If we come face to face with a person, the first thing he asks is what is your results in English, what number have you received on English test?" On the other hand, he observed, "They do not ask, 'What did you learn in your Islamic studies test or in Pashto, or in Pakistani studies, or in math?'" Which is to say, that Habeebullah felt that even the core subjects learned at school ranked lower than English language and literacy.

It is important to note that Habeebullah was not completely opposed to the use of English in Pakistan or overlooked the benefits of learning English. He stated, as a clarification:

> Basically, what I am saying is if one wants to learn English for language sake that should be it. English is enough for a period, for about an hour, to learn English, so that you can communicate with others, since it is an international language, but you shouldn't let English take over your country, you understand. (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto)

Habeebullah revealed that he supported the use of English for communication purposes and was aware that English was "an international language" (Fieldnotes, May 13, 2018). However, he reaffirmed his ideological conflict with the usage of English in Pakistan and opined that English should not take over a nation, such as Pakistan. To Habeebullah, this meant that the traditions and culture of the West were seeping into the Pakistani culture and displacing it. He stated, "If you let English take over your country, you have sunk your country on your own. Because the traditions, [the] way of life, the way they [Westerners] do things is completely different from

us." He believed that English as a language was part of a larger structural change that threatened the culture and traditions of Pakistan.

Although Habeebullah knew that Urdu, as a language, would be of little use in Afghanistan, he nonetheless valued it over English. For example, when I asked him about his own schooling as a child, he recalled, "The learning was very good, it was Urdu medium. Before things were all Urdu medium, but for some time now it has been English medium" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). He appeared nostalgic for a time when the language of instruction and learning was in Urdu and expressed a belief that using Urdu to teach helped students learn better than they did in English. Habeebullah believed that since Urdu was the national language of Pakistan, it was a language that students were more familiar with compared to English. Thus, he stated that students could learn the content at school better, if Urdu was the language of instruction. Habeebullah also read materials written in Urdu, and he told me, for example, that he owned books on his faith written in, or translated into, Urdu. Moreover, he mentioned that if *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* was "in Urdu or Pashto it will take a few seconds" meaning it would not take him long to comprehend it.

Habeebullah spoke briefly, but passionately, about Arabic and was in favor of having it as a language taught to students at school. He stated, "If we can also support our Islamic languages" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto) and mentioned that students should learn Arabic at school, as it is the language of the Quran. He expressed his frustration with the current educational system in Pakistan and declared, "They don't tell them to learn Arabic, before they had Arabic period and that has ended." When I asked when that was, he stated that it has been "quite long" since Arabic was taught in schools.

Habeebullah's Beliefs about Literacy

Habeebullah described literacy as "a treasure," stating that it "can be used anywhere" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). Habeebullah also believed that literacy elevated humans, separating them from animals and enabling cordial relations. For example, he stated "A literate person is a person of many things, but I say, literacy enables good manners in one, from animal to human." He also viewed literacy and knowledge of the Quran as closely connected, telling me, "if there is a person who is not literate and does not know Quran, he is like an animal." He clarified this point by saying, "Not someone who is educated and yet follows ignorance." In other words, he believed that those people who had completed their education and knew how to read and write, yet did not follow the words of God, were ignorant. He also maintained that mothers played an important role in their children's literacy learning, and asserted that, "Education is also learned from the lap of a mother. Mother can guide the child in a very good way." Yet, when I asked about activities at home that involved literacy, he explained, "The women in our household are illiterate, they do not know how to read or write." I took this to mean that because they lacked reading and writing skills, the women in the family could not help much with children's literacy learning. However, when I followed up on a comment he made about learning from the "lap of a mother," he clarified, explaining "that they can still provide help with instilling manners in the children, but could not teach them reading or writing" (Fieldnotes, May 14, 2018). Still, Habeebullah acknowledged that while men play a role in children's learning at home, he believed it was mostly the women's duty to educate the children. For example, he mentioned that as homemakers, the women stay at home, while the men must support the children in the family in different ways, such as by paying school fees, and ensuring that they have school supplies, a school uniform, and other essentials.

Habeebullah declared that he could write reasonably well in Urdu and that he knew enough to write simple words and sentences in English, as well as "some words in Pashto" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). He affirmed, however, that he did not write much and stated, "These days it is mostly mobiles, so I use that regularly," meaning that he usually called and spoke to people directly by telephone, rather than writing to them. Furthermore, he did not text as most of his relatives and friends could not read or write. Moreover, he revealed that he used YouTube to watch and listen to Islamic lectures and medical videos. He explained, "I had an interest in [the] medical field, so I watch some videos about it." When I asked if he typed his search words in English, he answered, "Yes, in English." I also wanted to know whether Harun or the other children participated when Habeebullah watched videos on his mobile. Habeebullah answered sternly, "No, no. For now, I do not allow children near mobiles, because if a child gets near or used to using mobiles, they will forget about their studies." He further warned, "Now with mobile . . . this new generation, parents think they will learn something from it, but the new generation use it in the wrong way, you understand." He gave some examples of possible misuse, suggesting that some children used mobiles to message strangers, stating that the "majority use it in wrong way." He further pointed out that rather than using a mobile to listen to Islamic lectures or learn something, many children used phones to view unsuitable content, such as illicit photography, or to listen to music that gave the wrong message (i.e., encouraged them to take drugs or have sex).

As Habeebullah could read and write in Urdu and some simple words in English, I wondered if he helped Harun with his homework. When I asked him, he responded, "Yes, I try to help and the other children as well. But I try to let him do it because during the test, I will not be present with him" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). In other words, although

Habeebullah made himself available to help with homework, he encouraged Harun to work independently, to prepare him for the times when he would be on his own, such as during tests and exams. Habeebullah further emphasized, "When you are taking a test, you will have to do it on your own; you have to use your own brain. They must do it on their own." Similarly, Habeebullah stated, "I tell them if they need help with something or it is difficult for them, bring it to me and I can try to help." However, I did not see Habeebullah provide any homework help to Harun or the others. Furthermore, he seemed to view his assistance with homework as almost detrimental to the children's learning progress. For instance, he stated, "Otherwise it is your own work, because if I write something for you today or tomorrow, then what will you write on the test?" Habeebullah referred repeatedly to the use of a "test" at school to justify why he encouraged them to work on their homework independently. Using himself as an example, he explained, "If I tell another person, come do this work for me, and I am not doing it, and if tomorrow it is my work, and I do not know it, then who would I tell? I have to do it on my own." Thus, Habeebullah clearly preferred that the children did their schoolwork on their own. Furthermore, I noted, "His idea of providing assistance or help with homework seems to be that he almost has to do the homework for the child, rather than talking about the difficulty of the homework with the child" (Fieldnotes, May 13, 2018).

In terms of his own reading, Habeebullah indicated that he enjoyed reading the newspaper, but because of his busy schedule, he did not get much time to do so. He explained, "When we go home . . . it is about eight or nine o'clock, then we rest and come back to work in the morning" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). He confirmed that he possessed Islamic books in Urdu that he read aloud and discussed with other people at home when they were available to participate, but otherwise he read them on his own. I continued to probe and

posed the question, “And when you do read with others, who are the other members?” He confirmed, “Sometimes my brother or father, and sometimes the children.” When I asked why it was important for him and others in his family to read these books, he stated, “For our hereafter, for our preparation for the hereafter.” He reiterated that, as humans, we “need to know the right way,” and that the books helped him in this quest.

Habeebullah saw literacy as critically important to one’s development, and he believed that literate people set themselves apart from animals and knew the difference between good and bad. At the same time, however, he felt that Muslims who had acquired literacy and therefore knew how to read and write, but did not know the Quran were essentially illiterate, as they could not live according to the precepts of God. Regarding language, Habeebullah greatly valued Pashto and its use in the home. Moreover, he hoped that the children in his household would grow up learning to read and write in Pashto. He was certain that knowing Pashto (including reading and writing it) would be essential when they returned to Afghanistan, which he believed he would have to do at some point.

In the next section, I introduce Arman Khushal and describe his language and literacy practices at home, at school, and in the community. I also report on his father’s beliefs about language and literacy, before concluding with a summary of the chapter.

Focal Child: Arman Khushal

Arman was an energetic seven-year-old who usually had a smile on his face. He lived with his parents and seven siblings. Although he mentioned that he did not enjoy school at first, he had grown accustomed to it. Arman spoke Pashto and Urdu fluently, and except for a few words, he spoke little English. He could only read very basic words in Urdu and English, and he

struggled to read and write in both languages. During the school week, Arman woke up around 7:15 a.m., had breakfast, and left home at 7:45 a.m. School started at 8:00 a.m., and unlike the other focal children, Arman had all his classes[29] with his homeroom teacher, Mrs. Aisha. Arman ate lunch after he came home from school. Then, he usually played a game of marbles outside with his friends. Around 2:00 p.m., for about 40 minutes to an hour, Arman attended a Quranic class at a female teacher's home where he read and practiced the Separah (Quran primer), in Arabic. After returning from his Quranic class, Arman would play with a ball or play a game of marbles. At around 8:00 p.m., he ate dinner and then went to bed around 8:30 p.m.

Arman's Language Practices at Home

Arman spoke only Pashto at home. For example, one day I observed Arman and his sister, Sameera (7), speaking Pashto and playing with a tire. I noted, "Arman is rolling his tire and Sameera is running after it. He says, 'Let it go, don't touch it, let it go,' and Sameera responded, 'I'm just running.' They continued to play and when the tire went down a small hill, Arman told Sameera, 'Bring it up and then I can let you play with it.'" They continued to play with the tire, and l observed, "Sameera tells Arman, 'Let's roll it fast and keep rolling it fast' and I see them both running and rolling it as they run with it" (Fieldnotes, January 24, 2018). Similarly, a few months later, I observed Arman and his brother, Gulam playing with a truck noting that they spoke in Pashto.

In addition, Arman always spoke in Pashto with his parents. One day, I heard Arman ask his father, Arian, for money, in Pashto. I noted, "Arian tells him 'What do you need ten rupees for?' and Arman says, 'I want to buy chips and some marbles' while looking down" (Fieldnotes,

---

[29] Arman's activities and schedule are described in more detail later in the chapter.

February 13, 2018). Their conversation continued and Arian said, “Gulam, where is he?” and Arman informed him that he was playing. I observed, “Arian hands him a ten rupee note and says, ‘Take Gulam with you and buy him chips, the rest you can have’ and Arman takes the money and goes to get Gulam.”

Arman’s Language Practices at School

Arman attended the Afghan School every weekday from 8:00 a.m. to 12:45 p.m. He had all his main subjects, such as math, art, Urdu, and English with one teacher, Mrs. Aisha (and later Mrs. Khatoon), in the same classroom. The first 25 to 30 minutes of school consisted of Morning Circle during which the students answered questions in Urdu and English about religion and Pakistan, such as, “Who was the first prophet?” or “What is the capital of Pakistan?” (Fieldnotes, February 6, 2018). From 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 a.m., Arman had math class where he worked on addition, writing out numbers in their numeric and word forms, and putting numbers in order. For example, Arman was “called to spell ‘sixty’ but could not.” Mrs. Aisha called on him again later and asked him to spell sixty-one, which he could not spell even though “sixty” was written on the board (Fieldnotes, April 9, 2018). From 9:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m., Arman had an Urdu literacy class, during which the students would often copy down sentences that they composed, in Urdu, with Mrs. Aisha from the board. Students would also recite the alphabet from their Urdu books and name objects that began with each letter. For example, on one occasion, Mrs. Khatoon asked Arman to recite the Urdu alphabet and name the objects that begin with each letter, using his textbook (Fieldnotes, April 23, 2018). From 10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m., Arman and his classmates had a break and ate their snacks or played on the swings. Arman then learned English from 11:00 am until noon. Every day, Arman and his classmates participated in

phonics exercises[30] as they learned English letter sounds, blending sounds, and sang songs that included words beginning with each letter or sound. For example, Mrs. Aisha asked them to recite the song they had learned with the letter Q, and I noted, "The students say, 'The duck in the pond, says quack, quack, quack, quack'" (Fieldnotes, January 26, 2018). Completing exercises from the Jolly Phonics program was a common activity during the English class and the students could spend thirty or even forty minutes working on it. In addition, students copied and wrote down simple sentences or the names of different objects. From 12:00 p.m. to 12:45 p.m. students worked on art projects and recorded their daily homework assignments in their diaries. The class ended between 12:45 p.m. and 12:50 p.m.

Arman spoke both Pashto and Urdu at school, but typically spoke more Pashto than Urdu. Arman did not speak much English and struggled with basic tasks in English, such as naming objects. Furthermore, he usually interacted in Pashto with other Afghan Pashto classmates while at school. One day, I observed Arman talking in Pashto with another Afghan student during class. I noted, "Arman is talking with Liaqat and telling him that he has bought new stickers that show different vehicles. Liaqat tells him, 'Show me, I have six rupees'" (Fieldnotes, January 16, 2018). In this exchange, Liaqat indicated that he might buy some of the stickers, and Arman informed him that he would show them to him during recess. The conversation continued in Pashto and Liaqat told him that he wanted "big" stickers. In response, Arman told him that he would give him the biggest ones. Throughout this conversation, Arman spoke to Liaqat in Pashto and Liaqat responded in the same language.

---

[30] The teachers followed the Jolly Phonics program curriculum. https://academy.curiousthoughts.sg/about-jolly-phonics

On another day Arman stepped out of the classroom to go to the bathroom, by the time he returned he had missed the lesson instructions and thought they were having a test. He asked Tahirah in Pashto, "Is it test?" (Fieldnotes, February 6, 2018). She told him, "No, just making sentences." He then opened his notebook and copied the words and the sentences from the board. I noted, "Arman copies and erases, copies and erases again. He shows his letter 'W' to Tahirah and says in Pashto, 'How nice I wrote it' and Tahirah looks at it and then continues writing." I noted, "I was a bit surprised that he did not ask Fadi, a Punjabi student, about what the class was doing, because Fadi was much closer to his seat in proximity compared to Tahirah." Throughout the time I spent observing Arman, I noticed that he asked and communicated with other Pashto speakers in his classroom more frequently than with non-Pashto speakers, despite the fact that speaking his first language was discouraged by most of the teachers at the Afghan School.

Arman also played and spoke with his non-Pashto speaking classmates even though these conversations were usually initiated by the non-Pashto speaking student, rather than by Arman. For instance, on one occasion I observed Arman playing with Lego (Fieldnotes, February 13, 2018). Fadi, a Punjabi classmate joined him, and I noted, "He [Fadi] speaks to Arman and Arman replies, while his eyes are fixed on building his Lego structure." The two continued talking to each other and I observed, "Arman says something to Fadi and I see Fadi removing a piece of Lego from his structure and handing it to Arman. Then they break their structure, laughing together." Later, Arman told me that he and Fadi had been "having a competition to see who [could] build the tallest building as fast as possible." In this example, Fadi initiated the conversation in Urdu and Arman successfully carried on the discussion in Urdu as well. Another time, Arman brought sour candies to share with his classmates during recess. I noticed Zaki, Arman's Punjabi classmate soliciting a candy from Arman. Arman told him in Urdu, "Wait,

wait" (Fieldnotes, April 13, 2018) as he tried the candy himself. Afterwards, he gave Zaki a piece of the candy and I noted, "Zaki tries it and he almost shivers, and Arman tells him quickly, as if assuring him, 'It will get sweet' and he runs to bring him some water." Knowing that I had observed the exchange, Arman turned to me while laughing and said, "Sir, he cannot eat sour things." Throughout their conversation, Arman spoke in Urdu to Zaki and spoke in Pashto to me. In general, Arman only engaged with non-Pashto speaking students when they initiated the encounter; otherwise, he primarily associated with other Pashto-speaking students at school.

Arman was also able to understand when Mrs. Aisha spoke to him in Urdu. For example, during the morning circle one day, Mrs. Aisha began by asking the students questions to do with religion. I observed, "When it is Arman's turn, she asks him, in Urdu 'Who made us?' and Arman says, 'Allah' and she says 'good' [in Urdu] and moves to the next question" (Fieldnotes, April 9, 2018). Mrs. Aisha continued and asked Arman, in Urdu, "How many times do we pray?" and I noted, "and he says 'four' and she repeats and holds up her four fingers, and asks, 'We pray four times a day?' and [the other] students shout 'Five' in Urdu and English." Before moving on to the next student, Mrs. Aisha asks Arman the question again and he says "Five." In this example, Arman clearly understood and replied to Mrs. Aisha in Urdu. Similarly, another day, Mrs. Aisha asked Arman, in Urdu, to go to the principal's office and ask for crayons. I noted,

> He came back with one box and said something to Mrs. Aisha. When I asked him what he told her, he tells me that the principal said there is just one box of crayons and that she

> will send the security guard[31] to buy some more from the market. (Fieldnotes, February 19, 2018)

In this instance, he communicated the principal's message to Mrs. Aisha in Urdu without difficulty.

As reported, Arman's English lessons consisted of the daily Jolly Phonics lessons, the songs that accompanied the different letters and sounds, and naming objects in English. Arman struggled in the English class and found it difficult to name all the letters in the alphabet or to name objects in English. For example, one day Mrs. Khatoon[32] asked the students to fill in the missing letters of the alphabet. I noted, "He is copying letter by letter from Badir who is next to him. He writes the letter, leans forward to look at Badir's notebook and writes again" (Fieldnotes, April 18, 2018). A few weeks later, Mrs. Khatoon asked Arman to say sentences using a set of vocabulary words (Fieldnotes, April 30, 2018). He was unable to make a sentence using the word "rat" so she asked another student and he said, "this rat" and Mrs. Khatoon said, "This is a rat, this is a rat" and wrote the phrase out on the whiteboard. As the lesson progressed, Mrs. Khatoon again turned to Arman and asked him for a sentence containing the word "fox." As before, when Arman did not answer, she moved on to the next student. Interestingly, even though Arman indicated that English was one of his favorite subjects in school, he still struggled with it.

---

[31] In addition to monitoring the school, the security guard also performed other duties, such as buying supplies for the school.

[32] The principal moved Arman to a different kindergarten class, thinking it might help him to be taught by a new teacher for the 2018-2019 academic year.

Arman's and his Teacher's Views on Learning and Speaking Pashto at School

I asked Arman what he thought about the possibility of having a Pashto class at school, he told me that he thought it would be good for him because he could "say things fast," meaning he could talk more and answer many questions (Fieldnotes, April 9, 2018). Similarly, during our interview when I asked, "Would it be nice if your teacher spoke Pashto?" he answered, "They are Punjabians [Punjabis]" (April 12, 2018). By this, Arman meant that his teachers were not Pashtuns and therefore could not speak Pashto. When I repeated my question and asked if it would be "nice" if his teacher spoke Pashto, he answered "Yes." Despite this, it appears that Arman had mixed feelings about this as he also told me that he does not want Pashto at school because the teachers would hit him. In his words, "If we speak Pashto, anger comes to the teacher" (Fieldnotes, April 9, 2018). I realized that in his response, he misunderstood that it might be acceptable to speak Pashto in a Pashto class; however, his fear of corporal punishment clearly outweighed the benefits he had expressed earlier.

Despite Arman's opposing views on whether Pashto should be taught at school, he regularly spoke Pashto throughout the school day when communicating with his classmates, either in class or at recess. Indeed, it was common to find Arman speaking in Pashto with his classmates while working on his assignments. For instance, during an Urdu class, I noted Arman speaking in Pashto with another Pashto-speaking student: "He is being silly and sharing a joke…saying that the apples that fall from trees have worms that will grow and eat your stomach" (Fieldnotes, April 23, 2018). In another Urdu class, I noted, "Arman is talking with his Pashto-speaking friend while sitting on the floor. They laugh and talk while copying [from the board]" (Fieldnotes, January 31, 2018). I continued to observe, "They are right in front of the teacher, but it doesn't seem to bother her." Thus, I found Arman spoke Pashto quite freely and

did not seem fearful around his teachers, which is why I was a bit surprised when he mentioned that his teacher would punish him for speaking in Pashto.

During my first interview with Mrs. Aisha, when I asked about the school rules regarding students' home language, she stated, "Students are asked not to speak their mother tongue in the school and to speak in Urdu" (Interview, February 6, 2018, translated from Urdu). Furthermore, when I asked her in which language or languages she believed Afghan students should be proficient, she answered, "Mostly Urdu and English." She explained, "Urdu is important to live in this society and it is our national language and English when they grow up, it is important for them to know how to speak English." Thus, Mrs. Aisha, like most of the teachers at the Afghan School, was a strong supporter of the school's languages of instruction.

However, in our second interview, when I asked Mrs. Aisha if the school should find a way to help students "acquire and develop their first language or is it less important since the families live in Pakistan?" (Interview, May 3, 2018), she answered

> If school does not feel any difficulty in conducting this kind of class, like arranging this kind of class, so it should be arranged. Because in that language they will learn more, they should not skip that language, because it is their mother language. (Interview, May 3, 2018, translated from Urdu)

Here, we see that Mrs. Aisha's views differed significantly from that of other teachers at the Afghan School in that she realized that learning in a first language would be valuable for Afghan children. At the same time, she recognized that the first language is something that one should not forget. Furthermore, Mrs. Aisha talked about the role of Pashto in her class, recalling that some students relied on their Pashto speaking peers to understand what she was saying. She told me, "Sometimes when I am saying something, they don't understand, so then they used to ask

their peer . . . because they don't understand much, like in Urdu language." As a result, Mrs. Aisha appeared to realize how important instruction in Pashto was for helping her Afghan students master content, since they were not fluent in Urdu. Therefore, she was supportive of codeswitching in her class.

Mrs. Aisha believed that the Afghan students were caught between several languages. She explained that, "English is the third language" for many Afghan students (Interview, May 3, 2018, translated from Urdu) and suggested that of these different languages, it would "be good to have some kind of Afghani language." This statement contradicted what she said in our first interview, when she argued that Afghan students should become proficient in Urdu and English and that Afghan students should not speak their mother tongue in school at all. Regarding this change, I wrote:

> I am quite surprised how Mrs. Aisha's views toward Pashto changed when compared to the first interview. Today, she seemed optimistic that if the school could arrange a Pashto class, it would help students actually learn the content easier, and help keep them in touch with their mother tongue. I believe that by reflecting on her Afghan students and seeing that they are asking other Pashto speaking children what she is saying, she realized that if the content was in Pashto, they might understand it better. She also mentioned in the interview that Afghan students are surrounded by many languages and that being connected to Pashto at school would be good for them. (Reflective Notes, May 3, 2018)

Thus, while Mrs. Aisha held firm on the use of Urdu and English, she was also aware that the Afghan students also needed instruction in Pashto to help them learn the content more easily. At the same time, she understood the importance of maintaining Pashto as a mother tongue.

Arman's Language Practices in the Community

Arman spoke Pashto and Urdu in the community but did not speak English, as there were no opportunities to do so. However, unless Arman needed to interact with someone who did not speak Pashto, such as speaking Urdu to communicate with a shopkeeper or his Quranic teacher, he mainly spoke Pashto in the community. This was also likely because his home was situated within the Afghan and Pakistani Pashtun community.

Murdakay bazi (marbles play) is a famous children's game in Afghanistan and was a popular pastime among the Afghan children in Arman's community. After drawing a circle on the ground and marking a line down its center, two players line up the same number of marbles on either side of the line. Each player then takes turns shooting marbles at their opponent's marbles with the goal of knocking them out of the circle. Once a player knocks an opponent's marble out of the circle, he can keep it.

An avid and competitive marble player, Arman first introduced me to the game on January 16, 2018. I noted, "He showed me his game of marbles and I did not even earn a single one. He gave me a few chances but still I could not hit the marble correctly in order to remove it out of the circle" (Fieldnotes, January 16, 2018). We continued to play the game and Arman as well as the other children were amused at my attempted participation. On that same day, I saw him win about 15 marbles and ten rupees from the other players. However, as he continued to play, he lost most of his marbles to another player who won the game. As I focused on their use of language, I noted, "As all of the children seem to be Pashtuns, the only language that I am hearing is Pashto." Furthermore, I noted that according to the "game rules, when one player ask[s] to play against another, and when a player wants to leave before the game ends, is all being communicated in Pashto."

Arman used Urdu in the community when he had to interact with shopkeepers who were not Pashtuns. These conversations were brief and limited to questions about the price of things Arman wanted to buy. For example, one day Arman stopped by a store as we walked together to his home. I noted, "He got two sweet donut balls . . . and a bag of chips. Before buying [them], he pointed to the donut ball, and said, 'Uncle how much is the Lado [donut ball]?'" The shopkeeper tells him that they are two rupees each (Fieldnotes, May 16, 2018). Not only did Arman ask for the price of the donut balls in Urdu, he understood when the shopkeeper answered him in Urdu. On another day, while walking with Arman to his home, we met a man selling ice cream from a small cart. It was a hot day and I decided to buy one each for Arman and myself. When I asked the man "How much?" in English, he answered, in Urdu, "Pandran" (Fieldnotes, April 30, 2018) meaning fifteen. Since I did not understand, I turned to Arman and asked him, "How much is it?" in Pashto, and he said, "Ten and five" in Pashto. Although Arman did not know the word for fifteen in Pashto, he was able to tell me that the amount was equal to ten plus five, and when I said, "Ok, fifteen" in Pashto, he nodded. As can be seen in these examples, Arman was competent in, and used, Urdu and Pashto in the community. In the next section, I describe the literacy practices Arman engaged in at home, at school, and in the community.

Arman's Literacy Practices at Home

Arman's literacy practice at home consisted mainly of reciting the Separah in preparation for his Quranic class. The Separah focuses on skills such as naming, identifying, and sounding the letters, and not on comprehending the meaning of text. Arman Quranic class did not have a set time, and students could go any time after school before the evening. When I asked Arman what he was learning in his Separah, he told me he was learning the forms of letters (Fieldnotes, March 14, 2018). The Arabic alphabet used for learning the Quran changes in shape depending

on whether the letter is used at the beginning, middle or end of a word. As Arman read to me, I noted that he recognized most of the letters when they were used by themselves or in their ending form; however, he struggled to identify the letter when used at the beginning and middle of a word (Fieldnotes, March 14, 2018).

Arman may have struggled to identify letters at the beginning and middle because their forms changed more in these positions, while those at the end retain their original shape. Table 5.1 shows what some of the letters look like based on their position. The beginning and middle forms of the letters change slightly in appearance, which can make them difficult to identify, especially for a novice reader when they are used with other letters. As Arman read the alphabet to me, he appeared nervous and kept looking up at me, saying, "I forgot this" when he could not identify a letter. He also read quickly and skipped letters, but I do not know if he did so because he was uncomfortable reading to me or uncomfortable because he did not know the letters.

Table 5.1 Examples of Arabic Letters

End	Middle	Beginning	Letters
ـب	ـبـ	بـ	(ب)
ـج	ـجـ	جـ	(ج)
ـغ	ـغـ	غـ	(غ)
ـن	ـنـ	نـ	(ن)

Note. The letters displayed here are as they appear when they are used at the beginning, middle and end of a word. The table is read from right to left, as Arabic is read from right to left.

Both Arman's father, Arian and his brother, Abderrazzaq ensured that Arman attended his Quranic lessons regularly at the teacher's home. For example, while observing Arman at home, I noted, "Father tells Arman if he has gone to Quranic school. He says he has"

(Fieldnotes, February 9, 2018). Similarly, on another occasion as I observed Arman practicing the alphabet in his Separah, Abderrazzaq came to greet me. When he saw Arman, he immediately asked him, "Did you go to your lesson?" at which Arman almost jumped and said, "I will go now" (Fieldnotes, May 7, 2018).

On that same day, before leaving for his lesson, Arman told me that he will have a test on his lesson. I noted, "It seems that the teacher will test him on what sound each letter makes based on what stroke is on the letter and where it is on the letter." The letters were written in random order and each letter had a different stroke on it, in order to help the reader, make the correct sound. Arman practiced by first identifying the letter and then checking the stroke to guide his pronunciation. I noted that, "He is still mixing the strokes a bit, but he seems to catch himself and correct himself when he notices that the sound does not sound correct." Most of Arman's lessons involved identifying the letters and pronouncing the letters correctly based on the position of the stroke on each letter. Although Arman struggled during his Separah lessons, it seemed that he was also making some progress identifying the letters and was able to correct himself sometimes.

Although there may have been other literacy activities taking place in Arman's home, I did not observe any over the course of the study. When I inquired about the literacy activities or events that his children participated in at home, Arian mentioned that his children worked on their homework every night. Furthermore, I noticed an absence of adults in the household during the day. For example, as previously mentioned in Chapter 3, Arian and his sons Abdderrazzaq, and Abdulbasit were usually absent from home during the day as all three of them worked together in the family's dry hay business. Abderrazzaq came home shortly before the second prayer at 12:30 p.m. and stayed until 1:30 p.m. to eat lunch. He also took lunch back with him

for Arian and Abdulbasit. Arian visited home every day, but only when he felt the time was right (e.g., not too many customers at the business), and he also came home again in the evening for about an hour. Arian either ate dinner at home or packed it to eat at work. Then he would return home in the morning, around 8:30 a.m., for breakfast after Abderrazzaq and Abdulbasit joined him at work. Arian slept next to the hay during the night. Arian's mother, Waheeda, was the only available adult at home and, as mentioned previously, I did not observe or speak to any of the female family members as part of the study. However, Arman mentioned that she was usually occupied with chores, such as cleaning and cooking.

Arman practiced and read the Separah on his own at home. Arian and Abderrazzaq regularly asked Arman if he had gone to his Quranic class, but these interactions were quite brief, as the earlier examples illustrated. I did not observe any instances of Arian or Abderrazzaq asking Arman anything else about his Quranic class, such as what he had learned. I also did not observe any instances of Arian or Abderrazzaq helping Arman to read his Separah. As I indicated in my notes, "Arman grabbed his Separah as soon as he saw Abderrazzaq enter home" (Fieldnotes, March 22, 2018). I continued to note, "Arman brings me his Separah and asks me to read two of the five words the teacher has circled." I observed that "Arman asked me for help, even though Abderrazzaq was sitting nearby." On another occasion, as Arman read to me, Abderrazzaq joined us and attempted to read from the Separah, too. He struggled to read the page even though it was a beginner's lesson. Afterwards, he acknowledged "that he had not read the Separah or Quran for some time and has forgotten much of it" (Fieldnotes, March 14, 2018). Nonetheless, both Arian and Abderrazzaq played an essential role in ensuring that Arman took his Quranic lessons seriously. When they asked Arman about his attendance in the Quranic class, Arian and Abderrazzaq were reminding him that he was being monitored for accountability.

During our interview, Arian talked about creating a "firm environment" at home in which his children could learn. He stated, "Children need a firm environment, and strictness to be able to learn . . . everything has a time, time for sports, time for learning" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). In addition, Arian admitted that Waheeda punished Arman and the other children to ensure that they learned. He professed, "Their mother also hit them and make sure they learn" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He mentioned that if he refused to wake up in the morning for school, then Waheeda would hit him.

Arman's Literacy Practices at School

Although Arman struggled to read and write in English and Urdu, he nevertheless attempted to read and write in both languages in class each day. To do so, he frequently relied on his classmates to complete any assignments in English or Urdu that he could not complete on his own. For example, on January 24, 2018 Mrs. Aisha passed out a phonics worksheet on which the students had to write the short vowel to complete the words. I noted, "Arman does the first one right away which shows a cat and he writes the 'a' between the letters 'c' and 't' (Fieldnotes, January 24, 2018). However, Arman struggled with the rest of the assignment and I noted, "Then he looks at Shabana's worksheet and writes the letter 'i' to complete the word 'fish.' He also copies the answer for the next picture from her and completes the word 'leg.' When Shabana noticed that Arman was copying from her, she told Mrs. Aisha (who was busy and did not hear her) and then I saw her "cover her page and turn so that Arman cannot see her page easily." As soon as Arman realized that he could no longer copy from Shabana, he turned to Liaqat for help. I noted, Arman asks, 'Liaqat, in a low voice and asks him which letter completes the word "duck" and Liaqat tells him "u."' Arman could only complete the phonics worksheet by looking

at Shabana's work and then by asking Liaqat for help; he could not finish the assignment on his own.

Another day, Arman and his classmates were learning about the letter "s." Mrs. Aisha sang a song from Jolly Phonics that began with the letter "s." I noted, "The students along with Arman sing, 'The snake is in the grass. The snake is in the grass. Sss. Sss. The snake is in the grass" (Fieldnotes, February 26, 2018). Arman sang the song repeatedly, and as I noted, "Arman is repeating and laughing." However, I later noticed, "Arman is looking at others and not repeating. Mrs. Aisha notices and informs him to repeat, in Urdu." Afterwards, she passed out another worksheet with instructions to find and color the objects that began with the letter "s." I observed, "Arman is coloring the snake in the picture and then looks very closely at the other objects, when he finds the star, he gets the yellow crayon and starts coloring." Arman continued to look for other objects that began with the letter "S," and when he found the picture of the sun, he also colored it. However, when Arman could not identify the other objects that began with "s," he looked around to see what the others were doing. For example, I noted, "Arman has started looking around and is now looking at Fadi's paper. As Fadi has colored in a picture of a spoon, Arman starts coloring the spoon as well." After that I noted, "Arman has been looking at Fadi's worksheet and anything that Fadi has colored in that Arman didn't, he colors it in." When Arman finished coloring, I asked him whether he could tell me the names of the objects he colored and I noted, "He is able to name the objects that he colored initially, the sun, snake, star and the only other object that he could name, after looking at Fadi's paper was the spoon." I further wrote, "When I point to the snail and ask for the name, he says, 'I forgot this' but tells me he thinks it begins with 'S' and he has also colored in a picture of a jar and when I look at Fadi's paper, I see that he has also colored in the jar." Arman started to work independently on the

assignment, but when he could no longer do it on his own, he resorted to looking at his classmate's work. Moreover, whatever Fadi had colored, Arman did as well, assuming that what Fadi was doing was correct. Arman could not identify most of the objects (except for the spoon) that he had copied as evidenced by the fact that he colored in a picture of the jar, even though its name does not begin with the letter "s."

Arman exhibited similar behavior when working on assignments in his Urdu literacy class. For example, on January 16, 2018, Mrs. Aisha asked the class to open their notebooks to a new page for a practice dictation quiz. I noted, "Arman writes the first letter of the Urdu alphabet but is not able to write word انار [Anar]' meaning 'pomegranate' which begins with the first letter of the Urdu alphabet" (Fieldnotes, January 16, 2018). As the dictation lesson progressed, I noted, "Arman wrote the letters successfully but has not written any words that begin with the letters and is trying very hard to look at Tahirah's and Samir's papers but they both are keeping their papers out of sight from him." Arman did not have the opportunity to copy from his classmates, and at the end of the lesson I noticed, "Mrs. Aisha asks students to bring the notebooks to her desk, and students rush to place it on her desk. Arman instead, put the notebook in his bag." Mrs. Aisha did not notice that Arman did not turn in his notebook. On a similar occasion, Arman and his classmates were working on vocabulary words in the Urdu literacy class. I noted, "Arman writes the name for 'cave' in Urdu and then goes to the bottom of the page to write the name for the 'telephone wire'" (Fieldnotes, May 22, 2018). Then I noted, "It seems Arman does not know the rest of the words as he has stopped and is playing with his pencil." Arman continued to play with his pencil and I noted, "When Hala finishes, she asks Mrs. Khatoon if she can go to the bathroom and once she leaves that's when Arman begins writing again as her paper is visible to him." When Arman finished the worksheet, he brought it to Mrs. Khatoon who checked it and

drew a star on it (see Figure 5.5). In the first example, because Arman could not write the words on his own and did not have the opportunity to copy from his classmates, he chose not to turn in his notebook to Mrs. Aisha. In the second instance, Arman recognized two of the words from the word list and wrote them under the corresponding pictures. However, in order to complete the assignment, he waited until he had the chance to copy from his classmates. While Arman could do some assignments, most of the time the tasks were too difficult for him to do on his own. Furthermore, because he needed support to complete them, he resorted to copying from classmates.

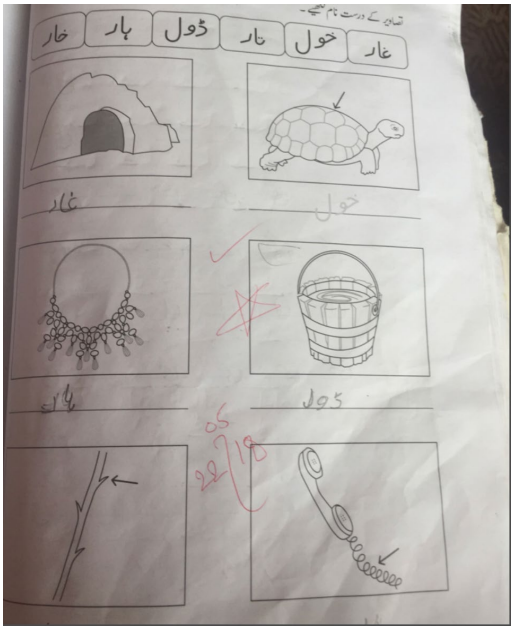

Figure 5.5 Arman's Completed Worksheet from his Urdu Literacy Lesson

Sometimes, Mrs. Aisha, as well as Arman’s classmates, provided help to Arman when he could not complete assignments on his own. For instance, on February 6, 2018, during the English literacy class, Arman and his classmates were working on making sentences with

vocabulary words. For the word "this," Mrs. Aisha wrote, "This is a car" (Fieldnotes, February 6, 2018) and asked the class to copy it in their notebooks. Then for the second word, "am," she wrote, "I am a girl." However, Mrs. Aisha instructed the boys to write "boy" in the sentence instead. I noted, "Arman writes, 'I am a girl' and Shabana and Mainoor laugh and inform the teacher that Arman wrote girl." Meanwhile, Arman, "erases quickly and writes 'big' and then they laugh again." At this point, Mrs. Aisha told Shabana to help Arman, and I observed, "Shabana tells him the spelling for boy, she also writes it on her page so that Arman can see how it is written." Throughout my time observing this class, Arman and his classmates appeared quite concerned about spelling correctly, and I did not see Mrs. Aisha encourage students to use invented spelling nor do I believe that this practice would be welcomed in the school. Similarly, on April 13, Mrs. Aisha asked the students to write about themselves. I noted, "She asks them to write complete sentences stating their name, their school name and that they read in KG [kindergarten] class" (Fieldnotes, April 13, 2018). Mrs. Aisha went around the class to assist the students who needed help and I observed, "She helps another student, then she comes to Arman…then she writes the sentence and asks Arman to copy the sentence about himself." As the earlier examples show, Arman struggled with most assignments when working on his own; however, Mrs. Aisha and his classmates sometimes offered assistance. He also attempted to copy from his classmates when he could not complete assignments on his own.

A typical lesson activity in Arman's English and Urdu literacy classes involved copying a question and its answer from the board. For example, on January 26, 2018, Mrs. Aisha wrote on the board "Q1. Can you name some of the pet animals?" (Fieldnotes, January 26, 2018). Underneath she wrote "Ans. Cow, goat, sheep, cat, dog, parrot, hen, buffalo [sic]." Students were required to copy the question and write the answer, along with the date and the letters "CW"

which stood for classwork in their notebooks. Arman completed these exercises with good effort, being careful to write legibly when copying from the board. In another class, Mrs. Aisha wrote on the board, "Q: Write the flower names" (Fieldnotes, March 7, 2018), and then listed the names of different flowers under the answer, including daisy, daffodil, jasmine, and lily. I noted, "Then I ask him, what are these names. He says 'flower lekoo' meaning 'we are writing flower' and I say, 'what is flower?' and he says 'gul' [Pashto word for flower]." As I observed Arman copying from the board, I noticed how neatly he wrote (see Figures 5.6 and 5.7). For instance, "He erased about five times and rewrote the letter again." Moreover, I noted that, "Arman is saying the letter as he is writing the different names of flowers." However, he struggled to read what he wrote. As I indicated in my fieldnotes, "When he writes 'marigold' I ask him what he wrote, he names the letters but cannot name the letter 'I' then he tries to sound it out and then says 'gold.' I say; 'Is its name gold?' he nods."

On the same day, in his Urdu literacy class, Mrs. Aisha asked the students to write the name of flowers in Urdu. I observed, "Arman keeps looking at the board and back at his paper to make sure that he is copying the names of flowers correctly" (Fieldnotes, March 7, 2018). I further observed that, "Arman is copying but not saying the letters like he did when writing the name of flowers in English." Similarly, I asked Arman to read aloud in Urdu the names of the flowers he wrote down and found out that "he was unable to. He says he forgets fast." Thus, while Arman engaged in, and was successful, in copying from the board and writing neatly in his English and Urdu literacy classes, he struggled to read what he wrote in both English and Urdu.

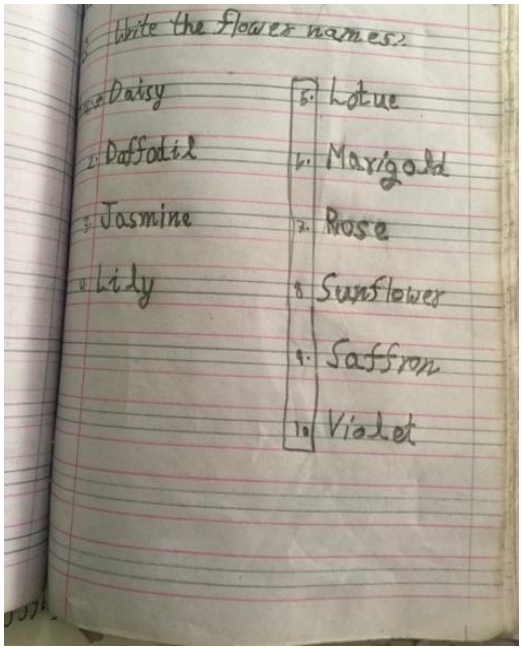

Figure 5.6 Arman's Writing of Flower Names in English

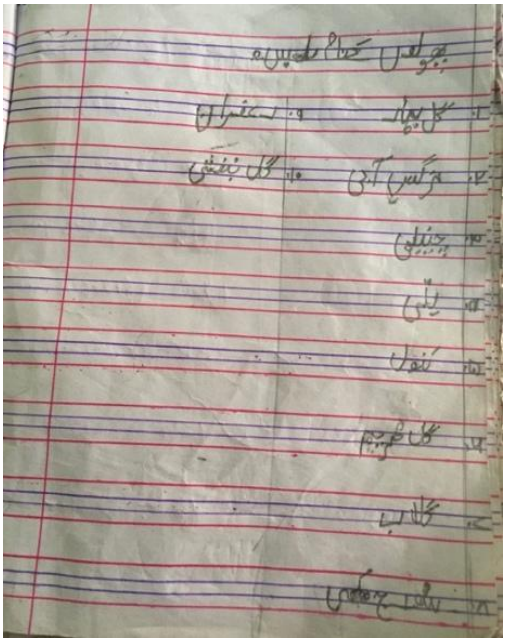

Figure 5.7 Arman's Writing of Flower Names in Urdu

Mrs. Aisha was acutely aware that Arman struggled with the school's literacy curriculum, in English and Urdu. In fact, Arman stood out to Mrs. Aisha so much that when I asked, "What do you say are the biggest challenges for the Afghan student population?" (Interview, February 6, 2018), she answered, "Only one Afghan student . . . I know only one, Arman" (Interview, February 6, 2018, translated from Urdu). In Mrs. Aisha's class of 18 students, almost half were Afghans, but Mrs. Aisha assumed that Arman was the only Afghan student in her class[33] because of the struggles he faced with learning. In other words, Mrs. Aisha believed that because he is struggling in learning that he must be an Afghan. Mrs. Aisha continued, "He is very different from others. I don't know that there is no one at home to help him in studies." She mentioned that Arman does not complete his homework most of the time. Related to this point, one day, Mrs. Aisha asked the students to bring their notebooks to her desk prior to the lunch break. Arman appeared to pretend that he did not hear Mrs. Aisha and looked through his stickers. I informed him that the teacher was collecting notebooks for a homework check. I noted, "He doesn't say anything and I asked if he didn't do it. He says he didn't know he had homework and that he will do it tomorrow" (Fieldnotes, February 19, 2018).

Mrs. Aisha told me that Arman struggled to understand the content taught in her class. She stated, "He is also taking me long relatively to explain the things to him, he don't understand the things easily" (Interview, February 6, 2018, translated from Urdu). She acknowledged that because of this, Arman "is kind of challenging" for her. In our second interview, I asked what

[33] In our second interview, however, she mentioned, "some Afghan students" (Interview, May 3, 2018), acknowledging that there were more Afghan students in her class than just Arman.

she thought should "happen to those children who are not able to do the work?" She replied, "We should give extra time to them" (Interview, May 3, 2018, translated from Urdu). When I asked whether there were any challenges specific to Afghan students, she again answered as if Arman was her only Afghan student stating, "His uniform is not that much clean, relative to other students." Then, she mentioned his home environment and that she believed, "there is no strictness at home for studies, and he is not, he doesn't take studies seriously." Although she had concerns about Arman's support at home and his apparent lack of interest in his studies, Mrs. Aisha had never met Arman's parents. For example, when I asked about her experience communicating with the Afghan parents, she replied, "I only know one Afghan student in my class and that is Arman, and I have not met his mother yet, mom or dad" (Interview, February 6, 2018, translated from Urdu). However, in our second interview, she stated, "Whenever the parents come, they say you have to be strict with our child" (Interview, May 3, 2018, translated from Urdu). When I asked if she meant, "the Afghan parents" she answered, "Yes, [they say] you people are not strict with our children, they say you have to punish them." From this statement, it was clear at this point, that Mrs. Aisha had met some of her Afghan students' families, and that the ones she believed she had met thought that the teachers ought to discipline the children.

Arman's Literacy Practices in the Community

Arman's literacy practices in the community mainly involved looking at papers on the streets to see if they included the name of Allah, as well as attending his Quranic class at a female teacher's home. When Arman was out in the community and came across written materials (usually pages torn from a notebook and were in English or Urdu), he would look

through them to see if they contained Allah's name written in Arabic. As I indicated in my fieldnotes:

> I was walking with Arman and he noticed a few pages from a notebook on the floor [and he] picked them up. He said he always picks it up to see if Allah's name might be there and scanning through it, he quickly pointed to one of the many places that the name of Allah was written. (Fieldnotes, February 13, 2018)

Arman informed me that he had collected many papers containing Allah's name. If he picked up a paper that did not have Allah's name written on it, he would simply toss it back on the ground. Rather than asking Arman why he picked up papers containing the name of God, I asked him why people would throw papers on the floor, and noted, "he told me that maybe they didn't check it or that they do not know that it's a sin to throw a paper with the name of Allah" (Fieldnotes, February 13, 2018). A few days later as we walked to his home, Arman picked up a paper, glanced at it, and then threw it to the ground. When I asked him why he had discarded it, he told me, "It doesn't have Allah's name" (Fieldnotes, February 26, 2018). I picked up the paper, and saw that it was some student's English classwork or homework. Indeed, Arman was quite aware of texts that included Allah's name. For example, on May 28, 2018 I noted

> Arman tells me that the other children are throwing their bags on the floor and that the backpacks include books that have the name of Allah in it. Then he takes out his Urdu textbook, and with the first letter " ا" it states "الله [Allah]." (Fieldnotes, May 28, 2018)

I observed that, "he keeps trying to hang the bag onto the back of his classmate's chair" (Fieldnotes, May 28, 2018). Whenever possible, Arman showed great respect for the name of Allah in the books that were inside the backpacks. He would pick up and hang his classmates' bags on the backs of their chairs to ensure that they were not stepped on and sullied. When I

discussed this behavior with Arian, he felt proud and believed it was a result of the manners he and Waheeda had instilled in Arman.

As previously mentioned, Arman also attended a Quranic class after school. A female teacher in the community taught the class, and although I neither visited the class nor observed him there, Arman shared some details about it with me. For instance, on March 7, 2018, he told me that the teacher hit the students when they did not practice their lessons; however, he also mentioned that the teacher gave the students stickers if they did well on their reading lesson. I noted, "Arman tells me that everyone has to read and read until they get very tired. He says if you read it many times, then 'you will remember it'" (Fieldnotes, March 7, 2018). I also asked Arman about the other activities he and his classmates did with the teacher during the Quranic class. He informed me that his teacher read parts of the Quran and asked them to listen carefully. He stated that she read "very beautiful and says all the words the right way." By this, Arman meant that she pronounced the words correctly according to their elongation sounds, which is probably how she helped the students become familiar with the practice of recitation when reading the Quran. Like the other children who were practicing the Quran, the emphasis here was on the performative aspect, rather than understanding the meaning of what was being recited. To recap, Arman's literacy practices in the community included looking for the name of Allah on papers and attending his Quranic class, where he read and practiced the Separah. In the next section, I explain Arian's beliefs about language and literacy.

Arman's Father's Beliefs about Language and Literacy

Arian's Beliefs about Language

Pashto was an important language for Arian and his family. When I asked him what language the family spoke at home, he reinforced this in his reply, "We speak Pashto, only

Pashto" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). Arian declared, further, that "Language cannot be forgotten, from the day you are born, you cannot forget it, and it is important." By this, Arian emphasized the value he placed on speaking his mother tongue as the language one inherits at birth. Arian also believed that Pashto was an important language around the world and foregrounded this by saying, "Pashto is very important, just like English is being spoken everywhere, our Pashto is also prominent." As an example, he explained that, "Pashto is not only used here . . . Pashto is also used in Karachi and actually all over the world." Although he viewed Pashto as an essential language to maintain, for many reasons, he was quite concerned about the future of Pashto, stating, "It is our mother tongue from thousands of years, [but now] our Pashto has gone." He believed that because Pashto was not used in school, it would eventually become a dead language. When he acknowledged that Pashto was prominent around the world, he made it clear that he was referring to oral Pashto. His concern revolved around the reading and writing aspects of the language, which he believed was deteriorating.

Arian also supported having a class at the Afghan School to teach students to read and write in Pashto and strongly believed that it would help Afghan students make progress in their literacy learning. He mentioned, "This school, if they can support our language that will be very good, it will be like gold to us" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He used the word "gold" to highlight how much it would mean to the Pashtuns if the school taught Pashto alongside Urdu and English. Arian also believed that Pashto instruction was essential in school in order to help Afghan students succeed. He firmly stated,

> This is the thing, a Pashtun child brain does not open up to Urdu for up to two years. But if they are taught in Pashto, that child will become so happy and they will learn so much

> and succeed, and after they can also learn Urdu. (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto)

As evidenced by this statement, Arian believed a Pashto speaking child might struggle with Urdu for two years before understanding the language. However, he believed that if they were to learn Pashto first, they would be "so happy" and that they could then learn Urdu afterwards. Thus, Arian believed the school should support Pashto first and then help students with Urdu and other languages, such as English. I believe that from seeing Arman struggle to learn Urdu, Arian had come to think that children were not able to comprehend Urdu for two years and that being taught in their first language would be more beneficial to all children, including Afghans. Arian continued to emphasize the role of Pashto at school, stating, "If it is in Pashto, the children will succeed better, and the child will be happy saying they told me this and that in Pashto" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He also stressed how important it was for a child to feel a sense of belonging in school, and that having children speak and learn in their home language was one of the most important things the school could do to make students feel comfortable. On the other hand, he stated, "If you are telling them in Urdu first, they will not know the language." By this, Arian meant that when the content was taught in Urdu, children could not understand the language and the academic vocabulary, which hindered their understanding of the content. He concluded his thoughts on Pashto by saying, "There is so much beauty in Pashto, but we have no choice." By "no choice," Arian meant that his children had no choice but to learn Urdu if they wanted to get an education in Pakistan.

Arian also wished that the school provided "a Pashto class, so that Pashto speakers can learn it" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto), meaning that they would learn to read and write in Pashto. However, Arian also tried to empathize with the teachers' and co-

principals' point of view regarding teaching Pashto at school and commented, "But even if they do not want to open a Pashto class, they should at least offer the content [for example, teaching science or math in Pashto] for one hour or two hours in Pashto." He continued to stress why this would be beneficial, telling me:

> So, whatever they are teaching in Urdu class, they can teach it in Pashto class, and the child brain will open up very easily. Because there are very young children coming to the school, like five years old. And, if you are teaching that child in Urdu, there are words that in hundred, fifty won't be understood by the child, he won't know what it is. (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto)

As such, Arian advocated for having Pashto as the language of instruction, not only for the sake of retaining the language, but also so children could easily understand the content being taught. Additionally, Arian considered the issue from the school's point of view and explained that if the school staff did not want to offer a Pashto class (e.g., did not want to teach the children to read and write in Pashto), they should at least teach one or two subjects in Pashto.[34] He was certain that doing this would help Afghan students learn the content more readily in terms of cognitive processing and, thus understand the content better.

Arian was also concerned that his children were not learning to read and write in Pashto. For example, he stated, "Pashto in itself is easy, but our children are growing up without knowing how to read or write in Pashto" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). Regarding the opportunities for learning to read and write Pashto in Islamabad, Arian somberly commented, "There is nothing for it." On the other hand, he also remarked, "There are people

---

[34] There was only one Pashto speaking teacher at the school, Mrs. Hajar, and she taught English to the students.

who are not Pashtuns near my work who can actually speak Pashto. Pashto has grown in this way, but this is only in talking. Reading and writing in our language is gone." In other words, Arian believed that the fact that non-Pashtuns had learned to speak Pashto was a positive development for the language. He continued to speak with a sense of urgency and called for action, stating, "Our book Pashto is left, we must renew this, this is our language, Pashto will end" implying that if Pashtuns were not intentional in their efforts to revive the reading and writing aspects of Pashto, then it would cease to be. He continued to emphasize this possible outcome and concluded, "Our language needs to be written and something needs to be put in place, and we are ready to help."

Arian was also supportive of his children learning other languages. For example, he stated, "But along with Pashto, other languages are also important" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). During the first interview, he informed me, "We have learned Urdu just like our Pashto. In my work, I deal with all Punjabis" (Interview, February 9, 2018, translated from Pashto). By this Arian meant that he learned Urdu fluently and spoke it to conduct business with the Punjabi people. Arian also asserted, "I can write the date, and I know the numbers in Urdu and English" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He was also hopeful that speaking Urdu would help his children if he were to go back to Afghanistan. For example, he explained, "Like here, there were Afghans and they studied here, and they are now holding important positions in Afghanistan. They know both Urdu and Pashto and they are serving their country."

English was also a very important language for Arian and he wanted his children to learn it well. He commented, "My children . . . they can also learn English. Even now, children know certain English words" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). Arian emphasized the

value of English fluency and stated, “If our children learn it, it will be good.” For example, when speculating about his children’s future education plans, he commented, “After this they can get into English course.” He believed that his children needed to master English to adequately progress in their schooling, especially in Pakistan. For instance, he explained, “ . . . when they go to another school there are questions, learning is challenging there, and they teach English there.”

In addition to the benefits of learning English in school, Arian believed that English was also important in daily life. He told me of an experience at his job when he asked a young girl for her father’s number. He elaborated by saying,

> She mentioned something to the boy in English and her concern was if she should give me her father’s number. I looked at her and said “Bache [child], no problem” and she laughed. I told her that he owes me money . . . she took my phone and put in her father’s number. So, we do understand a little bit of English. (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto)

Arian chose this example to illustrate the importance of English in daily life and to indicate that, even in his job, English was useful to him.

Lastly, Arian eagerly supported his children's pursuit of Islamic studies, which included being able to read both the Separah and the Quran in Arabic. Although he never used the word “Arabic,” he was adamant that Arman attend his Quranic class to learn the Separah. Arian and his son monitored Arman’s attendance of the Quranic class, as mentioned previously. He reaffirmed the importance of Islamic studies and stated, “They need Islamic studies too, because that is part of manners” (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He continued, “Islamic studies is very important . . . because it teaches the right way, and this learning is for the

development of the country." While subjects like Urdu, English language arts, and science helped one move ahead in the world, Islamic studies, such as reading the Quran, helped one know "the right way," making the Arabic language essential to this understanding.

Arian's Beliefs about Literacy

Literacy was very important to Arian. When I asked him how he defined it, he said, "Literacy means *adhab* [manners]. If there is no literacy, those people fight more, and their brain is kind of short" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). By this, Arian meant that literacy instilled manners in a person and that someone who did not acquire literacy was ignorant because he did not think carefully or critically about things before starting a quarrel. He then steered the conversation to himself and said, "Thank God, we are okay, we did not fight or create problems with others." Arian mentioned this to clarify that regardless of not being able to read and write, his family did not have fights or arguments with others. He elaborated by saying,

> There is a difference of ground and sky between a literate person and non-literate person. If we are sitting by, and an illiterate person walks by, he would not greet you or anything. But if a literate person walks by, he would at least greet you with a Salam Alaikum. This is manners. (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto)

Thus, to Arian, literacy was associated with having good manners, being "a good person," and being a "good Muslim." However, he also acknowledged that there were many aspects to literacy and stated, "There is thousands of things in literacy, manners are there, respect is there" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto).

I wanted to better understand Arian's concept of literacy, so I asked, "Okay brother, and what can one do with literacy? What kind of things does one know?" He answered:

> Wedding cards come in, bills come, tons of bills . . . look at the names on the papers, literacy is for this reason. A letter comes from outside of the country, print comes on the mobile, in a minute, someone can read it, we cannot read it, so we are showing it to others to tell us what is written. (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto)

Arian believed that literacy skills were required for fulfilling basic daily activities of life, such as reading bills, wedding cards, and text messages and, in turn, responding to them. For instance, he recalled getting an electric bill and then realizing that it was not his. He explained that he had looked at the amount of money on the bill and compared it to the number of kilowatts used showing on the meter and saw that, "the numbers did not match" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He continued, "That's the only thing that I recognized in the letter. Then I told the landlord about it . . . he said we made a mistake, here take this bill and it was 150 rupees." Arian believed that literacy equipped a person with the life skills needed to navigate daily activities (such as reading a bill). However, it meant more to him than just these skills—he believed that literate people conduct themselves with manners. He highlighted this when he stated, "Manners is something that goes hand in hand with school. . . It is right in line with school . . . literacy and manners are one, one way."

Arian hoped that his children would acquire literacy, so that they could have a better life than he had. He stated, "My goal is to have them learn and remember something, so that they are not like us" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). He went on to say, "My hope is so that they have skills, for example, they can work in a hospital, but they need to know how to read, write." Then I inquired about the reading and writing that his children were required to do as part of homework. I asked, "Can you help your child with the homework?" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto) and he answered, "No, if I help them, what is the benefit? I

have showed them the way, to use the pillow as table and write from the books." He meant that he had shown his children to put a pillow on their laps and use it as a table to do their writing on. In general, Arian believed that his involvement with his children's homework should be minimal, and that they should work on it independently to truly benefit and learn from it. I probed further, "What if they need help with homework?" and he responded

> We let them think about it, you know. I didn't go to school, only up to fourth grade, and I do my transactions, I can do the math and the date, to know when the hay has been sold, how much I sold. But other than that, I don't know much, or English. (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto)

In fact, Arian insisted that he had no choice but to let his children do their schoolwork on their own, as his lack of schooling meant that he could not help them much. As a result, he encouraged his children to "think about" their homework and try to complete it on their own.

Although Arian stated that he taught his children how to use a pillow as a table for homework, to copy from their books, and establish a daily routine, Mrs. Aisha said she had not seen evidence of these efforts. From my own observation, Arman's homework was almost always incomplete. Furthermore, during the five months that I observed and followed Arman, I never saw him working on his homework. I indicated that "either Arian is referring to his daughters working on their homework or that Arman is working on other activities, such as drawing or putting stickers on his notebooks, two of the things that he is fond of" (Fieldnotes, April 24, 2018).

As Arian expressed, both language and literacy were of paramount importance to him. In terms of language, he first wanted his children to learn to read and write in Pashto. He also advocated for the use of Pashto in school, to not only support the Afghan students' learning, but

to support their social-emotional needs. Moreover, Arian believed languages, such as Urdu and English, were also important and that knowing them would make their lives easier in the future. Similarly, Arian was very passionate about literacy and felt that it was closely related to manners. Thus, Arian viewed a literate person through a broader lens that focused on how they conducted themselves morally and ethically. At the same time, Arian believed that literacy involved reading and writing skills that facilitated certain tasks, such as reading a bill or writing a letter and led to better jobs (such as working in a bank or hospital). However, he believed the most important outcome of being literate was that it helped to instill manners and becoming a better Muslim. In the next section, I conclude with a summary of the chapter.

Summary

In this chapter, I described the language and literacy practices Harun and Arman engaged in at home, at school, and in the community. Moreover, I discussed their parent's and guardian's beliefs about language and literacy. As the chapter demonstrated, both Harun and Arman struggled in school, despite their efforts. Harun, for example, turned to his classmates to copy and used environmental print in the classroom to complete assignments that he could not do on his own. Although, Harun's use of environmental print would be promoted in some countries like Canada or the United States, teachers at the Afghan School seemed to curtail his efforts to use these resources, especially during quizzes and tests. Similarly, Arman worked on his assignments diligently, but when he could no longer do them on his own, he turned to his peers for help. When he was unable to obtain their help, he could not complete his assignments. To compound their struggles in school, neither Harun nor Arman had anyone to support their learning at home or someone to monitor their progress in school. As well, Harun's time at home

during the day was limited as he was responsible for tending to the livestock and attending his Quranic class. He lacked support from adults, especially from his own family, who were in Afghanistan. In Arman's case, because his father's and brothers' time and energies were devoted to maintaining the family's dry hay business, they spent most of their time at work, leaving him mostly unsupervised at home. For example, Arian was absent from home even at night as he slept next to his work site. Furthermore, from the information I gathered, Arman's mother, Waheeda, was also occupied with chores and maintaining the home, with little time to supervise Arman. Therefore, while Arman had more time at home than Harun, other than practicing for his Quranic class, he used the majority of that time playing alone, with his siblings, or with his friends. In other words, the microsystems (home, school, community) that the male focal children were growing up in did not provide the kind of support they needed to be able to enhance their language and literacy development. Both Arman and Harun were frequently faced with completing tasks and assignments at school that were beyond their capabilities. At home, they were either occupied with duties such as caring for the livestock during the day (Harun) or were for the most part left unsupervised (Arman). Although they had time that they could have used at home to do homework, I did not see either male child do so. I believe they did not have enough motivation to engage in doing their homework since they struggled with school significantly. At the same time, it is important to note that neither child had any adult or significant other to encourage, guide and support them with homework. Arman's father and brother only asked Arman whether he had attended his Quranic class and Harun's conversations at home were limited to fulfilling errands and meeting the needs of the livestock.

Nonetheless, I saw that literacy activities and events occurred in both Arman and Harun's homes. In Harun's home, Haji used storytelling as the primary means of communicating

important moral lessons to Harun and the other children. In Arman's home, both Arian and Abderrazzaq held Arman accountable for, and encouraged, his attendance at his Quranic class so that he could read and learn the Separah. Both Habeebullah and Arian strongly believed that literacy was essential to one's personal development. For example, Habeebullah believed literacy helped a person transition from an animal to being human. Thus, he closely connected literacy with morally good behavior. On the other hand, although Arian did not view those who lacked literacy as being subhuman, he indicated that he considered them to be ignorant. Moreover, both recognized that literacy provided one with reading and writing skills, but they also believed that literacy helped to instill manners and supported one in becoming a better Muslim.

Harun and Arman both favored the possibility of a Pashto class at school. For example, Harun admitted that it was difficult to understand his teachers when they spoke English. Arman also was supportive of using Pashto at school, at first, but later stated that, because the teacher would hit him if he spoke Pashto, he did not want a Pashto class. I did not see evidence of this and, as described, Arman spoke Pashto often in class. Both children's parents and guardians placed a high value on the use of, and instruction in, Pashto, and spoke Pashto exclusively at home. Furthermore, Habeebullah believed that if one forgot Pashto, one would also forget their religion. Arian also expressed his support for using and learning Pashto in school and was deeply concerned that his children, including Arman, were growing up without learning how to read and write in Pashto.[35] Moreover, Arian was concerned about the future of Pashto in Pakistan, as he believed it had become an oral language only, and that its reading and writing aspects were being neglected. Most of Harun's teachers insisted that Pashto should be spoken only at home and that

[35] Pashto and Farsi are the national languages of Afghanistan. The law dictates that both are to be taught in schools.

Afghan students should learn Urdu and English instead. Harun's homeroom teacher, Mrs. Zara, held beliefs regarding the students' first language that were aligned to those of the other teachers. She mentioned that teachers at the Afghan School mainly respected the students' home languages, but because of scheduling constraints, could not provide first language classes. Additionally, Harun's Quranic teacher, Qari Burhan, stated that students must speak Urdu in the mosque or their understanding of the Quran would be impeded. Lastly, Arman's teacher, Mrs. Aisha, stated in the first interview that Afghan students needed to learn Urdu and English and should not speak Pashto at school, an opinion consistent with that of the other teachers. However, in the second interview, her stance changed. She asserted that if the school could offer a Pashto class it would be beneficial to the Afghan students and would help them learn the content more easily and retain their mother tongue.

The next and final chapter is a discussion focusing on the findings presented in this and the previous chapter about the focal children, and it ends with a review of the implications of the findings.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to understand the language and literacy practices as enacted within the home, school, and community contexts of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The study examined the circumstances of four children (two girls and two boys), each from a low-income family with parents or guardians who had little to no formal schooling. I began by examining the life context of each family, particularly their migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan and their current financial circumstances. I drew on Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory and Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) bioecological theory to guide my analysis and interpretations of the language and literacy events and activities that I observed. These theories also helped me consider the adults' beliefs and understanding of literacy and languages within their social, political, and cultural contexts. Following this, I sought to provide detailed information on the female and male focal children's language and literacy activities and events at home, at school, and in the community.

In this concluding chapter, I discuss my findings, how I applied the theories and, in particular, the ways in which my findings were consistent with the theories, and how they differed. I then provide recommendations for policymakers, teachers, and parents. I conclude with a discussion of the study's limitations and provide some suggestions for future research, followed by concluding remarks highlighting the significance of the study.

Discussion of Findings

Focal Children's Literacy Practices and Parents'/Guardians' Support for Literacy

Children like the ones described in this study who come from low-income homes and where the parents/guardians have low literacy levels or have little formal schooling are often viewed from a deficit perspective by educators. For instance, some educators claim that because of their low literacy, such families do not value their children's education. However, as was evident in this study, all the children engaged in various literacy activities and events at their home, and their parents/guardians encouraged and supported their literacy development. At the same time, there were differences between school and home literacy.

As shown in Chapter 4, the female focal children engaged in a plethora of literacy activities and events at home and in the community. Safa frequently read the Duas to her father by first reading the Arabic text and corresponding Urdu explanation of what each Duas meant (to herself), and then providing him with a verbal translation in Pashto. She also read the news headlines on the television for him and taught her younger sibling and her neighbour's child some of the basic Islamic prayers and supplications. As such, Safa frequently accessed texts at home to help those around her. Similarly, Seemena engaged in various literacy activities and events at home. As mentioned previously, she used her Salah book to practice and perform the ablution and five prayers. The book included written, step-by-step instructions and accompanying images, to help the reader perform the ablution and prayers correctly. In addition, Seemena read and translated the English or Urdu printed material (such as invitation cards and school notices) that the family received, which she would then verbally relay to them. She also tutored the children from her community with their homework and Separah or Quran reading. Like Safa, Seemena was also regularly reading or referring to printed material at home in order

to improve her own prayers or to assist her family. In other words, both Safa and Seemena were regularly engaged in various literacy activities at home that involved referencing printed material for themselves and for their families.

Safa's and Seemena's fathers were also very supportive of literacy and ensured that it was a priority in their homes. Sajjad and Dawud both believed that a person who could not read and write was, in essence, blind. Dawud also mentioned that with literacy, one could help others, such as by reading for them, just like Seemena did for his family. Furthermore, Safa's father regularly praised her for doing well in school, pointing out that she was becoming someone who would help others in her future career, and it was a family goal as well. The family further supported Safa's education and learning endeavours by giving her fewer household responsibilities so she could focus on her schooling and homework. Additionally, through his Naseehath storytelling practices, Seemena's father reminded her that her priority at home was to focus on her schoolwork and that she had a duty to excel in her learning.

The male focal children, Harun and Arman, also engaged in literacy activities and events at home. Although caring for the livestock left Harun with little free time during the day, when he had a spare moment he sat down to listen to Naseehath's storytelling, which typically featured a moral theme or was meant to teach a lesson. The Naseehath storytelling that Harun engaged in was equally valid and meaningful, just like the Naseehath that Seemena engaged in. This is because the Naseehath that Harun engaged in reflected on the meaning and values associated with literacy in his household. For example, the moral themes with a particular focus on becoming a better Muslim aligned directly with Habeebullah's belief that literacy helped one transition from an animal to a human, and that a literate person was one who followed a moral path. For example, as Habeebuallah explained in Chapter 5, Harun now knew the difference

between an older and younger person and the respect owed to older people (e.g., such as showing humility and great respect for those who are older). Moreover, as mentioned previously, storytelling is valid literacy activity (Luo & Tamis-LeMonda, 2017; Ong'ayi, Yildirim, & Roopnarine, 2020) practiced in many cultural and ethnic communities. On the other hand, Arman also regularly practiced reading his Separah at home. His Separah reading mostly involved letter identification and proper pronunciation. When they returned from work, his father and brother frequently questioned if he had gone to his Quranic lessons, to ensure that he attended the lessons. Yet, at the same time, it is important to acknowledge that there was a relative absence of activities and events in the male focal children's homes that reflected, or were similar to, "school literacy."

Like the parents of the female focal children, the male focal children's parents and guardians were also supportive of their children's learning and were passionate about literacy and the skills of reading and writing. While it may seem that their parents and guardians did not provide much support to Harun and Arman, from a cultural point of view, they believed they were being supportive of their learning. For example, Abderrazzaq told me that Arman was privileged in the sense that he was able to go to school and did not have to worry about working in the family's hay business (Fieldnotes, March 14, 2018) like the rest of the males in the Khushal household. As mentioned previously, Arian stated that after Arman completed his studies at the Afghan School, he would continue to support him by enrolling him in another school to pursue his learning. Also, Abderrazzaq and Arian consistently ensured that Arman attended his Quranic class. From their point of view, they were encouraging him in his learning by ensuring that he attended the Afghan School and his Quranic class daily. Harun's uncle also believed that he was supporting Harun's learning by taking him in to live with him and watch

over him while his family was in Afghanistan. He told me that he had agreed to do this because he wanted Harun to go to school and become a better person. However, as will be discussed later, the home and school environment were not able to provide the male focal children the type of support they needed. This is not to say that the parents and guardians were to blame, but there were other factors, such as a lack of available adults at home who inquired about the focal child's learning and supported it in ways that the school expected. Furthermore, in the case of Arman, his father believed that what he was learning at school was not serious or was unimportant (described in detail later). As a result, this perspective further affected the quality of Arian's support for Arman.

Habeebullah, believed that learning to read and write would guide the children in his household to a moral path as they would be able to read important Islamic texts. Arman's father, Arian, also wanted the children to be able to read and write. He clearly realized that the ability to read a bill or respond to a text on a phone made literacy an essential life skill. He also believed that having these skills helped one achieve a prestigious position, such as working in a bank. Both Habeebullah and Arian associated literacy with having good manners, knowing the difference between good and bad, and being able to think about issues carefully so as to resolve them, rather than engaging in an argument. These parents and guardians viewed literacy as having instrumental value, yet they also considered it valuable in shaping and developing the whole person, including expanding the concept to the ability to analyze and think critically. These findings are similar to Norton and Kamal's (2003) study where some Pakistani students viewed literacy as helping one to reason, and saw literacy as a necessity for the development of a nation.

The findings of this study are congruent with other researchers who have challenged the assumptions that low-income families with little to no formal education do not engage in, or appreciate literacy. For example, Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) found that, minoritized families living in poverty, valued literacy and provided books and writing materials to their children, while supporting their children's literacy development. Similarly, Purcell-Gates (1996) study with 20 low socioeconomic families in the United States observed that parents/guardians assisted their children with writing letters and reading stories from the Bible. Furthermore, she observed that children witnessed their parents/guardians engaging with printed materials for religious and entertainment purposes. McTavish (2007) also found that literacy activities were an important aspect of daily life of the working-class family in her case study. For example, the family read stories to their child and created shopping lists that they would read together.

The results of this study are also consistent with studies that focused on refugee families' literacy practices. For example, Roy and Roxas (2011) focused on the use of storytelling in a Somali Bantu refugee community and found that the families highly valued literacy and education, in contrast to the widely held belief at the local school that the families did not prioritize education. They also found that the parents reinforced the value of education to the children through storytelling. Similarly, Cun's (2020) study focused on Burmese refugee parents' perspective of the challenges and support they expected from their children's schools in the United States. Like the parents' and guardians' in the current study, all of the parents in Cun's (2020) study indicated that they valued education and had high expectation for their children's learning. Likewise, Perry (2014) documented the important role six-year-old Remaz played in her family by reading English and verbally translating it to Arabic, like the female focal children in this study. Taken together, these studies highlight that many families, including

low-income and refugee families, engage in literacy and find a variety of ways to support their children's literacy. Furthermore, like most families, refugee families believe that literacy is an important part of daily life.

Focal Children's Language Practices and Parents'/Guardians' Support for Language(s)

An important finding from this study is the plurilingualism demonstrated by the focal children. Plurilingualism, as defined by The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (2001), is "the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures" (p. 168). As discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the focal children all spoke Pashto and Urdu fluently. Except for Arman, they also spoke and understood English to varying degrees. However, there was a notable difference between the females and the males when it came to reading and writing in Urdu. For example, the female focal children read Urdu and wrote fairly well (with some support from their teachers), while the male focal children needed more individual assistance and the tasks and assignments were often too difficult for them to complete on their own. In addition, the male focal children read the Separah at a beginner level, while the female focal children read at a more advanced levels and each had read the whole Quran more one than once (an important accomplishment in the faith).

While the focal children spoke only Pashto at home, they spoke both Pashto and Urdu at school and in the community. Throughout the duration of the study, I observed the children naturally switch between languages and had no difficulty with such codeswitching. For example, Safa regularly spoke in both languages during recess with her friends. Arman also fluently spoke Urdu with his classmates when they interacted or joined him in his games. They knew when to

use which language based on who they were speaking to. Since the children frequently used both languages, they were able to codeswitch between Pashto and Urdu. For example, when communicating with teachers and their non-Pashto speaking friends, they had to speak and respond in Urdu. Yet, when they played with other Afghan children, they spoke to each other in Pashto. Some of the children also translated Urdu or English texts into Pashto for their parents. For example, Dawud did not speak Urdu, so he relied on Seemena to communicate with the landlord. She also translated verbally English and Urdu texts for her family. Safa also verbally translated the meaning of the Duas for her father by reading the Urdu explanation. Because of their competence in multiple languages, all the focal children had acquired linguistic capital. Again, because the female focal children could read and write in Urdu and English at more advanced levels, their linguistic capital was higher compared to the male focal children. Codeswitching, or translanguaging, is recognized as a valuable learning strategy by scholars (Garcia 2009; Song, 2016; Wei, 2011). For instance, Garcia (2009) indicated that translanguaging practices were "*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (p. 45, emphasis in original). Moreover, in their study in an ethnic community in the United Kingdom, Creese and Blackledge (2010) found that teachers used and encouraged translanguaging to convey ideas and promote understanding throughout the activities that students engaged in. However, the teachers at the Afghan School did not value it and even, at times, discouraged it.

The focal parents/guardians, in a way similar to their support of their children's literacy practices, they also wanted their children to develop reading and writing competencies' in Pashto as well as in other languages (e.g., English, Urdu and Arabic). They implicitly recognized linguistic capital as an important asset in today's society. For example, Dawud mentioned that

learning other languages was an important resource for one to use in life. Arian particularly noted the importance of learning English, because he believed it was an important language in the higher educational system of Pakistan. Habeebullah mentioned his support for the Arabic language and believed it was an essential language for understanding the message of the Quran. Overall, the parents and guardians were supportive of, and valued, the opportunity for their children to learn other languages.

Focal Children's Contradictory Views of Language(s)

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the focal children at times had conflicting and contradictory thoughts about the languages that they used and were learning in school, including their first language. For example, while Safa and Seemena were adamant they did not want to take a Pashto class at school, the male focal children indicated that they would welcome it. Harun believed a Pashto class would make learning easier, particularly because it was not easy for him to understand his teachers when they spoke in English. Although when I asked, I meant a separate language class in Pashto, when Harun responded he meant taking classes such as science or social studies taught in Pashto. Arman was also supportive of a Pashto class at school and mentioned that it would enable him to answer more questions and therefore participate more in class. However, and seemingly in contradiction, he also said that he did not want a Pashto class at school. As I explained previously, he told me his teacher became angry if he spoke Pashto at school. As I already mentioned, I did not see evidence of this, and in contrast, found Arman speaking Pashto regularly in the classroom. Furthermore, I never noticed or observed Mrs. Aisha reprimanding or displaying any negative behavior toward Arman when he spoke Pashto. However, I believe Arman sensed the negative attitude toward Pashto by most of the teachers, in general, at Afghan School, and therefore believed that Pashto was not welcomed.

Additionally, while I did not observe any teacher telling Arman he should not speak in Pashto, it was possible that he had been told by other teachers that he should not speak it in school, although I did not query Arman on this.

Similarly, Harun showed conflicting views in regard to learning and using English at school. On one hand, he stated that he did not understand his teachers when they spoke in English and welcomed the idea of learning in Pashto at school. On the other hand, he claimed that English was his favorite subject (even though he struggled in the class) because he liked that he learned new things in the class. Although, I did not ask him what those new things were, I believe he was talking about learning new phrases and words, in addition to enjoying the phonics modules. However, I also believe it was more than just learning new things that made English his favorite subject. I observed that all of the focal children's teachers stressed the importance of learning and speaking English and they told me that they regularly encouraged students to speak it (in addition to Urdu). Harun may also have internalized the message that English is the language of success and upward mobility. For instance, one day while I was in the community for an observation, I watched Harun as he took care of the goats and a nearby labour worker asked me a question. I turned to Harun for help translating. Harun told me in Pashto that the man was asking me what I did. I noted, "I told Harun to tell him that I was not working and that I was a student" (Fieldnotes, January 26, 2018). Rather than translating for me, Harun directed me to speak to the man in English. When I asked the man if he spoke English, he shook his head and stated "Punjabi" and then said something else. I asked Harun what he said, and he stated, "He said, 'If I spoke English, why would I be doing this work?" I was a bit confused and asked Harun to ask the man what job he would do if he knew English. The man smiled and told Harun that he would be working in an office. Thus, Harun may have been influenced by such comments about

English as a language spoken by people who are considered successful. Although, his uncle Habeebullah held a negative opinion about the extensive use of English in Pakistan, it did not deter Harun from being passionate about English, while at the same time acknowledging that his lack of skill in spoken and written English was also a barrier to understanding his teachers.

Both of the female focal children were very clear about not wanting to learn Pashto at school, yet they spoke in Pashto at school with their Afghan and Pashto speaking Pakistani friends. I believe their success and achievement in school may have played an important role in their negative views toward Pashto. Both Safa and Seemena were successful students and their work was often praised and promoted as models to their classmates. Furthermore, they may not have wanted to identify as Afghans because of some perceived negative connotation. Indeed, Seemena's social studies teacher was surprised to find out that Seemena was Afghan. Thus, Seemena did not fit with the teacher's assumptions that Afghan students struggled in school, were not serious about their studies, and came from an unsupportive family. When I asked Seemena about a Pashto class, she answered that her non-Afghan friends did not speak Pashto and that she did not want to be separated from them. As a result, Seemena was uncomfortable being in a class with only Afghans, as would likely be the case if a Pashto class was offered. Safa was also against the use of Pashto in school, even when spoken between students. Her main reason was that if non-Afghan students heard her or other Afghan children speaking in Pashto, they called her "Pathan" which simply meant Pashtun. Like Seemena who seemed to worry about being only with "Afghans" for a Pashto class, Safa also seemed to worry about being labeled a "Pathan." She felt that Pashto was "too much in school" (Interview, April 12, 2018) and wanted the teachers to help stop it. At the same time, I believe the female focal children were under the general assumption that Pashto was not an important language—at least in the school

setting. This may explain why they were sensitive about being labeled Pashtun, Afghan, or being separated from non-Pashto speakers. Despite the fact that both Safa's and Seemena's fathers strongly supported Pashto and a Pashto class at Afghan School, their daughters did not want Pashto at school in official ways. Babino and Stewart's (2016) study focused on 63 fifth graders in a dual language school (English and Spanish) similarly found that native Spanish speakers preferred English academically and socially. Students viewed their first language as "a subordinate language" (p. 25), and all of the students reported speaking English during Spanish class, but they did not speak Spanish during English class.

The focal children's views of and experiences learning and speaking different languages, including their first language, highlights the issue of identity. Research on language and identity indicates that while one's identity comes from in-group memberships, individuals may change their group membership, especially when the present one is viewed negatively. Norton (1997) maintained that identity is closely connected to "the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 410), and therefore is part of the power that exists in the larger contexts of society. As a result, an individual who is not satisfied with his or her in-group membership may shift their identity to better align with what is valued in the given society. Similarly, since language and literacy are important markers of one's in-group identity, one's choice of the language or languages used in specific contexts becomes an important factor in terms of maintaining social relationships with others. Therefore, while Sajjad and Dawud were supportive of having the children learn to read and write in Pashto, the female focal children were aware that English and Urdu were the languages valued in the school and society, not Pashto. As previous studies have shown, a school's curriculum can influence students' value of and motivation toward learning a language (Gao & Lv, 2018; Nomura & Yuan, 2019). In

addition, the female focal children knew that being Afghans, Pashtuns, and refugees were all aspects of their identity that the wider society viewed negatively. Thus, to maintain social relationships with their non-Pashto speaking classmates and teachers, they did not want a Pashto class at school.

Differences in the Focal Children's Literacy Activities and Events

One of the highlights of Chapter 4 and 5 was the difference between the female and male children in terms of their progress in literacy and their academic achievement. Although gender seemed to play a role in this difference, it is only one of several factors that came into play. Other factors, such as family circumstances, lack of available adults at home, lack of communication between teachers and parents, and lack of attention from parents or guardians may also have played important roles in the differences in achievement. To summarize briefly, both Safa and Seemena were successful students who excelled at school. Their teachers acknowledged their achievement and held them up as successful students that other students should aspire to emulate. On the other hand, the male focal children tended to struggle in literacy and learning in school. They both relied on their peers for assistance and frequently copied others' assignments to get by when they were unable to complete activities and tasks independently.

One reason for this difference could be that the focal female children had an adult at home who inquired into, and asked questions about, their progress at school, which the male children did not have. Dawud frequently used Naseehath storytelling to focus on the importance of doing well in school, and he underscored the value of learning. For instance, he would point out that Seemena was the one who read and translated the printed texts that the family received to emphasize her important role in the family. Moreover, Dawud and the other family members

regularly asked about Seemena's progress at school, such as when Seemena's brother asked about the social studies test that she had taken in school. Despite not knowing how to read and write, Seemena's brother signaled to Seemena that the family was keeping abreast of her learning in school and cared about her progress. Dawud similarly checked on Seemena to ensure that she was working on her schoolwork. Similarly, Safa's father, Sajjad, explicitly told Safa that her education was of the utmost importance to him. For instance, he stated, "I told Safa, that daughter no matter until what level you would like to continue, I am ready and will fully support you" (Interview, May 13, 2018, translated from Pashto). As Seemena's father and brother did, Sajjad asked Safa about her progress at school and inquired about her homework and what she had learned at school. However, the male focal children did not have any available adults at home who inquired specifically about their learning or homework. As will be discussed later, Harun's duties afterschool entailed taking care of the livestock and attending his Quranic class at the mosque, while Arman was mostly left unsupervised as his father and brothers were at their work site, and his mother did chores and took care of his younger sibling.

The female focal children were also able to focus on their homework as there were fewer distractions and a structured time for homework. For example, neither Safa nor Seemena had any chores assigned to them at home. Although the female focal children did not have domestic chores, they were expected to teach younger children and to assist their families with literacy, such as reading and translating print for them. Through the Naseehath storytelling, Dawud kept reminding Seemena that the family wanted her to focus on her schoolwork rather than doing chores. Similarly, Safa did not have any chores because her mother and older sister took care of them. While Afghan society generally assigns domestic chores to girls and women, both Safa's and Seemena's parents made it of little or no importance and wanted them to focus on their

education. Each of the girl's parents wanted them to achieve their goals of becoming a doctor (Safa) and a teacher (Seemena). Sajjad, for instance, questioned those Pashtuns who did not want to educate their daughters, yet expected that their wife or sister be seen by a female doctor (Interview, May 13, 2018). Dawud, also mentioned that it would be an honor for him to see Seemena become a teacher and teach other females. He believed that Pashtun parents would be more comfortable sending their daughters to school, knowing that they would be taught by other female teachers (Fieldnotes, April 17, 2018). On the other hand, the male focal children did not have this structured study time. Harun took care of the livestock afterschool and attended his Quranic class. Arman mostly used his free time for playing with his siblings or other children.

Although the parents and guardians of the male focal children were also supportive of their children becoming educated, the family circumstances (lack of available parental support, and lack of communication) may have affected the male focal children's literacy achievement. When male adults conversed with Harun during the day, the conversation mainly revolved around the needs of the livestock. Like Seemena, Harun was also exposed to Naseehath's storytelling, but his opportunities to listen were limited as he could only participate when his responsibilities were fulfilled for the day. And as noted previously, this Naseehath was equally valid as the one that Seemena engaged in because it reflected the meaning and values that the Sabrs ascribed to literacy, which consisted of first and foremost becoming a better Muslim and a better person, morally. Similarly, Arman's father and brothers spent the majority of their time away from home maintaining the family's dry hay business. When they were present at home, they asked Arman if he had gone to his Quranic class. Indeed, other than practicing his Separah for Quranic class, I did not see Arman work on his school homework or any assignments related to his school. Although Arian mentioned in Chapter 5 that his children worked on their

homework, neither Mrs. Aisha nor I saw any evidence of this, and Arman's homework was regularly incomplete. While Arman had more free time at home than Harun, he mainly used it to play.

I believe another reason for Arman's lack of available parental support was due to the lack of communication between Arian and the Afghan School. For instance, from my interview with Arian, he did not seem to fully understand the importance of Arman's learning at this stage. After conducting the interview with Arian, I noted:

> He mentioned in the interview, 'This school is for small children.' It was evident that his understanding of the school was quite vague. For example, he did not know what the grade levels were at the school and mentioned that the school went up to either third or fourth grade. He kept referring in the interview to 'another school' after Arman completed or graduated from the Afghan School and stated that in the other school "there are questions, learning is challenging there, and they teach English there" (Interview, April 24, 2018, translated from Pashto). Comparing this 'another school' to the Afghan School, he stated, "Here, they just teach prayers, and some Quran primer." Furthermore, because Arman was only in kindergarten, Arian believed that what he was learning was not too important. He stated in the interview, "After fourth or fifth grade, the learning begins." (Reflective Notes, April 24, 2018)

I continued, "I believe that if Arian had visited and met with Mrs. Aisha [it] could have helped Arian better understand what Arman was learning and the importance of it." Rather, it seemed that lack of communication between Arian and Mrs. Aisha was at the end, hindering Arman's progress in school and leading to misunderstanding and even misconceptions. When working with the Afghan families in Boston, Massachusetts, this was a common issue that I found

between teachers and parents. For instance, a child in preschool had missed almost two months of school. When I relayed the teacher's concern to the parents, they mentioned that they did not think that his attendance mattered much as the child mostly played in school. After the teacher explained some of the things the children were learning, and the benefits of learning through play, the parents mentioned that this was new and very insightful information to them. In their study of African refugee mothers in the USA, Tadesse, Hoot, and Watson-Thompson (2009) similarly found that the mothers placed less emphasis on play and preferred a more structured learning environment for their children. One of the teachers in the study mentioned that she explained to the mothers that they incorporated learning through play. Thus, it is important to consider parents' ideas about play and learning when exploring their understanding of their children's school environment.

To recount, the female and male focal children differed significantly in terms of their progress and achievements in school. The female focal children had parental support at home and their fathers inquired, questioned, and reinforced the importance of learning and making progress at school. They also checked in with their daughters to ensure that they completed their homework, even though in Seemena's case her family could not provide specific homework help as they had not learned to read and write. Similarly, both Sajjad and Dawud ensured their daughters worked on their school work at home. In contrast, the parents/guardians of the male focal children, although equally committed to literacy and learning, were unable to provide consistent support to the children. In Harun's case, his conversation with the male adults centered around the livestock needs. Similarly, in Arman's case the male adults were mostly absent from home as they dedicated their effort to maintain the dry hay business. Moreover, there was a lack of communication between Arian and the school, in terms of what Arman was

learning at school. This lack of communication led to misunderstandings that seemed to create an additional barrier to Arman's learning progress.

Language and Literacy Activities at the Afghan School

As seen in the focal children's language and literacy practices at school, the activities mostly tended to focus on small elements of text, such as letters, words, and sentences. As well, Arman did not use invented spelling in his early writing nor do I believe Mrs. Aisha would have welcomed such a practice. She regularly told students to memorize the spelling of words, and she informed them that they would be tested on their ability to spell them correctly. The children were asked to define or come up with an oral sentence using a vocabulary word, which was also sometimes written down. However, there was also an emphasis on the performance aspect of literacy, such as reciting or pronouncing words correctly. For example, students would be asked to read a poem while the rest would listen. Then the teacher would call on another student to continue reading. I did not observe any instances of a teacher asking what the poem made the students think of, or what they thought the poem was conveying. In addition, when students read a story, the comprehension questions focused on literal meaning and facts. For example, students were asked to name the characters or specific questions around the plot. Throughout the study, I did not observe students working in groups to complete tasks such as explaining what they enjoyed or did not enjoy about the story, nor were they asked what questions they had at the end of reading a text. In other words, I did not see instances of teachers or students making inferences about the activities or discussing a text critically. Moreover, the questions students frequently answered with regards to their assigned reading did not ask them for their opinions.

If these children were to eventually settle in permanent resettlement countries such as Canada or the United States, they would specifically need to be taught and experience certain

pedagogical practices that are valued in some Western nations. As Dryden-Peterson (2015) notes, "Past experience with teacher-centered pedagogy may leave resettled refugee children unaware of the behavior and approaches to learning required of them" (p. 2) in countries like Canada or the United States. For example, refugee students like the ones described in this study, may need to be taught explicitly that it is okay to question texts and offer an opinion about a story or poem. They may also need to be taught how to work in groups to accomplish a task. Otherwise, some refugee students may struggle to understand their roles in school in the resettlement countries and may resort to staying quiet or not asking questions. This may hinder their progress in learning and the same time, teachers may misinterpret these behaviors to mean that the children are not interested in learning, lack abilities, or come from homes where their learning is not supported.

Revisiting the Theoretical Framework

As previously mentioned, sociocultural theory and Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) bioecological theory guided my analysis of the language and literacy events and activities that focal children engaged in and helped me to consider the adults understanding of language and literacy within their contexts. At the same time, I realize that some of my findings were inconsistent with these theories as well. For example, Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory emphasizes the role of the adult in scaffolding and supporting the child's learning, such as when an adult helps a child to read or write. However, as seen in this study, the parents and guardians were unable to provide this kind of support to their children because of their circumstances and because many of them did not learn to read and write. Thus, except in Harun's case as his uncle had completed high school, the children were the more competent members of their households

in terms of print literacy. Gregory (2001) has highlighted the role of siblings in helping support each other's learning. As seen in this study, children like Safa were the ones guiding and scaffolding the learning for their parents, such as teaching her father the Duas. Similarly, Seemena was the one reading, comprehending, and verbally translating printed materials for her father and family. Therefore, in this case, the child was teaching and translating information for the parents.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) bioecological model views parents, families, and schools as collectively supporting the learning and development of children within the systems he called microsystem and mesosystem, influenced by the macro and exosystems. The theory gives precedence to microsystem processes, and although it recognizes macrosystem factors, it tends not to foreground societal issues such as culture, ethnicity and social class (Downes, Anderson, & Nairz-Wirth, 2018). Similarly, Downes (2014) stated that "Bronfenbrenner (1979) only briefly touches upon power dimensions in systems" (p. 43). For example, parents' and guardians' knowledge of, and influence in, educational settings, such as schools, are affected by issues of social class and ethnicity, and refugees are often underprivileged. As seen in the current study, the parents and guardians highly valued language and literacy. Although they played various roles in their children's learning, because of several factors, as described earlier, they were also faced with systems that often did not acknowledge them and were not responsive to their needs. For instance, all of the parents/guardians wanted their children to learn to read and write in Pashto, in addition to learning Urdu and English, while at school, the focal children were discouraged from speaking their first language. Viewing it from the macrosystem, the parents/guardians lived in a space that often did not welcome them, to the extent that after decades of living in Pakistan they still referred to themselves as refugees and struggled to fulfill

basic needs (e.g., finding a home with a refugee card was difficult, many landlords did not want to rent to Afghan refugees). The parents/guardians believed they were isolated from the rest of Pakistani society. The teachers at the Afghan School wanted the Afghan children to become competent in Urdu and English, in part to integrate them into the Pakistani society; however, the parents/guardians did not understand how this could happen, because the larger society refused to help them integrate. Despite decades, they still did not have Pakistani citizenship and could have been forced anytime to leave Pakistan. Thus, the parents/guardians in their microsystem space, such as home, stressed the importance of having their children speak Pashto and wanted them to learn to read and write in Pashto. Consequently, Pashto had become a valuable practice for them, in part, because the larger macrosystem that they lived in did not value it. In addition, the parents/guardians believed that if they are forced to go back to Afghanistan, their children would move up in their education easily as they would know how to read and write in Pashto.

Moreover, Arman's teacher, Mrs. Aisha, believed that Arian and his family did not prioritize Arman's education and learning despite never having met or spoken with Arian or his wife. In Downes's (2014) estimation, Bronfenbrenner's "accounts offer little understanding of system blockage and displacement" (p. 40). As seen in this study, all of the parents and guardians recognized the importance of being able to speak, read and write other languages such as Urdu and English, but they also valued their home language and wanted the school to support it. While teaching Pashto seemed to have been beyond the capabilities of the school, teachers could have allowed and encouraged students to codeswitch between languages. However, most of the teachers discouraged the use of Pashto at school. Furthermore, because of circumstances, in this study, guardians coming from low-income families and being unable to attend school due to war and conflict, could not support their children in ways that a parent or guardians who had

completed schooling might have. Thus, the study raises questions regarding Bronfenbrenner's framework of microsystems of the home and school working in harmony to support children's learning.

Similarly, as mentioned previously, while Bronfenbrenner's theory tends to emphasize microsystems, some scholars indicate that it also views these microsystems through a somewhat narrow lens. Mercon-Vergas, Lima, Rosa, and Tudge (2020) noted that in much of Bronfenbrenner's writing, he "argued that proximal process have positive effects" (p. 3) believing these proximal processes are "necessarily positive" (p. 8). For example, while Bronfenbrenner (2001) acknowledged negative "patterns of parental behavior" (p. 6968) such as abuse or neglect, he viewed them "as disrupting proximal processes and not as proximal processes themselves" (Mercon-Vergas et al., 2020, p. 8). Mercon-Vergas et al. (2020) noted that, unfortunately, there are environments that are predictable across both time and space, where interactions between child and guardian or child and teacher "are not only negative but also becoming increasingly complex in their negativity" (p. 8), such as abusive parent-child relations, or the way teachers treat students who are tracked low, or performing below expectations. In light of this, Mercon-Vergas et al. (2020) propose the term "inverse proximal processes," defined as "enduring forms of detrimental interactions in the immediate environment that take places over extended periods of time on a fairly regular basis, becoming increasingly more complex" (p. 9).

In the case of Harun and Arman, I believe they were in an environment that could be described as "inverse proximal processes." Mercon-Vergas et al. (2020) provided examples of inverse proximal processes that seem quite harsh, and extreme, such as abusive parents or teachers that degrade their students based on the student's performance. However, I believe it

can also describe more subtle form of detrimental interactions in the immediate environments. I would describe such an environment as not being able to provide what one needs to reach his or her potential. For example, Arman's and Harun's parents and guardians wanted the best for both of them and wanted to see them succeed. Furthermore, they believed they were providing the support the children needed to do well in school. In addition, their teachers also maintained they were supporting both children and wanted them to make progress in learning. In other words, neither the guardians nor the teachers believed that were behaving in ways that could be described as negative or detrimental to the children's wellbeing or to their progress in their learning.

However, despite this, neither the parents and guardians nor the teachers appeared able to provide the additional or type of support both children needed to make progress in their learning. Harun's chores at home including running errands and taking care of the livestock, kept him occupied and tired as the work was physically demanding. This is not to say that what the female focal children did at home was less demanding. For example, the tutoring Seemena provided to the children in her community required a great deal of patience as she explained and guided the children to complete their homework or read from the Quran. During the tutoring, I would see her regularly use her hand to wipe the sweat from her forehead. Similarly, Safa also put in effort and came up with different strategies to encourage and teach her sibling and the neighbour's child, and teach the Duas to her own father. However, the difference between Harun's and female focal children work and activities is that for the females their activities and work supported them in their school literacy, while for Harun it did not. In other words, the work Harun did surrounding the livestock did not assist him in school literacy. However, in the case of the female children, the tutoring, frequently referencing printed materials in Urdu and English

most likely enhanced their school literacy skills as it related to reading and writing in Urdu, English and Quranic reading. In terms of Bronfenbrenner's concept of mesosystem, in the case of the female focal children, the microsystem of the home and school were somewhat congruent as it related to reading and referencing print materials. However, for the male focal children, this level of continuity between home and school (that existed for the female focal children) did not exist. At school, they often engaged in tasks and assignments that were beyond their level, and at home and in the community, other than practicing their Separah, they did not reference print literacy.

Harun was also growing up without his immediate family and generally lacked the presence of adults who checked on him or asked about his progress in school. Similarly, Arman's time at home was not optimized for his learning, as there was no adult at home to guide him. The only adult available was Arman's mom and she was busy with taking care of the household chores and caring for the younger child. As mentioned previously, despite the fact that he had plenty of time, I did not see him working on his homework nor did Mrs. Aisha. In part, because of their financial situation, both families could not provide the support the children needed to do well in school. Arian and his sons had to work to maintain the family's hay business and they believed they were providing vital support to Arman by sending him to school and ensuring he attended his Quranic classes. Similarly, Harun's uncle believed he was supporting Harun to the best of his ability by ensuring he attended school and went to Quranic class and by encouraging him to work on his homework on his own. As stated earlier, Harun also lived in a large extended family with his uncles, and the livestock were essential to their financial situation. For instance, paid labor was not always available so the livestock provided a source of income and food. While the female focal children were also in a difficult and similar financial

situation, there were available adults who inquired and asked about their schoolwork. In the case of Safa, she had an older sister to help with homework. Seemena's father, Dawud, and her brother asked Seemena regularly to ensure she completed homework, and they asked about her performance in school. In essence, their parents guided them and asked about their schoolwork to ensure they completed it.

In terms of school, Harun and Arman's teachers expected them to learn and complete the assignments, that neither child could do so. They were constantly given assignments and tasks that were beyond their abilities and were left mostly on their own to complete them. Thus, the children turned to copying from their classmates. However, the children also engaged in productive strategies, such as, using resources around them, like posters to work on assignments. For instance, Harun tried to use his first language to try to complete some assignments, but as mentioned, this approach was curtailed when the teachers noticed he was doing this. The teachers believed they were supporting their students, including Harun and Arman, by preventing them from using Pashto (in the case of Harun) or continuously giving them assignments that they knew were beyond their abilities. For example, both Mrs. Aisha and Mrs. Zara indicated that neither Harun nor Arman could complete most of their assignments. This type of support or behavior was not helping the focal children make progress, and it was even hindering their progress. To summarize, both the teachers and parents and guardians believed they were supporting the male focal children, and they were supporting them in the ways they could, given their circumstances. However, neither the guardians nor the teachers were able to provide these two children with the type of support they needed to make progress in their learning.

Looking at the macrosystem of the focal children's world, it is hard to deny the dominant role of English. As seen in this study, all of the focal children stated that they enjoyed their

English classes, despite acknowledging that it was hard for them to understand their teachers when they spoke it. For instance, Safa wanted more English to be used in school, and Arman and Harun both mentioned English as their favorite subject. Teachers, similarly, kept stressing the importance of English and kept conveying to students, including the focal children, that they needed to learn English if they wanted to succeed. For example, teachers frequently citied English as an international language of the world. Mrs. Hajar mentioned that English is the language of science and technology. Mrs. Madinah, Safa's Urdu teacher, mentioned that Afghan students particularly struggled with Urdu grammar and writing, compared to English, because students were exposed to English print much more. She stated, "They learn many subjects so, social studies, English, science, in English, but Urdu, Urdu is a single subject" (Interview, January 24, 2018).

Parents and guardians similarly indicated the importance of English. As seen earlier, Arian indicated that Arman can learn English after finishing the Afghan School. As mentioned previously, Sajjad stated that English is used everywhere in the world and wanted his children to learn it. Likewise, Dawud mentioned that more letters and texts were in English, compared to other languages. In the community, the focal children saw an abundance of signs in English. For example, signs such as "PAK Pasta-PAK REFRESHMENT POINT", "SHALMAN MOBILE'S", or "NO PARKING" were very common in the bazaar. Focal children passed by these signs daily as they would accompany me to their homes. Some of the stores' signs used the Roman alphabet, even though the names were in Urdu. For instance, as Figure 6.1 shows the store sign is in the Roman alphabet, and it translates as "Chili House." This sign could have been written in Urdu script, but in Brishna and throughout Islamabad, it was also common to find Urdu signs written in the Roman alphabet.

Figure 6.1 Store Sign in Brishna

School advertisement signs were also common in Brishna. Almost all of the signs mentioned that the medium of instruction at the school was English, which was seen as an advantage. As a result, the children were growing up in an environment that stressed the importance of English as the language of power, mobility and social and economic advancement. Pennycook (2009) highlights this, stating:

> English is all too often assumed to be a language that holds out promise of social and economic development to all those who learn it, a language of equal opportunity, a language that the world needs in order to be able to communicate. (p. 116)

Pennycook (2009) illustrates potently the sentiment that existed in Brishna. He also indicates that these assumptions about English are common and misleading. He notes, "It is a language which creates barriers as much as it presents possibilities" (Pennycook, 2009, p. 116). For example, as seen in the current study, the focal children's understanding of school subjects could have been

much greater if these subjects were taught in Urdu or Pashto, both of which were languages that the focal children were familiar with. Tollefson (2000) states that "the spread of English also contributes to significant social, political, and economic inequalities" (p. 8). As noted previously, Habeebullah was in part critical of English because he felt that it was the only subject employers asked about. He mentioned that if the potential employee did well in English and had gotten good marks in that subject, they would be able to get a job, otherwise they would not. As seen in Chapter 4, Mrs. Hajar also believed that English instruction in private schools is much better, as English is used much more there, and students in those schools are thus able to answer comprehension questions with little or no assistance. At the same time, she acknowledged that those schools are very expensive and many families cannot afford them. Habibullah's and Mrs. Hajar's concern is captured in Tollefson's (2000) words, which state that, for "those who do not have access to high-quality English language education, the spread of English presents a formidable obstacle to education, employment, and other activities requiring English proficiency" (p. 9). To summarize, through Bronfenbrenner's theory, I was able to see how the role of English in society permeated the children's, parents', teachers', and the community members' beliefs regarding upholding and emphasizing English.

Revisiting the Literature Review

The findings from this study are consistent with the literature on the topics of language barriers, children as literacy supporters, and storytelling practices. As in the studies conducted by Aydin and Kaya (2019) and Dryden-Peterson (2003), where language barriers in first asylum countries affected the refugee students' understanding of learning, the male focal children in this study also struggled with language barriers at school and that struggle negatively affected their

understanding of lessons' content. Similar to the findings of Perry (2014) and Millikin-Lynch (2009), the female focal children in this study played an essential role as literacy brokers, as they assisted their parents, siblings, and other children. Safa taught her father the Duas and helped him understand the meaning of the Urdu and English print she read from the television screen. Seemena read all the letters that came into her home and translated them for her family. She also served as Dawud's translator when he needed to speak to Urdu speakers. Similarly, the children in this study engaged in codeswitching and translanguaging practices (Garcia, 2009) to help make sense of what they learned at school, despite the fact that teachers did not encourage this. The findings from this study also echo Strekalova-Hughes and Wang (2019) and the importance of storytelling for refugee children and families. For instance, Naseehath storytelling was an important literacy practice in the home and one that was used by parents and guardians to pass on the importance of education, the importance of having good manners, and other moral lessons to their children.

This study adds insights into the role of faith in the language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees. While studies have explored the role of faith in children's and immigrants' literacy practices (Gregory et al., 2013; Souza, Kwapong, & Woodham, 2012), there is also a need for studies that specifically focus on the role of faith in the language and literacy practices of refugees. As seen in this study, faith was an integral part of the children's home and community literacy and language practices, and was observed as children practiced the Separah, Quran, or read religious supplications. In addition, I have found no studies that have specifically focused on the role of gender in refugee students' language and literacy practices and achievements in first asylum countries. For example, as was seen in this study, there was a significant difference in the literacy achievement between male and female focal children. The

findings from the current study align with other literature that has indicated that females tend to do better in academic tasks when compared to males (Berthold, 2000; Mosselson, 2007). However, the current study also shed light on the factors that may have contributed to females performing better in school. As described, the male children in this study lacked available adults at home who inquired or questioned them about their learning in school, while the female children had available adults to focus on their studies. At the same time, it is important to note that the female focal children were older than the male focal children. Thus gender, along with the role of age, is an important consideration. The lack of attention to these areas in refugee literacy and language practices is a visible gap in the literature that requires further research to help inform how teachers understand and support the language and literacy practices of refugees in their classrooms.

Implications

For Policymakers

Supporting Refugees' Education in First Asylum Countries

Many refugees face barriers to accessing education in first asylum countries. They are barred from participating in the education of the first asylum country or there are a limited number of schools that will accept them, and of these schools, the quality of education is often poor. The Afghan School discussed in this study had an important impact on the Afghan refugee children and families; however, it was reliant on donations to run as it did not receive any governmental funding. With additional assistance, schools like the Afghan School can do even more to support refugees in their first asylum country. For example, schools could provide evening classes for parents who would like to learn the dominant language of the community.

One of the major challenges between teachers and parents in the current study was the language barrier. An Urdu class might help some parents/guardians learn enough Urdu so they could speak to the teachers and learn how their children are progressing (without feeling intimated). Of course, such a class may be challenging as it would require various people and resources (teachers, volunteers, funding, etc.), but it would be an important goal whenever possible. Being able to speak the language of the host country is an important asset as parents and guardians understand that "host-country language is a powerful instrument used . . . to acquire and integrate the cultural norms, values and beliefs of their new social environment" (Gorodzeisky, Sarid, Mirsky, & Slonim-Nevo, 2014, p. 714). Furthermore, such a class might also help some parents in other important ways, such as finding work or communicating with others to locate resources in their new setting. One way to do this might be having teacher candidates at the universities volunteer to teach these classes at schools that serve refugees. This would both help the teacher candidates gain an important teaching experience and would be an essential service to the refugees.

Support for Refugees' First Language Maintenance and Development

While learning the dominant language of the host country is essential for refugees, it is also important to support refugees' first language maintenance. As seen in the current study, although the families exclusively spoke in Pashto at home, they were concerned that their children were growing up in Pakistan without learning how to read and write in their home language, and for the most part, they lacked the ability to teach that. As such, the parents were in favor of having a class at the Afghan School that would teach their children how to read and write in Pashto. Some of the parents and guardians also believed some of the academic subjects, such as social studies, or science could be taught in Pashto to help students better comprehend

the subjects. Creating such a class at the Afghan School, may have been beyond the capability of the school, especially since it did not have enough Pashto speaking teachers. However, teachers could have allowed and encouraged students to use their first language at school, such as in codeswitching, to further enhance and support their learning.

To reiterate, refugees are people who are forced to leave their homes in order to survive; they often leave behind their belongings, extended families, and other resources. Their home language is one of the resources that does not have to be left behind and can be used in first asylum and permanent resettlement countries. Host countries need to implement policies that allow students to speak in their native language and not restrict them to only speaking it at home. As seen in the current study, the teachers believed that speaking Pashto should be restricted to the home, which may have influenced some of the children's negative attitudes toward it. It is important for teachers to realize that a child's first language is an important learning resources for second language learning (Cummins, 2013) and a tool that helps them connect with their homeland, culture, *values*, and with each other (Wong-Fillmore, 2000). Anderson, McTavish, and Kim (2017) proposed that children's first language skills be established before learning a second language. Furthermore, if it is possible, providing a class for refugee students to learn their language can help refugee children keep in touch with their first language and develop their reading and writing skills in their first language.

Supporting Teachers Through Professional Development

Policymakers also may need to provide teachers with some professional development opportunities at little or no cost, especially to charity and refugee-based schools in first asylum countries. The teachers in this study could have benefitted from consistent professional development, especially as some of them were very new to teaching, and professional

development sessions could have helped them work more effectively with students. For example, professional development training dedicated to working with students who struggle may have helped teachers like Mrs. Aisha and Mrs. Zara implement strategies to support Harun and Arman in class, or create a plan that may have met some of the children's needs. Also, professional development sessions that focused on the benefits of maintaining student's home language and its benefits for second- and third-language learning may have helped challenge some of the teachers' views on the role of the first langauge at school. Topics such as translanguaging may have been particularly helpful to teachers in terms of realizing that this is a recognized and valuable practice that they should not discourage students from engaging in.

For Teachers

Learning From One Another

Teachers play an important role in refugee children's education as they work with them directly. As the current study highlighted, although teachers were dedicated and wanted their Afghan students to succeed academically, they mostly held deficit views of Afghan children and their families. This finding is consistent with previous research (Mosselson, 2011; Roy & Roxas, 2011; Thorstensson, 2015). However, as the study highlights, the parents valued literacy and education, and strove to support their children's learning. In order to bridge the gap, teachers can work with parents and guardians and collaboratively support children's learning. For example, teachers can ask parents and guardians what they would like their children to learn at school, in addition to their goals for students. Moreover, as a first step, I believe, it is important for teachers to work together and discuss their perspectives on refugee students and their families with each other in order to see the similarities and differences in their beliefs. Then, they can begin to explore the evidence they have (or do not have) in support of their beliefs. Teachers can learn

from one another and also critique and challenge one another. For instance, one of the schools I worked at served a large Somalian refugee population. There, some of the teachers viewed the students and their families much like the teachers in the current study did by believing that the parents did not value education and were illiterate. However, some of the other teachers at that school questioned these assumptions and asked their colleagues to search further to confirm that these beliefs were in fact based on evidence. As a former teacher, I can attest to the value of my colleagues' feedback in terms of my beliefs and teaching. Studies such as the current one (and others, such as Roy & Roxas, 2011) can be especially helpful to teachers and other professionals in terms of understanding that bridging the gap between school and home requires continued communication with parents and guardians. However, it is important to note that such conversations between teachers should not be seen as the solution, but rather as the beginning of working with families to support students' learning. These conversations also need to happen regularly and involve various stakeholders, such as social workers, cultural workers, and community members.

Learning from Parents/Guardians

When feasible, it can be productive to invite parents into the school and learn from them. For example, the parents and guardians in this study were not invited into their children's classrooms to talk to the students or to engage them in an activity. Parents could have engaged the students in a Naseehath storytelling, and a Pashto speaking student could have translated it to the rest of the class, including the teachers, who did not speak Pashto. However, teachers in this study mentioned that parents were not allowed in the classrooms. For example, Mrs. Zara stated that parents would "interrupt" (Interview, May 9, 2018) the class. In fact, this was exactly what was needed in order to challenge the teachers' beliefs about the families. Parents need to be

welcomed and approached by teachers in a way that enables them to see that the teachers at the school want to learn from them. Parents/guardians can choose to talk about their own learning, their children's learning, and their beliefs about various topics, including education. Then, teachers could also share information about their own beliefs regarding education and about the school and activities the children regularly engage in. Mrs. Zara, for instance, mentioned that the Afghan parents do not have a clear understanding of what their children are learning at school. She stated, "No allowed, so they didn't see that how the activity or that their kids are busy in that activities, they don't know, I think" (Interview, May 9, 2018). Therefore, if the teachers had met with the parents to learn from them while also showing the parents the type of learning the children engaged in at school, it may have challenged their deficit views of how parents and guardians support their children's learning.

Although families were not welcome to participate in classrooms, the practice of inviting parents and guardians to attend the Afghan School was not a new one. For example, parents and guardians attended special events such as Function Day (an event to celebrate the end of a school year) and other ceremonies. The teachers at the school could have used these opportunities to extend their interactions with the parents and engage with them more intentionally about their children's academic progress. In addition, if the Afghan School had invited parents/guardians to meet with teachers on a regular basis, Arian could have learned about the various subjects and activities Arman engaged in at school and may have realized that learning begins earlier than in fourth or fifth grade, as he believed. Moreover, if teachers engage more directly with the parents of their students, they might realize the extent of the literacy and learning activities taking place at home, such as practicing their Duas, reading the Quran, engaging in Naseehath storytelling, and even tutoring other children. This could have also dispelled pre-existing beliefs about the

children' approach to school work such as in this study where some of the teachers believed that Afghan children "open and close their backpacks at school" (Fieldnotes, February 21, 2018), meaning that the students only engaged in learning at school. It is also important to mention that meeting, collaborating, and engaging with parents needs to take place consistently and frequently.

Teachers may also need to adopt other strategies in order to reach and communicate with refugee families. As seen in this study, most of the parents/guardians were unable to read in Urdu or English. In this case, explaining to students what the notes contain may make it easier for students to convey the information to their families. For example, in Rah, Choi, and Nguyen's (2009) study, one of the schools that served Hmong refugee families in the United States called families, in addition to sending notes to inform them that they wanted to meet with them. At the same time, it is important for teachers to note that sometimes involving refugee parents/guardians in their children's learning may require a "mediator" or liaison between the school and refugee families, since putting the child in the role of mediator may cause tensions within the family. Hamilton (2004) emphasized the importance of a mediator in order to work effectively with refugee families. He stated that mediators are individuals "who need to have an in-depth understanding of both the culture of the school and that of the refugee family and child, can act as brokers to develop good communication channels between the child, school, and parents" (Hamilton, 2004, p. 89). A mediator may be especially effective if the mediator can speak the native language of the refugee families.

Understanding Literacies

Teachers and other professionals may also need to challenge their understanding of literacy and challenge the notions of illiteracy. Most teachers at the Afghan School referred to the Afghan families as "illiterate" because they had not learned how to read and write. While reading and writing are important skills, they are only one element of literacy. These families were not illiterate as they still practiced different forms of literacy such as oral storytelling at home. For example, Naseehath moral storytelling is a type of literacy that many of the families used as a means of instilling the value of education, stressing the importance of learning, and imparting good manners to their children. Thinking of the Afghan families as illiterate perpetuates a stereotype and leads to misconceptions, such as the parents did not value having an education and that the students only engaged in learning while at school. It is important for teachers to realize that literacy goes beyond the skills of reading and writing, and that the fact that students and or parents have limited reading and writing skills does not necessarily mean that they do not practice literacy or that they come from literacy impoverished homes. In other words, it is essential for teachers to think of literacies rather than literacy. This is important because "there are many different literacies that shift with contexts, texts, and the identities of people using literacy" (Rowsell & Walsh, 2011, p. 55). Some students enter school with different, but equally valid, forms of literacy than the ones privileged in school. In addition, many families and their children may have wanted to learn to read and write, but their life circumstances, such as poverty and the difficulties they encountered as refugees in a new country made it impossible for them to do so.

For Families

Parents/guardians may find this study useful in understanding that their children are learning and using important language and literacy skills as they perform tasks and activities at home and in the community. For example, when a child is translating between languages for a parent/guardian at home or when they are out in the community, they are using complex cognitive skills. Similarly, when a child is reading or helping a family member decode or understand printed materials, they are engaging in important literacy practices and learning.

This study may also help parents and guardians recognize that their children do indeed have valuable skills, knowledge, and experiences that they bring to the class, even if teachers do not acknowledge this or discourage the students from using them. Moreover, the teachers' lack of acknowledgement does not make these skills, knowledge, and experiences less significant or unworthy. For example, all of the children in the study were bilingual or plurilingual; however, the teachers did not seem to recognize the children's linguistic resources nor capitalize on them. Parents and guardians may need to come together to approach the school or teachers at the school to talk to them and voice their concerns. However, I do acknowledge that this is not an easy task for families, especially for those who, like the families in this study, believe they are not "qualified" to do so because they do not have reading and writing skills, and thus might be viewed as uneducated.

Limitations of the Study

This study has some limitations and caution is needed when interpreting the findings. First, the study included a small sample of four Afghan families that may not be representative of all Afghan refugee families. However, the small size allowed me to focus closely on the families

leading to in-depth understanding of their literacy practices. Similarly, through prolonged engagement, I was able to observe the focal children at home, school, and in the community. To mitigate issues inherent in researching a small sample size, I endeavoured to include families that differed in composition in order to increase confidence in my findings. For example, as seen in the study, Harun was living in a large extended family with his uncles and took care of the livestock daily while his family was back in Afghanistan. Safa, on the other hand, lived with her immediate family and had an older sister to help her with schoolwork, when needed. Future research would benefit from including a larger sample size in order to further understand the language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees. Similarly, it would be useful to conduct research on older Afghan refugee students to see if age makes a difference in terms of how refugee students view their first language and first language maintenance.

Another limitation is that the mothers' and female family members' perspectives are missing from the study. As explained earlier, Afghan cultural protocols prevented me from interviewing the children's mothers directly. Future research could involve female and male researchers working collaboratively in situations where cultural norms present gendered barriers to accessing study participants. In the case of this study, a female researcher would have been able to interview and observe the female family members. Lastly, I used interviews as a data collecting tool and there is a possibility that social desirability influenced the responses.

Future Research

As noted at the outset of the study, research on the language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees is lacking. It would be worthwhile to conduct further studies focusing on Afghan refugees in both first asylum and permanent resettlement countries with larger

participant groups. Such future studies would benefit from including a female researcher who can speak to and observe female participants. Furthermore, as evidenced from this study, there was a significant difference between the male and female focal children's engagement in literacy and in their achievement at school. For example, the female focal children excelled at school while the male focal children struggled with most of the literacy tasks. Future studies would benefit from looking closely at the role of gender in the academic achievement of Afghan refugee students.

Concluding Comments

The war and conflict in Afghanistan rages on for a fifth decade, while the United States' involvement in the country now enters its 19th year; this conflict has officially become "the longest war in US history" (Elliot, 2017, para. 1). This conflict has also generated a large number of refugees leaving Afghanistan, which is second only to those leaving Syria due to the country's civil war. Even though the United States has been among the nations accepting these refugees, it is important for the governments of the world to acknowledge their role in creating the mass exodus from nations like Afghanistan. In other words, countries like the United States have been in a position to advocate for the very refugees that are the result, in part, of the fact that "the United States is dropping bombs, selling arms, supporting dictators or otherwise contributing to instability or oppression" (Hilal & Shahshahani, 2018, para. 31). As Hilal and Shahshahani (2018) stated, "the United States was making appeals for refugees on the one hand while creating them with the other" (para. 37).

Despite the large scale of the Afghan diaspora in the world, there remains a void in research where the stories of Afghan and Afghan refugees, including their educational practices,

should be better represented. The current study is significant as it provides insight into the educational practices of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, who are "some of the most educationally marginalized in the world" (Dryden-Peterson, 2015, p. 4). This study may be the first to provide an understanding of the language and literacy practices of Afghan refugees, and their elementary school-aged children. I hope that this study challenges current beliefs among some educators that Afghan families and children are illiterate, and that they come from homes where literacy and learning are not valued. Instead, they practice myriad forms of literacy that teachers, parents, and policymakers should recognize and incorporate into educational policy and practice.

Earth is pressing against us, trapping us in the final passage.
To pass through, we pull off our limbs.
Earth is squeezing us. If only we were its wheat, we might die and yet live.
If only it were our mother so that she might temper us with mercy.
If only we were pictures of rocks held in our dreams like mirrors.
We glimpse faces in their final battle for the soul, of those who will be killed
by the last living among us. We mourn their children's feast.
We saw the faces of those who would throw our children out of the windows
of this last space. A star to burnish our mirrors.
Where should we go after the last border? Where should birds fly after the
last sky?
Where should plants sleep after the last breath of air?
We write our names with crimson mist!
We end the hymn with our flesh.
Here we will die. Here, in the final passage.
Here or there, our blood will plant olive trees.

(Darwish, 2015).

References

Alamyar, M. (2010). *Language controversy in Afghanistan: The sociolinguistics of Farsi Dari and Pashtu at Kabul University* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Purdue University.

Alexander, A. (2004). *A qualitative exploration of students' experiences with tutorial learning* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Northeast Louisiana University.

Amnesty International. (2019). *Afghanistan's refugees: Forty years of dispossession.* https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/06/afghanistan-refugees-forty-years/

Anderson, A., Hamilton, R., Moore, D., Loewen, S., & Frater-Mathieson, K. (2004). Education of refugee children: Theoretical perspectives and best practice. In R. Hamilton & D. Moore (Eds.), *Educational interventions for refugee children* (pp. 1-12). Routledge.

Anderson, J., McTavish, M., & Kim. J. (2017). Lessons from parents, and with parents in early literacy learning for migrant and refugee students. *DEL International Literacy Association.* http://literacyworldwide.org/pcr

Aydin, H., & Kaya, Y. (2019). Education for Syrian refugees: The new global issue facing teachers and principals in Turkey. *Educational Studies*, *55*(1), 46-71. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2018.1561454

Barton, D., & Hamilton, M. (1998). *Local literacies: Reading and writing in one community*. Routledge.

Barton, D., & Hamilton, M. (2000). Literacy practices. In D. Barton, M. Hamilton, & R. Ivanič (Eds.), *Situated literacies: Reading and writing in context* (pp. 7-15). Routledge.

Bellino, M. J., & Dryden-Peterson, S. (2019). Inclusion and exclusion within a policy of national integration: Refugee education in Kenya's Kakuma refugee camp. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 40*(2), 222-238. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2018.1523707

Berthold, S. M. (2000). War traumas and community violence: Psychological, behavioral, and academic outcomes among Khmer refugee adolescents. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, *8*(1-2), 15-46. http://doi.org/10.1300/J285V08N01_02

Bigelow, M. H. (2010). *Mogadishu on the Mississippi: Language, racialized identity, and education in a new land*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Bitsch, V. (2005). Qualitative research: A grounded theory example and evaluation criteria. *Journal of Agribusiness*, *23*(1), 75-91. https://doi.org/10.22004/ag.econ.59612

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). Contexts of child rearing: Problems and prospects. *American Psychologist, 34*(10), 844-850. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.34.10.844

Bronfenbrenner, U. (2001). The bioecological theory of human development. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences* (Vol. 10, pp. 6963-6970). Pergamon.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Sage.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Evans, G. W. (2000). Developmental science in the 21st century: Emerging questions, theoretical models, research designs and empirical findings. *Social Development*, *9*(1), 115-125. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00114

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In R. M. Lerner, & W. Damon (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology.* (6th ed.) pp. 793-828). Wiley & Sons.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Chatty, D., & Crivello, G. (2005). Children and adolescents in Sahrawi and Afghan refugee households: Living with the effects of prolonged armed conflict and forced migration. *Lessons learned report* (pp. 1-34). Refugee Studies Center, University of Oxford.

Chatty, D., Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., & Crivello, G. (2010). Identity with/out territory: Sahrawi refugee youth in transnational space. In D. Chatty (Ed.), *Deterritorialized youth: Sahrawi and Afghan Refugees at the margins of the Middle East* (pp. 37-84). Berghahn Books.

Correa-Velez, I., Gifford, S. M., & Barnett, A. G. (2010). Longing to belong: Social inclusion and wellbeing among youth with refugee backgrounds in the first three years in Melbourne, Australia. *Social Science & Medicine*, *71*(8), 1399-1408. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.07.018

Council of Europe. (2001). *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge University Press.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, *94*(1), 103-115. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design. Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Crivello, G., Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., & Chatty, D. (2005). *The transnationalisation of care: Sahrawi refugee children in a Spanish host program*. Refugee Studies Center.

Crul, M., Lelie, F., Biner, Ö., Bunar, N., Keskiner, E., Kokkali, I., Schneider, J., & Shuayb, M. (2019). How the different policies and school systems affect the inclusion of Syrian refugee children in Sweden, Germany, Greece, Lebanon and Turkey. *Comparative Migration Studies, 7*(1), 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0110-6

Cummins, J. (2013). BICS and CALP: Empirical support, theoretical status, and policy implications of a controversial distinction. In M. R. Hawkins (Ed.), *Framing languages and literacies: Socially situated views and perspectives* (pp. 10-23). Routledge.

Cun, A. (2020). Concerns and expectations: Burmese refugee parents' perspectives on their children's learning in American schools. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, *48*, 263-272. https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/10.1007/s10643-019-00983-z

Darwish, M. (2015). Earth presses against us. *Warscapes*. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from http://www.warscapes.com/poetry/refugees-some-poems

Davies, S. E. (2008). Realistic yet humanitarian? The comprehensive plan of action and refugee policy in Southeast Asia. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 8*(2), 191-217. https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcm025

Davies, M., & Webb, E. (2000). Promoting the psychological well-being of refugee children. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *5*(4), 541–554. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1359104500005004008

Dávila, L. T. (2017). Newly arrived immigrant youth in Sweden negotiate identity, language & literacy. *System*, 67, 1-11. http://doi:10.1016/j.system.2017.04.001

Downes, P. (2014). *Access to education in Europe: A framework and agenda for system change*. Springer. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-8795-6_3

Downes, P., Anderson, J., & Nairz-Wirth, E. (2018). Conclusion: Developing conceptual understandings of transitions and policy implications. *European Journal of Education, 53*(4), 541-556. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12305

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2003). *Education of refugees in Uganda: Relationships between setting and access*. (Working paper No. 9). Refugee Law Project.

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2011) *Refugee education: A global review*. UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/research/evalreports/4fe317589/refugee-education-global-review-sarah-dryden-peterson-november-2011.html

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2015). *The educational experiences of refugee children in countries of first asylum.* Migration Policy Institute.

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2016). Refugee education in countries of first asylum: Breaking open the black box of pre-resettlement experiences. *Theory and Research in Education*, *14*(2), 131-148. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878515622703

Due, C., & Riggs, D. (2009). Moving beyond English as a requirement to "Fit in": Considering refugee and migrant education in South Australia. *Refugee*, *26*(2), 55-64. http://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/32078

Duran, C. S. (2017). *Language and literacy in refugee families*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Elliott, M. (2017, July 6). *Afghanistan, the longest war in US history: Forgotten, but not gone*. Global Research. https://www.globalresearch.ca/afghanistan-the-longest-war-in-us-history-forgotten-but-not-gone/5597826

Erwin, S. C., Sewall, J., Tippens, J. A., Nyaoro, D., & Miamidian, H. M. (2020). Do not forget families and households when addressing urban refugee education. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *50*(1), 141-145. http://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2019.1626104

Ferguson, S. J. (2016). *Women and education: Qualifications, skills and technology.* Statistics Canada. https://lah.elearningontario.ca/CMS/public/exported_courses/HHS4U/exported/HHS4UU2/HHS4UU2A4/_teacher/Women%20and%20Education2.pdf

Gahungu, A., Gahungu, O., & Luseno, F. (2011). *Educating culturally displaced students with truncated formal education (CDS-TSE): The case of refugee students and challenges for administrators, teachers, and counselors*. National Council of Professors of Educational Administration.

Gall, M. D., Borg, W. R., & Gall, J. P. (1996). *Educational research: An introduction*. Longman.

Gao, X., and Lv, L. (2018). Motivations of Chinese learners of Japanese in mainland China. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, *17*(4), 222-235. http://doi:10.1080/15348458.2018.1441029.

Garcia, O. (2009) *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Geres, K. (2016). Resilience through storytelling in the EAL classroom. *TESL Canada Journal, 33*(10), 62-85. https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v33i0.1246

Given, L. M. (2008). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Aldine.

Gorodzeisky, A., Sarid, O., Mirsky, J., & Slonim-Nevo, V. (2014). Immigrant families: Mothers' and fathers' proficiency in a host-country language and psychological well-being of daughters and sons. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *45*(5), 713-727. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022113519859

Gregory, E. (2001). Sisters and brothers as language and literacy teachers: Synergy between siblings playing and working together. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, *1*(3), 301-322. https://doi.org/10.1177/14687984010013004

Gregory, E., Chudhouri, A., Ilankuberan, A., Kwapong, A., & Woodham, M. (2013). Practice, performance and perfection: Learning sacred texts in four faith communities in London. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 220, 27-48. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2013-0012

Gregory, E., Long, S., & Volk, D. (2004). *Many pathways to literacy: Young children learning with siblings, grandparents, peers and communities*. Routledge.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Sage.

Guo, Y., Maitra, S., & Guo, S. (2019). "I belong to nowhere": Syrian refugee children's perspectives on school integration. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, *14*(1), 89-105. https://doi.org/10.20355/jcie29362

Hamilton, R. (2004). Schools, teachers and education of refugee children. In R. Hamilton & D. Moore (Eds.), *Educational Interventions for Refugee Children* (pp. 83-96). Routledge.

Hampshire, K., Porter, G., Kilpatrick, K., & Kyei, P., Adjaloo, M., & Oppong, G. (2008). Liminal spaces: Changing inter-generational relations among long-term Liberian refugees in Ghana. *Human Organizations*, *67*(1), 25-36. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44127037

Hatch, J. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. State University of New York Press.

He, Y., Bettez, S. C., & Levin, B. B. (2017). Imagined community of education: Voices from refugees and immigrants. *Urban Education, 52*(8), 957-985. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085915575579

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. *Language in Society*, *11*(1), 49-76.

Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms.* Cambridge University Press.

Hervé, N. (2018). *Inclusion of Afghan refugees in the national education systems of Iran and Pakistan* [Background Paper]. Global Education Monitoring Group. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000266055

Hilal, M., & Shahshahani, A. (2018, March 15). *If we want to support refugees, we need to end the wars that create them*. Institute for Policy Studies. https://ips-dc.org/want-support-refugees-need-end-wars-create/

Hinton, R. (2000). Seen but not heard: Refugee children and models for intervention. In C. Panter-Brick & M. Smith (Eds.), *Abandoned children* (pp. 199-212). Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I. (1994). The interpretation of documents and material culture. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 393–402). Sage.

Hodes, M. (2000). Psychologically distressed refugee children in the United Kingdom. *Child Psychology and Psychiatry Review*, *5*(2), 57-68. https://doi.org/10.1017/S136064170000215X

Human Rights Watch. (2017, February 13). Pakistan coercion, UN complicity: The mass forced return of Afghan refugees. https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/02/13/pakistan-coercion-un-complicity/mass-forced-return-afghan-refugees

Institute for Economics & Peace. (2019). Global peace index 2019: Measuring peace in a complex world. http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2019/06/GPI-2019-web003.pdf

Isik-Ercan, Z. (2012). In pursuit of a new perspective in the education of children of the refugees: Advocacy for the "family" *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice, 12*(4), 3025-3038. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1002997.pdf

Jenner, C. (2015). Breaking the cycle: Education and the future for Afghan refugees. UNHCR: Norwegian Refugee Council. http://afghandata.org:8080/xmlui/handle/azu/17436?show=full

Jolliffee, D. M., & Wadhwa, D. (2018, October 24). Nearly 1 in 2 in the world lives under $5.50 a day. *World Bank Blogs*. https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/nearly-1-2-world-lives-under-550-day

Kanaya, T., & Santiago, M. (2019). Mother-child storytelling patterns among first-generation Latino dyads: Implications for improving home-school engagement in early literacy skills. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 1-9. http://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2019.1634573

Kanso, H. (2018, June 7). Poverty forces Syrian refugee children into work. *Reuters.* http://news.trust.org/item/20180612163253-5pd76/

Khan, A. K. (2002). Pushtunwali. In K. Christensen & D. Levinson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of modern Asia* (Vol. 4). Charles Scribner's Sons.

Khan, K. (2014 February 14). Victims of Soviet-Afghan war live forgotten in Pakistan refugee camp. *Radio Free Europe.* https://www.rferl.org/a/pakistan-soviet-afghan-refugees/25264055.html

Kiwan, D. (2019). Inclusion and citizenship: Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2019.1707308

Koyama, J. (2015). Learning English, working hard, and challenging risk discourses. *Policy Futures in Education, 13*(15), 608-620. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210315579547

Koyama, J., & Chang, E. (2019). Schools as refuge? The politics and policy of educating refugees in Arizona. *Educational Policy*, *33*(1), 136-157. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904818807319

Kuiper, E., & Volman, M. (2008). The web as a source of information for students in K–12 education. In J. Coiro, M. Knobel, C. Lankshear, & D. J. Leu (Eds.), *Handbook of research on new literacies* (pp. 241-246). Erlbaum.

Larson, J., & Marsh, J. (2005). *Making literacy real: Theories and practices for learning and teaching.* Sage.

Larson, J., & Marsh, J. (2015). *Making literacy real*. *Theories and practices for learning and teaching* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage.

Luo, R., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. (2017). Preschool book-sharing and oral storytelling experiences in ethnically diverse, low-income families. *Early Child Development and Care*, 1-18. http://doi:10.1080/03004430.2017.1400542

Lowicki, J. (2002). *Fending for themselves: Afghan refugee children and adolescents working in urban Pakistan*. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. https://www.refworld.org/docid/48aa82dc0.html

Lowicki, J., & Pillsbury, A. (2004). Supporting young refugees' participation in their own protection and recovery: Lessons learned. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *23*(2), 72-88. https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/23.2.72

Luff, P. (2010). *Ways of seeing and knowing children: A case study of early years practitioners' understandings and uses of child observation during their first year of employment.* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Anglia Ruskin University.

Maadad, N., & Matthews, J. (2018). Schooling Syrian refugees in Lebanon: Building hopeful futures. *Educational Review*. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2018.1508126

Mareng, C. D. (2010). Reflections on refugee students' major perceptions of education in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya. *Intercultural Education*, *21*(5), 473-481. https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2010.521392

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2011). Managing, analyzing, and interpreting data. In C. Marshall & G. B. Rossman (Eds.), *Designing qualitative research* (pp. 205-227). Sage.

McBrien, J. L. (2005). Educational needs and barriers for refugee students in the United States: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, *75*(3), 329-364. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543075003329

McBrien, J. L. (2011). The importance of context: Vietnamese, Somali, and Iranian refugee mothers discuss their resettled lives and involvement in their children's schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *41*(1), 75-90. http://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2010.523168

McCloskey, L. A., & Southwick, K. (1996). Psychosocial problems in refugee children exposed to war. *Pediatrics*, *97*(3), 394-397.

McTavish, M. (2007). Constructing the big picture: A working class family supports their daughter's pathways to literacy. *The Reading Teacher*, *60*(5), 476-485. http://.dx.doi.org/10.1598/RT.60.5.7

Mendenhall, M., Bartlett, L., & Ghaffar-Kucher, A. (2017). "If you need help, they are always there for us": Education for refugees in an international high school in NYC. *The Urban Review, 49*(1), 1-25. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-016-0379-4

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S., & Caffarella, R. S. (1999*). Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide*. Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2016). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. Wiley & Sons.

Miles, B. M., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Sage.

Millikin-Lynch, P. (2009). Family matters: how one Somali Bantu family supported themselves and an American teacher in literacy learning. In G. Li (ed.), *Multicultural families, home literacies and mainstream schooling* (pp. 51-70). Information Age.

Miller, E., Ziaian, T., & Esterman, A. (2018). Australian school practices and the education experiences of students with a refugee background: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *22*(4), 339-359. https://doi.org/10.1080/136033116.2017.1365955

Moll, L. C. (1994). Literacy research in community and classrooms: A sociocultural approach. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (4th ed.) (pp. 179-207). International Reading Association.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice*, *31*(2), 132-141. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405849209543534

Mosselson, J. (2011). Conflict, education and identity—Resettled youth in the United States. *Conflict and Education*, *1*(1), 1-7.

Mosselson, J. (2007). Masks of achievement: An experiential study of Bosnian female refugees in New York City schools. *Comparative Education*, *51*(1), 95-115. https://doi.org/10.1086/508637

Mruck, K., & Breuer, F. (2003). Subjectivity and reflexivity in qualitative research-The FQS issues. *Forum Qualitative Social Research, 4*(2), 23-28. http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-4.2.696

Nomura, K., & Yuan, R. (2019). Long-term motivations for L2 learning: A biographical study from a situated learning perspective. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 40*(2), 164-178. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1497041

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, *31*(3), 409-429. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587831

Norton, B., & Kamal, F. (2003) The imagined communities of English language learners in a Pakistani school. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *2*(4), 301-317. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327701JLIE0204_5

Nykiel-Herbert, B. (2010). Iraqi refugee students: From a collection of aliens to a community of learners. *Multicultural Education, 17*(30), 2-14. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ902693.pdf

Ogbu, J. U., & Simons, H. D. (1998). Voluntary and involuntary minorities: A cultural-ecological theory of school performance with some implications for education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *29*(2), 155-188. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.1998.29.2.155

O'Grady, K., Deussing, M., Scerbina, T., Fung, K., & Muhe, N. (2016). *Measuring up: Canadian results of the OECD PISA study.* Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. http://cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/365/Book_PISA2015_EN_Dec5.pdf

Ong'ayi, D. M. M., Dede Yildirim, E., & Roopnarine, J. L. (2019). Fathers', mothers', and other household members' involvement in reading, storytelling, and play and preschoolers' literacy skills in Kenya. *Early Education and Development, 31*(3), 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2019.1669125

Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The Qualitative Report, 13*(4), 695-705. https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol13/iss4/8

Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (2017). *Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning for justice in a changing world*. Teachers College Press. Sage.

Pennycook, A. (2010). English and globalization. In J. Maybin & J. Swann. (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to English Language Studies* (pp. 113-121). Routledge.

Perry, K. (2008). From storytelling to writing: Transforming literacy practices among Sudanese refugees. *Journal of Literacy Research*, *40*(3), 317-358. https://doi.org/10.1080/10862960802502196

Perry, K. (2009). Genre, contexts, and literacy brokering practices: Literacy brokering among Sudanese refugee families. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *44*(3), 256-276. http://dx.doi.org/10/1598?RRQ44.3

Perry, K. (2014). "Mama sign this note": Young refugee children's brokering of literacy practices. *Language Arts*, *91*(5), 313-325.

Picton, F., & Banfield, G. (2018). A story of belonging: Schooling and the struggle of students of refugee experience to belong. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2018.1552921

Prior, M. A., & Niesz, T. (2013). Refugee children's adaptation to American early childhood classrooms: A narrative inquiry. *The Qualitative Report*, *18*(39), 1-17. https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol18/iss20/1/

Psychology Notes HQ. (2013). "What is Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory?" *Psychology Notes HQ*. https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/ bronfenbrenner-ecological-theory/

Purcell-Gates, V. (1995). *Other people's words: The cycle of low literacy*. Harvard University Press.

Purcell-Gates, V. (1996). Stories, coupons, and the "TV guide": Relationships between home literacy experiences and emergent literacy knowledge. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *31*(4), 406-428. https://doi.org/10.1598/RRQ.31.4.4

Purcell-Gates, V. (2004). Ethnographic research. In N. K. Duke & M. H. Mallette (Eds.), *Literacy Research Methodologies* (pp. 92-113). Guilford Press.

Purcell-Gates, V. (2005). Foreword. In J. Anderson, M. Kendrick, M, T. Rogers, & S. Smythe (Eds.), *Portraits of literacy across families, communities, and schools* (pp. ix-xi). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Purcell-Gates, V. (2007). *Cultural practices of literacy: Case studies of language, literacy, social practice, and power*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rah, Y., Choi, S., & Nguyen, T. (2009). Building bridges between refugee parents and schools. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *12*(4), 347-365. http://doi.org/10.1080/13603120802609867

Razfar, A., & Gutierrez, K. (2003). Reconceptualizing early childhood literacy: The sociocultural influence. In N. Hall, J. Larson, & J. Marsh (Eds.), *Handbook of early childhood literacy* (pp. 34-47). Sage.

Richardson, V. (1996). The role of attitudes and beliefs in learning to teach. In J. Sikula (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 102-119). MacMillan.

Riojas-Cortez, M., Flores, B. B., Smith, H. L., & Clark, E. R. (2003). Cuéntame un cuento [Tell Me a Story]: Bridging family literacy traditions with school literacy. *Language Arts, 81*(1), 62-71.

Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford University Press.

Rosa, E. M., & Tudge, J. (2013). Urie Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development: Its evolution from ecology to bioecology. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *5*(4), 243-258. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12022

Rowsell, J., & Walsh, M. (2011). Rethinking literacy education in new times: Multimodality, multiliteracies, and new literacies. *Brock Education Journal*, *21*(1), 53-62. https://doi.org/10.26522/BROCKED.V21I1.236

Roy, L., & Roxas, K. (2011). Whose deficit is this anyhow? Exploring counter-stories of Somali Bantu refugees' experiences in "doing school." *Harvard Educational Review*, *81*(3), 521-542. http://dx.doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.3.w441553876k24413

Shapiro, S., Farrelly, R., & Curry, M. J. (2018). *Educating refugee-background students: Critical issues and dynamic contexts.* Multilingual Matters.

Shaw, J. A. (2003) Children exposed to war/terrorism. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review 6*(4), 237-246. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:CCFP.0000006291.10180.bd

Shire, W. (2013). Home. In A. Triulzi & R. L. McKenzie (Eds.), *Long journeys: African migrants on the road* (pp. xi-xii). Brill.

Sidhu, R., Taylor, S., & Christie, P. (2011). Schooling and refugees: Engaging with the complex trajectories of globalisation. *Global Studies of Childhood*, *1*(2), 92-103. http:dx.doi.org/10. 2304/gsch.2011.1.2.92

Song, K. (2016). "Okay, I will say in Korean and then in American': Translanguaging practices in bilingual homes." *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, *16*(1), 84-106. http:doi:10.1177/1468798414566705.

Souza, A., Kwapong, A., & Woodham, M. (2012). Pentecostal and Catholic churches in London –The role of ideologies in the language planning of faith lessons. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *13*(2), 105-120. http://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2012.678977

Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Doing participant observation.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge University Press.

Street, B. (2001). *Literacy and development: Ethnographic perspectives*. Routledge.

Strekalova-Hughes, E., & Wang, X. C. (2019). Perspectives of children from refugee backgrounds on their family storytelling as a culturally sustaining practice. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, *33*(1), 6-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/02568543.2018.1531452

Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Robben, A. C. (2000). Interdisciplinary perspectives on violence and trauma. In M. M. Suárez-Orozco, & A. C. Robben (Eds.), *Cultures under siege: Collective violence and trauma* (pp. 1-41). Cambridge University Press.

Tadesse, S., Hoot, J., & Watson-Thompson, O. (2009). Exploring the special needs of African refugee children in U.S. schools. *Childhood Education*, *85*(6), 352–356. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2009.10521400

Tandon, M. (2016). Resettlement struggles of Burmese refugee students in U.S. high schools: A qualitative study. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement, 11*(1), 1-29. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/jsaaea/vol11/iss1/4

Taylor, D., & Dorsey-Gaines, C. (1988). *Growing up literate: Learning from inner-city families*. Heinemann.

Taylor, S., & Sidhu, R. K. (2012). Supporting refugee students in schools: What constitutes inclusive education? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *16*(1), 39-56. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110903560085

Thorstensson, L. (2015). Learning English and 'smartness': Refugee students negotiate language, reception, and ability in school. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement*, *8*(1), 1-17. https:// 10.7771/2153-8999.1056

Tollefson, J. W. (2000). Policy and ideology in the spread of English. In J. K. Hall & W. G. Eggington (Eds.), *The sociopolitics of English language teaching* (pp. 7-12). Multilingual Matters.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (n.d.). Migrant/migration. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-humansciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/migrant/

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2017). Literacy rates continue to rise from one generation to the next (Fact Sheet No. 45). http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/fs45-literacy-rates-continue-rise-generation-to-next-en-2017_0.pdf

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (n.d.). *Refugee education strategy 2016-2018 Pakistan*. https://www.unhcrpk.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Pakistan-Education-Strategy-2016-18.pdf

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2010). Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees. https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/protection/basic/3b66c2aa10/convention-protocol-relating-status-refugees.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2016a.) *Missing out: Refugee education in crisis* [Report]. https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/publications/education/57d9d01d0/missing-refugee-education-crisis.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2016b, July 11). Refugee or migrant? Word choice matters. http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcrviewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2017). *Global appeal 2017 update: Precarious futures, shared responsibilities*. http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/ga2017/pdf/GA_2017%20Update%20Eng_Book_low-res.pdf

USA for UNHCR (2020). Refugee statistics (Refugee Facts) UN Refugee Agency. https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/statistics/

UNICEF. (2019). The Government of Afghanistan, education cannot wait, UNICEF and a coalition of UN, NGO partners and donors launch a multi-year education response programme to benefit ½ million children annually [Press Release]. https://www.unicef.org/rosa/press-releases/government-afghanistan-education-cannot-wait-unicef-and-coalition-un-ngo-partners

Uptin, J., Wright, J., & Harwood, V. (2013). 'It felt like I was a black dot on white paper': Examining young former refugees' experience of entering Australian high schools. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *40*(1), 125-137. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-012-0082-8

Vygotsky, L. S. (1962). *Thought and language* (E. Haufman & G. Vakar, Trans.). MIT Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Harvard University Press.

Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics 43*(5), 1222-1235. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.035.

Winthrop, R., & Kirk, J. (2008). Learning for a bright future: Schooling, armed conflict, and children's well-being. *Comparative Education Review*, *52*(4), 639-661.

Wong-Fillmore, L. (2000). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice*, *39*(4), 203-210. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3904_3

Yamashita, A. C. (2018). *Specific needs in literacy language learning of refugee children: A comparison of German and Canadian Syrian refugee families* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Toronto.

Yu, H. (2012). *The language learning of refugee students in Canadian public elementary and secondary schools.* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Western Ontario.

Zeus, B. (2011). Exploring barriers to higher education in protracted refugee situations: The case of Burmese refugees in Thailand. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 24*(2), 256-276. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fer011

Appendices

Appendix A

A.1 Parent's/Guardian's Consent Form

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Parent's/Guardian's Consent Form

Principal Investigator: Dr. Jim Anderson
Department of Language and Literacy Education
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia
(XXX) XXXXXX

Dear Parents/Guardians,

My name is Assadullah Sadiq. I am writing to invite you and your child to participate in a study looking at the ways in which young children in your community learn at home, school, and community. The research will focus on the children's learning activities. I am looking for four families to participate in this study. The study is part of the requirements for a PhD degree I am doing at the University of British Columbia.

The study will be carried out between January 2018 and May 2018. The study will include your participation in three interviews, weekly in-home visits, and weekly visit of your child's classroom, and your review of my observations and findings.

The interviews will take place at your home or a location of your choosing; one interview during the month of January 2018, and one interview during the month of March or April 2018 and the

last one during the month of May 2018. Each one will last approximately one hour each. In the interview, you will be asked to talk about your experiences with literacies and languages both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The interview will be audio-recorded and then transcribed. I will return summaries of the Pashto transcript to you to check for clarity and accuracy. All information will be kept in a locked office.

The observations will take place in your home on different days of the week and at different times, at your convenience, between January 2018 and May 2018 (once per week, for 18 weeks for approximately one to two hours) and will focus on the daily life activity within your home. In the home observations, I will be looking to understand how the day looks like for your child. For example, what happens at home, what activities does your child engage in when present at home? I will be specifically looking for activities or events related to language and literacy. These observations will take place only when your child is present and awake. If I am observing in your home and your child goes outside or to do errands, I will also follow your child outside or into the community. If I have any questions about the type of activities and behaviors I observe, I will ask you about them following the observation. If am present and family members do not want to be observed, he/she can simply leave the room or can be present but inform me that they would not like me to observe them.

During the observation sessions, I will take notes and photographs of what I am observing. I will also collect or take photos of any print your child produces during the activity. The photos will be developed and the notes will be transcribed. I will return summaries of the transcripts in Pashto to you to check for clarity and accuracy.

I will also be conducting three informal interviews with your child, over the course of the study. Each interview will be for an average of 20-40 minutes. The first interview with your child will take place at home, the second, and third interviews, may be conducted at home, at school, or in the community. The questions asked in these interviews will be regarding the literacy and language practices that your child engages in. Observation will also take place in your child's school each week and will be for approximately two hours and will focus on your child's learning related to literacy and language activities. I will be observing your child at school weekly over the course of the study. Thus, at school, I will be observing, and taking photos of your child and his/her artefacts that relate to literacy and language practices.

The final phases of the study will take place around May 2018. During this phase, I will give you a translated copy of the write up for your child and ask that you read through it and tell me about any information that is incorrect or missing.

The information shared in the interviews, and the written observation notes, as well as the audio recording transcriptions, will not include your or your child's name or other identifiable information for the report I will be preparing or for future publications. All documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the co-investigator's home. Computer files will be password protected. Confidential information will not be collected or exchanged via email. I will provide you with a copy of my final report to use for your own purposes.

As a student researcher who will be able to observe your child at home and in the community (e.g. mosque, store, community center, etc.), I am responsible and will report cases of abuse or neglect, if I have a reason to believe or observe that the child may be abused or neglected. I may report the case to the Department of Children and Families and or to the local police authority. Furthermore, because the study is taking within the community, and involves the home, school, and the community, anonymity cannot be guaranteed. That is, others may know of you and your child's participation in my study.

At the end of the study, you will be given $150 CAD (in local currency) to assist with purchasing any necessary items, such as blankets, cooking utensils, etc. You will also gain some valuable knowledge of your child's strengths as they apply to their early literacy development.

Included in this invitation and description of my project are the consent forms that you will need to complete if you agree to take part in this study. If you and your child decide to participate in this study, please complete the enclosed forms and return them to me in the envelope to the school, provided within a week of receiving them.

All forms of data, audio recordings and photographs will be used for my dissertation project. In addition, the data from this study may also be used for academic publication and conference presentations. The photographs and artefacts will be used within the dissertation, and may be used for academic publication and conference presentations.

All data will be saved indefinitely, for an unspecified amount of time. All data will also be encrypted and password protected. Data in the co-investigator (Assadullah Sadiq) laptop will be encrypted and password protected. Physical data will be saved within a UBC facility and will be locked in a filing cabinet. Audio recordings, including the interviews with you, your child, and the audio recordings of your child in school will all be saved indefinitely at a UBC facility, and the PI (principal investigator) will protect the security of the data. Furthermore, the artefacts, photos of artefacts, and photographs of you and your child will also be saved indefinitely at a UBC facility, similarly protected by the principal investigator. Any electronic file that includes the audio recording, pictures of artefacts, or photographs of you or your child will be encrypted and password protected. These audio recordings, and artefacts, may be used for academic purposes (conference presentations, academic papers, etc.) However, the audio recordings transcriptions will only be used, the audio recording itself will not be used. The pictures of artefacts and photographs may be used in conferences, and in academic papers.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. You have the right to not answer any questions and to withdraw from the interview with no consequences. If you have any questions concerning any aspect of this project, the procedures to be used or the nature of your involvement, please contact me, Assadullah Sadiq at (XXX) XXXXXX or email at XXXX. The principal investigator, Dr. Jim Anderson, can be contacted at (XXX) XXXXXX or at XXXX. If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at (XXX) XXXXXX or if long distance e-mail XXXX or call toll free (XXX) XXXXXX.

Respectfully,

Assadullah Sadiq
PhD Candidate
Department of Language and Literacy Education

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature also indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

I consent/I do not consent to [child's name] participation in the study titled, "Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" as described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to my participation [adult's name] in the study titled "Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" as described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to my home as the setting for the study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to photographs being taken during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to having interviews audio-taped during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

A.2 Child Assent Form

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Child Assent Form

(Child's name), I will be working to learn about the ways you and your (mom, dad, sister, brother, and others) help you learn when you are at home, when you are outside your home, and when you are at school.

I will visit with you once each week during the next 5 months to watch as you go about your normal activities. I will also be visiting you in your school once a week. I will also be going out in the community with you, if you are going out when I visit your home. I will also take pictures of you and your artefacts (drawing, writing, etc.) in your home, in the community, and at school. By visiting you in your home, school, and in the community, I would like to learn about what you do in these three places and how you learn. Each time I visit, it will take about an hour to an hour and half or two hours. I will use what I learn from watching you to write a report and it is possible that I will also write an article (or story) that I will share with teachers and other people who work with children like you. I will not use your real name in my report or elsewhere.

Do you agree (assent) to participate or work with me? Yes _____ No _____

NB: The assent form will be read aloud in Pashto and summarized and reworded appropriately according to the age of the child.

If yes, please fill out the following:

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

A.3 Teachers' Consent Form

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Teacher's Consent Form

Principal Investigator: Dr. Jim Anderson
Department of Language and Literacy Education
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia
(XXX)-XXXXXX

Dear Teachers,

My name is Assadullah Sadiq. I am writing to ask for your permission to interview and observe in your classroom, in a study looking at the ways in which young children in your community learn at home, school, and community. The research will focus on the children's learning activities. The study is part of the requirements for a PhD degree I am doing at the University of British Columbia.

The study will be carried out between January 2018 and May 2018. The study will include your participation in two interviews, and your review of my observations and findings. The total time required for participation will be approximately 40 hours, spread over a period of 5 months.

The interviews will take place at the school or a location of your choosing; one interview during the month of January 2018, and one interview during the month of April or May 2018 and will last approximately one hour each. In the interview, you will be asked to talk about your experiences with working with Afghan refugee students and their learning related to language and literacy. The interview will be audio-recorded and then transcribed. I will return summaries of the transcript to you to check for clarity and accuracy. All information will be kept in a locked cabinet.

The final phases of the study will take place around May 2018. During this phase, I will give you a translated copy of the interviews conducted with you and ask that you read through it and tell me about any information that is incorrect or missing.

The information shared in the interviews, and the written observation notes, as well as the audio recording transcriptions, will not include your name or other identifiable information for the report I will be preparing or for future publications. All documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the co-investigator's home. Computer files will be password protected. Confidential information will not be collected or exchanged via email. I will provide you with a copy of my final report to use for your own purposes.

The data from this study will be used for my dissertation project. In addition, the data from this study may also be used for academic publication and conference presentations.

All forms of data, audio recordings and photographs will be used for my dissertation project. In addition, the data from this study may also be used for academic publication and conference presentations. The photographs and artefacts will be used within the dissertation, and may be used for academic publication and conference presentations.

All data will be saved indefinitely, for an unspecified amount of time. All data will also be encrypted and password protected. Data in the co-investigator (Assadullah Sadiq) laptop will be encrypted and password protected. Physical data will be saved within a UBC facility and will be locked in a filing cabinet. Audio recordings, including the interviews with you, will all be saved indefinitely at a UBC facility, and the PI (principal investigator) will protect the security of the data. Any electronic file that includes the audio recording will be encrypted and password protected. These audio recordings may be used for academic purposes (conference presentations, academic papers, etc.) However, the audio recordings transcriptions will only be used, the audio recording itself will not be used.

Included in this invitation is the consent form that you will need to complete if you agree to take part in this study. If you decide to participate, please complete the enclosed form and return it to the principal's office within a week of receiving them.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. You have the right to not answer any questions and to withdraw from the interview with no consequences. If you have any questions concerning any aspect of this project, the procedures to be used or the nature of your involvement, please contact me, Assadullah Sadiq at (XXX) XXXXXX or email at XXXX. The principal investigator, Dr. Jim Anderson, can be contacted at (XXX) XXXXXX or at XXXX. If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at (XXX) XXXXXX or if long distance e-mail XXXX or call toll free (XXX) XXXXXX.

Respectfully,

Assadullah Sadiq

PhD Candidate
Department of Language and Literacy Education

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature also indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

I consent/I do not consent to my participation [teacher's name] in the study titled "Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" as described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to photographs being taken during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to having interviews audio-taped during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to having audio-taped recordings of my classroom during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

A.4 School Security Guard Consent Form

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

School Security Guard Consent Form

Principal Investigator: Dr. Jim Anderson
Department of Language and Literacy Education
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia
(XXX) XXXXXX

Dear School Security Guard,

My name is Assadullah Sadiq. I am writing to ask for your permission to interview you, in a study looking at the ways in which young Afghan children in your community learn at home, school, and community. The research will focus on the children's learning activities. The study is part of the requirements for a PhD degree I am doing at the University of British Columbia.

The study will be carried out between January 2018 and May 2018. The study will include your participation in one interview. The total time required for participation will be approximately one hour.

The interview will take place at the school or a location of your choosing, during the month of April 2018. In the interview, you will be asked to talk about the Afghan School, your work and experiences with Afghan refugees, and the school's curriculum in relation to literacy and language. The interview will be audio-recorded and then transcribed.

I will also give you a written transcript of the interview conducted with you and ask that you read through it and tell me about any information that is incorrect or missing.

All information will be kept in a locked cabinet. The information shared in the interview, will not include your name or other identifiable information for the report I will be preparing or for future publications. All documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the co-investigator's home. Computer files will be password protected. Confidential information will not be collected or exchanged via email. I will provide you with a copy of my final report to use for your own purposes.

Included in this invitation is the consent form that you will need to complete if you agree to take part in this study. If you decide to participate, please complete the enclosed form and return it to me within a week of receiving it.

All forms of data, audio recordings transcriptions and photographs will be used for my dissertation project. In addition, the data from this study may also be used for academic publication and conference presentations. The photographs and artefacts will be used within the dissertation, and may be used for academic publication and conference presentations.

All data will be saved indefinitely, for an unspecified amount of time. All data will also be encrypted and password protected. Data in the co-investigator (Assadullah Sadiq) laptop will be encrypted and password protected. Physical data will be saved within a UBC facility and will be locked in a filing cabinet.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. You have the right to not answer any questions and to withdraw from the interview with no consequences. If you have any questions concerning any aspect of this project, the procedures to be used or the nature of your involvement, please contact me, Assadullah Sadiq at (XXX) XXXXXX or email at XXXX. The principal investigator, Dr. Jim Anderson, can be contacted at (XXX) XXXXXX or at XXXX. If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at (XXX) XXXXXX or if long distance e-mail XXXX or call toll free (XXX) XXXXXX.

Respectfully,

Assadullah Sadiq
PhD Candidate
Department of Language and Literacy Education

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature also indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

I consent/I do not consent to my participation [teacher's name] in the study titled "Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" as described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to having interviews audio-taped during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

A.5 School Founder Consent Form

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

School Founder Consent Form

Principal Investigator: Dr. Jim Anderson
Department of Language and Literacy Education
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia
(XXX) XXXXXX

Dear School Founder,

My name is Assadullah Sadiq. I am writing to ask for your permission to interview you, in a study looking at the ways in which young Afghan children in your community learn at home, school, and community. The research will focus on the children's learning activities. The study is part of the requirements for a PhD degree I am doing at the University of British Columbia.

The study will be carried out between January 2018 and May 2018. The study will include your participation in one interview. The total time required for participation will be approximately one hour.

The interview will take place at the school or a location of your choosing, during the month of April 2018. In the interview, you will be asked to talk about the Afghan School, its mission, your work and experiences with Afghan refugees, and the school's curriculum in relation to literacy and language. The interview will be audio-recorded and then transcribed.

I will also give you a written transcript of the interview conducted with you and ask that you read through it and tell me about any information that is incorrect or missing.

All information will be kept in a locked cabinet. The information shared in the interview, will not include your name or other identifiable information for the report I will be preparing or for future publications. All documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the co-investigator's home. Computer files will be password protected. Confidential information will not be collected or exchanged via email. I will provide you with a copy of my final report to use for your own purposes.

Included in this invitation is the consent form that you will need to complete if you agree to take part in this study. If you decide to participate, please complete the enclosed form and return it to me within a week of receiving it.

All forms of data, audio recordings transcriptions and photographs will be used for my dissertation project. In addition, the data from this study may also be used for academic publication and conference presentations. The photographs and artefacts will be used within the dissertation, and may be used for academic publication and conference presentations.

All data will be saved indefinitely, for an unspecified amount of time. All data will also be encrypted and password protected. Data in the co-investigator (Assadullah Sadiq) laptop will be encrypted and password protected. Physical data will be saved within a UBC facility and will be locked in a filing cabinet. Audio recordings, including the interviews with you, will all be saved indefinitely at a UBC facility, and the PI (principal investigator) will protect the security of the data. Any electronic file that includes the audio recording will be encrypted and password protected. The audio recording may be used for academic purposes (conference presentations, academic papers, etc.) However, the audio recordings transcriptions will only be used, the audio recording itself will not be used.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. You have the right to not answer any questions and to withdraw from the interview with no consequences. If you have any questions concerning any aspect of this project, the procedures to be used or the nature of your involvement, please contact me, Assadullah Sadiq at (XXX) XXXXXX or email at XXXX. The principal investigator, Dr. Jim Anderson, can be contacted at (XXX) XXXXXX or at XXXX. If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at (XXX) XXXXXX or if long distance e-mail XXXX or call toll free (XXX) XXXXXX.

Respectfully,

Assadullah Sadiq
PhD Candidate
Department of Language and Literacy Education

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature also indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

I consent/I do not consent to my participation [teacher's name] in the study titled "Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" as described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I consent/I do not consent to having interviews audio-taped during this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B

B.1 Interview Questions with Parent/Guardian

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Interviews with Parent/Guardian

Notes:

- Interviews will be conducted in Pashto
- Interviews will take place at parents/guardians' home or a place of their choosing
- Interviews will be for an average of an hour
- Some of these questions deal specifically with politics, motivation for leaving and continued ties to Afghanistan. In the Pashtun culture, it is a custom that you begin a study with a genuine interest in understanding the participants, their situation, and their life stories. This is a form of respect that is expected to be shown in order to become part of the community and for the community to see you as a trusted and caring member.

First Interview:

1. Assalyum alaikum, thank you very much for taking part in my study, I really appreciate it. I would like to understand you and your family better in this interview. Could you

please tell me a little about your family? How many members are there? What are their age ranges? What do they do?

2. Do you still have family members or relative back in your province?

   If yes- how do you communicate with them?

3. Can you please tell me about your life in Islamabad? How do you think life is similar or different in Islamabad, Pakistan than the life you lived in your province?
4. What kind of work do you do now? What kind of skills does your current job in Islamabad, Pakistan require? What did you do for work in your province? What kind of skills did the job you do require in your province? What kind of work do most people do in your province?
5. What are some of the challenges you have faced living in Pakistan? Have you received any assistance in Pakistan with any of those challenges?

   If yes- who provided the assistance? Is it enough? Is it ongoing assistance?

   If no- why not?

6. What kind of things do you here for enjoyment?
7. What are your hopes and dreams for yourself? For your family? For your children? For your country?

Second Interview:

1. Assalyum Alaikum, how was your day today? Are you working on anything at home (painting, organizing, fixing)? Is it okay and possible for me to help you with the task? Ok in sha Allah (God willing) in this interview, I would like to continue learning more about you, your educational and learning experiences, and some of things you do at home as a family, including with your children.

2. Can you please tell me about your schooling experiences when you were a child? When you were an adult?

   If parent/guardian has schooling experience: what kind of things did you learn in school? How long was the school day? How far was the school from your home?

   If parent/guardian has no schooling experience: why not? How do you feel about not been able to go to school? Could having school experience been helpful to you in your life? If yes, how?
3. Did you attend any other type of school (religious school, such as Madrasa) when you were a child? How about when you were an adult? What was your experience in such a school? What kind of things did you use to do in such a school?
4. How did people in your village learn? Who taught in your village? What did they teach? What are some things that you remember from those experiences?
5. What do you think are some of the most important things that one gains from going to school (religious and formal school)? Why do you think these skills and practices are important?
6. What does literacy mean to you?
7. You mentioned that literacy means _____ to you, are there things you do at home that involves literacy? Can you tell me about one activity that involves literacy? Who does it involve? What do the people involved do?
8. How did the people in your community, in your province, use literacy? Can you give me an example of an event where literacy was/ or would have been used in your province?
9. Can you please tell me about your child's school? What do you think about your child being able to go to school? What is he/she learning at school? Why are these things

(learned at school) important? Where are these things important? Would these have been important in Afghanistan too? How do you think your child's schooling experience would be different or same if you were in Afghanistan?

10. Can you read? What do you read? If no, would you tell me why you did not learn to read?

    If yes: For each text or practice mentioned, ask:

    a. In what language do you read this text?
    b. Why do you read this text/why do you do this?
    c. Work? Church? Shopping for family?
    d. Who else takes part in reading this text?
    e. Is it read to a child?
    f. How important is reading this text to your daily life activities?

11. Can you write? If no, would you tell me why you did not learn to write?

If yes, for each text or practice mentioned, ask:

    a. In what language do can you write this text?
    b. Why do you write this text/why do you do this?
    c. Work? Church? Shopping for family?
    d. Who else takes part in writing this text?
    e. Does this writing involve a child in any way?
    f. How important is writing this text to your daily life activities?

12. What language do you speak at home? What else do you hope to be able to do in this language? What do you hope your child is able to do in this language (read, write)? How important is this language to you? Tell me more about why it is/is not important to you?
13. Is your language used in school and if so, how and when is it used? Is it enough? What do you think the school can do to support your language?
14. Does your child get homework or any school related assignments? If yes- what do you think of it? Are you able to help your child with the homework?

If yes- how do you help? Can you describe one assignment where you have helped your child?

If no- why not? Who helps your child at home when he/she needs it?

15. Is it easy or hard to speak (and read and write) your language in Islamabad, Pakistan? Why or why not?

Third Interview: (Partial list- questions will be added near the timing of this interview in regards to things I may have missed, things that need further clarification, etc.)

1. Assalyum Aalikum, how are you? How was your day today? In sha Allah (God willing) today we will conduct our last interview. Today, I will continue to ask some more questions, ask for some clarifications, or things I may have missed. We will also talk about your opinion in regards to the war in Afghanistan how it has affected education- including language and literacy. Today, you will also have a chance to ask me any questions, or concerns in sha Allah (God willing).
2. Could you please talk about how the war in Afghanistan affected you and your family?
3. What role do you think the war played in your and your family's educational goals?
4. Afghanistan, as you may know has one of the lowest literacy rates in regards to people being able to read and write? What do you think this the cause of this? What do you think can be done to improve this? What can Afghans do to improve this? What can others do to improve this?
5. Do you believe that literacy would benefit the Afghan people in Afghanistan? If so, how? If not, why not?
6. How about language, do you think the situation in Afghanistan affected your Pashto? If yes, how? If no, why not?

7. What do you think is the status of Pashto in Afghanistan? How about in Pakistan? What do you think you will do to keep yourself, family and children in touch with Pashto?

B.2 Interview Questions with Child

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Interviews with Child

Notes:

- All interviews with the focal child will be in Pashto.
- Interviews with the focal child may take place at home, at school, or in the community.

First Interview:

1. Assalyum alikaum _____, my name is Assadullah and I would like to know more about you, and what kids your age like to do. Can you show me your room or one of your favorite toys?
2. (Once the child take me to his room or shows me his/her toy) Can you tell me about me more about your room? What is this? What do you have here? Can you tell me about this toy? What is it for? How to you play with it? How did you get it?
3. What other toys do you have? Is it okay if you show them to me? Who gave them to you?
4. When you are home, what do you like to do? Why do you like to do this? (If an object is used for the activity- Can you show it to me?)

5. What's are some of the games that you play alone? Did you learn it by yourself or did someone show it to you?

   If the child learned it by his/her self: how did you learn it? How do you play it alone?

   If the child learned it from others: Who taught you this game? What did they do to show you the game?
6. What do you like to play with your friends? Can you teach me one of the games you play with your friends so that I can play with you? What do you think I should do so that I can play it similar to you (to be proficient in the game)?
7. If the child mentions a game where scores or multiple members are involved- So, how do you keep tracks in this game? How do you know which boy or girl is in the lead?
8. Do you like being outside too? Do you go outside a lot or not too much?
9. If you could be home all day or outside all day, where would you want to be? Why?
10. Do you have any favorite place outside that you visit or would like to visit outside? What do you like about that place? What can one do there?
11. What do you enjoy doing at school? Why do you like doing them?
12. What are some classes that you like in school? Why do you like these classes? Can you show me something that you did in these classes?

Second Interview:

1. Assalyum alaikyum _____, how was your day today? How about your day at school?
2. What did you do at school that you enjoyed today? Why did you enjoy doing that (activity, schoolwork, etc.)?
3. Can you show me some things (or things you have done at school)? Can you tell me a little about this? What did you draw, write here? What language is it? What does it mean?

4. Is there anything about school that you wish was different, or that you do not like? If the teachers or school wanted to make this thing (that the child dislikes) better, what do you think they could do to make it better? If they asked you, (child's name) what can we do to make this better, what would you say? Why would that make it better?
5. Do you do schoolwork at home too? If yes- can you show it to me? Do you find it easy or hard? Who helps you with it if you need help or don't understand it? What does that person do to help you?
6. What are some things that your teacher does that you really like? Do you understand your teacher when she tells you something? Does your teacher speak Pashto? If no- how do understand her/him?
7. I saw you playing at recess in the school and you were speaking _____. Do you usually speak _____ when playing at recess? Where else in the school do you speak _____.
8. Do you learn any rhythms/song at school? Would you like to teach it to me?
9. Do you have anything from school that you like to read? Can I see it? Is it okay if you read some of it to me? Oh, I didn't understand this part too well, can you help me, what does this mean? Who told you this? Who do you read this with at home? How do you read it with them? (What do you do when reading this to them and what do they do?)

Third Interview:

Note: Questions will depend on things I may have missed, follow up questions, clarifications and a chance for the focal children to ask me questions, comments, or concerns.

1. Assalyum Alaikum _____, how are you today?

2. What do you do when you are bored, when you have nothing much to do?
3. Do you do any activities with your mother or father when you are bored? Or with other family members (siblings, grandparents)?
4. Do you enjoy doing anything before going to sleep? Do you do it alone or with your family members?

   If with others- what do they do during the activity? What about you? (do you listen or do you play a more active role, asking questions, etc.)
5. Did you think about what you want to be when you grow up? Why do you want to be that? What kind of things would you do as part of your job?
6. Do you think you would want to live here or somewhere else when you grow up? Why or why not?

B.3 Interview Questions with Teachers

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Interviews with Teachers

Notes:

- Interviews will be conducted in English.
- Interviews will be conducted in the school.

Interview one:

1. Thank you so much for allowing me to conduct these interviews with you and to learn more about your classroom and the school. Just to reiterate what was written in the consent form that you signed, I will be conducting two interviews with you. One will take place today, and the next one will be toward the completion of my study, somewhere in November or early December. In this interview, I would like to get to know you better, as well as to know a bit about the school's curriculum, your students, and the language(s) used at school. Could you please tell us a bit about yourself?

2. Could you please talk a little about your education? Did you take classes that were specifically geared for teachers? Could you talk about some of those classes?
3. How long have you been teaching? How long at the Afghan School?
4. What do you enjoy about your job as a teacher? What do you find challenging?
5. How would you describe your job as a teacher at the Afghan School compared to where you taught previously (if previous teaching experience)? What are the differences? What are the similarities?
6. Could you please describe the students that the school serves (as a whole)? Could you please describe their strengths? Their challenges? How is the school helping students overcome those challenges, or is the school not able to overcome some of the challenges (if they are beyond the scope of schools)?
7. What would you say are the biggest challenges for the Afghan student population, academically? Why do you think these challenges exist specifically (or do they) for Afghan students?
8. Imagine you were an Afghan and as a parent, what would you hope that your child would gain from coming to the Afghan School in regards to education- language and literacy? Why do you think this would be important?
9. Could you please talk about communicating with Afghan families about their child's progress? How was that experience? Do you see any barriers in communicating with Afghan families? What would you say are some of those barriers? Can they be overcome? How?
10. Are there any challenges that need to be addressed in the beginning of the school year for Afghan students? How does the school address those challenges and do those challenges

become less evident as the school year progresses? Can you give any examples when this has happened?

11. What subjects do the students take at school? How many classes per day?
12. Could you please tell me about the activities/ classes that you have observed where the children are really engaged? What was happening? What kind of activities have you observed, where students are less engaged or not engaged?
13. Could you please tell me a bit about the school's curriculum? Is the curriculum created in a way that has prescribed outcomes and skills that are determined by the government of the province/state/country? What kind of resources accompany the curriculum, for example books, teaching guides, kits, etc.? Are you able to deviate from the curriculum or use it as you want, or is it recommended that you stick with the curriculum?
14. Could you please talk a little about the language(s) of instruction at school? Do the Afghan student know this language? Do their parents know it?

    If not- how do you communicate with the students to make sure they understand? Are their interpreters at school?
15. What is the rule in the school regarding the students' home language? Is there a class for the students to learn and speak in Pashto? How about for their parents?

    If yes- could you please talk a bit about the class. Who runs it (provides support)? Who teaches it? About how many parents attend it?

    If no- why not?
16. Are there any language or languages that you think are important for the Afghan students to be proficient in? Why do you think these languages are important for them?

17. What kind of preparation (from the school or other sources) have you received to specifically work with refugee students? What kind of resources would assist you in working with refugee students?

Second Interview: (Partial list- questions will be added, omitted, or changed after I visit and have the opportunity to observe multiple times before this interview takes place)

1. Thank you for your time and willingness to take part in the study again. Today will be our last interview. Today, I would like to learn more about the language and literacy practices and activities that students in engage in at school. I will also leave some time for you to ask me questions or concerns that you may have as well. Could you please talk a bit about the literacy class in Urdu, and the literacy in English that students take daily? For example, what are some of the skills/strategies one would learn in an Urdu literacy class? What about in an English literacy class?
2. How do you think the students find the Urdu literacy and English literacy class? Are they engaged in these classes? What do you do to try to keep them engaged in these classes?
3. How do you define literacy? What do you think are the most important goals of literacy? What kind of literacy are you hoping your Afghan student develop? Why do you think this kind of literacy would be important to them?
4. Are there topics, knowledge, or other resources related to Afghanistan or the Afghan culture that is used in either the Urdu or English literacy class?

   If yes- could you please give me an instance when this happened? What was the activity about? Were the students engaged? Who else was involved in that activity? What preparation went into that activity?

5. Are there things from the Afghan families homes (funds of knowledge), or skills that the Afghan families have, that are used in the literacy classes (English and Urdu)?
6. Do any of the Afghan parents come to the school to talk to the students or engage the students in any talks, activity or something else relating to their literacy classes?
   If yes- in what language do the parent (s) speak to the students? What kind of engagement is it (what do they talk to the students about, etc.?
7. Could you please talk about how reading and writing is taught in the school? What kind of reading does the school encourage for the students? How do you assess for understanding in reading? How about writing, how is writing taught in the school?
8. Since the school languages of instruction are Urdu and English, I'm wondering about the students' home language- do you think it is important that the school find a way to help the students acquire and develop their first language or do you think it is less important since the families live in Pakistan for now? What are your thoughts on this?
9. Will be asking several "I notice" questions-(once I am at the site and observe) such as "*I notice that during reading, the students' _____, is this something that occurs frequently? What do you think about this?*

B.4 Interview Questions with School Security Guard

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Interview with the School Security Guard

Notes:

- Interview will be one time- duration about one hour
- Interview will be in Pashto
- Interview will take place at school, or a place chosen by the school security guard

1. Can you please tell us a little about yourself?
2. Can you please tell us a little about your job in the school? (what are your duties, how long have you been in the school? Etc.)
3. Can you tell us a little about your life in Islamabad as a refugee? What do you think life is like for Afghan refugees here?
4. What do you think is the importance of this of this school for the Afghan refugees? Do you think this school is meeting the needs of Afghan refugee students, if yes, how? If no, why not?

5. What are some of the things that you hope the Afghan students will learn or gain from coming to this school?
6. Is there anything that the school can do to further support Afghan refugees? Are there any things, such as classes or programs, that the school can add to support the Afghan students and their families?
7. What do you think is the role of Pashto in the school? How do you think the school can support Pashto? Should it or should it not? Why or why not?
8. Do you think what the students are learning here will be beneficial to them in Afghanistan? Why or why not?
9. Can you please tell me a little about the families that send their children to this school? What kind of families are these? What are their challenges? What are their strengths?
10. Can you tell us a little about the children that attend this school? How are these children the same as other children? How are they different?
11. What does literacy mean to you? How did you learn or engage in literacy as a child? How about now?
12. What do you think is the importance of literacy? What opportunities are available for one to engage in literacy in this community?
13. What about language? What does language mean to you? What language or languages do you think is important for the Afghan families and children? Why do you think these language or language is important?
14. What do you think is the future of Pashto in this community and for these families?

B.5 Interview Questions with School Founder

a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: XXXX
Fax: XXXX
Email: XXXX

Language and Literacy from the Periphery: Understanding the Language and Literacy Practices of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Interview with the School Founder

Notes:

- Interview will be one time and about one hour
- Interview will be in English
- Interview will take place at school, or a place chosen by the school founder

1. Can you please tell me about the school?
2. Could you tell me a little about how and why you decided to start the Afghan School?
3. What is the mission of the school?
4. What were some of the challenges/obstacles to starting the Afghan School? What did you do to overcome those obstacles?
5. How do you think your school is different from other schools for Afghan refugees, or from other public school?
6. What characteristics do you look for in teachers when hiring?

7. Can you talk a little about the population the school serves? Who comes to the Afghan School? What are the challenges working with this group?
8. Could you talk a little about the Afghan population that your school serves? What are their needs in terms of education? What would you say their experiences of schooling have been?
9. How do you think the children are doing academically at school? What have you noticed in terms of their social and emotional state? Status? Health? How does the school deal with social and emotional issues that Afghan children may encounter?
10. You mentioned in your email to me that school language of instruction is Urdu and English, but the Afghan families speak Pashto at home. How does these language work at school? Is there a place for Pashto at school (is there a place to speak Pashto at school, is it okay to speak Pashto at school, do any of the staff speak Pashto)?
11. Can you please talk about the literacy curriculum that the school uses? What is emphasized in the teaching of literacy? Are students tested on literacy skills? If yes, what kind of test is it? What skills are tested on it? Is it produced by the school, state, or country? What do these results mean to the students (are they held back in grades if they fail? How does the test scores affect the students?), and to the school?
12. How does the school communicate with parents? How are parents notified of their child's progress in school?
13. Do you see any barriers that are affecting Afghan children's success academically? Could you talk about some of these barriers? How do you think these barriers could be overcome?

14. Can you talk about the technology used at school? And the computers lab? Do students have access to these tools at home? What are the benefits of exposing them to such tools?

Appendix C: Data Collection Table

Question: What are parents'/guardians' beliefs about literacy and language?

Data Sources:

- Interviews
- Fieldnotes

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Sajjad Noor	• Definition of literacy included being able to read and write. • Equated one with literacy as being able to see, and the one without it as "blind." • "School is a light, and we are blind, we who are uneducated, and who are illiterate, we are an example of being blind" • Wanted his children to acquire reading and writing skills-pressured children to learn these skills. • "We can barely write our names, I cannot read a letter**.** A literate is a person who can read, who can write. These, I call light" • "I am blind, he is blind, we do not know anything"	Pashto • Believes Pashto is an important "mark"- goes back to companion of the Prophet. • Only Pashto spoken at home. • "If this school starts Pashto class, it will be a very good thing" • Believes one should be able to speak, read and write fluently in Pashto- want this for his children. • Strongly in favor of a Pashto class at Afghan School. • Believes children will struggle in Afghanistan's educational system [If forced to move back] if they do not know how to read and write in Pashto (Oral Pashto not enough).

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Sajjad Noor (continued)	• Want children to learn to read and write in Pashto	• Believes children will do better in Pashto compared to Urdu and English, because it is their mother tongue. English • Because Safa and siblings cannot learn to read and write in Pashto, Sajjad believes they must know English. He believe this would help them in Afghanistan's educational system. • English is "has become a language for all countries, it is used everywhere" • "If you speak English, you can say you understand everything. With English, you can get by in Afghanistan and you can get by in Pakistan" Urdu • Supported children's learning of Urdu, even though not used in Afghanistan. • Speaking in Urdu would result in better relationships with Punjabi and Pakistani people. • "we are passing our lives as Muslims, so I must know your language and you must know my language"

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Sajjad Noor (continued)		Arabic • "Arabic is the language of the Quran" • Wanted Safa to excel in Quranic reading in Arabic. • Arabic was a language that connected him and his family to Islam and therefore was very important. • Sajjad tried to learn supplication from Safa that were in Arabic
Dawud Angar	• Definition of literacy included being able to read and write. • "You are able to write and lead your way" • Believed reading and writing freed one from depending on others- one could understand the text on his/her own. • Believed that those who could not read and write were blind. • "We are blind, when we are walking and find a note, hold it to your face, and you read it, then you know, but we see it, and what is its use to us? We are blind" • Reading and writing allowed one to help others- (e.g. returning a lost note to someone who had lost it).	Pashto • Only Pashto spoken at home. • Only spoke Pashto, did not know Urdu (or English) despite living for decades in Pakistan. • Believed Pashto was a way of life- more than a language. "It is a male language"- believed Pashtun needed to "treat the guest with deep honor and dignity" • Wanted children to be able to read and write in Pashto (Oral Pashto not enough). • Believed that if his children knew how to read and write in Pashto, they would "know their way, and their language" • Being able to speak in Pashto was a way to connect to Afghanistan and was

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Dawud Angar (continued)	• Described self as "blind rooster" because of not knowing how to read and write. • Used the Naseehath storytelling, in part to emphasis that Seemena is lucky to be able to engage in reading and writing and communicated to her to continue to doing well in school.	useful in Afghanistan "Afghanistan is all Pashto speakers" • Passed on to Seemena and family members that Pashto was more than a language- set of behaviors that a Pashto speaker must conform to (e.g. honoring guest, being kind). English • Acknowledge that most texts and papers are in English-therefore useful language to know. • "Most papers are in English now, not in Urdu or Pashto" Urdu • Proud that his children were able to speak Urdu "my children all know it" • Believed any language, including Urdu could be useful to one. • Noted that even Urdu learning would be useful to Seemena in Afghanistan- some words were same in both languages.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Habeebullah Sabr	• Defined literacy as a "treasure" and included skills such as reading and writing. • Literacy "can be used anywhere" • Believed literacy helped one "transition from being an animal to being a human" • Believed literate person "know the difference between good and bad." • Connected manners and morals as important components of literacy. • Recognized the role of mothers in literacy and believed they played an important role in facilitating literacy for their children. • "education is also learned from the lap of a mother. Mother can guide the child in a very good way" • At the same time believed the women in his household could not do much to contribute to literacy of their children because they did not know how to read or write. • Asked about his earlier statement "education is also learned from the lap of a mother" -how mothers can teach literacy if cannot read or write- mentioned manners. Manners an	Pashto • Only Pashto spoken at home. • Connected ability to speak in Pashto to the Pashtun identity. Believed one cannot claim to be Pashtun if he/she did not speak Pashto. • "There is a saying in Pashto, if I forget Pashto than I am not Pashtun, and if I forget Leila than I am not Majlun" • Believed that if one can forget his language, he/she could also forget about his/her religion. • "if one can forget their language, you must understand that tomorrow they can also leave their faith, they can become faithless" • "So, what I am saying is to never forget your language and traditions and culture" • Wanted the children in his household, including Harun to learn to read and write in Pashto (oral Pashto not enough). • Wanted the school to provide a class for Pashto in Afghan School. • Believed that knowing how to read and write in Pashto would help the children in Afghanistan. Habeebullah believed he

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Habeebullah Sabr (continued)	important part of literacy, good habits, being respectful, etc. • Habeebullah able to read and write in Urdu and can read and write simple words in English, and "some words in Pashto" • Uses YouTube and searches in English in to find videos relating to medical field and Islamic lectures. • Had an interest in reading newspapers previously. However, did not read newspaper in a week due to lack of time. • "But now, it has almost been a week, and really there is not that much time for me to read the newspaper." • Comes to work in the morning and when he goes home, eats and sleeps. • Has Islamic books in Urdu and English book. • Reads books with others as well as alone. • Viewed Islamic books as important "for our hereafter, for our preparation for the hereafter" • Islamic books helped with finding the "right way"	would have to move back to Afghanistan, eventually. • Believed Pakistani people did not want to teach or provide opportunities for Pashto because they want to promote their languages- Urdu and English. • Also believed Pashto class would be useful to Pakistani citizens, especially if they traveled to Afghanistan. Urdu • Believed that even if he or the children in his household progress in Urdu, it would be of little use to them, because they were not Pakistani. • "We can do everything in Urdu, but they are not moving us forward because it is not our national tongue" • "Urdu can only help move one forward if he is Pakistani" • Mentioned that one must know Urdu or know it to a certain level in order to excel in schooling in Pakistan. • Referred to Harun and his struggle with understanding Urdu, initially.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Habeebullah Sabr (continued)	• Strongly in favor of wanting the children in his household to read and write in Pashto.	English • Acknowledged that English is an international language and needed to "communicate with others" • Believed English was not just a language but part of a larger structure that threatened the culture of Pakistan. • Believed that the promotion of English in Pakistan was resulting in Pakistanis undervaluing of their own language. • "Like they are telling them to put on pants and speak English" • Believed that some of these rules and lifestyles that he believed were being promoted because of English were "not in our faith" • "Nowadays you look, those who learn English, like girls they will be walking in the streets, wearing pants, and will be listening to English songs, people will be in [their] homes and listening to English songs, or English films" • Believed English had replaced Arabic in schools. • Noted that schools were Urdu medium before and now most, if not all, were English medium.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Habeebullah Sabr (continued)		• Believed the English book, *like Goodbye, Mr. Chips* should be replaced with students reading a book about the Prophet Muhammad. • Believed that some people, like doctors, purposefully pretended that they do not speak Urdu or Pashto- because of ego. • Believed that most people asked one about his/her score in English and not about scores in other subjects. Arabic • Spoke briefly about Arabic. • Was supportive of having children in his household learn Arabic. • "If we can also support our Islamic languages, such as Pashto or Arabic" • Noted that Arabic is important for Quran- being able to read the Quran. • Was frustrated that Arabic was being replaced in schools with English in Pakistan.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Arian Khushal	• Definition of literacy included knowing how to read and write. • "wedding cards come in, bills come, tons of bills…look at the names on the papers, literacy is for this reason. A letter comes from outside of the country, print comes on the mobile, in a minute, someone can read it, we cannot read it, so we are showing it to others to tell us what is written" • Believed skills like reading and writing made life easier and helped one accomplish tasks of life (paying bills, reading a letter). • Definitions of literacy included having good manners. • "Literacy means *Adhab* (manners), if there is no literacy, those people fight more, and their brain is kind of short." • Believed that the difference between a literate and illiterate person was very big "difference of ground and sky between a literate person and non-literate person" • Believed that a literate person has manners and greets one, while the illiterate person "he would not greet you or anything"	Pashto • Only Pashto spoken at home. • Whenever I observed Arian, Arman and siblings speaking to each other at home, it was in Pashto. • "We speak Pashto, only Pashto" • "Language cannot be forgotten, from the day you are born, you cannot forget it, and it is important" • Believed that Pashto was also important in the world. • "Pashto is very important, just like English is being spoken everywhere, our Pashto is also prominent" • "Pashto is not only used here, it is used in Punjab, in Peshawar…Pashto is also used in Karachi and actually all over the world" • Was very concerned about the future of Pashto, particularly concerning its written and reading aspects • "It is our mother tongue from thousands of years, our Pashto has gone" • Worried that Pashto had only taken on an oral use and would die out because of this issue. • Wanted his children to be able to read and write in Pashto.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Arian Khushal (continued)	• "There is thousands of things in literacy, manners are there, respect is there" • Believed manners were embedded or part of literacy. • "literacy and manners are one, one way" • Wanted children to acquire literacy, and memorization was also an important part of literacy for him. • "My goal is to have them learn and remember something, so that they are not like us" • "My hope is so that they have skills, for example, they can work in a hospital, but they need to know how to read, write" • "You would be a security guard, or sitting somewhere under the shade, or in a bank, or in a hospital, or you can have your own store and know all the writings, and you will have the manners"	• Wanted Afghan School to have a class for Pashto. • "This school, if they can support our language that will be very good, it will be like gold to us" • Believed there is no opportunity in Islamabad for children to learn to read and write in Pashto "There is nothing for it" • Believed that a Pashtun child's brain does not process Urdu for two years because of language barrier. • Believed that if a Pashtun child is taught in Pashto, the child would learn and also be happy. • "so happy…they will learn so much" • "If you are telling them in Urdu, first they will not know the language" • "There is so much beauty in Pashto, but we have no choice" • Arian clarified that if he wanted his children to learn (be educated) they would have to learn Urdu- schooling was in Urdu (and English). • Believed that if the school did not want to have Pashto class, they should at least offer some classes, (science, math) in Pashto to help the children learn easily.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Arian Khushal (continued)		• Believed that oral Pashto has increased, but noted that the limitation of this growth "only in talking" • "Our book Pashto is left, we must renew this, this is our language, Pashto will end" Urdu • Believed Urdu was also an important language for his children to know. • Believed that Urdu could be useful in Afghanistan too. • "Like here, there were Afghans and they studied here, and they are now holding important positions in Afghanistan. They know both Urdu and Pashto and they are serving their country" English • Believed English is very important for his children to know • "If our children learn it, it will be good" • Wanted his children to take more specific English class once they grow up.

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Arian Khushal (continued)		• "This is a school for small children, after this they can get into English course" • Believed that English is essential if one wanted to excel in Pakistani schooling system. • "when they go to another school there are questions, learning is challenging there, and they teach English there" • Noted the importance of English even in his own life and job "So, we do understand a little bit of English" Islamic studies (Arabic) • Arian did not mention the word "Arabic" in itself but was a strong supporter of having Arman learn Separah (in Arabic) in preparation for Quranic reading. • Arian and Abderrazzaq closely focused on Arman to ensure that he is attending his Quranic class. • Arian believed Islamic studies were an important part of one's studies, especially in learning manners. • "…they need Islamic studies too, because that is part of manners"

Parent/Guardian	Beliefs about literacy	Beliefs about language
Arian Khushal (continued)		• Believed that Islamic studies "teaches the right way"