

Designing Multilingual Classrooms: The Case of Tharparkar

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Introduction

Children's mother tongue is the optimal language for literacy and learning throughout primary school.

-UNESCO, 2018

The mother tongue (MT) is the language in which children initially learn to think, communicate, and understand. Scholars argue that it is vital to tap into the richness of a child's own language before attempting to teach them another (Butzkamm, 2003; Cummins, 1993, 2000; Klaus, 2003; Obondo, 2007; Williams, 1996). In developed and developing nations alike, educational systems have begun incorporating mother tongue education into primary schools. However, adopting MT education in classrooms can present challenges. Research suggests that learning a minority mother tongue can lead to reduced life chances for certain communities in the form of systemic oppression and exclusion from society (Mohanty, 2008). Scholars argue that inequalities are structured through language hierarchies; learning in one's indigenous language can further oppress already vulnerable groups (Heugh, 2015; Mohanty 2012). MT education also proves to be difficult in linguistically pluralistic environments where multiple mother tongues may exist within a single classroom (Woldemariam, 2007). This disconnect between the academic impact and societal impact of MT education complicates our understanding of mother-tongue education in multilingual and rural societies.

This paper aims to design a language education model for multilingual primary school classrooms in rural Tharparkar, Pakistan. We argue that the best language model is one that acknowledges both the academic benefit and the potential social repercussions of MT education.

Furthermore, research suggests that language models and policies should not be prescriptive, rather they should be created in partnership with the community being impacted (Lazdowski, 2015; Tembe and Norton, 2008; Peláez and Usma, 2017). Thus, we adopt a bottom-up approach as our methodology, creating a language model based on the language usage, language perceptions, and language aspirations of the Thari people. This language model is created with the people, for the people.

Context

Language Background of Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual country with six major and over 70 minor languages. The national language of Pakistan is Urdu and both Urdu and English are recognized as the official languages of the country. These two languages are used by the domains of power: the government, corporate sector, media, and education (David et al, 2017). In contrast, tribal languages have been pushed to the margins of society, remaining purely in informal contexts.

The majority of Pakistani schools adopt one of the two official languages as their medium of instruction. That is, most schools are either Urdu-medium or English-medium. Only two out of over 70 indigenous mother tongues are formally recognized in schools in Pakistan (Manan et al., 2017b).

Tharparkar Region

Tharparkar is a district of Sindh province in Pakistan. It has a population of about 1,649,660. Its Human Development Index (HDI) is one of the lowest within Pakistan, averaging at about 0.25 which is the lowest category of HDI globally. The desert in Tharparkar is the only fertile desert in the world, and the livelihood of the Thari people depends heavily on agriculture. Severe drought conditions in recent years have increased migration out of the area and encouraged a nomadic lifestyle for the Thari people. It has also prompted many individuals to migrate permanently out of the region.

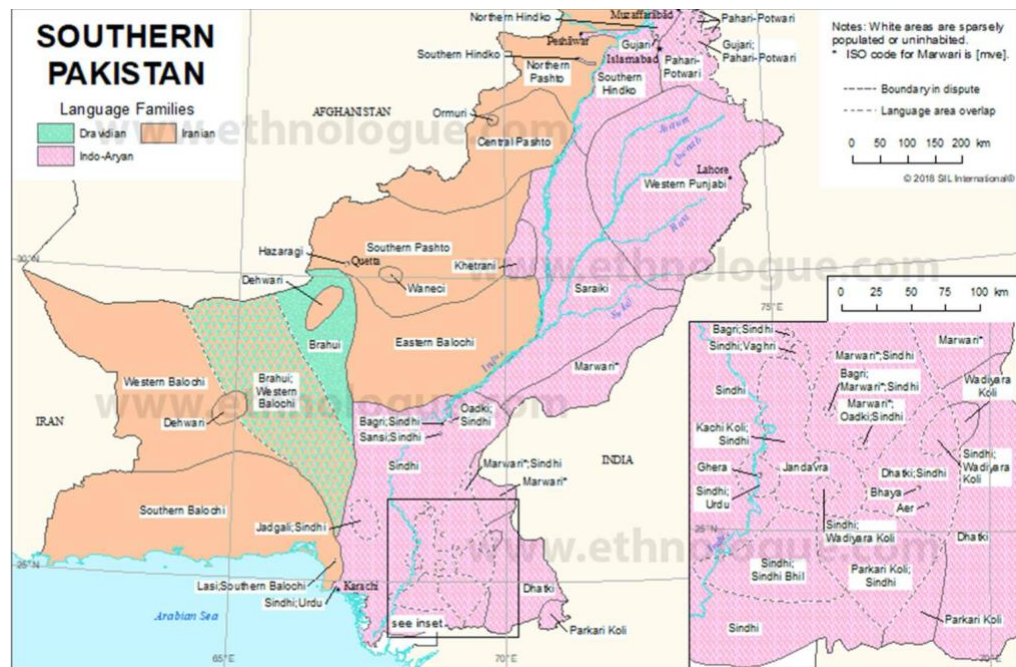


FIGURE 1. Map of languages spoken in Tharparkar
 Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*,
 Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

The linguistic diversity of the Tharparkar is very high. There are over 13 languages being spoken in the region (Figure 1). Sindhi is the identified provincial language with over 22,700,000 speakers. There are several tribal languages used on a daily basis, including Dhatki, Marwari, Koli, Oadki, and Brahui.

Literature Review

Given the high linguistic diversity of Pakistan, scholars have been pushing towards adopting MT education in Pakistani classrooms (Manan et al. 2017a, 2017b, Pathan et al. 2018, Ali, 2015). Manan et al. argue that Pakistan has been afflicted by “English-medium fever” (2017a), an after effect of 200 years of colonization by the British which had led the people to believe in the superiority of the English language because it is associated with wealth and power (Pathan et al, 2018). Scholars argue that Pakistani education must decolonize by removing English as the medium of instruction and incorporate the mother tongue into the classrooms (Manan et al. 2017a, 2017b, Pathan et al. 2018, Ali, 2015). This push towards MT education is reflected in recent additions to Pakistan’s

language policy. For example, in Balochistan, the MT is now a compulsory subject in primary school (Introduction of Mother Languages as Compulsory Additional Subject At Primary Level Act, 2014).

However, scholars who push for MT education in Pakistan have only explored it through the lens of academia and decolonization. If we adopt the view that languages are portals of power (Heugh, 2017), we are made to think deeper about the impact MT education may have on rural communities in Pakistan. Research in India found a direct relationship between the languages of the tribal people and their level of poverty (Mohanty, 2008). Mohanty (2008), author of the book “The Multilingual Reality”, notes that the exclusion and lack of accommodation of minority mother tongues in education severely restrict tribal MT speakers in regards to their freedom of choice and access to resources. This can lead to illiteracy, educational failure, and capability deprivation. This has been echoed by other scholars in the field. A study of the impact of mother tongue education in Hong Kong found that although the MT policy was adopted with good intentions, it enhanced the hegemonic struggle among different social groups in society (Pak-Sang Lai and Byram, 2003). While English is often a minority language in post-colonial nations, it is usually the language of access to secondary and higher education, upper echelons of the formal economy, and governance. Thus, Heugh, a scholar of multilingualism in South Africa, argues that a good language model must “utilize and develop students’ multilingual capabilities” in order to achieve the necessary proficiency in an international language that will permit them to enter the “socio-political and economic mobility of aspiration” (Heugh et al., 2017).

Pakistan is a young nation- born in 1947. While the emphasis on MT education in Pakistan is well-intentioned, it is important to learn from other multilingual post-colonial nations who have implemented MT programs and are now able to offer insight based on retrospect. Multilingualism is multidimensional and multi-scaled; language and inequality intersect in complex and ambiguous ways (Kerfoot, 2015). In order to create a language model that uplifts the community within which it is implemented, we must account for the impact language can have on people beyond the classroom. We must learn from the experiences of other nations and escape, what Mohanty (2008) refers to as, “the vicious cycle of language disadvantage.”

Methodology

It is of utmost importance to include the voices of the involved stakeholders when it comes to making decisions of language policy (Lazdowski, 2015). The community is an important stakeholder in language education, and community views are critical for the successful implementation of new language policies (Tembe and Norton, 2008). Language policies should be conceived as a “chain at national, institutional, and local levels” and the active participation of stakeholders in any formulation and dissemination of language policies is key (Peláez and Usma, 2017). More specifically, in post-colonial nations, education researchers have a unique role of creating the opportunity for community members to “disrupt the inequalities that are reproduced in post-colonial classrooms, an environment where too often the former colonizer pervades the curriculum via the MoI” (Lazdowski, 2015).

We adopt a similar framework for our methodological choices. The aim of our project was to create a curriculum with the community, not for them. We made a conscious effort to avoid linguistic prescriptivism, acknowledging that there was no “correct” usage of language and no model which is superior to another. Instead, we sought to understand the language usage, language perceptions, and language aspirations of the community. Then, working alongside multiple stakeholders, we created a recommended language model. Additionally, we acknowledge that the creation of language models is a dynamic process. The model which is being recommended in this paper is time-sensitive. We recommend that a similar study take place every few years to reassess the fit of this language model with the aspirations of the community.

Survey

Our data collection took place in Islamkot, Mithi, Jeevandas, and Nagar Parkar. We conducted an ethnography of Tharparkar using a mixed-method approach, including observations, focus groups, in-depth interviews, and a sociolinguistic survey with various stakeholders. Across the multiple methodologies, our sample size was 349 individuals. This consisted of 70 teachers, 104 parents and community members, 114 students, and 61 working professionals in the region. We also conducted observations at three Urdu medium schools & three English medium schools in the region. This paper will focus particularly on the findings of the socio-linguistic survey (see Appendix A).

The sociolinguistic survey consisted of three major sections: language usage, language perception and aspirations, and questions tailored

specifically to the group who was answering the survey. The questions were close-ended, often followed up later on with an interview or focus group. However, there was space provided for the respondents to state “why” they felt a certain way or chose a certain option.

There were four versions of the socio-linguistic survey; these versions differed only in the last section of the survey which was designed to cater to the areas specifically relevant to the individuals who were completing them. Version A was for students, Version B for teachers, Version C for community members, and Version D for working professionals. The survey was made available in English, Urdu, and Sindhi. For those who were unable to or uncomfortable with filling out the survey, the survey was conducted orally. For young children, the survey was adapted into a collective questionnaire with a simpler version of the original questions.

Findings

Language Usage

The first step in recommending a language model for the classroom is to first understand the current language usage within Thar. Our research found that the mother tongue for 47% of the participants was Dhatki, followed by Sindhi at 34%. Dhatki and Sindhi are also the dominant languages of use in schools & communities (Figure 2).

In The Classroom. 90% of students report using Dhatki and Sindhi formally in the classroom (see Figure 2a). However, only 45% of teachers report using Dhatki, and 86% report using Sindhi formally within the classroom. The inconsistency of the use of Dhatki in classrooms raises some concerns. It is possible that the students had a hard time distinguishing between ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ use of language in the classroom. It is also possible that teachers did not want to admit the use of tribal languages in the classroom, since the medium of instruction was either Urdu or English for the schools we observed.

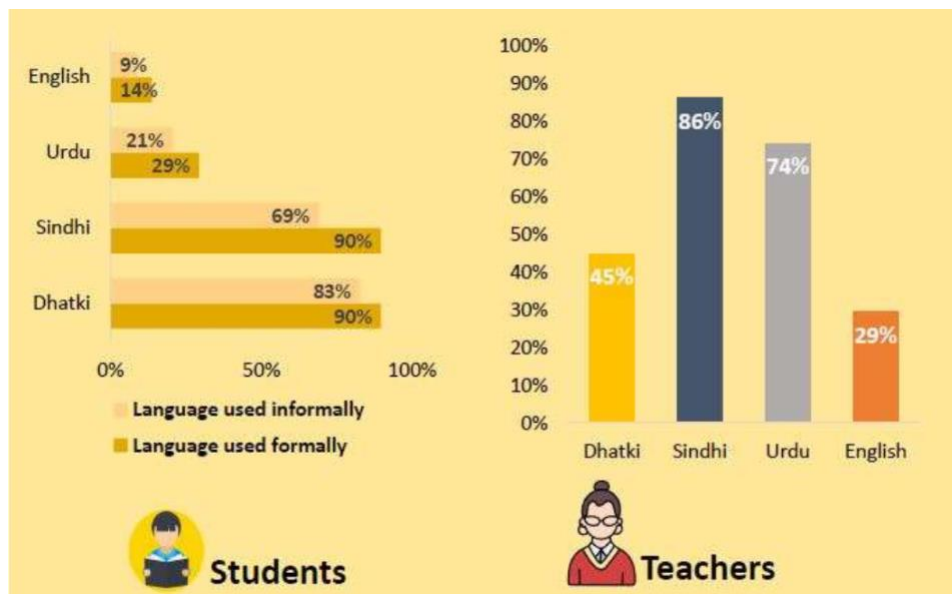


FIGURE 2A. Language Usage in Tharparkar Classroom

While the students were surveyed belonged to schools where the medium of instruction was Urdu and English, their reported usage of both those languages was minimal. It seems that the children are being taught in languages which they identified as their mother tongue, regardless of what the official medium of instruction in the schools is. This negotiation of language usage in class- e.g. using multiple languages within the classroom, not strictly adhering to the official language policy of the school- suggests that translanguaging practices are being used in the classroom. One of the features of translanguaging, as described by Canagarajah (2011), is the use of “local practices where multiple languages are negotiated for communication.” Such practices are highly effective in multilingual classrooms, particularly in countries where the colonial language is still often used as the medium of instruction (Rasman, 2018; Karlsson et al., 2018, Torpsten, 2018, Canagarajah, 2011). It allows individuals to not only draw on all the languages in their repertoire to communicate, but to also shuttle between languages to co-construct meaning (Canagarajah, 2011). In Thari classrooms, this is portrayed by the usage of multiple languages- predominantly Dhatki and Sindhi, complemented by English and Urdu- to teach a single lesson.

In The Community. It was noted that Dhatki and Sindhi were also the two languages of use in the professional circles of Thar. Professionals

and youth- defined as individuals who are involved in the employment activities of Thar- use Dhatki (51%) and Sindhi (52%) as the predominant languages of use (See figure 2b). This indicates that there is not a disconnect between the language used within schools and the languages used in the world of work. The usage of English and Urdu also remain within the same range between students and working professionals. This suggests that individuals who complete their education in Tharparkar should not have any language difficulties in being able to communicate and continue their professional lives in the region.

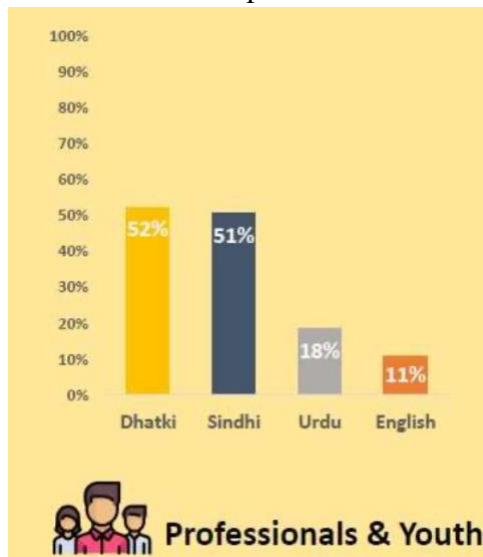


FIGURE 2B. Language Usage in Tharparkar Community

Language Acquisition

To understand the linguistic aspirations of the Thari people, we asked our respondents which languages they wished to learn or to improve (if they already spoke it).

English: Official and International Language. Respondents stated that English was the language they aspired to learn the most (30%) (See Figure 3). Community members stated that the use of English would inevitably lead to “the betterment of (Thar’s) society” and provide them and their family members with “a higher social status”. Additionally, numerous working professionals in Thar expressed their desire to be able to communicate with individuals from other countries, such as their trade partners and other business contacts. They noted that English was the “global language”, which is why they felt a need to learn it.

Their responses indicated similar preferences as previous literature on perceptions of English in Pakistan suggests (Channa et al. 2016; Manan et

al. 2017a, 2017b; Siddiqui, 2011; David et al., 2017). Researchers have noted that the legacy of the British Raj carried into the languages of Pakistan. English, the colonial language, serves as the official language of Pakistan. Its colonial status impacts the perceptions individuals associate with English speakers and the English language in general (Siddiqui, 2011). English is preferred as the medium of instruction across Pakistan (Mansoor, 2004).

The use of English is predominantly symbolic and associates itself with notions of liberalism and elitism (Manan et. al 2017a). These perceptions have been passed through the generations. Respondents- regardless of their age group- all expressed a desire to improve or learn English. This suggests that the people of Thar, similar to many other post-colonial nations, are faced with ‘English Medium Fever’ (Manan et.al, 2017a).

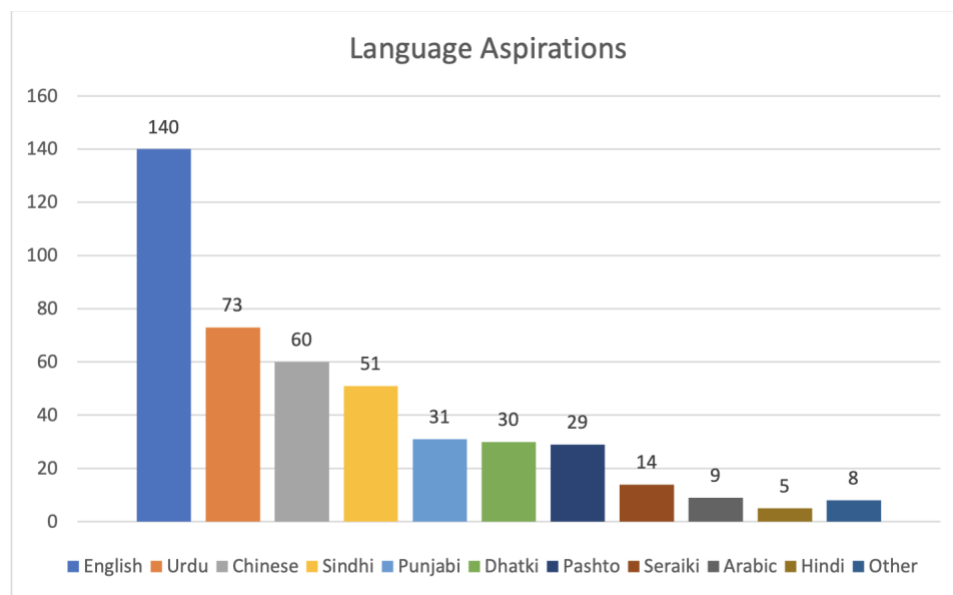


FIGURE 3. Languages respondents want to learn/improve

Chinese: Emerging Language of Trade. Respondents expressed similar reasoning for wanting to learn Chinese. China has been one of Pakistan’s major trade partners for years. However, in recent years, this relationship has been grown exponentially with the establishment of the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). CPEC is a collection of infrastructure projects that are currently under construction throughout Pakistan, valued at about \$62 billion as of 2017. Respondents expressed a need for learning Chinese because of the CPEC project and its influence

in the region of Thar. They also stated that they personally just “liked” the language and felt it would provide an “enhancement of knowledge.”

Urdu: National Language. Perhaps the most interesting finding was the strong presence of Urdu as an aspired language. Research suggests that native Sindhi speakers have a negative attitude towards Urdu because of the political history of the two languages (Siddiqui 2011, Akbar Zaidi 1991). However, not only did Urdu rank as the second language respondents most wanted to improve or learn, they also expressed a fondness towards the language. In a focus group conducted with Thar school teachers, they explained that Urdu was the national language and they were proud of it.

There are two possible explanations for the lack of tension between Sindhi and Urdu found in our research. Firstly, the works which claim that there is a tension between the two languages have used the method of historical and political analysis to define the relationship between the languages (Rahman, 1995; Akbar Zaidi 1991). The studies which claim tension between Urdu and Sindhi have been purely political and theoretical. My research adds a more personal angle to this debate but surveying individuals in the current era about their feelings towards both languages. It is possible that the historical and political stresses are now slowly dissolving as individuals are developing a sense of nationalism, or have the hopes of working with communities that do not speak only Sindhi. Articles published about the topic in the early/mid-90s may no longer hold true.

Secondly, it is also possible that the positionality of the researchers impacted the answers received (Appendix B). Some of the surveys were administered as an oral sociolinguistic survey for individuals who were not able to read the printed surveys. This means that the respondents were directly reporting to the researchers who were all from Karachi: a predominantly Urdu-speaking, urban city in Pakistan. The researcher effect may have led them to provide answers that the researchers “expected”. However, given the overwhelming favorable responses towards Urdu, and the comfort levels of the respondents during the oral surveys, we would argue that this is not the sole reason for Urdu being a highly aspired language.

Future Language Trends: Preferences of Parents and Employers. In order to understand the future language trajectory of the Thari people, we asked parents and employers how they envisioned the “languages of Thar in the future”. More specifically, we asked them what languages they would want their children to know and/or employees to be trained in. Figure 3 notes that the language of dominance remains English. However, there is also a strong presence of Urdu and Sindhi, along with some mention of Dhatki and Parkari, two tribal languages of Thar. This suggests that respondents want to hold on to their mother

tongue while also learning languages which will allow them to interact with other major language groups.

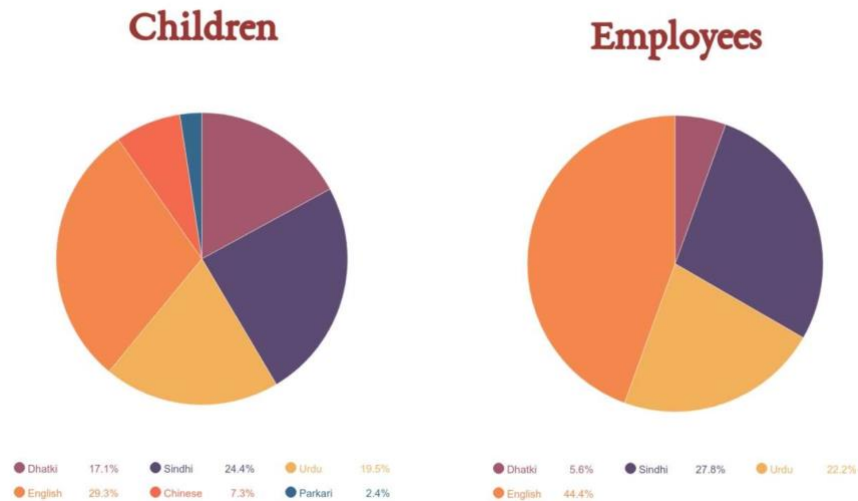


FIGURE 4. Languages respondents want their future children and employees to know

Incorporating Stakeholder Preferences in the Classroom

An understanding of the current language usage and the language aspirations of our respondents allows us to tailor an education model according to the preferences of the Thari people. The languages most commonly brought up throughout our survey were Dhatki, Sindhi, Urdu, and English. Dhatki and Sindhi were the dominant languages of use in the area. Urdu was sought after due to its role as the national language and English due to its role as the international language. Together, these four languages would allow the population of Thar to effectively communicate within the region, country, and on a global scale. In this section of the paper, we will focus on some of the qualitative findings of the study. Having previously discussed which languages respondents would like to see in their education system and why we now ask the question “how”. Thus, we aim to understand how the Thari people would like to incorporate Dhatki, Sindhi, Urdu, and English into their classrooms.

Establishing a Need for Multilingual Classrooms

Mr. Manjhi Meghwal, Thar’s Social Welfare Department Officer, expressed that “Sindhi, Urdu, English are all important languages and the child must be able to understand and speak in these languages in order to be able to get opportunities out of Thar and internationally.” By learning a mixture of the regional, national, and international language, future

generations of the Thari people are no longer limited to certain linguistic spheres. This view was expressed unanimously by our respondents. Respondents were in favor of adopting Sindhi as the MOI in primary schools as they believed that children would also be able to learn Urdu more easily (given the similarity between the languages e.g. identical script). They also advocated for English being introduced in the early years of a child's life in order to create comfort and familiarity.

Additionally, focus groups with recent graduates of Matriculation (grade 10) expressed that government exams (equivalent to a high-school diploma) are only available in Urdu and Sindhi. Intermediate exams (grade 12) are only available in English. It is thus important for students to be comfortable in these languages if they are to do further their education. Research suggests that individuals from rural areas attempt to distance themselves from their home languages when they move to urban regions in the pursuit of education (Ali, 2015). When interviewed, Pakistani students from rural regions who moved to urban universities stated that the biggest advantage of knowing one's mother-tongue was identity and group solidarity with their communities. However, they were very against the MT being the medium of instruction in classrooms (Ali, 2015). Thus, we must ensure that the language model being recommended supports, rather than discourages, individuals to pursue higher education.

Incorporating a Minority Language

Given that most of our schooled respondents were male, we also interviewed females in private settings to understand the relationship of gender with higher education. The females in the focus group only spoke Dhatki, and could barely understand Sindhi. They were all housewives, except one individual who was a health worker. She was the only one fluent in Urdu. The women expressed that the only way their children-boys and girls alike- can have a steady job in the future is if they learn Urdu, English, and Sindhi. They expressed their own frustrations, elaborating on how monolingual Dhatki speakers (which often happen to be women), are not able to fully participate in society and, most importantly, achieve an education. It is a systemic form of linguistic oppression and mirrors the findings of Mohanty (2008, 2012) and Heugh (2015) when they argued that learning in one's indigenous language can reduce the life chances of individuals. Mohanty (2008, 2012) explains that as tribal languages are isolated from major domains of power, speakers of these languages distance themselves from the language in an attempt to reduce the vulnerability they face as a minority linguistic group. This often appears in the form of declining intergenerational transmission of the mother tongues. Individuals who give up their minority language and adopt the language of power (often the colonial language), have a higher chance of accessing higher education, legal and medical facilities, as well as the ability to be involved in trade and commerce, which directly impacts one's income. Knowing this, abandoning one's indigenous

language is an act of survival.

One community member noted that “I speak to my entire family in Dhatki and encourage them to use their mother tongue...(but) Dhatki should not be taught in school. It is only for communication purposes.” When asked, currently employed teachers within Thar seconded this notion. There was almost unanimous consensus that Dhatki should not be the medium of instruction, not even in early childhood education. They noted that Sindhi was sufficient, and that, at most, Dhatki could be, at most, taught as a subject. However, when we presented them with sample storybooks written in Dhatki, they were very excited. Perhaps these views on Dhatki, and MTs in general, will change as more materials are created in the languages and are incorporated in the classrooms. Community members enthusiastically volunteered to work together on creating materials in their respective MTs. This is an exercise highly recommended by UNESCO (2008, 2018).

Recommended Language Model

Academic literature strongly recommends mother-tongue and multilingual education. It also advocates for keeping the preferences of stakeholders at the heart of the education policy. Given this, we recommend an MTB MLE program which is tailored specifically for the schools of Thar. Our aim is to produce additive multilinguals who are fluent in the majority of languages, but also face no loss to their mother-tongue (Mansoor, 2004).

Sindhi will be the medium of instruction (L1), and Urdu (L2) and English (L3) will be taught as language subjects. The schools in the regions we surveyed predominantly adopt either Urdu or English as the medium of instruction, yet use Dhatki and Sindhi as the two dominant languages to teach in. Thus, we simply advocate for formalizing the languages already being “informally” used.

Sindhi will be an apt medium of instruction as it is the language most commonly shared between the respondents. While Sindhi is the official mother-tongue for 34% of the population surveyed, every single respondent claimed “excellent” proficiency in the language, regardless of whether or not it was their mother-tongue. Even those who speak Dhatki as a mother-tongue felt strongly about choosing Sindhi as the medium of instruction as opposed to Dhatki because of the oral tradition of the language. Few respondents were able to read or write Dhatki and felt that there was no need for their children to do so. We recommend that Dhatki continue to be used in the classrooms where students and teachers find it helpful to do so- about 85% of children reported the use of Dhatki in their classrooms, either formally or informally. Teachers should not hesitate to use Dhatki in their classrooms and should embrace translanguaging practices in the classroom. Such practices occur naturally and should not

be discouraged (Canagarajah, 2011). It is important to acknowledge that the presence of more than one language in the classroom is an asset. Language learning thus has to be considered as a means to the ends and not the other way around (Ashraf, 2018). Translanguaging practices in the classroom should not be seen as “errors” but viewed as “open to variation” (Canagarajah, 2013). Similar practices in the classroom have been both displayed and recommended by scholars for communities in other multilingual and culturally pluralistic regions (Canagarajah, 2011) such as North Omo, Ethiopia (Woldemariam, 2017), Yogyakarta, Indonesia (Rasman, 2018), and Southern Sweden (Karlsson et al., 2018).

In order to ensure that Dhatki and other minority tribal languages remain current and have full support from the community, we recommend that they are incorporated within the classroom in engaging ways (UNESCO, 2008). This can be achieved by high levels of community engagement and creating a supportive atmosphere within the class. We are currently working closely with Dr. Solano-Flores at Stanford University and Dr. Susan Malone at UNESCO to create a cultural curriculum that will foster respect and pride for all tribal languages in the region. This includes bringing tribal leaders to come to share their stories in their own languages on a weekly basis and incorporating projects which involve the child’s tribal languages into the curriculum. For example, asking the children to translate a story taught in class in Sindhi into their own native language (orally or written script) with the help of their grandparents or other community members.

A major strength of this model is that it supports the learning of one’s mother-tongue but allows them to separate themselves from the systemic oppression against tribal languages present in Pakistan (Tamim 2014, Mohanty, 2008, 2012; Heugh et al. 2015). By equipping Thari students with the regional, national, and international language, we are able to produce change-makers who can acknowledge the oppression against their mother-tongue and have the linguistic skillset to be able to stand up against it. It is one small step towards shattering negative stereotypes regarding tribal languages and working towards changing the status of minority languages in Pakistan. Attempts must be made to break the ‘English-medium fever’ (Manan et al. 2017a) and improve the perception of tribal languages within the Thar region. We recommend community-based educational sessions take place where it is openly acknowledged that English is not a “superior” language. Rather, it is one of the many languages which can be used to communicate.

Similarly, given the recent interest in learning Chinese, we note that perceptions about the superiority of Chinese should be actively discouraged. While the learning of Chinese is not an urgent concern, the respondents’ reasons for wanting to learn Chinese suggest that it may eventually hold a similar status to English. To avoid creating a “Chinese-medium fever”, these conversations must take place in the classroom and

outside. Community education must go hand in hand with education within the classrooms (UNESCO, 2018; Manan et al. 2017). We hope that such education programs will deconstruct existing myths and misconceptions about mother-tongue education and encourage communities to think about the cultural and linguistic value of their mother-tongues (Channa et al., 2016; Ali, 2015; Canagarajah and Ashraf 2013, Ashraf, 2018; Pathan et al, 2018; Manan et al. 2017a, 2017b).

We would like to emphasize that this model is not meant to be generalized to other regions of Pakistan. It is important to note that no educational model is perfect. The best model is one that suits the population it wishes to serve. We highly recommend each region to tailor its education policy according to the requirements and preferences of the population. We hope that this study will shine a light on the nuances of language use and its implications for the classrooms. Additionally, we hope it will inspire other nations to look at their own language policy with a critical eye and to ask themselves: is our policy best suited for our people?

Appendix

A. Sample of Questionnaire

Questionnaire used for Socio-Linguistic Survey TCF/SL/04/Q/01
 ٻولين جي سماجي سروي بابت سوالنامو

Category: Teachers/Principals
 استادن / پرنسيپال جو فارم

Instructions: هدايتون:

1. Please mark all the options that apply. 1. مهرباني ڪري جن سوالن جا جواب ڏيڻا آهن انهن سڀني تي نشان لڳايو.

2. In some questions, you will be required to write answers. 2. ڪجهه سوالن جا توهان کي جواب لکڻا پوندا.

3. Please write the answers as clearly as possible. 3. مهرباني ڪري واضح ۽ سمجه ۾ ايندڙ جواب لکو.

Category A – Language(s) Used حصو الف: استعمال ٿيندڙ ٻوليون

1. What language is your mother tongue? 1. توهان جي مادري ٻولي ڪهڙي آهي؟

Language		ٻولي جو نالو
Dhatki	<input type="checkbox"/>	ڍاٽڪي
Sindhi	<input type="checkbox"/>	سنڌي
Urdu	<input type="checkbox"/>	اردو
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	انگريزي
Other (Please state):	<input type="checkbox"/>	ڪا ٻي (نالو لکو)

2. Please mention how well you speak each of the languages given in the table below. (mark with a tick inside the boxes) 2. هيٺ ڏنل ٻولين مان توهان ڪهڙيون ٻوليون ڳالهائي سگهو ٿا؟ (گهربل خاني ۾ ٽڪ جو نشان لڳايو)

Language	Excellent بهترين	Average وچترو	Weak ڪمزور	Not at All بلڪل نه	ٻولي جو نالو
Dhatki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ڍاٽڪي
Sindhi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	سنڌي
Urdu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	اردو
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	انگريزي

If you can speak any other language not mentioned above, please mention the language below جيڪڏهن توهان ڪي ٻيون ٻوليون ڳالهائي سگهو ٿا ته هيٺ ڏنل خائن ۾ انهن جا نالا لکو.

Language	Excellent بهترين	Average وچترو	Weak ڪمزور	ٻولي جو نالو
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

B. Note On Positionality

The research team who went to Thar consisted of four individuals- three female, and one male. The females were identifiably Muslim as they cover their heads. The male was Hindu, identifiable through the association of caste through his name. Additionally, the four researchers were from Karachi, Pakistan, a predominantly Urdu-speaking city associated with wealth and higher status. These characteristics undoubtedly influenced the findings of the research. They dictated the interactions which occurred in Tharparkar. They also shaped the accessibility to the majority of the spaces as spaces in Tharparkar are often gendered and limited to followers of certain religions. While careful efforts were made to limit this

positionality- such as hiring locals to conduct the survey in certain sensitive spaces- acknowledging researcher positionality is central to any research in the social sciences. Below are some pictures from Tharparkar which illustrate how personal characteristics- such as one's attire and affiliations- such as religious or gender identity- may impact the responses received.



Choices in attire can make researchers identifiable as an 'outsider'



Gendered Spaces



The use of technology can act as a sign of wealth

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