

# **The multilingual literacy practices of Mirpuri migrants in Pakistan and the UK: Combining New Literacy Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis**

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

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# Abstract

The multilingual literacy practices of Mirpuri migrants in Pakistan and the UK: Combining New Literacy Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis

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This thesis is part of a four-year study of a Mirpuri family's migrations, as seen through the lens of New Literacy Studies. This means understanding literacy as a social practice, applied in different contexts to meet different purposes, in this case for the purposes of migration. This focus meant exploring many different activities involving reading and writing in the everyday lives of migrants and relating these to those individuals' migrations embedded in the histories of specific Pakistani communities, their literacies and their migration trajectories, as well as the development of immigration policies in the UK. The study draws on the experiences of many family members but centres on one individual who migrated to the UK from Pakistan during the course of the fieldwork.

Taking an ethnographic perspective implied taking part in many of these activities as well as observing them and asking about them in interviews. This generated a range of data from many different community locations in Mirpur and Hillington. These data were analysed by combining New Literacy Studies with Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), specifically the

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). What this meant was that the insider perspective that is so central to NLS was integrated with CDS's critical perspective on society and the social problems related to literacy and migration, as well as with detailed and systematic text and genre analysis. The central concern was how Mirpuri migrants gained access to the dominant literacies of migration at a time when the UK government was increasingly moving towards a more textually mediated immigration regime. The study looked at what literacies were drawn on as prospective migrants and their families engaged with the bureaucracies of immigration when, for example, filling in visa application forms. However, the scope of this study went beyond an analysis of the texts of immigration and explored the literacy practices that link texts with institutions, social structures and discourses about migration. The thesis shows that these literacy practices are part of the broader language practices that multilingual migrants from Mirpur draw on in their everyday lives, that English is only one of many resources in their repertoires, and that in order to understand how Mirpuris build ties with those around them, all the languages that they use must be considered.



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# Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it is not been previously included in a thesis or a report submitted to this University or to any institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Background to the thesis**

This study is the result of work I have carried out as a researcher, teacher trainer and language adviser in Pakistan and the UK. It emerged from several research projects which I was involved in from 2008 to 2013. Initially I investigated language and literacy in the lives of a Pakistani family in north Manchester. Taking the opportunity to extend this study by travelling to Pakistan with them for three months in 2009, I then decided to stay in Pakistan for twelve months to work at the British Council. During that time I travelled across the country for work and formally carried out a small-scale study of English language learning for prospective migrants from Azad Kashmir. In this study, I contrasted the educational experiences of four English language learners and their access to English, Urdu and Mirpuri Punjabi. The reason for choosing this approach was to begin exploring the role of language and literacy in the chain migration which has developed between this part of Azad Kashmir and the northwest of England. By tracing access to English language courses and tests, the study demonstrated that English contributes to family life at a time when the West is experiencing a tightening of the relationship between language, immigration, citizenship and national security (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Cooke and Simpson 2008). Since the '9/11' attacks in the US, there has been increased scrutiny of Muslims entering the UK and a conflation of English language proficiency with social integration. The aim for the PhD study was to extend this small-scale research by exploring the role of all the languages and literacies in Mirpuri migrants' repertoires and what roles these play in the chain migration between Mirpur and northwest England.

The initial two stages of the PhD were then followed by a countrywide research project conducted for the British Council, which I coordinated from Islamabad, which explored language and education in Pakistan. This involved generating recommendations for the Government of Pakistan and a process

of public scrutiny through policy dialogues, conference presentations, ministerial level discussions and interactions with the public which took place during October 2010 and February 2011, culminating in *Language and Education in Pakistan: Recommendations for Policy and Practice* (Coleman and Capstick 2012). Findings related to the language in education situation in Pakistan are included in Chapter 4 of this thesis as they form part of the social, political and economic context of this study. From this vantage point I began the main study of my PhD in May 2011 by working with a key informant from the 2011 study and developing a research project which explored the roles of language and literacy in his and his family's migrations.

Thus the data for this PhD were collected in four phases, though it was only in the first, second and fourth phases where I consider my role to be that of a university researcher rather than an employee of a non-governmental organisation.

## **1.2 Background to Pakistan**

This section deals briefly with facts about Pakistan which are presented by governmental and non-governmental agencies as a way of capturing two of its enduring characteristics on the international stage: security and poverty. From 2008 to 2013 when this study was carried out, Pakistan was in the news across the world due to increased militancy and the US-led war against the Taliban in the northwest of the country. Azad Kashmir, a disputed territory also in the north of Pakistan, has its own security issues (Puri 2010) which emerged at the time of independence from Britain and which are explored in this thesis. Hence the portrayal of both country and territory is often dominated by political and military issues. Furthermore, Western imperialism has a long history in the region, Pakistan having been carved out of British India in 1947, since which time the population has grown dramatically. Moreover, migration to Britain has also increased dramatically due to the colonial ties which bound the cheap labour of towns like Mirpur to the industrial heartlands of England. In terms of development, however, Pakistan

has one of the lowest figures in the world for public expenditure on education at only 2.9% of GDP (UNDP 2010), a statistic which is often quoted as an indication of poverty in the country. Hence many Mirpuris leave school having been unable to access literacy in Urdu, the national language, or English, the official language, which then makes their goal of migrating to Britain more challenging. At the same time, they are more determined as England is seen as a land of opportunity. Conversely, the British government no longer requires cheap labour from South Asia and is gradually moving towards tighter controls on migration from non-European Economic Area countries. Five months after the start of my data collection in Mirpur, in November 2010, the British government introduced English language testing for migrants. This had immediate consequences for the participants in this study, their language learning and their literacy practices, as individuals turn to their family, friends and wider communities in order to access the literacies that they need to migrate. These are the literacies that they need for filling in visa forms as well as those for maintaining ties with their families and friends before and after migration.

It is the aim of this study from this point onwards to explore these literacies of migration by looking at their roles in migration from Mirpur to Lancashire in the northwest of England.

### **1.3 Research interests**

In this section I briefly set out my research interests and the reasons for choosing this study. I have been interested in language in education since I started work as a teacher in 1994, as the medium of instruction in the classroom, and all the other languages that are used alongside it, influence how some students have access to literacy while others do not. Working in countries such as Pakistan, where this medium of instruction can be very different to the languages used at home, meant that I then became curious about the relationship between home and school and how this influenced access to literacy. Moreover, I grew up in a part of Lancashire (UK), where

many Pakistani migrants from poor parts of Pakistan have settled and, during my lifetime, I have witnessed the politicization of issues related to immigration and integration in my home county. While working in Pakistan, these interests coalesced into my questioning the power relations which prevented access to dominant languages such as Urdu and English and how this lack of access was then compounded when Pakistanis migrated to the UK where English is the dominant language and literacy. From these initial interests, I developed a research proposal which I submitted to Lancaster University and the ESRC which linked literacy, language and power through the analysis of dominant and vernacular literacies in migration. This proposal was accepted and in 2008 I began a full-time PhD in the Linguistics Department (LAEL) at Lancaster. In the following section I set out how the research interests outlined above are related to my critical project.

#### **1.4 My critical project**

In *Discourse and power in a multilingual world* (2005), Blackledge explores the connection between the violent disturbances on the streets of northern towns in 2001 and the introduction of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act at the end of 2002. Part of the legislation included a requirement for the spouses of British citizens to demonstrate proficiency in English when applying for British citizenship. Through his analysis of complex chains of discourse, Blackledge was able to show that political actors argued that the violence on the streets was caused by some Asian residents' inability to speak English. These findings are foundational to my own study for two reasons.

The first is that Blackledge's analysis of policymaking on language, immigration and citizenship frames my own study, as the core of this PhD is an investigation of how families cope with immigration bureaucracy when spouses wish to live together in England. The second reason for taking up Blackledge's work is his application of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) of CDA, drawing extensively from Reisigl and Wodak (2001), as a theory and methodology for understanding the relations between discourse

and social practices. I aim to do that in this study too, through my analysis of literacy as a social practice as well as in my critical enterprise. By critical enterprise I mean the way in which I 'make the implicit explicit' in the analysis of discourse, following Chilton et al. who suggest that this means 'making explicit the implicit relationship between discourse, power and ideology, challenging surface meanings, and not taking anything for granted' (2010: 491). Chilton, following Wodak (1989), also highlights a further aspect of the critical enterprise which I use to orient my study, that of being reflexively self-critical. This is also captured in Heller's critical sociolinguistics which she defines as 'informed and situated social practice, one which can account for what we see, but which also knows why we see what we do, and what it means to tell the story' (2011:6). What I take from Heller here is that, as a researcher researching discourses, my critical project must include a critical examination of my own discourses. I see this as part of the way that ethnographers think about reflexivity when addressing the ways the researcher and the conditions of the study affect knowledge production in the field, and my awareness of this. In light of this, I explore my own research journey in Chapter 3 through a reflexive account of how my positionings impact on the production of research (McCorkel and Myers 2003). In the following section I describe the research aim and questions on which my critical project rests.

## **1.5 Research Aim and Research Questions**

It is on the basis of the initial research findings and orientations described in the sections above that I formulated the following research aim: to understand the literacies and languages related to migration and what these tell us about how migrants make use of all of their language resources in a range of institutional and non-institutional settings.

Based on this aim I formulated the following research questions:

1. What literacies are available in Mirpur and how do prospective migrants access English and Urdu for migration?
2. How do Mirpuri migrants to the UK and their families use literacy mediation when dealing with the dominant literacies of migration?
3. What language and literacy practices do Mirpuri migrants, their families and friends choose to stay in touch online and how do they justify these language and literacy choices?
4. How can the Discourse Historical Approach in Critical Discourse Studies be combined with New Literacy Studies to explore the multilingual literacy practices of migrants?



## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Introduction**

I draw on two overarching theoretical traditions in this thesis: the social practices approach to the study of literacy, generally referred to under the label New Literacy Studies (NLS), and the discourse historical approach (DHA) in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). In the first part of this chapter I explore which aspects of these traditions I draw from and the extent to which I draw from them. I begin by explaining the origins of NLS, before moving on to a discussion of the roots of CDA and the DHA. I then bring these two theoretical traditions together to explain how I combine the two approaches for the purposes of this study. This includes a discussion of where the two approaches differ and where they coincide, through an exploration of the concepts which I draw from in my work. This is followed by a discussion of ethnography and its application in NLS and the DHA; this further explores the similarities and differences between the two approaches.

Further details related to the theoretical framework can be found at the beginning of the three analysis chapters, where I outline the theoretical concepts which apply to that specific data set. Therefore, in Chapter 5, I discuss the theory of literacy sponsorship in relation to the literacy practices of Mirpuris in Mirpur. Chapter 6 begins with the theory of literacy mediation in relation to the literacy practices of Mirpuri migrants and their children in the UK. Chapter 7 begins by presenting a case for conceptualizing language as heteroglossia, before exploring how family and friends maintain ties through Facebook. The fourth and final analysis chapter explores vernacular writing by looking at what Usman said in interviews about his choice of the written and spoken forms of the linguistic resources discussed in Chapter 7, and how he defines and justifies the use of these language resources online.

## 2.2 Power and practices

This PhD thesis takes its orientation from the New Literacy Studies (NLS) body of research, which focuses on the analysis of texts and practices. In this study, these are the texts of everyday life as well as the institutional texts of immigration, as I am exploring the role of literacy in migration from Azad Kashmir to Lancashire. The following section describes how research in literacy studies takes practices as its central viewpoint in the study of texts, 'encompassing what people do with texts and what these activities mean to them' (Barton and Hamilton 2000: 9), though first it is important to establish how power relations are central to the entire thesis.

Barton and Hamilton (2000) claim that practices are neither accidental nor random but are given their structure by institutions. This includes social institutions, such as the family, education and religion, all of which are investigated in this study. They also include those institutions which are more formally structured through rules and procedures, documentation and penalties. In this study, these are the bureaucratic institutions which migrants come into contact with when migrating to the UK. This is because migrants' specific literacies have been shaped by these institutions. Thus, this study looks at the ways in which institutions, with the power to shape literacy, both support dominant literacy practices while suppressing non-dominant literacy practices. As discussed in the following section, Barton and Hamilton argue that 'literacy practices' are 'patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others' (2000: 12). To understand how some literacy practices are more dominant than others, it is useful to turn to Castell's definition of power which is grounded in the relationship between institutions, values and society, just as literacy practices are patterned by institutions and the meanings and values of individuals. Castells argues that:

Power is the most fundamental process in society, since society is defined around values and institutions, and what is valued and institutionalized is defined by power relationships. Power is the

relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s) in ways that favor the empowered actor's will, interests and values. (2014: 10)

Thus, in this study, I take up Castells' claim that 'relational capacity' is the relationship between 'the subjects of power, those who are empowered and those who are subjected to such empowerment in a given context' (2009: 11). I do this as it provides an understanding of how power patterns social actors' interests and values through institutional relationships between dominant and non-dominant groups, which is central to understanding how power relations pattern literacy practices.

Building on the central claim outlined above by Barton and Hamilton, that some literacies are more dominant and visible than others, Tusting argues that a focus on how these processes have occurred over time can lead to a more fruitful understanding of power relations and literacy practices (2000). This, she suggests, can lead to challenging the power relations that make some literacies more powerful than others. With this in mind, it is an aim of this study to examine how migrants do not go as far as challenging the power relations that make their migration from Azad Kashmir to Lancashire difficult, but rather how they go about appropriating the literacies that make their migration successful. Castells argues that 'power is exercised by means of coercion (or the possibility of it) and/or by the construction of meaning on the basis of the discourses through which social actors guide their action' (2009: 10). Thus, according to Castells, these relationships play out by threats of violence or through discourses that constitute social action. Power is certainly exercised in Pakistan by means of coercion, as the military has always loomed large in the running of the country. In 2013 Asif Ali Zardari was the first democratically elected president to complete a full five-year term and not be ousted from his position by the military (Crilly 2013). It is, however, primarily the construction of meaning on the basis of institutional discourses that this study focuses on, and not the basis of coercion (though an analysis of discourses about the military is included). Coercion in my study can be seen in

relation to the British government declining applications for visas from the spouses of British citizens.

In her seminal study exploring institutional power, Wodak looked at everyday situations, including clinical conversations between doctors and patients and school committee meetings, which depend on institutional actors conveying precise information to their clients. What Wodak found was confusion instead of comprehension, as obstacles to communication were established in what Castells might claim is the relational capacity, i.e. the relationship between subjects with power and those who are subject to that power. Wodak found that:

...disorders in discourse result from gaps between distinct and insufficiently coincident cognitive worlds: the gulfs that separate insiders from outsiders, members of institutions from clients of those institutions, and elites from the normal citizen uninitiated in the arcana of bureaucratic language and life. They are traceable not only to the use of unfamiliar professional or technical jargon, but also to the immanent structure of discourses themselves. (1996: 1-2)

Discourses are explored in my study in order to establish how migrants influence the relational capacity through their literacy practices which, as I established earlier, come about through the ways in which institutions shape particular literacies. I do this by looking at how migrants negotiate what Wodak describes as the 'gulfs that separate insiders from outsiders' (ibid.) as migrants use their literacy practices to favour their will over that of the empowered actors', within institutions of migration, in order to comply with the requirements of the application. This is because language is central to constructing the will of empowered actors in organizational settings (Wodak et al. 2012). Hence I look at the language used by those in power, the British government, through visa application forms, and explore the dominant practices of migration by tracing the language and literacy practices which migrants use to challenge this domination by exploring both the interactional

and structural processes which are linked to wider power struggles (Wodak et al. 2012; Heller 1995; Blackledge and Creese 2010).

### **2.3 The roots of New Literacy Studies**

There are three main disciplinary families in which NLS has taken root: psychology, anthropology and applied linguistics. It is important to say something about each of these in order to understand the theoretical frameworks which influence my study.

Firstly, by the 1980s, cross-cultural psychologists working in America had begun to critique the dominant paradigm of literacy which suggested that a shift from oral to written communication brought with it underlying cognitive changes which were independent of context. Within this paradigm, psychologists conflated the ability to write with the ability to think in an abstract and logical manner. For example, Ong (1982, 1992) suggested that writing allows individuals to order their world in a more structured way, as literacy is a more structured form of language than speaking. Scribner and Cole (1981), however, countered this view with research carried out in Liberia. They found that schooling is a more influential variable in changes to individuals' thoughts rather than literacy. They demonstrated that the specific uses of literacy which schools promote can be linked to specific changes in individuals' lives, rather than the ability to read and write being solely responsible for those changes. There was a shift, therefore, towards seeing how literacy works in specific contexts.

At the same time as this paradigmatic shift, Street's anthropological work in Iran countered the idea that literacy is a decontextualized skill which can, independently of other factors, have an effect on other cognitive processes, and he demonstrated that literacy is socially shaped. Street (1984) refers to the former notion as the 'autonomous' model, as it relies on the assumption that literacy is a universal and neutral skill whose consequences do not depend on the context. Street argues that literacy is embedded in the society

and culture and does not exist autonomously in individuals' heads. His achievement was to demonstrate that individuals' use of literacy is based on the social context and power relations, which he did by exploring the different forms of reading and writing which take place in different contexts, what people think about literacy, the values people bring to it and what kind of literacy it is that they value (Street 1996). Through his research in Iran, he was able to show that the contexts in which literacy take place imbue individuals' writing with different meanings, hence the term 'ideological' model of literacy, which he coined to highlight that literacy is neither a neutral nor a technical skill. Street argues that activities which involve reading and writing vary greatly according to the context, as they carry the values of the groups who perform these activities as well as the specific cultural conventions of the contexts in which they are practised. In this sense, literacy is embedded in practices and the cultural meanings with which reading and writing are imbued are always socially situated.

The third discipline which is central to this new way of conceiving of reading and writing is the tradition emanating from Applied Linguistics (Gee 1990; Barton and Hamilton 1998; Baynham 1993). Working in the sociolinguistic tradition, Shirley Brice Heath took insights from the wider field of Applied Linguistics when developing the notion of a literacy event, which is adapted from the ethnography of communication. Literacy events refer to 'occasion[s] in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes' (Heath 1983: 50). As in Street's work, exploring the social activities in which reading and writing occur reclaims the essential role of society and culture in shaping people's literacy, which is missing from the 'autonomous' view outlined above. This new conceptualisation of literacy means that the meanings and intentions individuals bring to literacy events can be explored (Papen 2005) by emphasising how literacy is used by people in groups, rather than solely by individuals. In her seminal study, Heath (1983) introduced the importance of observing literacy which occurs jointly between adults and children in the home, and the influence that forms of this literacy has on reading and writing at school. She found that children are socialized into both oral and written

language practices and was able to identify the consequences of this language socialization for educational performance at school. Heath was able to link literacy events to children's socialization.

The three traditions discussed above all have their foundations in the notion that language is always understood as situated practice. These traditions, along with discourse analysis, also share the notion that 'ideas and forms of knowledge that are materialised in the form of written and visual discourse are always shaped by who, where and in which specific situations these ideas are being pronounced' (Papen: 1 forthcoming). The extent to which these situations are influenced not only by the immediate context but also by the wider socio-political context are explored in the following section, which examines the *situated practices* in which literacy occurs.

## **2.4 Literacy practices**

Street's findings, that literacy can only be understood in relation to its context, focuses on particular uses of texts and text production (Barton and Papen 2010). Consequently, from the 1980s onwards, researchers in this tradition have oriented, theoretically, to the socially contingent nature of literacy and the ways in which it conveys the attitudes and values of groups in which it occurs. This is based on the early findings of Heath and Street outlined above, which Barton and Hamilton developed in their work to explore these different uses of literacy in different contexts. These different uses are captured in the concept of literacy practices, which is at the core of my study. Barton and Hamilton describe literacy practices as:

...the general cultural ways of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy. However practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships. (2000: 7).

The concept of literacy practices is illustrated in Street's research on the teaching of literacy for the purpose of religious duty in religious schools in Iran. The duty of students, Street observed, is to learn religious texts by rote, which led him to the notion that learners of all texts are socialised into particular literacy practices (1984). Street suggested that memorizing texts is a specific literacy practice. This practice, he argues, is different from more analytical and critical forms of reading texts, but both practices involve taking meaning from text. The plurality of literacy uses, the cultural contexts in which literacy is used, and the extent to which its uses are imbued with the values of individuals and communities are therefore central to understanding literacy practices. Street illustrated this by demonstrating the different uses of literacy in the mosque and comparing these to how literacy is used in the market. Again, these different uses can be described in terms of different literacy practices.

In order to understand more fully the concept of literacy practices, it is useful to return to Heath's notion of literacy events (1983). In employing this term, Heath tries to capture the visible things people do with literacy, whereas with literacy practices Street explored in greater detail the conventions, values and beliefs which shape literacy events. Understanding literacy in this way means understanding the networks of relationships within which those literacy practices exist, rather than seeing literacy narrowly, as an individual, observable, property or skill. For Barton and Hamilton, literacy practices are located at the group level, but can also be found at the level of individuals who have their own ways of acting and thinking in relation to a group's literacy (1998). They developed a perspective on literacy which sees reading and writing as situated social practices (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič 2000; Barton 2007). Hence, in order to better understand reading and writing, researchers turned to ethnography to observe the literacy events in which people engage, and in doing so develop a portrait of literacy practices among groups.

This shift in focus from literacy skills to literacy practices happened at around the same time that a wider shift in linguistics took place, from understanding language as a system to examining the use of language in contexts of



situation, as in the ethnography of communication and sociolinguistics, as well as discourse studies and critical discourse studies (Maybin and Tusting 2011). Literacy studies converges with sociolinguistics here through a belief that language and the social world mutually shape each other through a dynamic process which can be understood by close investigation of language use and meaning-making in everyday contexts. Both convergence and divergence in the fields of literacy studies and sociolinguistics are discussed further in Section 2.9, in relation to the field of linguistic ethnography. Before that discussion, in the following section I explain how I explore the literacy practices in this section, in terms of literacies in the plural.

## **2.5 Dominant and Vernacular Literacies**

As with other studies located in the NLS tradition, in my own study I talk about literacies in the plural in order to highlight the shift away from an autonomous model of literacy towards an approach in which literacies are associated with different social practices. This is because literacy practices are composed of specific activities, as well as being part of broader social processes, such as migration. In their work, Barton and Lee (2013) start from the notion of social practices more generally, and then see literacy practices as social practices associated with the written word. Literacy practices are different from 'literacies', which are configurations of related literacy practices associated with specific domains (Barton and Hamilton 1998). To give an example, in this study, visa literacies are explored in terms of the specific literacy practices involved in making an application for a visa to live in the UK. These literacy practices include filling in application forms, collecting documents which constitute proof of a divorce in the UK, and collating personal correspondence between the visa applicant and the sponsor. In this example, visa literacies constitute a broader category to which different and more specific visa literacy practices belong. Here, literacies are used in the plural in order to capture the range of activities and meanings, and the variety of domains, in which literacy practices occur. This means recognizing the diversity of literacy practices and

the different types of texts associated with different domains (Street 1984; Barton 1994; Baynham 1993; Gee 1990).

It is useful to think of domains as structured contexts in which literacy events occur, though Barton and Hamilton (1998) point out that those domains are not clear-cut. The boundaries between domains, and the discourse communities which are associated with them, are permeable. Discourse communities relate to the 'generally accepted ways of using language by the people who use it' (Barton and Lee 2013: 32). This view is based on Barton's (1994) earlier elaboration of Swales' (1990) approach to discourse community and genre. For Swales, the former is constituted through an agreed collection of shared aims which come about through the group's internal communication and means of generating shared genres. These genres are 'linguistically realized activity types' (Martin 1985: 250) which are created by the discourse community in order to realise a shared purpose. Hence, in my study, when prospective migrants fill in visa forms, with the help of an immigration solicitor in her office, the genre is the visa application form and its professional terminology, the discourse community of the solicitor is the legal community including their discursive expertise, and the domain is the office situation. Discursive expertise here can be understood in the Foucauldian (1984) sense of knowledge of the relationships between different discursive events and the 'patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures' (Wodak 2008: 6). I discuss how I use the concept of discourse in detail in Section 2.9.1.

It must be emphasised that there is movement between different domains and discourse communities, though the activities within them are not random, as there are particular configurations of literacy practices in which people act in specific domains (Barton and Hamilton 1998). Hence, to return to the previous example, the practices associated with filling in visa forms in the home will be different from those associated with filling in the same visa forms in the office of an immigration consultant. That different literacies are associated with different domains is central to the theoretical framework of this study, which takes the distinct practices associated with schools and homes in Pakistan and explores the continuities of these practices when they are taken up in the

UK by migrants and their families. These literacies are patterned by social institutions, where some are more dominant than others. Following Barton and Hamilton (2000), this study contrasts dominant and powerful literacies with vernacular practices which are less supported and less visible. For Barton and Hamilton, vernacular literacy practices serve everyday purposes and are rooted in everyday experiences (1998). For Barton (2010), two important features of vernacular literacies are that they are voluntary and self-regulated, rather than being framed by social institutions, and he draws on Deborah Brandt's work (1998; 2001) in suggesting that everyday literacies are self-sponsored (sponsorship, the promotion of prevention of access to literacy, is explored in Chapter 6). Vernacular literacies can be contrasted with dominant literacies in terms of the experts and professionals who have access to the knowledge which controls and regulates the latter. While perhaps only a relatively small number of people might have such access, this study seeks to explore how far the literacy activities of by far the larger number of people, in this case migrants, are appropriated, sustained and challenged in relation to dominant literacy practices in migration.

Dominant literacies are explored in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6, while vernacular literacies are explored in Chapters 7 and 8. At this point in the theoretical framework, it is important to set out a theoretical orientation as to how multilingual migrants are able to negotiate language choice and use their languages strategically through dominant and vernacular literacy practices. This is explored in the following section, which turns to literacy as a resource for multilingual communities.

## **2.6 Multilingual literacies**

The study of multilingual literacies emerged from work in the NLS tradition, which also draws on the sociolinguistic study of bilingualism (Martin-Jones and Jones 2000). The degree to which I draw from these theoretical traditions is explained below.

I use the term multilingual rather than bilingual in order to capture the diversity and complexity of individuals and communities' repertoires. To do this I follow Martin-Jones and Jones's three closely related aspects of multilingualism (2000). Firstly, I use multilingual to describe the communicative repertoires of those groups and individuals who have more than one spoken or written language variety associated with their cultural inheritance. Secondly, and in recognition of the blurred boundaries between dominant and vernacular literacies, my theoretical framework is positioned towards an understanding of multilingualism which posits that there are multiple paths to the acquisition of spoken and written language varieties (Martin-Jones and Jones 2000). Hence, schooled and unschooled literacies need to be explored in order fully to understand how migrants acquire literacy in all of the languages in their repertoires. Finally, I orient to Martin-Jones and Jones's understanding of multilingualism as signalling the multiplicity of communicative purposes that are associated with spoken and written languages and the 'traces of the social structures and language ideologies of the country of origin' (2000: 6). I use three categories to capture the complexities of different languages and language varieties.

It is useful to explore in more detail the concept of language ideologies as mentioned above (Martin-Jones and Jones 2000: 6). Here I take *language ideologies* to mean sets of beliefs and feelings about language which, when explored, expose relations between these beliefs about language and the language user's social world. These language ideologies are less about language alone but more socially situated and embedded in questions of identity and power in societies (Woolard 1998). Hence, language ideologies are bound up with the individual's everyday language choices (Blommaert 2008). In this respect, I pay particular attention to how the language choices of participants in this study are influenced by family members' ideas about specific languages, and specifically the values concerning languages which are communicated by family, friends, the community and the state. These language choices are explored in Chapter 8 of the study, before moving onto an analysis of the language ideologies of everyday multilingual and monolingual practices, in Chapter 9, which manifest belief systems attributed

to those language choices (Wodak 2014). By analysing language ideologies in this way I bring together work by Milani (2008; 2010), Wodak et al. (2012) and Wodak (2014) with an analysis of vernacular literacy practices and NLS.

Following Barton and Hamilton (1998), I suggest that language ideologies play out through everyday literacies associated with different domains of life. These domains include school, home and the spaces in-between, all of which are salient in understanding multilingual literacies as users negotiate the dominant literacies of the school and the vernacular literacies of the home. For example, all the family members I interviewed for this study told me that written Urdu and English are valued above written Mirpuri Punjabi, which they believe has no script as they were not taught to read and write Punjabi in school. This means that family members are not literate in their first language, whereas in India, where written Punjabi is ideologically associated with religion and culture, many Hindi and Sikh Punjabi Indians are able to write their first language, which is taught at school.

These language ideological issues have been taken up by colleagues of Martin-Jones at Birmingham University. Blackledge and Creese have sought to extend the field through their work on critical multilingualism (2010). Rather than exploring language acquisition or schooling per se, Blackledge and Creese look at complementary schools as examples of institutional spaces where negotiations about languages take place. This work explores teaching and learning contexts as sites where 'complex bargaining' over linguistic resources takes place, given that 'public discourses and language policies in the UK, as elsewhere in the developed, English speaking world, are frequently out of step with the plural linguistic practices of its population' (2010: 5). For Bourdieu, this is because the official language of a country is bound to that country's beliefs about its nationhood, 'this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured' (1991: 45).

This ideological language debate relates back to the previous point, in that ideologies which appear to be about language are often about political

systems (Gal and Woolard 1995). For this reason, Blackledge and Creese orient to Heller's critical sociolinguistics when adopting a critical perspective on multilingualism since, as they argue, this allows researchers to question the concepts of 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism', which were constructed historically and therefore have different meanings across different times and spaces (Heller 2008; Blackledge and Creese 2010). In orienting to this interrogation of the concepts which underpin my study, I follow these authors in the sense that:

In order to understand access to, and use of, a range of linguistic resources, it is necessary to take a critical view of the ways in which discourses represent those resources. A critical ethnographic approach allows us to make connections between the politics and practice of multilingualism. (2010: 6)

I will explore the critical dimensions of my work later in this chapter, and also the way in which I take up a definition of discourse which enables a critical perspective in my work. First, it is important to establish the theoretical link between the traditions described above, which underpin my study, and their relation to the second theoretical framework which I draw from explicitly in my study, i.e. Critical Discourse Analysis, which is characterized by its attention to power and ideology.

## **2.7 Roots of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

This section deals with the theoretical traditions of CDA and identifies four foundational tenets of the approach which unite CDA studies. The methods often associated with CDA are explored in Chapter 3.

Firstly, a key feature of CDA is its central concern with power and ideology, a position which draws from social and critical theory. The theoretical concepts which constitute the majority of CDA research can, in the tradition of critical theory, be traced back to various scholars, including Bakhtin, Foucault,

Fowler, Gramsci, Habermas and Halliday (Titscher et al. 2000: 14). Taking their theoretical lead from these scholars, contemporary linguists, including Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen, van Dijk and Wodak, have developed their own specific varieties of CDA, as well as drawing from each other's work (see Wodak and Meyer 2009). Hence, from the start, CDA was always multidisciplinary and focused on social problems which have a linguistic dimension. Moreover, it emphasizes interdisciplinarity as a means of understanding how language functions in constituting knowledge and in organizing social institutions, and relates this to the exercise of power in different domains (Wodak 1996). This means that different critical discourse analysts choose different elements of CDA frameworks and combine them in different ways to conduct, in depth, problem-oriented research. Hence, as mentioned at the outset of this study, CDA is neither a method nor a methodology; it is rather about adopting a critical problem-oriented theoretical approach and then selecting specific theories and methodologies based on the research topic and data (van Dijk 2013).

This also points to a second theoretical tenet of many CDA studies, which is that they do not concern themselves with language per se but rather interrogate the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Thirdly, Critical Discourse Analysts carry out these interrogations of social and cultural processes and structures by paying very close attention to the detail of textual features. In the following section this is explored further in relation to the particular approach to CDA which I take in my study, the Discourse Historical Approach. Finally, the fourth tenet which unites much CDA work is the notion that no single theory, or method, exists which is consistent throughout CDA (Blackledge 2005; Fairclough 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2009; Weiss and Wodak 2003). CDA operates across disciplines and situates discourses in their social, cultural and historical contexts. How I operationalise the different theories underpinning my study is explored in Chapter 3.

In the following section, I explore how I go about constructing a theoretical framework which draws on the traditions of CDA by using the DHA. It is an

approach which is characterised by plurality, through a concern with the social rather than the purely linguistic, given that the overarching goal, in the tradition of critical theory, is to illuminate the discursive aspects of social disparities and inequalities (Wodak and Meyer 2009). Rather than talk broadly about these different frameworks, the following section deals with the theoretical framework most closely related to my study, the discourse historical approach, and shows where the DHA and NLS align in my study.

## **2.8 The Discourse Historical Approach to CDA**

As noted above, at the core of CDA approaches is how questions of theory relate to the specific social problems under investigation. In response to this, Wodak argues that the first question to be addressed must be the conceptual tools which are relevant to a specific social problem and its context (2008). Further to this, Wodak's *four-level conceptualization of context* is the most significant aspect of the DHA, from which I draw in my study. This is because she sees the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimensions of context as much a part of the analysis of a specific discursive event as the solely linguistic dimension. Context in this triangulatory approach exists on the following levels (Wodak 2004: 205):

1. The immediate language or text-internal co-text;
2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
3. The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific context of situation (middle-range theories);
4. The broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, into which the discursive context is embedded in and to which it is related (macro theories).

These levels will be operationalised in the thesis in the following way when dealing with dominant literacies in migration. Firstly, the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts of migration are explored in Chapter 4. Next, the



specific context of situation in literacy sponsorship and literacy mediation are explored in Chapters 5 and 6, where I analyse how prospective migrants use literacy when putting together visa applications in specific situations, such as an immigration consultant's office. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between the discourses of migration are also explored in these sections, as is the immediate text of visa forms.

Below, I show how each of these levels aligns to the NLS approach described in the previous section. On the first level of context outlined above, systematic analysis of the linguistic dimension of context takes precedence, as the DHA places much emphasis on investigating the linguistic dimension of text production. Though this level of context takes less precedence in a literacy practices approach to text production, I believe that the linguistic realisation of a literacy event, the textual dimension of literacy practices, can be understood most fully by the systematic linguistic analysis of an event. For example, most digital practices are textually mediated (Barton and Lee 2013). Several studies have explored the textual dimension of these literacies on platforms such as video games (Gee 2004) and instant messaging (Lee 2011), but without paying specific attention to linguistic phenomena, as their focus is young people's practices. Where I draw extensively on the DHA (Chapter 8) is in the analysis of how language ideologies are defined in detail and used to justify language choices in participants' digital literacies. The DHA can be combined with NLS to examine how literacy practices are embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices by exploring their linguistic realisation as part of text production at the immediate level of context.

On the second level, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses are analysed in the sequential analysis of linguistic interaction. The rationale for this is that every text is related to many other texts; therefore, for any specific text, there are sets of other texts which are relevant to, as well as potentially incorporated in, the text. Intertextuality refers to the ways in which texts are always linked to other texts through, for example, references to a topic or to the same event. Recontextualization is where the main arguments are transferred from one

text to another, and hence acquire new meanings in new contexts, while interdiscursivity hinges on the notion that discourses are linked to each other in texts (Wodak 2008). In the previous example, intertextuality in online texts is common as interactants draw from other texts available elsewhere.

In my study, the analysis of this level of context is incorporated into a literacy practices approach to the study of visa literacies, as referred to previously. These multiple texts which are synchronically and diachronically related to the different literacies associated with migration are investigated to establish intertextual relationships. In addition, interdiscursive analysis of migration literacies explores what Fairclough calls the 'ordered set of discursive practices associated with a particular social domain or institution' (1995: 12). In this case, as different literacies are associated with different domains of life (Barton and Hamilton 2000), this level of context can be combined with a literacy practices approach to explore how different visa literacies are associated with different domains of life in Pakistan and the UK. Here, NLS benefits from the DHA's attention to recontextualisation, as discourse is challenged or legitimated by the addition, deletion or rearrangement of elements of a text and the discourses that texts invoke.

On the third level, the socio-psychological context of situation, variables such as gender, ethnicity, age and status are salient to the analysis of a linguistic interaction. On this level, the DHA and NLS share similar concerns with traditional sociolinguistic variables as well as affective factors which are not expressed through linguistic means. An example from my study is the notion of the male migrant as 'imported husband' (Charsley 2005), where the gender and socio-economic status of Mirpuri men marrying British-born Mirpuris must be taken into account in an analysis of their writing when sustaining ties with friends in Mirpur and developing ties with their wife's new family in Britain.

On the fourth level, the historical dimension of context becomes salient, because it includes how a text came into existence. I align this level of context in the DHA with literacy studies, given that literacy practices are also perceived as historically situated (Barton and Hamilton 2000). As discussed in

the previous section, literacy practices are culturally constructed, which means that they have their roots in the past. Literacy events, Maybin argues, 'invoke broader cultural and historical patterns of literacy practices, and instantiate them, or subvert them, or comment on them in some way' (2000: 198). Similarly, this fourth level of context in the DHA accounts for the prevalent historical conditions which brought a text into being. I align the two approaches here by suggesting that, at this level of context, the specific means of production of a text can be explained through specific literacy practices.

Having outlined the main points of the DHA by incorporating alignments with NLS, in the following section I explain the concepts which are salient for my work.

## **2.9 Theoretical concepts in this study**

In this section I set out how I define the salient concepts from the DHA and begin relating them to key concepts from literacy studies. Thus, I consider discourse and text, context, and identity in the three subsections below. In each sub-section I aim to draw together literature from NLS and CDA's DHA to explain how I combine the two frameworks in my own study.

### **2.9.1 Discourse and text**

I conceptualize discourse as situated and socially contingent. In this sense I follow Wodak (2008: 6) in taking up Lemke's definition of discourse (1995: 7):

When I speak about discourse in general, I will usually mean the social activity of making meaning with language and other symbolic systems in some particular kind of situation or setting.

I adopt this particular stance, firstly due to the emphasis on the situated nature of discourse, and secondly due to the socially contingent relation discourse has with text:

On each occasion when the particular meaning characteristic of these discourses is being made, a specific text is produced. Discourses, as social actions more or less governed by social habits, produce texts that will in some ways be alike in their meanings ... When we want to focus on the specifics of an event or occasion, we speak of the text; when we want to look at patterns, commonality, relationships that embrace different texts and occasions, we can speak of discourses. (ibid.)

What this means for my understanding of literacy is that I see discourses invoked in written texts, where specific actions, behaviours and values are communicated through specific literacies. This, Papen has described as 'discourse in relation to literacy as specific ideas, values and ways of behaviour that are implored in and communicated through specific written texts' (2005: 10). Continuing in the NLS tradition, which became prominent through the work of, among other academic institutions, the Literacy Research Centre at Lancaster University, Papen argues that 'a text's meaning is always encapsulated in the institutionalized contexts and practices it is part of' (ibid.: 12). In this sense, Papen's approach to studying the context of literacy can be seen as similar to that of the DHA researchers Wodak and Krzyżanowski, in that context is neither a fixed nor stable entity (2011). It is in this alignment that I see similarities between NLS and the DHA.

The third aspect of discourse which is salient to my theoretical framework is the link between discourse as social practice, described above, and the ideological effects of discourse in the (re)production of power. In order to develop Lemke's earlier definition of discourse, I draw from Wodak and Fairclough to explain the link between discourse and power:

Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (1997: 258)

Here I understand discursive practices as those practices in which discourse is challenged, legitimized, negotiated or established. The term refers to a specific set of rules which are historically and culturally appropriate for producing and organizing different forms of knowledge (Foucault 1972). In order to emphasise the ways in which the processes of production and interpretation of discourses are socially determined, Fairclough (1989) suggests that language is conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of society. He argues that the resources which people have in their heads and draw upon when producing and interpreting texts are not only cognitive but also social, in the sense that they are socially generated, and their very nature depends on the social relations and struggles out of which they emerge. This concept of discourse, drawn from CDA, is central to my understanding of how literacy is used to challenge dominant discourses through different literacies.

However, as Barton and Papen have noted in NLS, the discourse analysis of texts, 'where the focus is on the role of language in the reproduction and transformation of social processes and structures,' focuses narrowly on the products of writing (2010: 7). Given that I understand texts here as specific semiotic realisations of discourse, as in Lemke's definition above, I follow Barton and Papen's premise that 'an anthropological perspective on writing ... goes beyond analysing the products of writing, that is the texts that writers produce. Its core interest is to examine the processes of production and use of texts' (ibid.). I believe that understanding the uses of texts and their processes of production means exploring how the discourses that texts invoke are mediated by individuals and groups. In this study I take literacy to be inseparable from the particular values and ideas of those who make use of it, in the sense that Street describes literacy as 'ideological', as it is 'implicated in

issues of power, authority and differentiation in society which are worked out in different ways according to the context' (Street 1993: 7-8). Thus I combine the DHA and NLS to explore literacies and their power effects across contexts.

To sum up, there is a great deal of overlap between how DHA researchers and literacy studies researchers use the term discourse. This is because DHA scholars, such as Wodak, who use ethnographic methods and text-based analysis base their work on specific contexts, unlike Fairclough who, though advocating ethnographic approaches to context, does not use it himself in his seminal works. Of central importance to my study is how texts are examined in relation to specific contexts of text production, use and interpretation (Papen forthcoming).

With this in mind, I use discourse in my study in three ways. Firstly, I employ the concept of discourse as social practice to explore how literacy is used to challenge dominant literacies and negotiate vernacular literacies in migration. Secondly, when the focus is on a specific literacy event, I draw on the concept of discourse and its socially contingent relationship with the term *text*, where texts are produced in the social practice of discourse. Thirdly, I also employ the concepts of discourse when dealing with the relationship between language and power.

### **2.9.2 Context**

In its broadest form, context can be seen as the environment or surrounding conditions and consequences of 'some phenomenon, event, action, or discourse' (van Dijk 4: 2008). Wodak (2008) suggests that before exploring the rules and norms of these conditions, theories which draw on related disciplines must be used to construct analyses of context. This interdisciplinarity she has embedded within the four-level context model outlined previously. Relating context to the specific social problem under investigation, Wodak argues that drawing on multiple theoretical approaches

allows the analysis of a given context and how this relates to texts. The theoretical decisions which I take in this study about how context is to be explored relate to a theoretical approach in NLS which has been outlined in this chapter, namely, understanding literacy as contextualized practices. Maybin (2000) argues that this emphasis on the contextualized meaning, in addition to the insider perspective, of literacy practices relates to the different ways of conceptualizing context which developed from Malinowski (1923). Maybin suggests that in order to understand language, the 'context of situation' must be established, which will then help explain the situated meaning of utterances (2000: 199). Maybin cites Hymes' work on speech events (1968) which further developed the 'layering' of speech acts within speech events, contextualized within speech situations in speech communities. Hence, 'each 'layer' takes its meaning partly from its superordinate layers' (Maybin 2000: 199). Maybin goes on to argue that, with this foundation, literacy studies has moved towards exploring more complex constitutive interrelationships in its focus on literacy practices. One of these studies, Jones (2000), is explored in greater depth in Chapter 6, which focuses on bureaucratic literacies. Jones' study is relevant here as she demonstrates how the language of interaction functions both within the immediate context whilst also embedding this local literacy event within the wider context of the bureaucratic order. In other words, exploring literacy across contexts transcends a solely linguistic dimension to discursive events and includes historical, political and sociological dimensions, as set out by Wodak in her four-level model of context (2008).

There is, however, a second reason for exploring literacy using the four-level model of context. As discussed throughout this chapter, NLS focuses on contextualized meanings of literacy. But for Brandt and Clinton, social practices' emphasis on the local context in literacy events has under-theorized literacy's ability to 'travel, integrate and endure' and does not adequately consider the 'transcontextualized and transcontextualizing potentials' of what are often called local literacy practices (2002: 338). Their claim is not true of all NLS studies; yet, in order to respond to the transcontextualizing potential of literacy, I draw on the DHA via Wodak's work outlined earlier and also her

work with Fairclough. In understanding context, I look to Wodak and Fairclough's concept of glocalization, 'of understanding how more global processes are being implemented, recontextualized, and thus changed on local/ regional/ national levels' (2010: 22). I do this in the theoretical framework for this study by applying the multi-layered approach to context as defined by Wodak (2008: 11) and discussed earlier. Having suggested earlier in this chapter that different empirical data require different theories and methods of analysis, this also applies to different levels of context. It is, however, important to limit the scope of the problem under investigation to the most salient contextual features. This process of context identification is described in the following methodology chapter.

### **2.9.3 Identity**

In this section I define identity and conceptualise it in relation to the theoretical framework already been discussed by looking at identity alongside discourse and context. I look at these because my initial premise is that, in relation to specific cultural and social contexts, discourse analysis has shown how:

...personal and social identities are shaped in social interactions, and how they are created, reproduced, negotiated, imposed, or even resisted through discourse. Many of the analyses done from a critical perspective focus on the discursive representation of social collectives, and how people enact or attribute identities in discourse. (Grad and Martín Rojo 2008: 8)

Following this conceptualisation, I understand identity as discursively constructed; that is to say, adopting a critical perspective on identity means examining how attributions are imposed on people, as well as resisted through discourse. Brubaker and Cooper make a distinction between 'strong' and 'weak' versions of identity, where the former involves a durable sense of selfhood while the latter emphasizes the context sensitivity of identities as well as their complexity (2000). This conceptualisation helps in understanding the



discursive construction of identity and the relationship between identity, context and discourse in my theoretical framework.

### **2.9.3.1 Identity and literacy**

I now explain how I bring together the analysis of identity and literacy. Ivanič et al. have argued that literacy practices involve a complex negotiation of identities which are held together by values (2009: 50). For example, how migrants choose different literacies to stay in touch with family and friends will relate to their values before and after migration. Their purpose for staying in touch could be financial, related to kinship, or out of a desire to remain friends, but in all cases their identities affect which literacy practices they maintain, take up or relinquish. This is because the meaning and value which individuals attach to literacy practices are shaped by their identities, which are in turn shaped by the values that they hold.

It is important to understand that the relationship between literacy practices and identity is dynamic, thus literacy practices shape identities while identities are shaped by literacy practices. Gee, writing in the NLS tradition, sees literacy as primary in people's lives and central to people's developing sense of social identity (1990). Identity for Gee means the different ways of being in the world, and it is significant in this study as identity is not a static notion of being but one which changes across different times and places (2011). Where I take up Gee's conceptualization of identity is by looking at how the literacy practices of participants change as they perform new identities. I suggest that social identities are represented through individuals' literacy practices and negotiated in ways which allow them to 'fit in', or choose not to 'fit in', to the social processes which connect people in their lives. I develop this concept of identity through an analysis of how migrants negotiate different identities in their day-to-day lives, following Blackledge and Creese, who see identities as legitimized in discourse and social interaction, as multiple and dynamic, and therefore subject to change in different times and places (2010). 'Negotiation' here recognizes how people resist some identities while aspiring to others.

Having explored the concepts which are salient to this study, I now turn to the theoretical framework and how it draws on ethnography, which I see as both a methodology and a research paradigm, unlike the term fieldwork which relates to the settings of the research and the collection of data that occurs there. For this reason I begin with Linguistic Ethnography (LE) in the UK, which can be found at the conjecture of ethnography and linguistics (Rampton et al. 2004), before explaining how I see literacy studies as part of the LE enterprise. I then explore the use of ethnography by the DHA before looking at similarities and differences between the discourse-ethnographic approach and NLS.

## **2.10 Literacy Studies within Linguistic Ethnography**

Tusting (2013) makes the case for the continuing importance of literacy studies within the Linguistic Ethnography (LE) tradition. The latter, she argues, combines perspectives and methodologies from linguistics and ethnography in order to understand the salience of language practices in shaping and being shaped by social and cultural contexts. As with all the approaches discussed so far, there is a range of traditions which make up LE. What unites LE scholars, however, is the view that language shapes the social world while also being shaped by it, which is another concept, as discussed above, where NLS and CDA's DHA align. The key premise here in LE is that language should be studied as a situated practice in context. I orient to this belief, i.e. that the social world and language mutually shape one another by exploring the dynamics, central to LE, of these processes and how literacy studies can attend to the textually mediated (Smith 1999) nature of the social world rather than focusing on oral language, as in most of LE.

Adopting this linguistic ethnographic perspective means locating the present study within a research tradition which, Creese (2008) argues, draws on the ethnography of communication (Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Rampton 2007) and the micro-ethnography of Erickson (1996). Interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) is more central to many studies in the LE tradition than mine, although all these traditions take the processes of meaning-making and the

dialectical relationship between language and culture as their central premise (Tusting 2013). However, my study is influenced by Rampton's work (2005; 2006) in LE which is keen to expand on definitions of the 'local' as well as the 'interactional'. In his work examining spoken classroom interaction, Rampton explores how the classroom intersects with global processes, in a similar way to how the idea of context in the DHA exists at several levels, including the wider historical, political and social contexts.

Blommaert (2003), Blommaert et al. (2005) and Collins and Slembrouk (2005) also draw on linguistic ethnography in their studies exploring spatializing practices and diasporic processes. The focus in these studies, however, is on regimes of interactional practice rather than how such interactions routinely influence discursive flows which are mediated by dominant and vernacular literacy practices. Here, Blommaert's work demonstrates considerable convergence from literacy studies' preoccupation with challenging the deficit view of literacy described in Section 2.2, as Blommaert focuses on the 'communicative inequalities' (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 7) that individuals face in institutional settings. In order to explore how this view of literacy is taken up in other work in the sociolinguistic tradition, I now turn to Blommaert and Rampton's influential paper 'Language and Superdiversity' (2011) to demarcate the blurring of boundaries between literacy studies and sociolinguistics, as I understand it.

### **2.10.1 A new research agenda for studying linguistic diversity**

In their 2011 paper, Blommaert and Rampton establish a research agenda which rests on a contemporary paradigm shift in sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography. This shift is premised on a theoretical and methodological development in language study in which named languages are 'denaturalized' (2011: 1). What they mean is that 'rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of language use, language groups and communication' (2011: 3). It

could be argued that taking a literacy practices perspective has always sought to 'denaturalise' language and literacy. Since the 1990s, Barton and Hamilton have stressed how 'when thinking about the creativity associated with vernacular literacies, it is important to avoid the idea that there is some kind of 'natural' form of language or literacy unencumbered by social institutions' (1998: 253). Such convergence of the two fields is reinforced by their methodological similarities. Many sociolinguists, like literacy researchers, working in this new tradition have turned to ethnography as a methodology which embraces this new research agenda since, with linguistics, it 'produces an exceptionally powerful and differentiated view of both activity and ideology' (ibid.). Blommaert and Rampton's case for this research agenda rests on a revision of homogeneity and boundedness as foundational assumptions in studies of languages and their users. This is because, they argue, there is now a considerable amount of work on the ideologies of language which problematizes the notion that there are distinct languages which are sealed off from each other. They argue that named languages, such as English, are tied to the development of the nation state in the nineteenth century, and drawing on Heller (2007) they should no longer be linked to the bounded communities of users that were once thought of as using these languages as bounded systems. Having established a case for drawing from linguistic ethnography in the previous section of the theoretical framework for this study, it is now the aim of this section to explore these claims and to identify how far I orient towards the new research agenda, as well to point to where I see the limits of orienting my theoretical framework towards new developments in the field of sociolinguistics.

Firstly, I will explain how my theoretical framework orients towards a view of language which starts from assumptions of language as mixed, mobile and historically embedded, by taking up the concept of *heteroglossia* which Blommaert and Rampton, among others, endorse. I do this by exploring how the term is defined as part of this new research agenda, and how this fits into contemporary scholarship on multilingualism. Next, I describe the theoretical connection between heteroglossia and the concept of vernacular literacy, which I employ in this study as a means of showing where and how I align

literacy studies with LE and the new sociolinguistic research discussed above, as well as explaining where I see the two fields diverging. To do this, I examine Blommaert's notion of supervernacular, alongside Barton and Hamilton's notion of vernacular, literacy, as outlined in previous sections. In the following methodology chapter, I introduce how I conceptualise ethnography in order to explain the methods I use to explore heteroglossia in my data.

### **2.10.2 Heteroglossia**

In this section I explain what is meant by heteroglossia and why I orient to this theory instead of the more traditional theory of code-switching. I do this to contribute to what Blackledge and Creese describe as 'contemporary debates about multilingualism', which propose that 'Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia offers a lens through which to view the social, political, and historical implications of language practice' (2014: 1). As described above, I see this as an important view to take, as the migrants in my study cross many of the boundaries that traditional research on speech communities once saw as distinct or bounded.

Blackledge and Creese (2014) draw together a variety of studies which employ the concept of 'heteroglossia' in different ways. All contributors appear to agree that Bakhtin (1994) understood heteroglossia as a multifaceted concept, though the term itself was created by the translators of Bakhtin, rather than the scholar himself. Malinowski and Kramsch (2014) put this versatility into its historical context by explaining how Bakhtin's aim in Russia in the early twentieth century was to counter the single-voiced official discourse of the state. In the same volume, Pietikainen and Dufva (2014) define heteroglossia in similar terms, when they suggest that Bakhtin originally meant diversity within one, apparently unified, national language. By this, they claim, Bakhtin meant the internal divisions which can be identified within one language, and which point to manifold ideological positions. On this point of ideology, Madsen (2014) explores how Bakhtin's original concept sought to

encompass the different 'socio-ideological languages, codes and voices' inherent in language use. Applying this interpretation of heteroglossia to my study means that I am able to analyse, in detail, how participants legitimize their language choices in their literacy practices. Moreover, I combine the concept of heteroglossia with work on language ideologies, which see the latter as 'beliefs, visions and conceptions of the role of certain language(s) held by (most commonly institutional) social actors' (Wodak 2014: 199). Following Wodak, I explore how language ideologies influence language choice and language evaluation by systematically analyzing participants' justifications of language use in their literacy practices.

In Chapter 7 I explain how I first use heteroglossia to explore traces of the social, political and economic in the linguistic resources which interactants draw from online. Next, in Chapter 8, I analyze these traces in online writing by using the DHA to identify three interrelated semiotic processes which Irvine and Gal refer to as 'iconization', 'fractal recursivity' and 'erasure' (2000: 37). In this way, language choices and the values attributed to certain languages can be identified (Wodak 2014). Thus I attempt to construct a theoretical framework which encompasses relationships between language choice, language ideologies, literacy practices, heteroglossia, the DHA and processes of migration.

### **2.10.3 Heteroglossia and vernacular literacy: theoretical orientations**

Having shown where the similarities between the two fields lie, I will now explore where they diverge. As discussed in Section 2.3, for Barton (1994), literacy is historically situated and therefore literacy practices change over time. The example that Barton and Lee give in their 2013 study is that of the Facebook 'Like', which they describe as a pre-existing semiotic form which has been given new pragmatic meaning when it moves between contexts. They stress that these contexts can be both online and offline, and in this respect it illustrates the situated nature of literacy. Yet Blommaert, in contrast,

argues that online language features have developed into a 'supervernacular', which he suggests is a new type of 'sociolinguistic object' which circulates on networks driven by new technologies (2013: 3). Further, Blommaert argues that:

There is no 'real' supervernacular, other than the dynamic complex of emerging, stabilizing and changing dialects we actually observe, hear, speak, read and write. The supervernacular itself is indeed like a language. (2013: 5)

Thus, while I endorse Blommaert and Rampton's agenda for a new vocabulary for understanding language and diversity, I also challenge the term 'supervernacular' as this rests on the traditional view of languages and dialects which they argue they wish to do away with. Makoni has suggested that 'perhaps the notion of a supervernacular may not be as radical as we were led to believe because it is based on conventional notions of language' (2014: 83). However, a deeper contention here, which I see as marking a boundary between the two fields, lies in Barton and Lee's thesis that 'it is not language but what people do with it that has become different and changes' (2013: 183). Although Blommaert claims that his research is ethnographic, the difference in the two perspectives here seems to be in the research approach, as Barton and Lee, for example, use interviews with writers of online texts to find out about their language practices, though this is not central to Blommaert's ethnography. Hence, taking an ethnographic approach to literacy provides a view of practices in which individuals' responses to their uptake of new affordances, such as mobile texting, and their own understanding of the new varieties they generate is foundational to how they achieve their individual or group purposes. Thus in Chapters 7 and 8 I explore mobile texting codes, which Blommaert argues are a supervernacular, as heteroglossic vernacular writing, the meaning of which I set out below.

#### **2.10.4 Heteroglossic vernacular writing**

As discussed in Section 2.4, Barton and Hamilton acknowledge that vernacular practices are a source of creativity and can lead to new practices; they also state that individuals draw from all the resources in their lives when they mix dominant and vernacular practices (1998). Barton and Lee have since argued that:

People encounter official texts, but what they do with them, their practices, can be vernacular. Vernacular practices can be responses to imposed literacies. Some vernacular responses to official literacy demands disrupt the intentions of those demands, to serve people's own purposes; and sometimes they are intentionally oppositional to and subversive of dominant practices. (2013: 139)

On the one hand, this appropriation of dominant literacy practices as a vernacular response can, I claim, be further extended by understanding this mixing as heteroglossic. This would mean conceptualising the mixing of dominant and vernacular literacies as a means of subverting dominant practices. Evidence of this is explored in the Welsh context by Garcia et al. (2007: xiii), who describe the process as 'translanguaging' by building on a concept of heteroglossia, rather than code-switching, to explore an approach to teaching which removes diglossic functional separation, thereby removing the hierarchy of language practices which valorizes some languages above others. In this case, students develop literacy in Welsh and English by reading a lesson in one language while writing in the other. Where I see the concept of heteroglossia as most profoundly related to vernacular literacy is, however, in the voluntary vernacular literacies which individuals generate themselves outside school.

In her 1993 study, Camitta, referring to the non-school writing of the adolescent Americans in her study, defined vernacular as 'closely related with culture which is neither elite nor institutional, which is traditional and indigenous to the diverse cultural processes of communities as distinguished from the uniform, inflexible standards of institutions' (1993: 228). The



crossover terms here, for a conceptualisation of vernacular writing as heteroglossic, are 'non-elite', 'indigenous' and 'flexible', because it is in this flexibility and diversity that 'the vernacular gives possibilities of more voices and a range of different voices' (Barton and Hamilton 1998: 253). Busch (2014) suggests that Bakhtin embraced this multivoicedness in his definition of heteroglossia, along with the presence of multiple languages. In this sense, both heteroglossia and vernacular literacy seek to capture a *diversity of voices*. Barton and Lee (2013: 139) emphasise the complexity of this when they stress that the term 'vernacular' is not simply used to refer to 'vernacular languages' in the sense of 'local languages'. Rather, they suggest that vernacular writing should not be 'tied' to 'specific languages', but should instead be seen in terms of a 'complex relationship between writing and the specific languages used' (ibid.). In my study, this means combining the theory of heteroglossia with a theory of vernacular literacy to explore, in Chapters 8 and 9, the relationship between, for example, the complex indigenous and flexible Potwari-Pahari-Punjabi language continuum with the affordances of the new communication technologies of social networking. Moving away from codes to look at the language continuum in this way also means that I do not align my study with the many others in the field of language and literacy in the context of transnational migration. For example, Jaquemet's theorizing of linguistic practices across transnational contexts suggests that the mobility of people, languages and texts has resulted in an expanded scale of multilingualism across local and global territories (2005). In proposing the concept of 'transidiomatic practices', Jaquemet and the studies which take up the concept (e.g. Lam 2009) rely on 'the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant' (2005: 265), without considering the complex relationship between the writing and the specific languages used and the reasons why users make those choices. To demonstrate how I aim to achieve this in my own study, in the following section I explore the influence of the ethnographic approach in the DHA on my study.

## **2.11 The discourse historical approach in CDA and ethnography**

Exploring the interrelationship between language and social life through ethnography and textual analysis has emerged within the DHA-tradition (Wodak 2011; Muntigl et al. 2000; Krzyżanowski 2011; Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski 2008). Since DHA has been applied to a variety of spaces, I will, however, explain in the following section which elements I draw from in my own study.

In much of her work in institutional settings in the EU, Wodak has sought to explore the discursive construction of 'politics as usual' (2009: 121) by combining ethnographic research with discourse analysis. In so doing, Wodak has been able to demonstrate politics as it happens away from media representations. In one study, Wodak and her team recorded the spoken language of an Austrian MEP over three consecutive days (Wodak 2009). These recordings were then analysed by the research team alongside detailed field notes which had been taken on those three days of ethnography. This can be seen as a classic DHA study in the sense that a variety of empirical data was explored using the concepts of recontextualisation to show how, in meetings, debates and speeches, the MEP systematically pursued the same political goals which, Wodak argued, were central to his ideological agenda as an Austrian social democrat.

The ethnography demonstrated that the MEP's insider knowledge of the EU's routines, and his ability to act in accordance with its organisational rules, was supported by the work of his assistant, who summarized documents, collected information and briefed the MEP on important policies. Combining this ethnographic insight with discourse analysis, Wodak focused on the textual analyses of specific texts via an investigation of metaphor and presuppositions, as well as strategies of positive self and negative other presentation (Wodak 2009). The theoretical implication of Wodak's work is that, by combining the ethnography of backstage politics with discourse analysis, it is possible to glean much deeper insights into the political work of MEPs than by discourse analysis alone (Papen forthcoming). It is with a

similar theoretical orientation in mind that I use discourse analysis and ethnography to explore literacy practices.

Similarly, in his work on the institutional contexts of the European Union, Krzyżanowski (2011) has proposed a discourse ethnographic approach which draws on, and refers directly to, the DHA, integrating anthropological and critical perspectives through extensive fieldwork and ethnography with the analysis of discourses. Following Krzyżanowski, ethnography and CDA are analytically mobilised in such a discourse-ethnographic approach as complementary general frameworks (2011). This is achieved through integrating the DHA with ethnography in an extensive way: triangulation using the four-level context model, fieldwork and discourse analysis in five stages (Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber 2007: 21-23 for the full original version; Wodak 2009: Chapter 4):

1. *A problem-oriented approach*, the main goal of which is identifying the different forms of social and discursive practices involved ... The data to be collected and methods and conceptual tools to be drawn on are determined by the objective of understanding of the object of study.
2. *Founding research on fieldwork and ethnography*: by applying a set of ethnographic methods for both ethnographic-institutional analysis and the interlinked collection of textual empirical material.
3. *Studying different genres and multiple institutional spaces*, i.e. turning to multiple and simultaneous or subsequent analyses of various loci and different sites or the production and reception of the institutional discourse, also in order [to] discover the context-specific differences as well as different instances of interdiscursivity and recontextualisation between different spaces and texts.
4. *Diversified use of theory and methodology* which helps in grasping, in a variety of ways and to a significantly different extent, the complexity,

multidimensionality as well as the actual pragmatic-political meaning of various discursive practices.

5. *Retaining a multi-level definition of context*, i.e. being not only willing to discover the elements of the local micro context of the studied social and political spaces, but also providing them with a macro-historical contextualisation, inasmuch as this is possible.

Having outlined the ethnographic methodology of the DHA, I now discuss how this approach differs and is similar to ethnographic approaches in the field of literacy studies.

## **2.12 Similarities between the discourse-ethnographic approach and literacy studies**

Of the five principles discussed above, I suggest that the greatest similarities lie in how literacy studies addresses: (2) founding research on fieldwork and ethnography; and (4) the diversified use of theory and methodology.

### *2. Founding research on fieldwork and ethnography*

Papen (forthcoming) has argued that ethnography can drive discourse analysis towards the analysis of text production and interpretation through its focus on the insider perspective, which she argues is not, traditionally, a focus for discourse analysis broadly. Though Wodak and Krzyżanowski's work does include interviews and participant observation, they do not claim to prioritise the emic view to the same extent as does literacy studies. Papen (forthcoming) claims that interviews with text producers can reveal reasons for semiotic choices that the text analyst is unlikely to discover. The DHA's ethnographic approach has sought to overcome these limitations by intensive fieldwork within institutions. In NLS, however, researchers aim to 'suspend judgement about what constitutes literacy for the people they are working with, until they can understand what it means for the people themselves' (Maybin 2000: 199). One difference between NLS and the discourse-ethnographic

approach therefore lies in the latter's focus on the institutional setting rather than NLS's focus on relating a text's meaning to its user's account of what it is about and what they do with it. A literacy practices approach seeks to examine texts from a variety of domains, often capturing the vernacular literacies of text producers, whereas the DHA thus far has concerned itself with dominant literacies within organisational contexts (such as hospitals, schools, crisis intervention centres, EU organisations and so forth; Krzyżanowski 2011; Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber 2007; Muntigl et al. 2000; Wodak 1996, 2009; Wodak et al. 2012; see also Unger et al. 2014).

### *3. Studying different genres and multiple institutional spaces*

Whereas CDA is more generally concerned with multiple genres and institutional domains, NLS focuses on the blurring between institutional and non-institutional domains (Barton and Hamilton 1998). In bringing the two approaches together there is more similarity than difference here. Both approaches seek to understand how written and oral discourse is shaped by users in specific situations and contexts. The degree to which they differ, however, is less in their choice of multiple sites of production and reception of the discourse to identify context-specific differences, and more in how they prioritise different instances of recontextualisation and interdiscursivity between different domains and texts.

### *4. Diversified use of theory and methodology*

The interdisciplinary approach that both the DHA and NLS take implies the diverse use of theory and methodology. The difference lies in identifying different levels of theory. Wodak (2008) deals with different levels of theory when she clarifies the conceptual tools that are put to use in a DHA study. Drawing from Mouzelis (1995), she argues that a pragmatic approach to theory does not aim for a 'catalogue of context-free propositions and generalizations, but rather relates questions of theory formation and conceptualization closely to the specific problems to be investigated' (2008: 12). This means that, from the outset, the DHA is transparent about the process of selecting conceptual tools which are relevant for a given problem and context, thereby proceeding via a problem-oriented social sciences

approach (ibid.). The following section deals with these two issues, as it is in relation to a problem-oriented approach and addressing context that I suggest the DHA and NLS differ most.

### **2.13 Differences between the DHA and literacy studies**

Of the five principles of the DHA discussed above, I suggest that the greatest differences lie in how literacy studies addresses: (1) a problem-oriented approach; (3) studying different genres and multiple institutional spaces; and (5) retaining a multi-level definition of context.

#### *1. A problem-oriented approach*

CDA's roots in critical theory make its problem-oriented approach different to NLS. As discussed at the outset of this chapter, NLS draws from different disciplines, including cross-cultural psychology, anthropology and Applied Linguistics. Although the DHA in CDA also seeks to employ a range of methods and disciplines, and with a variety of empirical data sets (Wodak 2008), its disciplinary boundaries are united by the underlying principle that the object under investigation is a complex social problem. Although many studies in NLS aim to investigate social problems in society, this is not a defining characteristic. The DHA on the other hand specifically aims to understand how social 'wrongs' are discursively constructed. How I aim to combine the two approaches is by demonstrating how social wrongs related to minority language speakers in the UK and their migration are textually mediated.

#### *5. Retaining a multi-level definition of context*

Both the DHA and NLS aim to discover elements of the immediate local level of context while relating them to broader social, political and historical macro-level contexts. Context, in both approaches, exists in how a text's meaning is related not only to its words and grammar but also how those words and grammar relate to specific situations and events. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the concept of literacy events focuses attention on

the mediation of texts through social interaction in the context of particular practices and situations (Heath 1983). Furthermore, literacy practices incorporate these events and beliefs about literacy and relate them to specific domains of use. In other words, literacy events, like filling in a visa form, invoke 'broader cultural and historical patterns of literacy practices, and instantiate them, or subvert them' (Maybin 2000: 198). Hence, ideas about context are explored in the relationship between literacy events and literacy practices. It is, however, in the lack of textual analysis of those texts, the level of context that discourse analysts attend to most closely, that literacy studies differs from other approaches. Ethnographies of literacy practices do not often pay close enough attention to the text in this way, to what is written in the text and how it is written. This analysis of the immediate, language or text internal co-text is one of the most salient features of the DHA applied to my study and this is explored in more detail in Chapter 8, as this is where text analysis can contribute to NLS. For now, it is important to stress that this detailed investigation of text, such as the analysis of discursive strategies and discourse topics, provides an opportunity to identify salient functions of multilingual writing online and therefore contributes a clearer conceptualisation of how users perceive their own uses of vernacular literacy to NLS.

## **Chapter 3: Methodological approaches**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The study used methods which draw from ethnographic approaches to exploring social practices and critical discourse analysis. The approach combined elements of ethnography with elements of the Discourse Historical Approach through textual analyses of the literacy practices of participants at different levels of context. The aim of this chapter is to describe how data were collected by focusing on the research participants' perspectives and reflexivity towards the research project itself, which are at the core of ethnography, and in doing so align New Literacy Studies with the DHA.

Ethnography and textual analysis are combined in this approach 'in order to probe the interrelationship between language and social life in more depth' (Tusting and Maybin 2007: 576). Many previous studies have combined ethnography with the DHA (Wodak 2011; Krzyzanowski and Oberhuber 2007; Wodak et al. 2012). In those studies, the DHA has been employed in different types of analyses of different institutional settings, most commonly in the context of the EU (cf. Krzyzanowski 2011; Muntigl et al. 2000).

Before describing how I develop my own approach to ethnography, which embraces the DHA and NLS, I will explain how I understand ethnography. Firstly, it is important to emphasize that I take an ethnographic perspective, following Papen (2005), as this study is not a full ethnography of literacy but rather an exploration of the role of literacies in migration. An ethnographic perspective emphasizes the multiple realities of those being researched and the plurality of meanings that people ascribe to actions (Hymes 1980). Erickson explains this plurality of meanings as 'the slippery phenomena of everyday interaction and its connections, through the medium of subjective meaning, with the wider social world' (1990: 80). This subjective meaning is captured by focusing on the emic, i.e. insider, perspective, in situated studies. In order to achieve this, ethnographers' goal is reflexivity, achieved by



examining the researcher's role in interpreting the social context of the research participants as they go about their everyday activities while actively taking part in those activities in the 'field'. I use the term 'field' here to describe the social settings in which I carried out participant observation and interviews with the research participants in this study, and in this chapter I describe in detail these settings, observations and interviews. Also, central to my taking part is the reflexive observation which I bring to my interactions in the field. Drawing on Wolcott (1999) I take up the notion of 'non-participant participant observation' as my intention is not to hide my presence as a researcher in the field but rather I acknowledge that I am not able to take up all of the opportunities which a fully participant or interactive role may offer. Thus when I employ the term 'participant observation' it is with this non-participatory dimension that I draw.

As such, my understanding relies on both ethnographic accounts of specific events as well as sociological analysis of wider social, economic and institutional contexts. Researching migration from Pakistan to the UK at the micro level required a historical perspective, which began prior to the Partition of India in 1947 and is ongoing, in order to understand the chain of migration which influences contemporary literacy practices for Mirpuris in Britain.

### **3.2 My positioning**

Taking a critical approach to the entire thesis meant that it was not my aim to write an ethnography of the Mirpuri community in Mirpur and Hillington; rather, the aim was to use critical ethnographic methods, such as those used by Blackledge and Creese (2010) and Heller (2011), to explore Mirpuri migration between the two sites and the role of literacy in that migration. It also meant using multi-site ethnography (Marcus 1986) to examine the multiple literacies used in these sites, which required living in both Pakistan and Lancashire and engaging with people whose lives are touched by migration. As in Papen's study of literacy in post-independence Namibia (2007), I considered that the questions of central importance were those related to cultural, social and

economic change, which therefore require a broad approach to the study of literacy. This meant extending the research project beyond 'conventional' field sites, such as classrooms, homes and community centres (ibid.). The following section describes my initial engagement with these field sites and how this influenced my positioning while carrying out research at these sites.

I worked in Pakistan as an English language adviser to the British Council from May 2010 to June 2011. During this time I was based in Islamabad, the federal capital of Pakistan, but regularly travelled to Mirpur in Azad Kashmir, Lahore, in Punjab province, and to Karachi in Sindh province. I continued to live in Pakistan between June and August, moving between Islamabad and Mirpur where I stayed with friends and a British-Mirpuri family from Oldham, Greater Manchester, who had a house in Mirpur. As a white British man researching in Pakistan I was aware of the powerful positioning of these identities. Thus gender is an important aspect of my reflexivity as a researcher in addition to ethnicity. Furthermore, working reflexively, I was also aware of the visibility of my roles as researcher (making notes and carrying out interviews) educator (running workshops and delivering presentations) and official (managing projects and advising on policy). While aiming to explore aspects of the world of Mirpuri migrants, I was also keen to explore how knowledge about this world is produced.

Having already lived in Lahore prior to the start of my doctoral research, I was initially aware of the difficulties which my positionings and identities presented. The CIA contractor Raymond Davies shot and killed two Pakistani men in a busy market in Lahore during the time I was collecting data, and this led to a great deal of speculation about the numbers of CIA operatives working undercover in Pakistan (Mazzetti 2013). This directly affected my ability to travel unaccompanied, as police checks increased and I was often delayed for up to two hours by the roadside while security officers checked my papers. There was also an impact on how I was positioned by the people I met who did not know me well, and several of them told me they suspected that I may have been working for the US or UK government security agencies. Gaining the trust of education officials helped alleviate this suspicion as people could

see that I was accepted by trusted members of the community in Mirpur. When I moved to Mirpur for periods of between one to two weeks at a time and lived in the house of a British Mirpuri family from Oldham, I was again positioned by my relationships with family members. I made these longer visits in November 2010, March 2011 and June to August 2011. These men had travelled from Oldham to Mirpur for four months to support a political party that had powerful links in Mirpur and the UK and was running for office in the forthcoming AK elections. Although I only met the men from this family once, when I first arrived, as they stayed at a different house, I would have been positioned by others in the community by my staying in their home. In some ways this was counterbalanced by my association with my research assistant, Ravi, who lived next door to the house I was staying in and who accompanied me on many of my visits, as Ravi was just as keen a supporter of the opposition party as my landlords were of their political party.

These roles were some of my interactions in Pakistan and the UK, and as such I reflect upon them here as they influenced many of the methods for data collection I describe in the following sections.

### **3.3 Ethnography**

Living in the town of Mirpur and adopting this ethnographic approach gave me the opportunity to go beyond casual observations of how people used Mirpuri Punjabi, Urdu and English, who these users were, and what they thought about their language use. Observing the same people over time and in a broad range of situations provided me with details of their language practices. These details help the researcher form an understanding of local attachments to place characterized by participants' experiences and ideas about using language (Jaffe 1999). Without this approach I could not have understood language and migration if I had not understood something about community life, as the complexity of the lived experiences of Mirpuri families means that their behaviours and values cannot be directly linked to the effects of migration but rather to multiple social, economic and political factors.

Ethnography embraces these complexities and attempts to problematize taken-for-granted concepts and over-simplifications related to the causes and effects of social phenomena (Heller 2011).

### **3.4 Literacy Studies and the DHA**

As this study sets out from the theoretical basis of literacy as social practice, described in Chapter 2, an ethnographic perspective is appropriate methodologically, given there is a similar approach in studies such as Barton and Hamilton (1998) and Kalman (1999, 2005). The overarching orientation is that provided by New Literacy Studies (Street 1993; Gee 1996; Barton and Hamilton 1998; Papen 2005). These studies rely primarily on ethnographic techniques to research reading and writing. Papen (2005) notes that contemporary publications in NLS bring together ethnographic approaches, paying closer attention to the texts that people engage with in literacy events. However, NLS researchers do not see the in-depth analysis of the texts that they come across in their studies of literacy practices as central to their work (Papen forthcoming). My methodological contribution here draws on Krzyżanowski's (2011) work in institutional settings, described earlier in this chapter, and on the theoretical framework of my study. It is important to show here how the main principles of discourse-ethnographic analysis, which I describe below, can be reformulated in a study of literacy practices.

Firstly, Krzyżanowski suggests, discourse-ethnographic analysis is a problem-oriented approach which, in my study, rests on the claim made in policy discourse (DCLG 2012) that Pakistani migrants are unwilling or unable to integrate because they cannot speak English. In order to explore this claim, the data to be collected and the methods to be drawn on were determined by participants' ability to use English alongside all of the other languages in their repertoires to sustain ties with family and friends in a range of sites as a means of resisting 'the problem'. This required grounding research in fieldwork and ethnography, Krzyżanowski's second principle, as these sites were in the UK and Pakistan and could only be researched via the collection of empirical

data. These data cut across different genres and multiple domains in order to discover context-specific differences as well as different instances of recontextualisation and interdiscursivity. For example, postings on Facebook are recontextualised when they are discussed in an interview between a Facebook user and the researcher. Finally, as discussed in Chapter 2, Krzyżanowski (2011) provides an access point to the previous discussion of how I fill the textual-analysis gap in NLS with the DHA, by suggesting that a key principle of the discourse-ethnographic approach requires retaining a multi-level definition of context. I take up this principle in the methodology for my study by analysing the research participants' writing as elements of the local micro context, while providing them with 'a macro-historical contextualisation' (2011: 285). This is because the social practice view of literacy conceives of literacy as consisting of particular literacy practices located in the particular contexts in which these practices occur. Therefore, a methodological approach was required which suited a detailed examination of both practices and their contexts. NLS's ethnographic perspective offered this sensitivity to everyday social contexts and provided the researcher with the tools to explore contexts from different perspectives. In view of this, and as described in the Theoretical Framework, I align this ethnographic orientation with Wodak's approach to operationalizing the DHA (1996; 2004). The following section considers the multiple methods I employed at each stage as multiple routes of enquiry which opened up as the research went through four phases. In each phase, I highlight the methods in terms of Wodak's methodological steps for a discourse-historical research project (2004). Before this, it is the aim of the following sections to consider the overarching methodology and how the problem under investigation was explored.

### **3.5 Data collection: field sites and timings**

In order to explore literacy in migration, I identified research sites in the UK and Pakistan which I believed would provide me with opportunities to examine literacy in and migration between the two countries. Having some knowledge of both countries, as explained at the beginning of this chapter, provided me

with enough background information to design the initial stages of an ethnographic study. However, this design changed significantly in subsequent years due to changes in my understanding of the topic and my engagement with the research sites, as well as changes in my professional life. Below I describe these changes as four distinct phases of the study:

Phase 1: Manchester (UK) and Punjab (Pakistan) 2009

Phase 2: Islamabad and Mirpur (Pakistan) 2010–2011

Phase 3: Mirpur (Pakistan) June–August 2011

Phase 4: Hillington (UK) September 2011– March 2012.

The following sections briefly describe the design of the study in each of the above phases and how it shaped the final PhD study.

### **3.5.1 Phase 1: Manchester (UK) and Punjab (Pakistan) 2009**

This was a small-scale study with an ethnographic perspective in which I explored the multilingual literacy practices and intergenerational trajectories of education of a Pakistani family in north Manchester. Its relation to the other phases is that the findings from this phase helped establish my understanding of the role of language and education in migration from Pakistan to the UK and the language ideological perspective of first and second generation migrants. From January to March 2009 I interviewed, in English, a first-generation migrant mother, her two daughters and one son-in-law at their homes in north Manchester. I focused on the language choices made at home by the mother of the family and the influence that these choices had on her two daughters' views of language and their identity. In order to situate the family's multilingual literacy practices within the larger social and political history of immigration to the UK from Pakistan, I travelled with the family to the Punjab in Pakistan from October to December 2009. During this time I travelled with the family to their ancestral home town in northern Punjab province and stayed with them and their relatives. I interviewed two cousins in English and interviewed two uncles and one aunt with help from a translator who spoke Punjabi and Urdu. More details on interviewing and research

ethics in these stages of the research are discussed in the final sections of this chapter.

### **3.5.2 Phase 2: Islamabad and Mirpur (Pakistan) 2010-2011**

During my time in Pakistan described above I discovered that the British Council was looking for an English language adviser, to be based in its office in Islamabad but responsible for work across the whole country including Azad Kashmir. I intercalated from the PhD and worked in Pakistan for 12 months. During this time I was able to focus the research questions for my study as well as carry out participant observation at sites that would help me develop an understanding of multilingual literacy practices. Due to the institutional power that the British Council has in Pakistan I was able to gain access to Azad Kashmir (AK) and work on education projects there. As my understanding of the research sites grew I came to learn that AK was the Pakistani home to the majority of Pakistanis living in Lancashire UK and therefore chose to focus my PhD research there as I was specifically interested in families who do not read and write in their home language. I carried out a study of potential migrants from Mirpur learning English in an English language school, as the UK government was about to introduce English language testing for migrants from non-EEA countries (Capstick 2011). I also carried out a nationwide survey exploring the role of language in education (Coleman and Capstick 2012) which contributed to my understanding of language use across the country

#### **3.5.2.1 Participant observation and access to field sites**

Once I had narrowed the research questions for my study to the location of Mirpur in Azad Kashmir I was keen to find out about how language and literacy were used in that part of the country as well as how migration fit into Mirpuri life. As such I kept field notes during many of my visits to schools and universities as well as to record of observations of everyday life in Mirpur.

These included notes on the interactions between myself and Mirpuris in the hotels I stayed in and the shops that I shopped in. I often had informal conversations with colleagues and noted down any information they gave me about language, literacy and migration in my notebook soon after the conversation. During formal meetings with Ministry of Education officials I kept notes which informed my understanding of dominant literacy practices, but I also kept notes of the vernacular literacies that I saw people using at home. I used the first sets of notes in my job designing English language teaching projects and for two published works and the second sets to explore vernacular literacy practices for my PhD study. However, I have chosen not to code these notes as I have done with field notes from the later phases of the research as they were used for the two reports which I referred to earlier. In my capacity as adviser with the British Council I was invited to special events in and around Mirpur. I took a particular interest in these events as I met people with a special interest in language. In her study of language and politics in Corsica, Jaffe (1999) also notes the importance of maintaining contact with researchers studying language and culture and the importance of university events, political meetings and festivals. This proved an important method of keeping abreast of language attitudes among a wide cross-section of Mirpuris. At one event I was able to talk with an old man who was angered by the Pakistani national anthem being played at the beginning of the event as he believed Azad Kashmir should be independent from Pakistan and India. This was an important counter-balance to what Usman and his family told me about Mipruri solidarity with Pakistan. However, the main site for research during this phase was an English language school known as the Kashmir Language Centre, which had been running 'English for spouses' courses for one year. Here I interviewed students and teachers for roughly one hour and held informal conversations with students, noting down any comments about their plans for marriage and migration. I observed classes in the mornings for 60 to 90 minutes, made notes and began to develop an understanding of the language and literacy practices of its students.



### **3.5.2.2 Roles**

Access to the research site was very much linked to my job at the British Council. I was perceived as an official by many of the education officers and teachers I spoke to as well as by the students and other Mirpuris who I came into contact with. When working on my study of English for migrants I explained to the students that I was writing as a researcher, not a British Council official, though the roles overlapped. Hence my role during this phase was primarily that of an emergent ethnographer, as the approach I took was more closely related to that of a classroom researcher trying to understand what students hoped to achieve in their English language lessons and how this related to their plans for migration. I noted in my journal the classroom topics that the students studied, such as 'giving personal information', the literacies that they used to record their classroom activities, such as the notes they made in their exercise books, and the teaching methods that the teachers used to convey the language that they felt would be useful to migrants once in Britain. Before I began my research my knowledge of this part of Azad Kashmir was limited to what I had read in the social anthropological literature on migration studies, and thus this phase was an important part of my role as an emergent ethnographer as well as for refining the ethical approach to his research which is discussed in the final section of this chapter.

### **3.5.2.3 Relationships**

I consider that my role as a British Council employee did not change what I could or could not do as researcher on these visits to Mirpur from Islamabad, as I was still developing my skills as an ethnographer on these occasions. The relationships I developed allowed me to review the initial impressions which I had held about migration from Mirpur and the role of language and literacy in migration. This phase was therefore crucial to my study design for the next two phases. In this phase I developed relationships with Ministry of Education officials who would become facilitators for access to AK even after my role at

the British Council had ended but who continued to help me to get around Mirpur in the later stages of the research.

#### **3.5.2.4 Responsibilities**

During the three months of participant observation and interviewing my responsibilities lay with explaining the aims of my research to the participants and details of how it would be used. Another responsibility was to the editor of the collection of studies in which my research would appear, and also to the British Council who would publish this research. My aim, and that of the editor, was that the studies would advocate more caution when introducing English language teaching in developing countries and as such was a very different responsibility to the ethnographic orientation of my PhD which I consider should not be oriented towards advocacy.

#### **3.5.3 Phase 3: Mirpur (Pakistan) June–August 2011**

When I finished working for the British Council I asked one of the individuals, Usman who was involved in the Mirpur study, if he would like to be a key informant for my PhD research. He agreed and began to record his literacy practices on literacy diary sheets which he kept daily for two one-month periods (see Appendix 9 for an example). He would bring the diary sheets to interviews and I would ask him about his life and how the reading and writing that he had recorded in the diaries fitted into it. I also interviewed many family members of friends of Usman and visited the villages of his ancestry. Interviews were held with his father and though I was also told that I could interview his mother and sister I was always informed that they were unavailable when I asked to meet them. I visited his ancestral village twice and interviewed two uncles of Usman, his cousin and his grandmother. In Mirpur I interviewed two of his closest friends. I was also able to observe Usman at work at the travel agency when he started work there, and I noted the languages he spoke and wrote and used these notes and the literacy diary sheets to develop my understanding of his work-place literacy practices. These are not drawn on extensively in my PhD as they are not central to his

migration. I would stay with Usman for one hour at the office and chat informally to his colleagues, though I did not formally interview them as they were always busy with their work.

Wodak (2008) suggests that this stage consists of sampling ethnographic information and establishing interdiscursivity and intertextuality. The wider ethnography meant collecting data on the literacy practices of migration across Usman's family, from which I established that literacies for migration invoked discourses about language and education, language and nationality, and language and religion. In addition to the diary sheets I collected policy documents about language and migration as well as documents from neighbouring fields such as education. I also used historical documents about the history of migration across South Asia to the UK and the roles of languages in the colonial period. In the UK, I studied historical documents related to immigration from South Asia and immigration controls, such as parliamentary legislation. Studying these political fields helped me to establish interdiscursivity and intertextuality in texts about immigration, the economy, employment and 'integration'. This information relates to the context levels described at the beginning of this chapter and explored in detail in Chapter 8.

From June to August 2011, I was given the use of a house by a British Mirpuri family from Oldham and able to base myself in Mirpur for several weeks at a time, though these visits were always cut short due to problems with the security services. The methods I used during this phase were ethnographic, as I ensured that on each day of my stay in Mirpur I kept detailed notes of the reading and writing which I saw around the town and on my visits to nearby villages. For example, this meant recording the text of posters advertising the various political parties canvassing for the forthcoming elections as well as posters advertising English language courses on massive billboards which greet the visitor to Mirpur as they cross the Jhelum River and pass through the military checkpoint. It is illegal to take photographs of the military in Pakistan and as Mirpur is heavily militarized I did not take photographs while staying there. Similar, but smaller, signs are dotted along the rough roads out of town which I saw when travelling to visit Usman's family in the villages. I chose

never to take photographs in public as this was always frowned upon by the security services who warned against foreigners taking photographs in Azad Kashmir. The photograph in Chapter 1 was taken by my translator on a visit to a language school, it is not the main school used in this study. The reason that I was given for not taking photographs was the number of military camps in the area and the proximity to India. I also knew that if I was caught taking pictures then I would be asked to leave Azad Kashmir and this would make it difficult to gain entry in the future due to the political situation discussed in Chapter 4.

#### **3.5.3.1 Roles**

Although my contract with the British Council had ended, I thought it unrealistic that the research participants would no longer see me as an official of the British government, given that I returned to Mirpur to continue my research immediately after resigning from the British Council. I always explained, however, that this was the case and that I was working on my PhD full-time. It would have seemed strange if I suddenly started to describe myself as a student when I was known to them as something different. I therefore told people that I was carrying out research for my PhD and that I would return to the UK and work on my PhD full-time until I was able to find a job in a university in Britain.

#### **3.5.3.2 Relationships**

Although I only met the family from Oldham in whose house I was staying once, I would to varying degrees be linked to this family, their politics and their Britishness. In addition, the Ministry of Education official, Ravi, who had been the liaison officer during my time with the British Council, continued to help me get around after my time with the British Council had ended. He spoke to the security services every day, on my visits, to vouch for my whereabouts and provided daily advice on my travel plans. In our daily meetings he explained to me the places that I should not visit, updated me on the political situation,

such as election campaigns, and guided me through decisions about how best to deal with the security services. Towards the end of my final visit, he suggested that evenings should be spent walking around the outside of Mirpur stadium, with him and his friend, rather than going into the markets where I would be seen by security staff. However, this was not enough to placate the security officers. During an interview with a participant in Mirpur town later that week, I received a message that I must leave Kashmir within the next hour. Ravi managed to have this extended to the following morning, at which point I left Kashmir knowing that it would be my last visit. Ravi explained that the security staff with whom he repeatedly negotiated my stay had had enough of the anxiety that my presence caused were their superiors to find out that a foreigner was staying overnight in AK. Though it was legal to stay overnight in AK with the No Objection Certificate I had obtained, at times of heightened political tension, such as the standoff with the US over the Raymond Davies case and the recent assassination of Osama bin Laden by the US military not far from AK, my presence made security staff particularly nervous.

#### **3.5.3.3 Responsibilities**

Given the situation described above, the result of my previous experience with the British Council was that some people saw me as a government official, thus providing me with a rationale for being present in AK. Moreover, it gave me an official role which carried more credibility, for a man of my age, with many of the people I met than if had I described myself as a full-time PhD student. Given these multiple roles, the responsibility to explain my research clearly to the participants became even more crucial, as was the responsibility I had to take to protect the reputation of the people, like Usman and Ravi, that I associated with.

#### **3.5.4 Phase 4: Hillington (UK) September 2011 – March 2012**

When I returned to the UK in August 2011 I continued the ethnography in Hillington, as Usman's wife, Nadia, lived there with her extended family. I

interviewed and audio-recorded Nadia three times, her sister once, her parents once more (having interviewed them in Mirpur during their visit there) and her brother-in-law. Interviews lasted from two to three hours. I also made four visits to Hillington to walk around the streets and note down language use. After Usman's second visa application was successful, he arrived in Hillington in December 2011, and I continued to interview him about his migration and literacy practices until March 2012, which was a total of five interviews in the UK. Each of these interviews lasted between two and four hours, as they included visits to his favourite restaurants (where I continued to interview him and make notes about his language choices), shops and place of employment.

The following sections describe in more detail the ethnographic methods which were employed in the latter three phases. Phase 1 provided an opportunity to refine my research questions and develop the design of the main study, but this was quite different in its aims to the final study for this PhD. The different roles, relationships and responsibilities will be highlighted within the discussion as these relate to the centrality of the reflexivity of the researcher in the ethnographic tradition.

Wodak (2008) suggests that the stages here require operationalizing research questions into linguistic categories. In this study, this meant formulating research questions which allowed me to examine language choice in vernacular literacy practices, and applying these categories to digital literacies as well as to interview data. I ensured that these methodological steps included more than the analysis of text by including other texts, such as interviews carried out in Pakistan as well as the UK, to examine the interdiscursive and intertextual links between the text under investigation from that specific data set and other texts from other data sets in this study. By doing this I established a recursive relationship between the texts, the theories introduced in Chapter 2 and the research questions. As the methods of discourse analysis used as the main interpretive tool to examine these texts were different for each stage of the study, specific methods will be explored at the beginning of the relevant chapters.

Once I had returned to the UK I continued to use participant observation at the research sites but was able to broaden this to more public note-taking when in Hillington. Whereas Ravi, Usman and the interpreters had recommended places to visit in AK, I was able to use my knowledge of Hillington and Lancashire to record the uses of language and literacy in shop signs and restaurants in my field notes, but I again considered that taking photographs might arouse suspicion in the streets during this period of scrutiny of Pakistani communities in England in 2011 to 2012.

#### **3.5.4.1 Roles**

Although I grew up seven miles from Hillington, I did not assume that my roles would be any less complex when collecting data among the Mirpuri community there. Usman had told his wife Nadia all about me, and she had told her family members, yet several participants could not understand why I was interested in their migration. My Britishness was important, as was my role as a university researcher. For myself, I still felt that the role of ethnographer was primary, though by this point I had begun to feel that my data set was getting too large as I had been collecting data intermittently for over three years. Hence, I kept the Hillington ethnography to a minimum and ended my interviews with Usman five months after his arrival in the country after only four meetings. Our last few weeks researching together included sitting with him at his laptop or my laptop and discussing his Facebook postings. Most of the time we read the postings together and Usman described his language and literacy choices. On one occasion Usman began an instant message conversation with his brother who could see that Usman was online. This conversation is discussed in Chapter 7. At these points interviews and participant observation converged as I asked him questions about literacy events he was involved in online, i.e. chatting to family and friends.

### **3.5.4.2 Relationships**

The relationships I had developed in Pakistan made entry to the research sites in Lancashire possible. Usman had told his family all about me, and given his recommendations about me as a researcher, Nadia welcomed me into her home and also arranged access to the homes of her siblings and parents. When Usman arrived in Hillington, I was able to continue using the note-taking and interviewing techniques that are common to ethnography, as we had built up a relationship whereby he was familiar with these methods.

### **3.5.4.3 Responsibilities**

Although I consider the methods that I drew on to be ethnographic, I also reflected that my attempts to enter local life in Hillington were limited in the same way that they had been limited in Mirpur. Although Usman's description of me to his family was that of trustworthy researcher, this would not have granted access to the wider Mirpuri community and I would have again needed several months to build trust and develop research relationships.

To sum up this section about participant observation and access to the field, I was only able to observe while participating at certain sites due to certain roles established through the specific relationships discussed above. This did not, however, mean that I had not developed trust among the research community; in some cases, the amount of time I spent with Usman and Ravi, due to travel restrictions, resulted in more fruitful conversations about the research topic and a deepening of the relationships which would not have occurred had I been alone, noting down the uses of literacy in the market. I consider that it was this deepening of the research relationship with Usman that prompted him to give me the diary which he had kept prior to the start of this study (discussed in Chapter 6) as well as the candid responses he gave me during our time together. I remained aware, however, that Usman's responses often presented him and his family in a positive light. I overcame



the challenge of relying unduly on a key informant in four ways. Firstly I always asked follow-up questions later in the interview or subsequent interviews about responses that were particularly interesting or which I suspected might have presented Usman and his family in a positive light in some way. Secondly, I rephrased questions at the moment that I noticed something unusual in Usman's response. Thirdly, I checked responses with notes from my participant observation and my interpretations of the situations that I was investigating. Finally, when I designed my interview checklist for the interviews with Nadia and her family in England, I included issues on which Usman had appeared vague.

This triangulation of interview data was an approach I developed that integrated all of the ethnographic data, as I coded different data sets. I consider that participant observation was central to the ethnographic perspective that I took as I paid close attention to everyday life at the research sites and did so throughout the four phases of the study, noting down what was familiar and ordinary as well as what was unfamiliar and ignored in the larger-scale studies of language use in Pakistan that I read. This was done using extensive field notes recorded in several journals, as well as observations and impressions including my own activities and those of others.

There were, however, other aspects of my identity which did not sit so comfortably with the research participants. My ethnicity, being 'white', made me stand out in Mirpur as well as in the streets of Nadia's family in Hillington. But it was the assumed religious identity that came with my ethnicity which singled me out for some participants. Several participants made comments about how Muslims were treated badly in Britain when we chatted in Pakistan. At the end of one interview in Punjab, when I asked a young woman if she had any questions for me, she enquired why Muslims in Britain were made to feel so unwelcome given how much Christians were respected when they visited Pakistan. I found questions that deserved detailed responses such as this difficult to respond to as I could only highlight the complexity of the situation. I was pleased that the participant had raised these issues as they are important perspectives on my research and relate to the political issues discussed in

Chapter 4. Due to comments such as this, living in Pakistan helped me to develop a clearer understanding of what my research should be about and how I would focus on literacy and migration. Following Barton and Hamilton (1998) it was always important to look at the use of literacy in the context of people's lives, and this meant dealing with complex issues such as those around religion. The following section provides further details about how I approached such issues by describing the interviews I carried out.

### **3.6 Interviewing and research ethics**

Having highlighted some of the ethical issues of fieldwork, it is important at this point to explain how I built ethics into my research design. I do this here by exploring my approach to interviewing alongside that to ethical research. Verbal informed consent was sought from all the research participants, though my research ethics went much further than this. Following Davies (1999), I informed all participants that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point and assured them that the research would remain confidential. In other words, I told the participants that I would not reveal details of what they told me to other people, other than in anonymized versions of the study. Whereas my role as a participant observer was marked out when writing notes while others were involved in activities such as literacy events, my role as an interviewer had greater potential to arouse suspicion as I was asking questions about people's personal circumstances as well as details of their visa applications. I assured these participants that I did not judge their decisions about migration but was rather interested in documenting and recording their practices. When writing up the research notes it was important to give each participant a pseudonym so that they could not be identified. For the same reason I have given the town in northwest England that the family have migrated to the fictional name Hillington. I did not ask participants to sign a written consent form as I was told at the beginning of the research that this could make people feel as though they might be traced. I therefore chose to offer the participants verbal consent and they told me that they preferred this.

The following sections describe how I dealt with ethics in research in the different phases of the study by exploring ethics alongside my approach to interviewing while I was conducting semi-structured interviews for the study. The reason I deal with these issues together is that I see them as related to the ethnographer's ability to make valid claims about the social world. Validity is concerned with the balance with which conclusions are drawn from the analysis of data. Hence, methodologically, data must be collected with a rigour that allows conclusions to be drawn and claims to be made. I relate this to trust when conducting interviews, as validity cannot be a goal if the trust of the research participants is not ensured. I therefore chose semi-structured interviews as the method to explore individuals' literacy practices and migration because they offered me the opportunity, along with participant observation, to delve into participants' experiences and beliefs while at the same time allowing enough flexibility in the questions to pursue related issues, should the interview participants wish this. Crucially, this flexibility meant that I was able to build trust by enquiring about aspects of the participants' lives which they felt confident to convey to me, while at the same time, and often judged from moment to moment, making decisions about omitting questions which might have raised suspicions, given the sensitivities of researching in AK described earlier. Moving from being perceived as a government employee to a university researcher meant that I had to maintain trust by explaining that I no longer worked for the British Council but that my interest in Mirpur and Mirpuri migration remained. The research participants told me that they felt pleased that a researcher was interested in Mirpur.

The interpreter that I worked with was a university teacher of English called Sadia, with whom I had worked with during my time with the British Council and who had worked as a translator previously. As a woman she was able to act as both chaperone and interpreter when we were interviewing women who would otherwise have been unable to be alone with a man. She spoke Mirpuri Punjabi, Urdu and English. The pattern of interviewing that we established began with me introducing the research in Urdu then asking the interviewee which language they would prefer to use during the interview. Many requested Urdu but then used a great deal of Punjabi. I would ask a question in English,

Sadia would repeat the question in Urdu/ Punjabi, and then she would translate the response into English once the interviewee had replied. We explained to the research participants that all my interviews would only be used for my research purposes and would not be given to other people to use. We recorded all the interviews but I did not have these transcribed until I returned to the UK. Instead, while in the field, I listened to the audio recordings of interviews the same night or the same week and made notes, based on the responses Sadia had translated, and formulated follow-up questions if secondary visits were planned. Once I back in the UK, I asked two Urdu/ Punjabi speakers based at UK universities to translate the audio files which I then used alongside Sadia's translations when coding the data.

I began the initial interviews with interviewees by explaining that I was a researcher at Lancaster University and currently working at the British Council in Islamabad, though I omitted the reference to the British Council once I had finished working for them. I was told that some participants would trust me more when not working for the British Council, while others would trust me more if they perceived that I worked for the British government. I explained that the research project and the publications about Mirpuri migration which I had written during Phase 2 would be made public. I stressed to each interviewee that they could change their mind about their involvement at any point. This was important to me as I wanted to make sure that participants were involved because they chose to be and not because somebody had encouraged them, or worse, coerced them. Usman and Ravi were persuasive men and their status in the community may have led some participants to feel they could not refuse our invitation, though this was never made explicit to me and all the participants welcomed follow-up interviews. Knowing that some people in Mirpur suspected that I was working for the UK or US security services was important to me when explaining my research and asking questions. To overcome this challenge I ensured that I always had information sheets on Lancaster University letter-headed paper signed by one of my supervisors available in English and Urdu, as well as providing each participant with my business card from Lancaster University for them to keep with contact details if they wished to check my credentials. I begin by

discussing the interviews from Phase 2 onwards, as Phase 1 was in many ways a different research project.

### **3.6.1 Phase 2: Interviewing and ethics**

During interviews in the English language school in Mirpur, KLC, the questions covered biographical details of the participants' lives, their schooling and their plans for migration. At this point I used three different interpreters, including the school principal, a colleague from the British Council and a friend. I always gave the interviewee the option of choosing the language in which to conduct the interview. Few chose English, though some students liked to practise the English they were learning. Female students were, apart from one young woman who chose not to be, always chaperoned. My daily routine during this time was structured around hour-long interviews with ten individual students in total, five of which were selected for the final case studies. These provided valuable data about migrants' reasons for wanting to live in the UK and the ties that bound their families in both countries. I also interviewed the school principal/ owner four times and classroom teachers once or twice. During breaks in my interview schedule I observed lessons, and in the afternoons, when there was no teaching, I made field notes about the classrooms and school and wrote up any observations from the morning's interviews.

I consider that the accounts that I was given provided insights into Mirpuri life and migration. I felt, however, that we never approached the depth that is sought in ethnography in the time that we had available and I was never able to visit any of the interviewees at home, though this was never the aim. I also consider that the conclusions that I drew from the analysis of these case studies were sufficient for an initial stage in a wider research project and saw the process as an important stage in deeper ethnography for future PhD study.

What I had not realised at that time was how important this research was in establishing my credentials at the research sites in Mirpur and Hillington. The

findings were published quickly and part of my job was to launch these publications across Pakistan. This brought me into contact with linguists, teachers and officials who felt that my research offered a sympathetic account of the problems facing Pakistani migrants.

### **3.6.2 Phase 3: Interviewing and ethics**

Once I had finished working for the British Council in June 2011 I felt that there should be a significant shift in the interviewing techniques that I had employed in the previous phase. I therefore began conducting much longer interviews with Usman, of over two hours, moved the location of these interviews to his home and work, and began interviewing his family and friends. This meant that my weekly interviewing schedule was organised a week in advance, though this would change from day to day as interviewees' plans shifted.

The interviews were 'semi-structured' in that I had previously drafted the topics which I wanted to cover, thereby shaping the interaction with a framework of questions. I had intentionally narrowed the focus by this phase and had a targeted set of topics for particular family members, friends and Usman, based on previous interviews in which Usman had mentioned topics which I wanted to explore further. For example, there were different questions for women and men, for rural and urban settings, for speakers of English and non-speakers, migrants and non-migrants. Visiting some participants several times meant that I was able to refine these questions; and the longer I spent in the field, the more I began to understand the role of literacy in people's lives.

Having gained the verbal consent of the participants, I considered that the interviewees trusted Usman and Usman trusted me, in addition to the degree of trust which came with my identity as a British researcher. Responses were almost always vivid and detailed. My lack of proficiency in Mirpuri Punjabi, however, meant that my questions were always reframed through the

translation of the interpreter, and this had implications for the richness of the responses we elicited as the interpreter was not an ethnographer and may have over-simplified questions. With my limited knowledge of Urdu I was able to understand some of her translations and often noticed the lack of nuance in her questioning. However, I often repeated questions at different stages in the interviews by rephrasing the wording in order to see what would happen when I came to code the different responses. Using different interviewing techniques such as this, as well as reading through the transcripts of interviews with Usman while sitting with him and discussing his responses, meant that I was able to increase my claims to validity through the joint analysis of what people said that we explored together. Moreover, by sharing transcripts with Usman, we were able to check meanings together, thereby continuing to develop mutual trust in our relationship. I did, however, hold back on telling Usman that I was interested in issues relating to the inequality of marginalized groups. This meant that I chose not to tell the research participants that I was looking at issues related to power and inequality, and as such I did not mention these words in the interviews. For similar reasons I did not ask Usman directly about integration as I wanted to see what emerged from the data without using specific terms from my research questions.

### **3.6.3 Phase 4: Interviewing and ethics**

The most significant methodological shift in the final phase of the study was that the ethnographic interviews with Usman had by that point changed in topic and length. The topics became increasingly related to the meanings he ascribed to his literacy practices while the length of interview increased to over two hours each time, as I had been working with him for over a year by December 2011. Similarly, with Usman's wife Nadia, I felt that I knew enough about the family's migration to commence extended interviews of two hours whereby Usman and Nadia shaped the outcome of the interview in ways that had not occurred in earlier interviews. Heyl (2001) defines these types of interviews as ethnographic in the sense that interviewees are empowered to influence the direction of the interview and the form it takes. However,

although this was the final stage of data collection, it was also the initial stage of research in Hillington, hence I was keen to explore the same interview topics that I had covered at the outset in Mirpur. This included the multilingual context of Nadia's family in the UK and the languages which they used to speak, read and write in their everyday lives, as well as in their migration process.

These data were collected in a way which allowed for triangulation of the data collected in Mirpur with the data from Hillington. The authenticity of what interviewees told me in Mirpur could be triangulated with the descriptions of family life in Hillington. This proved central to the coding of data about the second visa application. Drawing valid conclusions from these data meant that the interviews with immigration consultants and education officials had to be analysed alongside accounts given by family members, as my aim was to acquire knowledge about literacy and migration from the perspective of those who were broadly involved in migration and not just those involved in Usman's visa application. The interviews I conducted in Mirpur provided an overview of the ways in which literacy fits into migration in general, but it was the Hillington interviews that helped me to fill in the gaps in my knowledge of how literacy fits into the specific migration events of Usman and Nadia's family. An important aspect of establishing trust lay in the relationship which developed between myself and the participants, in view of the cultural differences which I described earlier. When I returned to the UK in August 2011 and visited Nadia in her home, she did not know at that point whether Usman's second visa application would be successful. Nadia provided me with information which others might have felt unwilling to provide at a time when she was feeling vulnerable, given the recent birth of her and Usman's child but without knowledge of whether Usman would be able to help support her as he was still in Pakistan. She did this because she trusted in her husband's faith in me, regardless of the different identities I represented as a white male whom she had never met before. This is an important aspect of what Robson (1999) describes as participants' confidence in the researcher, which I consider an important part of ethnography and cannot be achieved through verbal consent alone but as a result of immersion in the field and the time spent with



participants. Recognising these different roles and relationships was central to the study and vital to assessing the validity of the research process. In the following section I discuss how I managed these changes in positioning and the situated nature of the insights they allowed me to make.

### **3.7 Reflexivity**

Having focused on the collection of data in previous sections, the discussion here turns to my epistemological stance and the reflexive turn in the social sciences which influence the ethnographic perspective I adopt in this study. Papen has argued that it is routine among ethnographers to recognize the 'situated and partial nature of their insights' (2005: 29) when reflecting on knowledge production and representation. I explore this aspect of my methodology with reference to the reflexive stance I brought to this study. Drawing from Wodak (2011) and Krzyżanowski (2011), I see ethnography as a research perspective which informs the researcher throughout the duration of their work, allowing for triangulation between different stages and different sets of data in related social contexts, but always characterized by the reflexivity of the researcher. Davies (1999) describes this reflexivity as recognition of the differences between the researcher and their participants and paying attention to how these differences influence their attitude to the research and its participants. This, Davies argues, requires an awareness of how the outcomes of research are affected by the process of the research itself, whereby the researcher recognises their role in the production of the data and the retelling of participants' narratives. In order to grant validity to these accounts, it was important to set out first aspects of my own life history in the initial section of this chapter about 'my positioning'. Moving from access to the field sites in that section to writing up the accounts here, I consider that I was being reflexive by keeping myself in the text and remaining alert to my changing positioning. Papen (2005) claims that an important aspect of this reflexivity is the researcher's openness to their own stance towards the object of study. For this reason I link stance to positioning, as being open about both

is required during both data collection and analysis. This is important in a study which analyses discourses because, in order to be able to reflect on how one encounters these, understanding the discourses of the discipline, the discourses of the researcher and the discourses of the participants in constructing an ethnographic account is a central concern (Papen 2005; Kell 1994). This is particularly important when encountering dominant and non-dominant discourses in both Pakistan and the UK. In this way, the DHA, as a critical framework discussed in Chapter 2, seeks to unmask the manipulative character of these multiple discursive practices (Wodak 2008), thereby orienting the researcher towards transformation through an exploration of their own biases and positionings. Returning to the positionings identified at the beginning of this chapter, and having explored the ethnographic perspective and strategies that my study involved, I consider this allows for reflexivity towards those positionings.

To sum up, I consider that my positioning was informed by an emerging dominant discourse about the power of the English language to promote cohesion among its speakers and the counter academic discourse which posits that minority languages do not prevent migrants from belonging in their new homes if they do not learn English (Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2011; Jones and Krzyżanowski 2008; Blackledge 2005). Literacy features prominently in these discourses, as migration is increasingly textually mediated and the language of these texts is the dominant languages of Urdu and English, not the vernacular literacies which are explored in the following chapters. My research in Pakistan and the UK was carried out to challenge these dominant views of language, literacy and integration and the view that when everyone can read, write and speak English, communities will live in harmony. Moreover, my positioning was also influenced by a feeling that for those who lack access to literacy in dominant languages, yet whose lives are lived transnationally, the shift towards 'English for integration' will marginalise them further from their existing position on the global periphery. This openness to my biases and positionings I consider allows me to address contemporary social issues as part of the critical project I set out at the beginning of this thesis.

One additional method of providing this openness within the research process, which is relevant to my study, is the way that data are selected. In their work investigating organisations such as the EU, Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski claim that strategies for ‘narrowing down the data’ can be problematic, given the complexity of organisations, but that a ‘practical perspective’ can be taken to sampling data by combining ‘a commitment to transparency and reflexivity’ through ‘theoretical sampling’ (2008: 189). This, they suggest, means looking for ‘representativeness not in terms of a population but rather in terms of concepts’ which are discovered gradually throughout the process of research (ibid.). I suggest that sampling can be achieved in this way by returning to Wodak’s four-context level model, given that Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski claim that detailed contextualized knowledge is required when exploring the role that texts play in organisations. They link this contextualisation of texts to discourse when they argue that:

A failure to achieve such a contextualization of discourse may on the other hand lead to the analysis yielding results which are artificial, since it does not incorporate the actual significance of discourse in the daily life of an organization. (2008: 191)

In the final section of this chapter I explain how I combine the reflexivity and openness discussed in this section with the methods I used for selecting data by identifying discourse topics in my interview data.

### **3.8 Methods for identifying discourse topics and selecting data**

This final section of the methodology chapter describes how I approached the selection of data via the analysis of textual material from the interviews with key respondents and is based on the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in Critical Discourse Studies. I will also show how I identified key themes among the analysed instances of discourse in interviews with Usman, his family members and friends. I then explain how I used these discourse topics to select data for each of the analysis chapters in the thesis.

Following Krzyżanowski (2008), I define the basic analytic category ‘discourse topic’ as ‘expressed by several sentences in discourse ... by larger segments of the discourse or by the discourse as a whole’ (van Dijk 1984: 56). In this sense, a discourse topic is defined as the salient theme or idea that underlies the meaning of a series of sentences. Discourse topics therefore organise the interviews thematically, but unlike Krzyżanowski’s 2008 study these framings were not provided by the interviewer as in focus group prompts. Rather, the topics were addressed in different ways by the participants during semi-structured interviews. These interviews were primarily framed by questions about the participants’ literacy practices related to their migration. Thus, all the discourse topics relate to migration, which I will call the *macro-topic* as I am dealing with *discourse about migration*. In this discourse there are various sub-topics (see also Reisigl and Wodak 2009). These I identified as: *work*, *kinship*, *settlement* and *leaving*. The interviews which were chosen were those where participants spoke in the greatest detail about migration; they were analysed quantitatively by looking at references to migration, as this overarching topic relates most closely to the Research Questions for this study, i.e. access to literacy for migration and language practices in migration. This meant counting the statistical frequency with which participants referred to migration or described an aspect of their migration; thereafter, identifying topics, when discussing the matters framed by the macro topic, were ‘put forth by the participants themselves’ (Krzyżanowski 2008: 174). This analysis resulted in the identification of the four aforementioned discourse sub-topics, i.e. *work*, *kinship*, *settlement* and *leaving*.

Once I had established these four sub-topics I returned to my interview transcripts and coded the data using the four sub-topics as categories for data selection. In this way I was able to narrow down the data and focus on those sections that were related to migration, including topics that were raised by the participants. These sub-topics were then further operationalised in the selection of data for the analysis in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the thesis. For the analysis in Chapter 4, for example, when reviewing the literature on migration from AJK to Lancashire I was guided by the sub-topic of ‘settlement’, as this had been a salient theme in the interviews and required

attention in discussion of the socio-political level of context. For the analysis in Chapters 5 and 6, I looked for what participants said about the four discourse sub-topics and related this to the discussion of literacy sponsorship and literacy mediation. Finally, for the analysis in Chapters 7 and 8, the aim was to explore what the online interactants said about the four discourse sub-topics as part of the discussion of heteroglossia and the analysis of language ideologies and language choice. In the following chapter I begin the analysis, using these discourse topics in a discussion about the sociopolitical level of context.

## **Chapter 4: Sociopolitical level of context**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts within which the literacy practices of later chapters are embedded. The chapter begins with a discussion of displacement and migration in the region of Azad Kashmir, drawing from research which looks at the mobility of people before, during and after population movements caused by the Partition of India in 1947 and the labour migration to Britain from the 1950s onwards. Subsequent sections examine the migration of men from Mirpur to work in the textile industry in the UK, focusing on three phases of migration from Pakistan as identified by Harriss and Shaw (2008): male labour migration, family reunion and marriage migration. These sections also consider the immigration legislation which the British government has been introducing since the 1960s as it attempts to curb the number of migrants from Asia and Africa.

Recent curbs on immigration to the UK are then discussed in order to demonstrate how the UK, like other countries in the West, is implementing a tightening of the relationship between language, immigration, citizenship and national security (Cooke and Simpson 2008). Whilst there has been a language requirement for citizenship applicants in the UK since 1981, Blackledge (2009) cites the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act as the legislation which strengthened this requirement. The Act extended the requirement to demonstrate sufficient language proficiency to people applying for naturalization on the basis of marriage, and since its introduction there has been a 'noticeable shift towards legislation that requires the demonstration of proficiency in English in order to access certain resources' (Blackledge 2009: 14).

Legislation of this type has also been introduced in some other states across Europe. Wodak (2012) looked at the linguistic requirements for migrants to European states and found that between 2007 and 2009 there was a 20 per cent increase in Council of Europe member states imposing linguistic requirements for people wishing to acquire citizenship:

In this way, language proficiency has been clearly attributed the status of a powerful 'gatekeeper', along with other factors such as education, money, profession and age. (Wodak 2012: 229)

As Wodak points out, linking entry and citizenship to language proficiency means that there is inevitable discrimination against migrants who are from rural areas, or who lack education or money. In this chapter, UK policy will be considered from the point of view of its impact on Mirpuri migrants, many of whom fall into the categories that Wodak cites as facing discrimination when language testing is used for gatekeeping purposes. This chapter includes an overview of issues related to ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) provision for adult migrants as successive governments increasingly encourage migrants to access English while simultaneously cutting funding for state-run ESOL.

The final section of this chapter explores how the introduction of language-testing legislation has influenced English language learning in Mirpur in order to understand more fully how current UK immigration impacts on prospective migrants from this area prior to departure.

## **4.2 Displacement and migration in Azad Kashmir**

In 1846, the areas of Gilgit, Baltistan, Muzaffarabad and Srinagar were brought under British colonial rule after centuries of control by various Afghan, Sikh and local rulers. The whole region was then sold to the Maharaja of the

neighbouring state of Jammu. Thereafter, the Maharaja renamed his state Jammu and Kashmir.

At the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, the then Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir at first hoped that he would be able to achieve independence for his principality, but eventually agreed to amalgamation with India. Within a few months, India and Pakistan went to war over the territory. A ceasefire was agreed in 1949, which left approximately two fifths of the former state under the control of Pakistan. The Karachi agreement of 1949 divided the disputed territory into two, with the Azad ('Free') Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and the Federally Administered Northern Areas (renamed Gilgit and Baltistan in 2010) under the control of Pakistan. The two territories of Gilgit-Baltistan and AJK have not been formally annexed by Pakistan and therefore have no representation in the Pakistan parliament. In 1970 a legislative assembly was introduced in AJK, and in 1974 an interim constitution established a parliamentary system with a prime minister and a president. Relations between AJK and Pakistan are determined by the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council. Council members include the President and the Prime Minister of AJK, the Federal Minister for Kashmir.

Though the two official versions of events in the Kashmir dispute are fiercely contested by Pakistan and India, the Pakistan account of what happened is a fundamental part of political discourse and is taught across several subject areas in government schools. Indeed, the Kashmir dispute has been prescribed in the government school syllabus since 1979, alongside the differences between the cultures of Hindus and Muslims, the need for an independent Islamic state, the ideology of Pakistan, the malicious intentions of India towards Pakistan and the need for defence and development in Pakistan (Lall 2010). These accounts were repeated in interviews for this study, not only in AJK but in cities as far apart as Lahore and Karachi, as well as Islamabad. What is undisputed is that the conflict resulted in the widespread displacement of groups from all faiths across the region, including Mirpur, as Muslims moved to settle in Pakistan-administered Kashmir and Hindus migrated to India-administered Kashmir at partition. Puri (2010) describes



large-scale rioting in Mirpur, where thousands of families were separated. The deaths which occurred during this time are commemorated annually in present-day India on 25 November, which is observed by Hindus as Mirpur day in memory of those who died. In Pakistan and AJK, 6 November is the date on which Pakistanis remember the Muslims who died.

Just over ten years later, Mirpur was to experience further mass displacement, in the 1960s, due to the construction of the Mangla Dam which resulted, Puri argues, in one of the largest migrant populations of South Asia living in Britain (2010). The dam, which was constructed on the banks of the river Jhelum which flows through Kashmir and on into Punjab province, saw the complete flooding of the old town of Mirpur and the rebuilding of a new town. Ballard argues that Mangla brings many benefits to Pakistan as it serves as the main water-storage reservoir for the canal system of Western Punjab and is therefore central to the whole Pakistani economy (1991). He also argues, however, that Mirpuris living close to the dam have had to bear most of the environmental cost, the disappearance of most of their fertile farming land, and deal with the disruption caused by rising waters to the local infrastructure, such as communications and transport. Puri has argued that the grievances felt by families over the loss of their land became a source of political mobilization for the Mirpuri diaspora in the UK in support of Kashmiri nationalists seeking separation from India. This support fuelled the conflict and prompted what Puri calls the 'backbone of the financial support to the militant movement in Jammu and Kashmir in the early 1990's' (2010: 59).

### **4.3 Migration from Pakistan to the UK**

Azad Kashmiris are often subsumed within the label Pakistanis in the migration literature, although they are in fact numerically dominant among people of Pakistani origin in the UK (Kalra 2008). Harriss and Shaw (2008) identify three phases of migration from Pakistan to the UK: male labour migration, family reunion and marriage migration.

In the following sections I look at each of the three migration phases. I also explore how the three phases led to increasing numbers of migrants entering Britain, which over time resulted in ever-increasing immigration legislation aimed at reducing the number of immigrants from Asia and Africa.

#### **4.3.1 Male labour migration**

This section looks briefly at male labour migration from Pakistan to the UK and the immigration policies of the 1960s and 1970s with which the British government responded. Emigration from Mirpur to the UK began during the last decades of the 1800s when villagers took up jobs as stokers on British merchant ships operating out of Bombay. Subsequently, Ballard suggests, 'when acute industrial labour shortages began to emerge in Britain during the course of the second-world war, Mirpuri ex-seamen (many of whom had had their ships torpedoed from beneath them) were eagerly recruited to fill the gaps. It was these war-time pioneers who formed the bridge-head for further settlement' (Ballard 1991: 516). After the Second World War, there was very high demand for labour in the foundries of the West Midlands and the textile mills of the Pennine region (Ballard 2003). To meet the labour shortages which the country was facing and to encourage immigration from the Commonwealth, the UK government passed the 1948 British Nationality Act, which essentially established an open borders policy between the UK and Commonwealth countries (Raco 2007).

The UK's economy became increasingly reliant on migrant labour from the 1950s onwards. Labour shortages were particularly acute in 'essential' sectors, such as agriculture, coal-mining, textiles, construction, foundry work, health services and international domestic service. Raco (ibid.) argues that UK government policy focused on the promotion of international immigration as a means of balancing immigration to and emigration from the UK, thereby providing the foundations for the modernisation of the British economy. A deal between the Pakistan and British governments negotiated in the 1950s but taking effect in the early 1960s meant that men from the region that would be

affected by the construction of the Mangla Dam would be given the opportunity to migrate to the UK to work in those sectors of the economy where there was a shortage of labour. As a result of the high demand for labour, transnational activity between Mirpur and the UK underwent a rapid expansion as recently established settlers helped male family members still in Pakistan to come to the UK for work (Ballard 2003). Like today, there were negative reports about immigrants in the press during this period; these often focused on the settlers' willingness to work for low wages, thus potentially undermining the achievements of the trade unions (Ballard 2009). Immigration controls began to be introduced partly as a reaction to these fears.

In her PhD thesis for Lancaster University looking at how immigration controls developed in the UK in the post-war period, Lamb claims that from 1962 onwards immigration controls were introduced which specifically targeted Asian and African Commonwealth migrants. In her research, Lamb analyses the British government's Cabinet discussions concerning the restriction of immigration throughout the 1950s. Lamb argues that pressure was applied to African and Asian governments, including Pakistan, to restrict emigration from those countries to the UK. Lamb posits that a defining moment in immigration legislation was the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 which kept the category of 'Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies' (CUKC) established in the British Nationality Act 1948. This differentiated subjects' rights to enter the UK according to whether their passport was issued under British or colonial authority and introduced the requirement for prospective immigrants to apply for a work voucher. Though the 1962 Act met with opposition in Parliament from the Labour Party, when Labour came to power under Harold Wilson it did not repeal it. Instead, it introduced a White Paper in 1965 which modified the 1962 Act and outlined further restrictions relevant to Mirpuri migrants. The number of work vouchers issued by the UK government was cut to 8,500 and entry certificates and powers to deport were introduced (Spencer 1997: 136). Spencer suggests that 'the systematic and effective control of Asian and black immigration began in 1965 rather than 1962', continuing:

At a time of labour shortage, and in view of the fact that the government contemplated no simultaneous action on Irish or alien immigration, it is difficult to interpret the White Paper proposals as anything other than an attempt to cut back sharply Asian and black immigration in order to appease political pressure. The Labour Party had completed a U-turn on immigration policy. (Spencer 1997: 136).

In 1967, Asians from the former British colonies of Uganda and Kenya, fearing discrimination in these countries, began to arrive in the UK. These migrants' entry to the UK was not restricted by the 1965 White Paper, as they had retained British citizenship following independence. However, under pressure from Conservative voices, the Labour government introduced the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1968), which extended migration controls to those without a parent or grandparent who was born in or was a citizen of the UK. Lamb therefore puts forward the case that the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968 kick-started Britain's history of implementing controls aimed specifically at non-whites. Moreover, she posits that the motivation for this legislation must be viewed as deeply related to British attitudes towards 'race' during this time. In fact, the immigration restrictions outlined above did little to restrict the flow of male migrants from Mirpur to the foundries and mills of the UK (Ballard 2003). At the time the work voucher system was introduced, there was still a shortage of labour in the foundries and mills where many Mirpuri men worked. Consequently their employers were happy to sign papers allowing their male relatives to come and work with them in the UK. When work vouchers were abolished, Mirpuri men in the UK used the rights of family reunion to enable their teenage sons to join them. The UK government then introduced legislation aimed at restricting this flow of migrants by requiring settlers who wanted their sons to join them in the UK to bring their wives and female children from Mirpur, too. However, as Ballard (2003) explains, this had the opposite effect, as the settlers decided it would be appropriate for female members of their family to join them in the UK, and so the second, family-reunion, phase of chain migration began to take over from the initial male-labour phase.

### 4.3.2 Family reunion

This section considers the second phase of the chain migration identified by Harriss and Shaw (2008) and looks at the role of women who arrived in the UK from Mirpur to join their husbands.

As seen in the previous section, the initial migrants in the chain consisted mainly of single men looking for the promise of higher wages. These 'pioneer' male labour migrants later married or brought over their wives and children to the UK in a second 'family reunion' phase of the chain migration which represented:

...a shift in orientation towards Britain as a place of temporary residence, where they would work and earn money for their families back home, to one in which they are sufficiently rooted to settle.

(Harriss and Shaw 2008: 119)

Unlike their husbands, the first-generation Pakistani female migrants to the UK rarely worked outside the home. The reasons for this low level of economic activity among first-generation female Pakistani migrants included lack of qualifications and fluency in English, as well as cultural norms which expected women to take responsibility for domestic life whilst men provided financially for the family (Dale et al. 2002). The burden of caring responsibilities, not only for children but also for elderly or unwell relatives, tended to fall on women, making employment outside the home more difficult to arrange. In addition to this, Mirpuri women in the UK found themselves living in communities which had replicated the cultural norms and taboos of the homeland, meaning the same cultural restrictions applied regarding women working outside the home. Cooke and Simpson (2008) argue that these domestic responsibilities and cultural demands and traditions also often meant women's English language learning happened in a piecemeal way over much longer periods of time, in contrast to men who worked outside the home.

This replication of cultural norms occurred as families from Mirpur who settled in the UK tended to live in close proximity to each other, forming 'ethnic colonies, within which all the most significant social, cultural and religious institutions of their homeland began to reappear' (Ballard, 2008: 41). Ballard describes how these close-knit communities enabled migrants to offer support to each other through 'networks of mutual reciprocity' (Ballard 2008: 45), which were initially based on 'ideologies of kinship' (ibid.) amongst early settlers and then became rooted in actual kinship as chain migration led to growing communities of Mirpuris in UK inner cities in North West England and the Midlands. These communities were based on ideologies which place importance on extended family ties in the form of 'links of mutuality which bind parents, patrilineal offspring and offspring's offspring into all-consuming corporate networks' (ibid.: 50) and were in contrast to the assumptions of the indigenous population that migrants would quickly give up their social and cultural differences in favour of assimilation into surrounding communities (Ballard 2008).

This family-reunion phase of chain migration was effectively brought to an end with the 1971 Immigration Act which placed restrictions on family reunification (Demireva 2011). As a result of these immigration controls, the second phase in the chain migration transitioned to a third phase, known as marriage migration, in which spouses and dependent children became some of the few remaining groups eligible for entry to the UK. This tightening of immigration controls, it has been argued, 'strikes at the very roots of British Pakistanis' deepest loyalties: to close kinsmen, dependents and in relation to unquestionable family obligations' (Werbner 2008: 6).

#### **4.3.3 Marriage migration**

This section considers the third phase of the chain migration identified by Harriss and Shaw (2008) as well as UK immigration policies from the 1970s onwards, which have affected migration from Pakistan to the UK. As outlined above, the 1971 Immigration Act meant that the family-reunion phase of chain

migration was replaced by the marriage-migration phase. This phase remains in force today, although with some modifications. The largest component of migration from Pakistan during the third phase has been young second- or third-generation British Pakistanis who marry 'back home', that is in Mirpur, and who, on their return to Britain, bring brides or bridegrooms, particularly cousins, with them (Shaw 2000).

It is not uncommon for young British Pakistanis to marry into Mirpuri families, particularly if their parents have rural origins and have not excelled in the British school system (Harriss and Shaw 2008). In a previous study, Shaw argues that for these young British men and women, transnational marriage allows for a diversification of assets through the consolidation of links to property in Pakistan as well as the UK (Shaw 2000). In his study of migration and the local economy in Mirpur, Ballard (2008) argues that it is migrants' remittances that have had the greatest impact on Mirpuri society, given the many millions of pounds that have been remitted to the area over the last 60 years. This has, however, not led to significant economic development of what is a predominantly agricultural area. Rather, Ballard argues, after the boom in building prestigious houses in Mirpur by migrants in the UK in the 1970s, there was little interest in investing in agriculture due to the lack of status associated with the sector, low prices and little development of infrastructure by the state. The result is that Mirpur is now heavily dependent on those remittances, a condition which Ballard argues:

...is primarily a consequence of the way in which Pakistan's whole economy is structured. It is no fault of the Mirpuris themselves that agriculture has been rendered completely unprofitable as a result of central pricing policies, nor that the Government of Pakistan has done next to nothing to mobilise local resources, nor even to provide the infrastructural facilities around which migrants could more profitably and productively invest savings. (Ballard 2008: 36)

Given the significance of the above in the household finances of Mirpuris, the status of transnational marriages means that they touch most Mirpuris'

lives in some way.

In addition to these economic considerations, transnational marriage enhances the reputation of the kin group by demonstrating solidarity and providing British parents with opportunities to import tradition and religion into the marriages of British Pakistani families. Here, Katherine Charsley's work is particularly relevant for an understanding of some of the issues which affect marriages between British-born wives and Mirpuri-born husbands, as she draws on the experiences of the 'imported husband' who is unable to assert his authority when settled in the UK due to conflicts with his father-in-law. Language plays a key role as husbands are further emasculated by experiencing a reduction in their economic status as a result of poor English while their Pakistani qualifications and employment experience go unrecognised in the UK (Charsley 2005). However, Harriss and Shaw argue that the gender relations in the marriages of Pakistani women marrying British-born husbands are significantly different from those in marriages to local Pakistani husbands (Harriss and Shaw 2008). While transnational marriage provides opportunities to raise the status of women within their Mirpuri family, their status in the family home in the UK will still require negotiation. Understanding gender relations and the transnational context in this way provides for a more nuanced understanding of the decisions being made by the family members in this study.

Like labour and family migration previously, marriage migration has been affected by immigration legislation. Harriss and Shaw (2008) argue that since the 1970s, government controls on family immigration have increasingly tightened the grip on transnational marriage. An example is the primary purpose rule which was in place in the UK from 1980 to 1997. This ruled that marriage should not be for the purpose of economic migration. Given that this rule appeared to be designed specifically to discourage immigration from South Asia through marriage, and was thus discriminatory, it was abolished in 1997 by the New Labour government. Since this time, the number of husbands gaining visas to Britain has increased to the extent that by the end of the twentieth century there were almost equal numbers of male and female



migrant spouses (Home Office 2001).

#### **4.4 Language, immigration and integration**

Having looked at the social, economic and political dimensions of Mirpuri migration, this section explores the role of language in legislation aimed at curbing immigration. The focus, therefore, will now turn to UK integration policy and immigration legislation under the New Labour governments of 1997 to 2010 and the subsequent Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government in order to see how recent policy on integration, language testing and immigration has affected migrants and migration from Mirpur.

Integration policy during the period of immigration settlement from 1948 to 1976 focused on first-generation immigrants and was based around an interpretation of integration that would later be labelled 'multiculturalism' (Somerville 2007: 51). A well-known definition of this vision of integration was given when, speaking in 1966, the then Labour Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, described integration as 'not a flattening process of assimilation but equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (Jenkins 1970). According to this multicultural view of integration, the close-knit communities formed by migrants in the UK and the replication of cultural norms and traditions from their homeland would not be mutually exclusive to integration into UK society.

As outlined in the section on family reunion above, early Pakistani migrants tended to live in close-knit communities, and subsequent generations from these families have continued this pattern. But Ballard argues that whereas previously these communities were 'largely unnoticed by anyone other than their immediate working-class neighbours' (Ballard, 2008: 41), it is now the case that 'public awareness of the existence of such ethnic colonies and their pluralizing impact on the local social order is much more widespread' (ibid.). Consequently, by 1997, integration policy had become associated with ethnic minorities, rather than first-generation migrants (Somerville 2007: 51) and

public discourses about integration began to move away from multiculturalism and towards such concepts as 'social exclusion' and 'community cohesion' (Somerville 2007: 52). The then Home Secretary, David Blunkett, was one of the first politicians to speak about how tired he was of 'unbridled multiculturalism which privileges difference over community cohesion' (Blunkett 2002: 6).

The term 'community cohesion', used by David Blunkett, came out of the Cantle report (Home Office 2001), which was written in response to the May 2001 'riots' which saw young White men fighting young Pakistani and Bangladeshi men in East Lancashire, West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester. Since the 2001 'riots' in the northern mill towns in the UK, the terror attacks in the US on 11 September 2001 ('9/11') and in the UK on 7 July 2005 ('7/7'), British Muslims have experienced intense media and political scrutiny (Alexander et al. 2013). In fact, Alexander et al. argue that these three events 'have triggered a two-fold approach to 'managing' Muslims – with a focus on securitization and migration control at the borders, and, internally, on issues of integration, cohesion and citizenship' (ibid.: 3) This, it can be argued, has been central to public debates about Pakistani Muslims in the UK. The Cantle report introduced the concept of 'parallel lives' into the debate and the subsequent chain of discourse which, Blackledge (2005) argues, began with the riots.

In 2004, the debate was taken up by the editor of Prospect magazine, David Goodhart, who published *Too Diverse?*, in which he suggested that collective attitudes to welfare are threatened by ethnic diversity. Goodhart has recently developed his arguments in *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-war Immigration* (2013). In this book, Goodhart argues that seventeen of Britain's twenty most segregated towns are in the north and northwest of England, in particular the Pennine towns of east Lancashire and West Yorkshire (the towns in which the research participants in this study live). Goodhart argues that this has happened due to what he calls an unfortunate coincidence in that:

...the most integration-unfriendly large minority of the post-war period – the rural background, mainly Kashmiri, Pakistanis – are generally the dominant minority in the old industrial towns of the North, and to a lesser extent the Midlands, places that have been in headlong economic decline for decades. (2013: 77)

Taking up Cattle's notion, Goodhart argues that a range of developments have created an environment for British Kashmiris living 'parallel lives', which he lists as the closure of the factories in which all men mixed and neighbourhood schools becoming 'almost 100 per cent minority' (ibid.: 78). These are, however, not the only representations which Goodhart offers in his portrayal of the 'segregation debate'. Goodhart argues that:

In generational terms the first generation still lives culturally back home and is torn between wanting their children to fit into Britain and retaining their ancestral culture; the second generation is duly torn between, socialised here but with some commitment to their parents' world; the third generation is usually wholly British – though often fiercely aware of belonging to a minority if they are visibly different – with the world from which their grandparents came largely a mystery to which they feel only a distant connection. (ibid.: 73).

It is these claims about 'distant connections' that this study seeks to illuminate. Blackledge (2005) has traced how this portrayal of minority groups links minority languages with threats to democracy, civil disorder and notions of citizenship and nationhood. He argues that these arguments travel along chains of discourse until they gain the legitimacy of the state and are inscribed in laws such as the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act (2002) which Blackledge links discursively to the riots in 2001.

Until the Immigration and Asylum Act (2002), spouses were exempt from the requirement for British citizenship applicants to have 'sufficient knowledge of the English, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic language', which was introduced in the British Nationality Act 1981 (Blackledge 2005). The 2002 Act extended this

requirement to people applying for naturalization on the basis of marriage and introduced a requirement that applicants should demonstrate knowledge about life in the UK. In 2005 the 'Life in the UK Test' became a requirement for those applying for British Citizenship; then, in 2007, this requirement was extended to applicants for indefinite leave to remain in the UK. Blackledge notes how in a speech in December 2006 to introduce this measure, the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, focused on the link between English language and social cohesion, implying that 'opportunity for all groups, cohesion and justice are dependent on everyone living permanently in Britain being able to demonstrate their proficiency in English' (Blackledge 2005: 79). In 2008, the government produced a consultation paper which introduced the possibility of testing the English language level of people applying for a visa to join their spouse in the UK (Blackledge 2005). This proposal had not been implemented by the time Labour lost power in the 2010 General Election. However, as the subsequent section explains, this notion of a 'pre-entry' English requirement for spouses was quickly taken up by the new Conservative-Liberal coalition government.

#### **4.5 Language, education and gender**

Soon after the election of the new government, immigration was put at the top of the political agenda by the Home Secretary, Theresa May, in an early interview with the BBC (Casciani 2010), who made it clear that marriage migration would be subject to new controls:

I believe that being able to speak English should be a prerequisite for anyone who wants to settle here. The new English requirement for spouses will help promote integration, remove cultural barriers and protect public services.

Here the Home Secretary refers to legislation that was eventually introduced in November 2010 that requires spouses of UK citizens to be able to

demonstrate English proficiency by having passed an approved English language test before applying for their visa.

The UK Border Agency's *Family Migration: A Consultation* (2011) stated that:

Family ties and support are important, but they are not enough to allow new arrivals to the UK to thrive. All those who come to the UK with the intention of settling, including new family arrivals, also need to speak English well enough to communicate and forge links with people in the UK. It is important that all those intending to live permanently in the UK, including those who go on to seek British citizenship and regardless of route of entry, can speak and understand English well enough to make a success of living permanently in the UK. It is also important that they have an understanding of the values and principles underlying British society. (UKBA 2011: 7)

As mentioned in the previous section, the debate about language and cohesion has been documented by Adrian Blackledge (2005; Blackledge and Creese, 2010) through analyses of UK legislation alongside detailed accounts of language use in schools and communities. Blackledge and colleagues draw from Bourdieu (1998) when they argue that the new English language testing regime acts in the name of cultural and linguistic unification: 'It is a regime based on the notion that when we are all able to demonstrate English language proficiency, we will be able to achieve national unity, and a sense of common belonging' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 8). However, it has also been argued that policymakers see these measures as important steps to avoid unrest, to ensure migrants' socio-economic mobility and to guarantee security (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010).

Since the introduction of language testing in 2010, the Government's rationale has shifted from linking English language proficiency to 'social cohesion' to English language proficiency for 'integration'. In the Government's 2012 *Creating the Conditions for integration*, integration is linked to the ability to speak English (DCLG 2012). As such, 'successful' immigrants are those who

have mastered the English language, whereas those who have been unable to do so are seen as having failed to integrate. This applies to recent migrants as well as to settled communities that have been resident in England for decades but are unable to say more than a few words in English. The success/ failure discourse appears in both right-of-centre policy as well as left-of-centre policy critique. The Institute for Public Policy Research (Rutter 2013) argues that integration policy is crucial for the well-being of migrants and their families, as 'failures' in integration can include social segregation, educational under-achievement and unemployment. As such, in its report entitled '*Back to basics: Towards a successful and cost-effective integration policy*', The Institute of Public Policy Research called on the government to make English language learning available immediately on arrival in the UK and to invest in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ibid.).

This access to English language learning by Pakistani migrants focuses more closely on men rather than women. This is because during the first stages of migration Mirpuri men came to the UK to work whilst their wives who joined them later tended not to work outside the home and thus had fewer opportunities to use English. The current situation with regard to both the employment and educational patterns of men and women of Pakistani origin living in the UK is more complex, as there are now younger generations of British Pakistanis as well as new migrants living in the UK. Mellor (2011) notes that much recent media attention has focused on the supposed oppression of Muslim women, covering issues such as forced marriages and honour killings. Mellor (2011) contrasts this public discourse with evidence from young British Pakistani women at university in the north of England who, she argues, use education as a form of empowerment. The women interviewed by Mellor spoke of wanting to gain qualifications and a professional job for the sake of both their families and themselves. Ahmad's (2012) research shows that British South Asian women also cite delaying marriage and greater choice in marriage partners as a reason for attending university. This seems to suggest that traditional ideas about women's life courses and roles still impact on young British Pakistani women. The following section takes up these issues in relation to women migrants' access to English.

## 4.6 ESOL, integration and women migrants

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) refers to English that is learnt by adult migrants to the UK. Fragmented ESOL provision was brought under centralized control in the 1990s as part of a wider overhaul of the provision of adult literacy and numeracy (DfEE 1999). Many factors impact on migrants' access to ESOL provision, and as will be seen below, there are gendered patterns of access to ESOL for Pakistani migrants.

Firstly, there are often practical barriers to accessing classes that impact on migrants' joining an ESOL programme. Hackney Learning Trust has found that work commitments, placement on an ESOL waiting list, ill health, the cost of travelling to courses, tuition fees and family problems 'seem to have prevented both learners with previous experience of ESOL and those without in a similar way with regard to their joining or continuing an ESOL class. Among family problems, learners included being directly prevented from joining an ESOL class by their family' (2011: 22). A key respondent in my study told me that this was an issue that applied to Pakistani women due to cultural and traditional expectations.

Women also face specific challenges to accessing ESOL due to their roles and responsibilities within the family. A lack of universal access to childcare at times which suit parents is particularly acute for women wishing to raise young children and attend regular full-time ESOL classes (Kouritzin 2000). Many learners choose to learn English when a course is available and accessible, while many migrants who are unable to speak English choose not to learn English in a formal setting but rely on family networks in their everyday lives. Many Pakistani women living in the UK fall into this latter category (Ward and Spacey 2008). The difference in the needs of these women learners and the characterization of 'mainstream' ESOL learners as potential employees and test-takers by policy and institutional discourses (Simpson 2011) is great, given that many Pakistani women living in the UK neither want nor need to take a test or to find work.

Furthermore, the language backgrounds of adult migrants are often complex. Rampton (1990) has argued that learners' stated language backgrounds are often a mix of languages they are expert in, as well as languages which are part of their inheritance. They may use non-standard varieties of these languages, and often only their written or spoken forms. This may apply particularly to Pakistani women, as there is a link between gender and previous access to education and literacy, particularly among poor women from countries such as Pakistan (Capstick 2011; Coleman and Capstick 2012). Pakistan has one of the lowest figures for public expenditure on education at only 2.9 per cent of GDP (UNDP 2010) and, as discussed in Chapter 4, the language of education and the language of the home are often different (Capstick 2011). Moreover, major gender disparities in Pakistan are revealed in the difference between male and female earning capacity where attitudes across socio-economic groups in Pakistan see less value in educating girls than boys, since girls will not be able to earn as much as boys, even if they are educated (Coleman 2010). This is reflected in the participation rates for schooling in Pakistan. According to the UK's department for International Development (DfID), the net primary enrolment rate for boys in Pakistan is 73 per cent, whereas for girls the figure is closer to 59 per cent. These figures drop to 36 per cent for boys and 28 per cent for girls participating in secondary schooling. By the time students reach higher education, only six per cent of boys and five per cent of girls remain in education (DfID n.d.).

#### **4.7 English language learning in Mirpur**

Having focused on English language learning and testing in the UK, this section now turns to English language learning in Mirpur.

As seen in the previous section, in August 2010 the United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA) announced that, from 29 November that year, partners of migrants would be required to take and pass an English language test:



The minimum standard that applicants will need to meet is in speaking and listening at level A1 of the Common European Framework of Reference. The list of approved tests and providers includes some tests above A1 level - this is because we will also accept tests in speaking and listening, or in speaking and listening with additional skills such as reading or writing, that are taken at a higher level with an approved test provider. (UKBA 2010).

However, in Pakistan, speaking and listening are rarely practised or assessed in state-sector schooling due to the dominance of the grammar-translation method and rote learning. In response to the move towards English language testing for non-EU migrants applying under the UKBA Points-based System, Dr Nick Saville, Director of Research at Cambridge ESOL, identified two measures as prerequisites for testing migrants. Firstly, he emphasised the importance of procedures for monitoring test outcomes which ensure that the test does not lead to discrimination; and secondly, he identified the need for a clear purpose for the test with clarity on how the purpose influences the level, content, administration and use of results (Saville 2009). Neither of these was in place for the UKBA list of approved tests in November 2010. Moreover, Charles Anderson, who was involved in the design of one of the world's largest English language tests used for migration, the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), argues that there is still a distinct lack of empirical evidence to support the appropriate use of the UKBA tests for the purpose of migration (personal communication 9 July 2010).

#### **4.8 Language, nationhood and education in Pakistan**

In order to understand the impact of the new legislation on migrants from Pakistan to the UK, it is necessary to place this new requirement on potential migrants in the linguistic context of Pakistan. This section aims to give an overview of language policy, language use and language learning in Mirpur from colonial times to the present day.

Diamond (2012) points to the multilingualism described in the previous chapter which outlines the many languages spoken across Punjab and adopts a social practices perspective when he suggests that multiple languages were used by Punjabis in different domains and for different purposes. Diamond argues that language policy in colonial northwest India was predicated on attitudes about languages held by missionaries, administrative bureaucrats and the Indian literary elite. As such, 'language policy in colonial northwest India mainly involved the decisions about the status, use, and domains of languages in the region' (2012: 283). What began as a concern over how best to administer the region which the British had colonized had an 'enormous impact on later social and cultural developments in the region. Indeed, the promotion and patronage of Urdu among the educated elite helped Urdu to become a foundation for various social debates in the later nineteenth century north India, as there was a belief that the 'development' of Urdu into a 'modern' language would also facilitate the development of Urdu generally' (2012: 284).

The hegemony of Urdu during the colonial period described above was strong and very closely linked with the founding principles of Pakistan when independence from Britain was achieved in 1947. Rassool argues that Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of the nation of Pakistan, supported the formation of a secular state with a central nationalist ideology which took the view 'that Urdu represented a key defining principle of what it means to be a Pakistani and, ipso facto, of being a Muslim in Pakistan. In other words, Urdu was central to the state's view of Pakistani nationhood' (Rassool 2007: 224).

Article 251 of Pakistan's 1973 Constitution states that:

- (1) The National Language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.

- (2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
- (3) Without prejudice to the status of the National Language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.

(Rassool 2007: 222)

In their research on language policy and ethnic relations in Asia, Brown and Ganguly found that though codified in Article 251 of the 1973 Constitution, Zulfikar Bhutto's declaration that there was to be a transitional period of 15 years, Urdu has not replaced English in official domains though it has, largely due to General Zia's goal of Islamicizing the nation, predominated across the country in other spheres (Brown and Ganguly, 2003). Thus, though Zia attempted to promote literacy in Urdu in all schools across Pakistan, he was forced to abandon this plan due to pressure from English-medium schools. This, Brown and Ganguly argue, has contributed to the current situation in Pakistan where private English-medium schools remain, and have proliferated, while Urdu has remained the medium of instruction in government schools. Moreover, in relation to Clause Three of the above Article, excluding Sindh province, Rahman (1997) has argued that hardly any legislation has been formulated in the provinces to promote regional languages in official spheres. What these decisions about language planning mean for the availability, and access to, literacy in the lives of prospective migrants in Mirpur is explored in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 5: Access, availability and sponsors of literacy in Mirpur**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the availability of written material and the opportunities that prospective migrants in Mirpur have for participating in reading and writing activities which, following work by Judith Kalman (2005), I will characterize as access to literacy. Kalman has argued that using social practices in specific contexts means learning to respond to the specific requirements of participation. Each practice is shaped to fit the social context in which it is employed. Contexts here are seen as including physical spaces as well as the social conduct which is expected within them, though an NLS perspective would also emphasize the role of values and ideologies in conduct. In order to understand the influence of institutions on these social spaces I also draw on the concept of literacy sponsorship since literacy, Brandt argues, is part of larger social systems which confer value on reading and writing (2001). In this sense, Papen (2010a) argues, the concept of literacy sponsorship is close to NLS in that it captures the relationship between people and the institutions which shape their literacy. Understanding literacy in this way means taking account of ‘any agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support, teach and model, as well as recruit, regulate, or withhold literacy – and gain advantage by it in some way’ (Brandt 2001: 27).

What I aim to do in this chapter is identify the relationship between the sponsors of literacy in Mirpur and Usman’s individual literacy practices. This involves exploring the varieties of English which Usman’s literacy practices included, and how these varieties in turn provided, but also prevented, access to literacy and different varieties of English. The analysis examines how this access is related to the social context in which each literacy practice is employed, as I understand access in Kalman’s sense means opportunities to use and practise a language in its written form. Kalman argues that it is the availability of printed matter which influences how opportunities to access reading and writing practices are constituted and how, in turn, these

opportunities facilitate the availability of printed matter. Kalman is careful though to emphasize that written culture is not automatically accessed by the mere physical presence of written materials, since texts may be available but not everyone is able to read them in the same way, or in some cases read them at all.

This chapter looks at the literacy practices of a prospective migrant to see how his written language practices evolved in a range of sites. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are salient processes here for understanding the literacy practices which extend across this range of sites. Thus, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between what I was told in interviews in Pakistan and what I was told in interviews in the UK are explored in this section. Furthermore, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between the texts that the family use in their migration are also discussed in order to find out what happens to texts when they are written in one country and then moved to and recontextualised in another. This means drawing on context level 1 (the immediate text of a detailed transcript of talk), context level 2 (other conversations with the same participants in different settings) and context level 4 (knowledge derived from the ethnographic study of the relationships between different generations and the broader social and cultural macro environment).

Kalman recognises that schools sponsor literacy, but they are not the only sites to do so. She builds a framework by which other contexts for using literacy and learning to read and write can be explored. She does this by expanding the notion of a literacy-generating space to include three types of situation. These are referred to as 'literacy-demanding situations', 'literacy-scaffolding situations' and 'voluntary literacy situations'. Literacy-generating spaces refer to situations that require knowledge and the use of literacy in order for people to participate in them. In this study, an example of a literacy-demanding situation is filling in a visa application form. The second type of situation, literacy scaffolding, helps identify opportunities for learning about literacy through collaboration with others, such as Usman helping his brothers learn English. An example from this study is the way that migrants turn to

other people who have previously completed visa forms in order to learn how to complete their own forms. And thirdly, voluntary literacy situations are those in which readers and writers choose to use literacy because they wish to do so, keeping a diary for example. The discussion of these literacy-generating situations (with the three types that Kalman aims to distinguish) responds to Research Question 1: What literacies are available in Mirpur and how do prospective migrants access English and Urdu for migration?

To answer this research question, Kalman's three types of situations are used to look at uses of literacy in English, though the analysis begins by exploring the wider literacy practices of a prospective migrant in order to understand how literacy in English fits into his multilingual repertoire. What this means is exploring the literacy-generating space which Usman describes to identify the institutions which sponsor literacy in his particular case. I also look for the individuals he mentions to see how individuals sponsor literacy on behalf of institutions, thereby providing links between the sponsorship of literacy at the macro, meaning institutional sponsor, and micro, meaning individual sponsor, levels. This approach aims to identify the agents in Usman's life that withhold or support literacy as well as how they do this through literacy-generating spaces, thereby aligning Kalman's work with that of Brandt. This will help to understand how the availability of literacy for prospective migrants in Mirpur can both provide as well as restrict, or even prevent access to, specific literacies, given that 'only recently have researchers begun to analyse the relationships between community contexts and literacy processes of marginalized people' (Kalman 2001: 28).

Each of the remaining sections in this chapter concentrates on one person, Usman, and presents an in-depth profile of his literacy life and history, while at the same time identifying the groups and individuals with whom he reads and writes. The following section begins with general aspects of Usman's life and his plans for migration. Next, the discussion moves to the availability of literacy in his life by exploring what Usman told me about his daily reading and writing. At times, the analysis will draw on 'ruling passions' (Barton and Hamilton 1998: 83), the things Usman wanted to talk and write about, which

emerged from his accounts, and the particular themes which he talked about related to literacy. These in-depth profiles are explored by combining Barton and Hamilton's concept of the ruling passion with that of Judith Kalman's framework of literacy-generating situations in order to understand the meanings each individual attaches to particular literacies as well as the situations which provide or prevent access to these literacies. In this chapter, the individuals discussed are Usman and several members of his family. I will argue that these situations and meanings can only be fully understood through an analysis which identifies the roles of the sponsors of literacy who both support and withhold literacy in Mirpur.

## **5.2 Usman's literacy practices**

Capturing the literacy practices of prospective migrants in Mirpur required visiting different places in the town where I thought or was told these individuals were either learning English or taking a test in English in order to migrate. The news that the UK was introducing English language testing for migrants on 29 November 2010 had started to make its way around Mirpur town and beyond. Private English language schools had started to open up with courses tailored specifically to 'English for spouses' and 'English for visa'. I visited several of these schools and interviewed several owners, principals and managers. The photograph on the following page is one of these schools, but not the school where I carried out interviews.



**Figure 1: English language school in Mirpur**

One owner-principal, Majid, was particularly helpful when answering my questions and ran the type of courses in his school, the Kashmir Language College (KLC), that I was interested in finding out about. Majid let me observe some of the classes that were running and helped set up interviews with his students. It was during these initial interviews that I met Usman for the first time, as he had come to the school wanting to take an English language test as he had recently married a British Mirpuri woman, Nadia, from Hillington and was in the process of applying for his visa. Usman was not the first member of his family to migrate to the UK. At the time of completing this study, Usman was arranging the marriage of his brother, Ibrahim, to Nadia's niece, Maryam, in a further cycle of the chain migration which would see Ibrahim migrate to Hillington. Usman's family tree, the Shezad's, can be seen in Appendix 6.



### 5.2.1 Usman's biography

Usman was 19 years old when I first met him in August 2010 and he was preparing to take the IELTS test at Kashmir Language College in Mirpur. He is the eldest of four, having two brothers and one sister, and was living with his siblings and parents in Mirpur town. During our first meeting he told me that his education had been through the medium of English as his father had been in the military and so they had moved from garrison to garrison, in Pakistan, throughout his youth, though it later became clear that Urdu was the most prominent language in his schooling. When I asked Usman about his home literacy practices he often recalled his schooling or details of his education. Barton and Hamilton found something similar, that talking about education was often an easier way to get into talking about literacy with their participants (1998).

During that first meeting, Usman explained that he had just married a 'British girl', Nadia, whom he spoke to in a mixture of English and Mirpuri Punjabi while chatting on Skype. She had visited for a month earlier that year, when they had married and she had fallen pregnant, before returning to Hillington. Nadia's brother had explained to Usman that he would need to take an English language test in order to qualify for the visa as language-testing legislation was to be introduced in November 2010. Over the following three years Usman and I met in Mirpur (AJK), Islamabad (Pakistan), Hillington (UK) and Darwen (UK) in order to conduct interviews about his reading, writing and migration.

Usman's greatest disappointment in life is undoubtedly his rejection by the army. He told me he had applied two years earlier, been rejected but not given a reason. The military looms large in Azad Kashmir, and particularly large in Usman's family. His father and many relatives have served in the military. In the interviews, he conveyed the sense that migration to the UK was an alternative to a life in the army in Mirpur. He described in detail how he had not been prepared for his application to the army being turned down and it was with a sense of resignation to divine will that, when the offer of marriage

to Nadia was presented to him by his father, he only wished to do the right thing by his family and so agreed to the marriage and a move to England. Only once in an interview did Usman ever suggest that it was his father's wish that he should marry Nadia rather than his own.

Usman described how he had been doing well at university in Mirpur but had dropped out in order to marry and migrate. He had taken time off while Nadia was visiting Mirpur. Usman met his fiancé for the first time on 3 April 2010, in Mirpur, when she flew from the UK to meet him with a view to marriage. Once he and she, and both families, had agreed, the *nikah* was held on 8 April and she flew back to the UK on 7 May. Usman told me early in the interviews that he hoped to join his wife in Hillington she gave birth in mid-January 2011. The reasons he was not able to do this will be discussed in a later section about Usman's visa applications.

When Nadia left a month after the wedding and Usman returned to university, it was clear it would be difficult to catch up on the work and exams, and so in wanting to start earning and saving for his migration, Usman left the course and university. This came as a great shock to his friends as Usman was one of the most popular young men on the course, a mentor to many of his peers, and something of a leader among them. The speed at which all this happened is not unusual in marriage migration from Mirpur to the UK.

### **5.2.2 Sponsors of literacy in Usman's schooling**

In order to understand how literacy fits into Usman's migration it is first important to look at the different literacies he recalled throughout his life and how these have shaped his literacy practices as an adult.

Usman was born in Pakistan close to the boundary with AJK. During his early years at school he remembers a lot of Seraiki being used at school though he does not remember how well he was able to speak the language. The family moved to Abdul Akeem where they lived for one year and Usman remembers

using Urdu at the army school. After that they moved to Jhelum, which is just over the river from Mirpur on the boundary between Pakistan and AJK on the Pakistan side. Usman remembers reading and writing at school in Urdu and English for the three years that the family was stationed here. After three years in Jhelum, Usman's father retired from the army and the family went to live in his father's village of Sahar in AJK, one hour from Mirpur on rough roads, for three months. The family's final move was to Mirpur town where Usman was admitted into year five and continued with his education in Mirpur right through to studying for a BComm in IT at Mirpur University of Science and Technology (MUST).

The schools that Usman attended were a mixture of standard cadet colleges with military personnel in teaching positions and English-medium private schools where the teachers varied a great deal in terms of their English language proficiency. These schools had important implications for literacy as each school sponsored a different type of literacy. Usman recalled that the army schools promoted literacy in Urdu but many of the teachers spoke in English, whereas the English medium schools were less consistent: many of the teachers sponsored literacy in Urdu and English while using spoken Urdu with code-switching to English in the classroom. Usman also explained that, regardless of the medium of instruction policy, apart from one school in Jhelum where they were 'strictly bound to use English' in third year, it was not until university that Usman came across English as the main language of instruction in lessons. For him, before university, English as a medium was 'totally different from Urdu medium 'cos the books were in English'. Hence, the sponsorship of literacy in English through the use of English language textbooks was supported by the use of spoken Urdu in his English medium schools.

Several times in the interviews Usman explained that the sponsorship of literacy depended on the individual teacher's ability to use the language. He recalled a subject known as Social Studies where the English the teacher used 'was very, very good. They were using very simple English and very, very detailed English'. In addition to spoken English, Usman recalled specific

books which sponsored literacy in English, such as ‘English B which we called ‘Grammar English’’. This was one of several grammar books that Usman kept and used at home with his brothers, as he found grammar books particularly useful for developing both his spoken and written English. This particular book contained ‘opposites, synonyms, singular, plurals ... and that book helped me a lot. I’m having this book right now ‘cause sometimes it helps me very much.’

A final point can be made about how literacy and numeracy in English are sponsored in both the state and private sectors as Usman explained that ‘one hundred per cent’ of the maths lesson was in English, giving examples of mathematical problems which the teacher narrated in English and to which the students responded in English. He said this was different to his father’s generation as they used numbers in Urdu.

### **5.2.3 Availability of literacy at home**

#### **5.2.3.1 Between home and school: literacy in English**

Usman’s home had a variety of written texts, most of which were related to the family’s religious practices, schoolwork and English language learning. Usman began by showing me those books which were related to his English language learning over the years, including the grammar book mentioned above. These seemed to be the books of which he was most proud and he explained in detail what he used each book for, how helpful it had been in his language learning and which particular aspect of language it dealt with (most of his books were related to English grammar). It could be that Usman oriented to my research interests here, knowing as he did that I was interested in English. However, I saw lots of evidence of Usman’s desire to learn about English and write in English in his home. He almost always made a point of telling me who had recommended the book and the level of this person’s proficiency in English when showing me his books. These were normally people who Usman knew from around Mirpur but were not normally his school teachers, though they may have taught English at other schools and colleges. The

father of one of Usman's closest friends had not only recommended books to Usman but also given him informal instruction in English at his home when Usman had visited, as he worked as an English language teacher in Mirpur. Usman explained that he shared these books with his brothers. He felt a great responsibility to help them both with their English language development. He did not see a need for his sister to learn English, though she too was learning at school.

As part of the help Usman gave his brothers, particularly his brother Zahir who Usman explained was much cleverer than their youngest brother, the young men would often sit down together to look through books. Usman felt this was very important as he explained that schools did not always teach English properly or give the best advice about how to go about learning the language. Here, literacy in English practised at home is related to the sponsorship of literacy by schools. When schools promote the availability of literacy in English through curricula, exams and written material in English, but simultaneously withhold access to literacy in English due to the lack of proficient teachers who know how to use either written or spoken English, families find alternative ways to help each other. Usman explained that he had had some good teachers of English in the past but he had also had some that were not at all good and he wanted to help his brothers overcome some of the drawbacks to learning English in a school setting. Therefore, the books that Usman had been given or had bought himself were seen very much as belonging to the family and a resource for everybody to use. He did not know whether his mother or his sister ever used them, he had never seen them do so. He had, however, seen his father with some English books. Usman was very careful to show respect to his parents and did not want to suggest that his father could not speak English, though from my meetings with him I noted that he was able to say only a few words and did not want to be interviewed for this study. He had agreed that I could interview his daughter and his wife, but they were never available when I was at the house. I interviewed both Usman's brothers and they both described how Usman had made his English language learning materials available to them, largely when helping them with their homework but also through follow-up activities where Usman developed learning

opportunities beyond the tasks the school had set. These activities included watching films together and Usman commenting on the use of English and relating this usage back to aspects of their previous grammar work together. Kalman found that interactions such as these were common, given that the availability of educational materials in the home was linked to individual family members' school attendance and the support they were able to provide for other family members' appropriation of literacy practices (2005: 38). Doing homework together in this way, Kalman argues, creates spaces that generate different reading and writing activities around a variety of printed matter; in Usman's case, some of this material came directly from school, while the majority was donated by friends and family or recommended and purchased from the market.

It seemed that these reading and writing activities were part of daily life and often merged with other literacy practices, such as working out the family finances which Usman did for his father with the help of his brothers. Writing down additions and subtractions to calculate the family's home and small business expenses illustrates the social use of formal school knowledge which, as Usman moved up through school and acquired IT skills, required a larger repertoire of books, which in turn could be shared with the family. Usman developed ways of using Excel spreadsheets to record and calculate the family expenses and shared these systems with his brothers. These were skills that Usman then used when he found work in the travel agency and was required to keep detailed finance records and important ticketing information. The presence of this written material and English language reference books in the family collection, many of which were purchased at the request of school teachers or family friends, demonstrates how schooled literacy practices engender home literacy practices which, Kalman argues, in turn open up access to more and more aspects of written culture (2005). Before looking in detail at how home literacies provide access to these aspects of written culture, the discussion turns to other important literacy practices of the home, religious literacies.

### **5.2.3.2      Between homes: literacy in Urdu**

In addition to printed material related to English language learning, Usman's family also keep several books related to Islam at home. These include copies of the Qur'an in Arabic, religious texts such as the Hadith in Urdu, photocopies of material taken from other religious texts given to the family by friends and family, and finally copies of books and letters in Urdu written by the family's Pir. A Pir in this part of Pakistan is a spiritual elder and guide. Usman knows the books by the Pir well, as during his time living at his grandmother's house in the village of Sahar the family would meet on Friday evenings to discuss the Pir's writing. Usman recalled men reading from books which were written in Urdu, but also remembered that his grandmother did most of the talking, entirely in Mirpuri Punjabi, as she had known the previous Pir who lived in AJK. During a visit to Sahar, Usman's uncle told us that the Pir had died and that the new Pir was living in the UK, in Lancashire. 'Khilafat' is the process by which Pirs choose their successor and this had been arranged by the family who had relations in both Mirpur and Lancashire.

Usman enjoyed listening to readings from the Pir's writing in the village and remembers how the whole family sat and listened, as was expected of them as good Muslims. These are practices which Usman replicates with his father and brothers at home. During religious festivals it is both Usman and his father's responsibility to lead the male members of the family in prayer, which involves reading from written texts in Urdu as well as reciting passages from the Qur'an in Arabic and passages which they know from memory. These are very different literacies to those that Saxena (2000) found being used among the Panjabi community in Southall, Greater London. Literacy in Panjabi means that Indian migrants are able to draw from their first language when reading sacred texts. However, religious texts for Pakistanis are in the dominant languages of Arabic and Urdu for reasons related to colonial administration and nation-building, as discussed in Chapter 4. Hence, I did not find the same values assigned to literacy in local languages among the Mirpuri community that Saxena found among Sikhs and Panjabis in Southall. Usman explained in interviews that at this point in his life he did not understand a lot of the Arabic

texts that he could recite unless they were explained by others. It was not until Usman's migration to Hillington and access to cable television that he started to watch TV shows broadcast in Urdu from the Middle East which explained the Qur'an to him. Intertextuality is salient here as the local literacies of Usman's religious reading in Mirpur were recontextualised when watching TV in Hillington by religious teachers who drew from their wide knowledge of other Islamic texts when explaining the Qur'an to their viewers.

There are similarities here between Usman's family's Islamic religious practices and the Christian religious practices of the participants in Kalman's study. Kalman argues that the availability of written language and access to literacy are both steeped in power relations that influence the appropriation of literacy. She also argues, as do Prinsloo and Breirer (1996), that the result of putting written texts in the hands of religious teachers is that some individuals have direct access to the sacred through reading and writing, while others learn about it through oral interpretations. This is not dissimilar to the way that writing about Islam is made available to Usman's family. Kalman argues (2005: 132):

The fact that decisions about what to read and write, who reads and writes, when to read and write, and how to interpret or compose texts, have a political dimension [that] should not be ignored; they illustrate that how literacy is approached is not simply a matter of individual choice and that the attributes of a literate society go beyond the sum of the number of reading and writing individuals.

This is another important factor with implications for the availability of literacy in Usman's life. His family's history of religious literacies meant that some texts were available to him as an individual, while others were available through collaboration with others. And some, such as the Qur'an in Arabic, was not fully available until after his migration and subsequent access to television programmes which discussed their meaning in Urdu. The availability of some literacies resides in 'a complex motivation encompassing personal history, current conditions, and future ambitions' (Brandt 1998: 69), hence



Usman has always had to rely on others in order to access literacies which made available at home.

#### **5.2.4 Access to literacy**

##### **5.2.4.1 Literacy-scaffolding situations with family and friends**

The indistinct boundaries between home and other domains explored above have been referred to as borderlands by Gee (1990) and Barton and Hamilton (1998), who see the distinction between different domains as blurred. Literacy practices from workplaces, educational settings and the wider family network converge in Usman's life in the home. Different family members bring home different literacy practices which mingle as each domain generates and spreads other literacy practices through the family who require reading and writing in order to participate. Similarly, Kalman argues that family members of different generations take up new opportunities to participate in reading and writing events and to learn new literacy practices. These she calls literacy-scaffolding situations. Usman's family scaffold each other's literacy when doing homework together, an after-school activity, which Kalman describes as devised for children but in which others participate, thereby 'creating literacy-generating situations where school practices are displayed and appropriated by participants' (2005: 40). This provides Usman with opportunities to practise his English while at the same time giving his brothers opportunities to use their spoken and written English. Barton and Hamilton (1998) argue that individuals move in and out of different domains and occupy the borderlands between them while changing their lives. Moreover, they find the home is the core domain to which other domains relate, 'it is a place where different aspects of life are negotiated and fitted in with each other. In this process new, hybrid practices are sometimes produced' (1998: 189). Hence, the demands for literacy are resolved through collective practices (Kalman 2005) whereby each family member provides support for other members and collaboration while reading and writing can include diverse ways of participating.

This diversity is extended by Usman's use of English with Nadia in England. Using a mixture of English and Mirpuri Punjabi with Nadia when they chat on Skype means that the borderland is further blurred as the variety of English which Usman learns from Nadia is the local variety spoken in Lancashire, which has its own conventions, as well as the written variety of British Standard English which they must use when filling in the application forms for Usman's visa. This is discussed further in the next chapter. Thus, access routes to literacy in English transform the meaning of reading and writing from individual rote learning at school into a social activity accomplished through interaction at home. Usman learns to read, write and speak in English at school as well as with Nadia on Skype as she helps him fill in the first visa application forms. Kalman argues that these access routes are characterized 'precisely by the relationships between the participants, as well as by the participants' relationship to the activity' (2005: 101). Access routes to new knowledge are opened up when Usman's family members learn together.

In addition to the family, Usman also talked about his university friends and the presentations which they worked on together. In these literacy-scaffolding situations Usman was often called on to be the scribe as well as the leader of the group. Both his popularity among his group of university friends and his charisma helped him to take on leadership roles which were facilitated by what he often described as a deep enjoyment in writing and his ability to move between languages, having moved around Pakistan in his youth. Usman was able to show me conversations which he had conducted on his Facebook pages where he and his peers were discussing university work, particularly presentations which had to be given as part of their course but had to be put together outside class hours. Usman explained that he had learned to use Facebook alone on the laptop which his wife had given to him. It was his computer-based literacies which he most often referred to, learning informally by experimenting on the laptop without the help of others but using some of the knowledge he had picked up on his degree programme as well as 'playing around'. This type of informal learning is common in Barton and Lee's 2013 study of language online and is explored in more detail in Chapters 8 and 9. Usman spoke most frequently of teaching himself literacies related to the

laptop, unlike the informal learning of English which had always been supported by friends and relatives who offered advice about English over the years. I concluded that access to literacy in English on Facebook had emerged from a combination of Usman's existing English language writing skills which he put to use interacting with others on Facebook, his long-standing interest in writing in English (which predated his marriage to Nadia) and his interest in computers. The cumulative effect of this was evidenced when Usman and I went through the list of all his Facebook friends (context level 1: immediate text) during the early stages of the third phase of my research in Pakistan. We sat together at his computer and I asked him to explain the relationship he had with each Facebook friend (context level 2: intertextual relationships). Most of his friends at that stage were relatives of Nadia in Lancashire as Facebook was not widely used in Mirpur at that time in 2010. Usman told me that he used 'their English' to communicate with them, which he explained involved the local variety of English used in Lancashire. An example of this which I saw was his use of 'alrite mate' which he said was 'more British'. Usman told me that this was a phrase which he had picked up from Nadia's male relatives and started to use. I consider this to be an example of literacy scaffolding, as Usman told me that he wanted to learn more phrases like this. Hence, access to English language online provided Usman with access to his new family prior to departure through a process of recontextualisation of his local variety of English used in Mirpur to a local variety of English used in Lancashire which, I claim, is an integral part of literacy scaffolding.

Therefore, the notion of access routes to literacy in English for Usman is best understood through the types of literacy-scaffolding situations discussed above, where interactions are cultivated through trusting relationships in a supportive environment. Usman accepted his role as writer and reader in a range of settings which often had the home at their core but which straddled school, others' homes and university, knowing that in the course of these activities, access routes were being opened up for others as they had been opened up for him. This reciprocity suggests that 'access to literacy is

constructed through the gradual socialization of reading and writing practices and the circulation of ideas' (Kalman 2005: 120).

#### **5.2.4.2 Voluntary literacy situations**

This section takes Kalman's work on literacy-generating spaces and aligns it with Barton and Hamilton's concept of 'ruling passions' (1998), which they describe as the main interests which their participants return to throughout their interview transcripts. For one of their participants their ruling passion was fighting injustice, while for another it was military history. I take up the notion of ruling passion as Usman regularly talked about, and showed me, the writing he did in an old diary several evenings a week over three months prior to us meeting. This writing is an intensely vivid account of many of the events and thoughts surrounding his marriage to Nadia and his pending migration. I will also draw from Kalman's notion of voluntary literacy situation, as these were vernacular practices which no one had asked of Usman. The diary (Appendix 10) contained many extracts copied from the Qur'an and the Hadith, military slogans, poetry, dictionary definitions and extracts from songs as well as personal thoughts. Kalman notes that copying both inside and outside school serves a variety of purposes. She suggests that it allows writers to:

...reproduce materials when there are no other means available, to register information (particularly specific facts), and to use it at a later time. At the same time, it creates the opportunity to think about writing and written language. (2005: 41)

Usman explained that many of the notes in the diary were intended to help him 'think about things'. The diary was also a written record of how Usman used literacy in Urdu, English and Arabic to make meaning of his life. The '*text world*' (Barton and Hamilton 1998: 108) of the diary is explored below, with references to interviews that we carried out together while reading through the diary page by page. I have examined all 43 pages of the diary, studying the text world that Usman created and the voluntary literacy situations in which he

wrote it. Following Barton and Hamilton, I am interested in how Usman positions himself and others and moves between the public and the private. I also focus on the languages of the text Usman produced and discuss them in relation to what Usman told me about his choice of language as well as what he said about the context of why and how they were written. This diary, like the 'text worlds' in Barton and Hamilton's study, is an interesting form of vernacular text and therefore reveals a great deal about Usman's literacy practices and his identity. I use the diary entries to focus on the identity issues that are important to Usman and the positioning of the family ties which he writes about in his text world.

### **5.2.5 The text world of Usman's diary**

The text world of the diary is populated by people. Some of these people are known to Usman, such as his cousins and uncles, while some are not known but are people he admires or who feature prominently in his view of the world. Often these people feature along with activities which are ascribed to them. When not explicit in the diary, I asked Usman about these features in interviews and explore these below, alongside text extracts from the diary. The opening page of the diary has the words 'sweet Raja' (Raja is Usman's caste) written in English, twice, and in Urdu once. He told me that his sister had written these words in English, which was a rare reference to writing by his sister but also demonstrates how he made the diary, or at least the front page, available to his family. Hence, from the very start of the diary, there is a link between Usman's personal literacy life and the continuities of the family's literacies in which the home is core and the literacies are distributed across different family members. Later in the diary are two quotes from his father's favourite Urdu language poets, Faraz and Iqbal, which are given prominence on a page which is otherwise devoted to his wife Nadia.

The importance of the family's caste to Usman's sense of identity is also foregrounded on the front page and identifies Usman as belonging to the Raja caste. Moreover, friendship is also signalled where Usman has written 'Band

of brothers', which he told me refers to the group name chosen by he and friends from university who used to run the 1,800 metres relay race together. This is written in English, as are the words 'Welcome', 'give respect and get respect' and Usman's own name. At the bottom of the page Usman has written a dedication in English (see Appendix 10, Extract 1). In the dedication, Usman follows the generic conventions of a book acknowledgement by making reference to 'the great and loving people', which could also be seen as an orientation to a discourse of belonging. In so doing, the representation of the three villages of his mother and father's family, and the town of Mirpur where his immediate family now live, is foregrounded. Usman explained that:

They all been most of a part of my life most of influenced me with everything you know from the cousin in Dublia I kind of built myself into an educated person cos they all are educated well dressed and well spoken so when I saw them that style they all do namaz and roza and [indistinct] and all that when I saw them they gave me inspiration you know to be a good person (PD-1/3)

Education, dress, speech and prayer ('namaz' and 'roza') are identified as attributes which belong to his cousins whom Usman wanted to emulate. Thus from the beginning of the diary, Usman orients to discourses about what it means to be a good Muslim. When I asked for more details about which cousins Usman was talking about he told me that they are his first cousins on his mother's side and '...they all live in Luton.' Usman added that before migrating to Luton (UK), the cousins had left the villages where they were born to be educated in English medium schools at various locations in Pakistan, including Islamabad, Peshawar and Rawalpindi. When I asked Usman how the family could afford to pay for private education, Usman explained that '...they're all well off ... because one of my uncle he is colonel in the army.' He added that now that they are all in England they support their families in Azad Kashmir by sending money from the UK. Therefore Usman is not at the centre of his text world at the beginning of the diary, rather he chooses to foreground cousins who have migrated at this point as well as the caste to which they all belong. Usman's writing on the cover of the diary is therefore related to

migration, which is indexed through the 'great and loving people' of the villages of his ancestry. The writing is in English, other than the words 'sweet Raja' which appear in both English and Urdu. The following sections explore the main themes of the diary by looking through it to see how Usman constructs a text world for his purposes.

### **5.2.6 Urdu and religious texts**

Most of the quotations from the diary which are taken from religious texts such as the Qur'an and the Hadith are written in Urdu. Many are related to Judgement Day. Usman explained:

Cos ah I love to read about judgement day and you know I've got so many books in Urdu (PD-1/3)

An example related to Judgement Day is a text written in Urdu about the anti-Christ, under which Usman has written 'End of time' in English. Usman explained that he chose both languages here as 'different words sound good in different languages'. The religious texts which Usman quotes can also be linked to the ties which bind his family. His identity as a Muslim is foregrounded in quotations which mark Muslims out as different from non-Muslims. One example of this is a quotation which suggests that the non-Muslim looks into the sky whereas for the Muslim the sky looks into him:

It means that you know er non-Muslim is more interested more interested into the into the this world (PD-1/3)

He continued by explaining that Muslims are less concerned with worldly or material goods than non-Muslims. Similar quotations foreground Usman's belonging to the worldwide family of Muslims, which is often given positive attributes in his diary entries and to which he always aims to aspire. Access to these literacies is through the formal standard variety of Urdu in Perso-Arabic script, unlike Saxena's study where literacy in the local variety of Panjabi

provided the Panjabis of Southall with an opportunity to challenge the dominant ideology of literacy. What I mean here is that Saxena shows that the families in his study were able to choose which literacies their children learned based on the social, cultural and religious identities they felt were more important. Hindi, Saxena claims, written in Devnagri script is associated with nationalism but invested with respect by its users, which counters the disrespect and racism that Panjabi children face in British schools. However, for others, Panjabi, written in Gumurkhi script, is related to religious learning and a secular identity which is not tied to Indian nationhood. Thus, the Panjabis in Saxena's study were able to choose between literacy practices which afforded greater respect at a time when they were facing racism from the majority culture. The literacy practices which Usman draws from do not demonstrate this range of identities as he does not resist the dominant ideologies of literacy which relate Urdu to a unified nation of Muslims. How this dominant literacy in Urdu is interdiscursively linked to fighting for Pakistani sovereignty is discussed in the following section.

### **5.2.7 Urdu, English and military texts**

Many of the texts in the diary related to the army are direct copies of army slogans and are therefore written in Urdu and English as the army sponsors literacy in both languages in Pakistan. An example is given in Appendix 10, Extract 2 in which 'we' is the Pakistan military and 'their' is the Pakistan nation. Usman had seen this slogan on a large poster in the main building at the military centre where he took a test to join the army. He also had a copy of this poster in his home in Mirpur. This was one of many similar quotations which were written in Urdu and demonstrated Usman's interest in the sacrifices Pakistani military personnel had made fighting to keep Pakistan Muslim and Azad Kashmir in Pakistan. In addition to these quotations in Urdu, Usman also translated army slogans into English and wrote them in his diary. An example of this is where he has the transliteration 'Sher dil' then the original Urdu script, followed by the English translation 'LION HEART'. He told me that this refers to the Pakistan Air Force and that 'lion heart is the English



translation of *sher dil*'. Thus, there is an interdiscursive relationship between religion and nation where a discourse about religion is invoked in a discourse about fighting for Pakistani nationhood. Usman takes up this link in the voluntary literacy generating space of the diary and recontextualises written Urdu by translating it into written English.

Other bilingual entries include a military slogan he saw on a poster in Mirpur town which says, 'Help is from God, victory is near' in Urdu (see Appendix 10, Extract 3). Underneath, in English, he has written the names of ethno-linguistic identities related to different provinces of Pakistan. The inclusion of Kashmiri sees Usman draw on a nationalist discourse linking a Kashmiri identity to Pakistan, even though ethnically and linguistically Mirpuris have more in common with the Punjabis across the river Jhelum.

Usman's voluntary literacies provided him with the opportunity to create his own intertextual links between the military (Pak Army), sacrifice (lion hearts) and the unity of the nation (Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Pathan, Kashmiri). Next to this is a transliteration of Urdu in Roman script, 'Pak Fauj Kay Jawan', which Usman told me is a slogan which encourages young people to become soldiers. Belonging to a state which promotes the military and martyrdom is therefore signalled in both Urdu and English in Usman's translations, where both languages signal his identification with the army. However, in Usman's recontextualisation of the list of Pakistan's ethnic groups he included Kashmiri which, as discussed in Chapter 4, is a different ethno-linguistic group to the Punjabi culture which Pakistan-administered Kashmir is closest to. Kashmiris, in ethno-linguistic terms, are currently found in Indian-administered Kashmir. This demonstrates Usman's orientation to a Kashmiri identity which is embedded in the nationalist discourse that demands a united Muslim-majority Kashmir governed by Pakistan. On the following pages of the diary Usman listed the names of 'war heroes' who have received the highest military honour from the government. He calls them 'martyrs' in the interviews and names individuals by saying, 'Captain Javed Iqbal Shaheed who embraced shahadat that's martyrdom.' In the following extract from an interview which took place during a two-week visit I made to Mirpur, when Usman and I were meeting

every day, the text world of the diary provides Usman with opportunities to write about the link between religion and the military. We were talking about martyrdom and I asked if fighting for Kashmir was different to other wars, such as the war in Afghanistan, to which Usman replied:

No it's the same it's the same as with the religion cos cos we used to fight for our religion in the army if we're gonna fight in the army we're gonna fight we are protecting our other [or holy] Muslims you know we are protecting our own religion to be you know to be dominated by by an outer force (PD-2/3)

Similar conversations about drone attacks by the US on Pakistan prompted Usman to show me a section of the diary which he had translated into English from Urdu. Usman had written a list of identities beginning with the phrase 'I am...' and translated from a prominent television presenter, Dr Zakar Naik, who was famous for countering American rhetoric about the 'war on terror'. Usman had translated Naik's words into English (Appendix 10, Extract 4).

Usman counters these identities which he feels are 'put on us' (which I took to mean either Pakistanis or Muslims) by the West on a later page (Appendix 10, Extract 5) where he lists the positive attributes of fighting for Pakistan.

Written in English, I concluded that there is a link between slogans such as these and the quotations from religious texts related to Judgement Day. The reason for this is that both relate to death and sacrifice, and both show Usman orienting to a nationalist discourse about Azad Kashmir which is pervasive in Pakistan but particularly strong in Azad Kashmir. Usman's literacy practices therefore not only demonstrate the sponsorship of literacy in AJK but also relate to powerful discourses about Urdu, Pakistani nationhood and Islam.

### 5.2.8 English, Urdu and marriage

Another factor with implications for Usman's literacy practices is that he had recently married. Next to a poem from Nadia, which she had written in English in his diary but which he read after she had gone back to England, Usman had also written in English 'Love for Nadia. Her beloved husband Usman'. Short statements such as this demonstrate Usman asserting his new identity as a husband. However, he also uses written English to show his identity as a migrant going to live in England marrying a woman who was born in England. Within the textual world of the diary, and among the family members and war heroes he writes about, Usman participates in different relationships with people and asserts different identities. In Extract 6 (Appendix 10), which is the closest to the genre of a diary entry, Usman records his new responsibilities and relationships. The two words that have been redacted are the names of Nadia's children from her first marriage. This extract shows Usman using his literacy in English to construct identities as a stepfather and husband, but also a son. Later, in Extract 7 (Appendix 10), he comments on how short their time together was, yet how important.

Non-standard varieties of English used in Hillington, 'them 3 weeks' and 'happiest bloke', influence Usman's choice of words. I interpreted this shift to a variety of English used in his future home as signalling Usman's desire to identify with Nadia and to build ties to his new home with her in Hillington. Finally, in Extract 8 (Appendix 10), days before Nadia was due to give birth in Hillington, Usman's frustration with the visa process comes through. His skill as a storyteller is revealed in the rhetorical question which he poses in relation to his visa application and the length of time he has been waiting for a decision, still hoping he can join his wife in the UK in time for the birth of his son. The following section takes up the issue of the visa application by looking at a literacy-demanding situation which requires written Urdu and English.

### **5.3 Access: literacy-demanding situations**

In order to establish the difference between access and availability, this third and final analysis of a literacy-generating situation draws from participant observation and field notes of a visit I made to an immigration consultant with Usman. In Kalman's earlier work (1999), she identifies how scribes can be formal, such as solicitors, as well as informal, such as family members. These are people who read and write for others or help others to read and write for themselves.

#### **5.3.1 Usman's visa application meeting: a literacy-demanding situation**

The meeting which I discuss in this section took place in the office of a British Mirpuri man, Faisal, who had migrated to England as a young man, studied and worked in London, before returning to Mirpur to marry and raise a family. Faisal had set himself up in business as an immigration consultant and gave Mirpuri families hoping to migrate advice about the application process. He was also in the process of setting up an English language school running 'English for spouses' courses. The list in Appendix 11 shows the information that the immigration consultant gave Usman and details all the documentation which makes up a settlement visa application. While writing, Usman listened to the comments that Faisal made about each document, how easy it was to source, who normally provided the document and which documents the UKBA were strict about. These comments are particularly clear examples of what Kalman has called 'interpretive options for understanding written texts' (2005: 9), as Faisal aimed to offer Usman a convincing portrayal of an expert in visa applications by making the list accessible to Usman.

Rather than beginning at the top of the list, the immigration consultant began the meeting by describing the increase in paperwork that had been brought about by a shift in how UK immigration applications were dealt with. Faisal explained that most visa decisions were based on documentation alone, whereas in the past applicants were required to attend an interview at the

British High Commission in Islamabad. This marked a significant shift towards a more textually-mediated (Smith 1999) application procedure as well as demonstrating what goes on when experts attempt to make written procedures more transparent. During the meeting Faisal talked at length about the list of documents as he read from the list and Usman ticked off the items and asked questions. Faisal's role also involved the transformation and recontextualisation of points on the list (Baynham and Masing 2000:192) such that, unprompted, he chose to rearticulate the legal terminology into a form of English which he assumed would be clearer for Usman. An example taken from the notes that I took during the meeting is where Faisal used the term 'UKBA approved qualifications' but then recontextualised this to 'certificates agreed by the British government'. What was interesting was that Usman never asked for a translation and in a follow-up interview he explained to me that he was able to understand the English that Faisal used since, he explained, he had already submitted one visa application and was well on the way to completing his second. From the beginning of the meeting the consultant was very clear about which language the documents should be submitted in. The list in Appendix 11 includes my own notes at the end of each bullet point which describe the language that the consultant recommended for that document.

However, the availability of immigration consultants with access to the written literacies of the visa application system does not necessarily translate into successful applications for clients. Hierarchical relations are demonstrated here through the role of the immigration consultant who dominated the meeting from the beginning. Usman only asked a few questions during the meeting, though later he explained that the formal setting required that he listened rather than spoke too much. Moreover, Faisal did not ask Usman about his first visa application, which I noted was unusual. This was confirmed when I interviewed Nadia in Hillington as she told me that the UK solicitor's initial questions were all about the first application. Usman also felt that Faisal did not demonstrate up-to-date knowledge about changing visa requirements. The example he gave me was that Faisal did not mention the changes to the earnings requirements that sponsors had to demonstrate and which he and

Nadia were most worried about. As a preliminary stage in obtaining a visa, the literacy-demanding situation in the immigration consultant's office was enough for Usman and his wife Nadia to decide together that the application would need looking at by a UK solicitor as they were still unsure how to demonstrate that Nadia could support Usman if he did not find work after Usman's visit to Faisal.

#### **5.4 Conclusion: Access and availability in the literacy practices of prospective migrants**

Throughout this chapter the aim has been to explore both literacy events, such as the literacy-demanding situation of a meeting with an immigration consultant, and the literacy practices of a family who meet regularly to use English to learn. At home, at the university, at school, at work and in other public places, there are many examples of literacy-generating spaces in Usman's life where written materials are available. Some of these, it is argued, provide access to literacy in English while others may only provide partial access, hence migrants turn to others, such as an immigration consultant. However, not all access routes lead to the bureaucratic literacies and the institutional discourses they invoke, which Usman and Nadia need for a successful visa application, and so help is sought from others who can provide that access (discussed in the next chapter).

Similarly, though voluntary and private, Usman's religious literacies in the diary draw entirely from dominant literacies, and invoke dominant discourses, and therefore do not demonstrate access to the variety of religious literacies, and the range of identities, that the Panjabis in Saxena's study developed when choosing between Hindi or Panjabi in different scripts. It would seem from Usman's diary that he only had access to the dominant literacies of Arabic and Urdu for his religious literacies. By tracing the interdiscursive links between these religious literacies and the military slogans in Urdu that Usman copied out and translated into English, I claim that his literacy practices invoked nationalist discourses of martyrdom for the nation rather than the

secular counter-nationalist discourses that Saxena saw invoked in the Panjabi literacy practices in his study.

By classifying these literacy-generating spaces into three types of situation in this chapter, I claim to have captured the availability of and access to literacy for Usman and his family. The three different situations arose from the different types of social relationships and displays of knowledge which occurred in these spaces. It is in these sets of relationships that combining NLS with the DHA has helped to show how discourses are invoked in literacy practices and the social conditions which make literacy practices accessible, or not accessible, to migrants can be expanded by combining NLS and the DHA. Though Kalman does not mention the constitutive role of discourses in literacy-generating spaces, I claim that there is a link here with what Wodak (1996) describes as the multi-layered, written and verbal discourses which are embedded in cultures and both determine and manifest those actions. What this means in my study is that, for Usman, while the availability of texts in English provided access routes to certain aspects of the immigration procedure, he and his wife did not feel that this access stretched to specific knowledge of other discourse related to UK employment that would ensure the success of a second visa application. As Kalman points out, many of the impediments are related to individuals' living conditions while others are of a broader economic, social and political nature (2005). By drawing on the DHA, I claim to have begun to explore the broader social, political and economic nature of a literacy practices approach by identifying interdiscursivity in Usman's literacy practices and the 'interwoven, conflicting discourses which construct and establish multiple relationships' (Wodak 1996: 12), as evidenced in, for example, Usman's diary. Following Wodak, the aim in the next chapter is to determine how the character of these social and cultural processes is linked to power relations in migration and what kind of literacy practices these power relations lead to. For this reason, the next chapter follows the trajectory of the visa forms begun above and moves to England to explore how Nadia's family takes on the responsibility of filling in the forms for the second application.

## **Chapter 6: Literacy mediation and cultural brokerage in the family's migration literacies**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I look at three individual family members and how they use language and literacy in their everyday lives before focusing on the literacies that have been used in the family's migration. I begin with a theory section which introduces the concepts of literacy mediation and cultural brokerage. Next, interpretation of the data begins with a biographical profile which includes the role of literacy sponsors, from the previous chapter, in the lives of three individuals by exploring the role of educational institutions in their literacy learning. Then I examine the family members' literacy development and use the concept of literacy mediation in order to explore how individuals turn to mediators when institutional sponsors prevent access to literacy in the lives of individuals. As such, some mediators will be interested in providing opportunities for literacy development while others embark on mediation only as a means to get the job done. The focus in these sketches is on the key figures, the literacy mediators, rather than the texts themselves, in order to understand how families cope with bureaucratic literacies that are sponsored in languages, and invoke discourses, with which they are unfamiliar. However, when mediation is more closely focused on translating discourses, the concept of cultural brokerage (Robins 1996) is applied in order to capture what happens when mediation takes place away from the text and moves towards challenging dominant institutions and the discourses they invoke as the cultural broker straddles dominant and non-dominant cultural contexts.

### **6.2 Theory of literacy mediation**

The detailed work of literacy studies, it has been argued, shows the ways in which written texts are detachable from the social situation that originally produced them or from the place where they were first used (Blommaert 2008). The texts can move vertically as well as horizontally across contexts of



asymmetrical power relations (Kell 2009). In this chapter I begin to trace how written documents are constantly reused and recontextualized as they move between physical and social spaces by drawing from scholarship on literacy mediation (Wagner, Messick and Spratt 1986; Malan 1996; Baynham and Prinsloo 2009) to explore the help with reading and writing which the family turns to when the literacies which have been sponsored in their lives do not provide access to the bureaucratic literacies of migration. The concept of cultural brokerage (Robins 1996) is employed to explore what happens when the power relations between dominant and non-dominant groups are asymmetrical and the discourses invoked by the former are unfamiliar to the latter.

In order to do this, I align the concepts of literacy sponsorship, as discussed in the previous chapter, with the concepts of cultural brokerage and literacy mediation. The latter term has been widely used in research on literacy studies to explore the role of those people who read and write for somebody else (Papen 2010a) yet there is a great deal of ambiguity in how the term is employed. Baynham has suggested that a literacy mediator is 'a person who makes his or her literacy skills available to others, on a formal or informal basis, for them to accomplish specific literacy purposes' (1995: 39), while later adding that the roles of translator of spoken language and literacy mediator in multilingual encounters can overlap (Malan 1996; Baynham and Masing 2000). For Baynham and Masing, in encounters such as these, literacy mediation means not only code-switching between languages to assist those who are unfamiliar with those languages, but also switching between oral, written and visual modes. The literacy mediator therefore translates between codes and modes when reading, writing and speaking on behalf of others.

I see a direct link here between encounters where people turn to literacy mediators for help with unfamiliar codes and modes and the sponsorship of literacy in everyday life. I draw from Kalman's work here in order to see how sponsors regulate the availability of and withhold access to literacy, as the concepts of access and availability which she employs help differentiate the dissemination of material goods related to reading and writing (availability)

from the 'social processes underlying the distribution of and use of literacy' (access) (Kalman 2005: 8). This means identifying the availability of printed matter in the lives of three individuals as well as the access routes to literacy in Urdu, English and Arabic which are opened up or closed down in their lives.

### **6.3 Access and availability of literacy**

Sponsors make literacy in English available to some groups in Mirpur, while for the many Mirpuris for whom it is not available, recourse to a literacy mediator can provide alternative access routes. Kalman posits that:

While *availability* refers to the physical presence of printed matter, the infrastructure necessary for its distribution (libraries, newsstands, post offices, etc.), *access* refers to the opportunities to participate in literacy events, those situations in which one is situated vis-à-vis other readers and writers; access also has to do with opportunities and modalities for learning to read and write or to extend existing practices. (Kalman 2005: 8).

The two generations of people in this study have very different accounts of availability and access to literacy. The discussion explores these accounts by looking at the physical presence and distribution of printed matter in their lives as well as the access routes by which they came to participate in literacy events and the opportunities they had to develop their practices. People with low levels of formal education have been seen to draw from resources in their immediate surroundings in order to overcome difficulties with specific texts, particularly those involving bureaucratic literacies. Fingeret (1983) demonstrates how people with low literacy tap into their existing social networks for literacy skills which they themselves do not possess but which others are able to provide. The reciprocal arrangements in these networks mean that in return for help with a literacy task, other services may be provided in return. Reciprocity, which is discussed in relation to kin networks in Chapter 4, in these relations means that traditional boundaries between

home and school are no longer helpful as literacy mediators help family, friends and clients across domains and provide a bridge between home and school which rests on a blurring of boundaries (Ivanič et al. 2009). Literacy can then be seen as a shared resource which exists for members of the group who rely on others in order to cope with certain literacy demands. Hence, by looking at sponsors of literacy in this chapter alongside literacy mediators it is possible to see how wider social forces are at work in the lives of migrants as they negotiate opportunities for literacy learning and literacy development with others.

#### **6.4 Cultural brokerage: Straddling cultural contexts**

For Papen, literacy mediation is 'a process that can challenge the power of dominant literacies and discourses by allowing those not commonly familiar with these practices — via a mediator — to access and deploy them for their own needs' (2010a: 79). However, it is helpful to separate how the practices of reading and writing and the practices of challenging dominant discourses are accessed and deployed by families when navigating the complexities of migration. Thus it is useful to attempt to delineate the reading and writing from the translation of discourses. By foregrounding the translation of dominant discourses by cultural brokers it is possible to see the ways in which discourses are challenged, as this is central to making literacies accessible to marginalized groups. Given the speed of change in UK immigration law, cultural brokers must understand multiple discourses related to migration, as well as taking into account the changing cultural contexts of British Mirpuri life in the UK and in Pakistan. Given that family members negotiate the cultural contexts of both Pakistan and the UK, it is even more important to look at how discourses circulate transnationally and how these are recontextualized in new spaces as part of transnational and intergenerational trajectories. This is because sponsors of literacy in Pakistan promote particular literacies and not others, due to the dominant discourses they invoke in that country and the power relations which these discourses reproduce. Different discourses are invoked in the dominant literacies of British bureaucracy. Families applying for

a visa must contend with both. Hence, transnational life gives space for literacy mediators and cultural brokers to provide links between different social and cultural contexts. Examples from the data are provided later in the chapter to illustrate further why I distinguish between broker and mediator.

In order for cultural brokers to challenge dominant discourses it is important to employ concepts which capture the translation of discourses as well as the translation of language varieties such as English, Urdu and Mirpuri Punjabi. Robins' use of the term 'cultural brokers' is useful here as it refers to mediators who provide access to registers and discourses for those individuals who struggle with complex legal and bureaucratic literacy practices (1996). However, when the emphasis is not on reading, writing or the translation of spoken and written language but rather on the translation of dominant discourses, the term cultural brokerage is more useful in order to mark out the territory of both terms. Barton argues that 'the text can be central, as in the act of reading instructions from a manual; the text can be symbolic, as when swearing on the Bible; and the text can be implicit, as when talking about texts which are not present' (1994: 605). In the case of bureaucratic texts, the talk surrounding their completion moves far away from an implicit text towards talk about the discourses that texts invoke. The delineation is the distance from the text that the talk moves. To this end, a cultural broker may be able to translate discourses but not be very good at filling in forms, while a literacy mediator may be able to fill in forms but not be able to straddle the cultural contexts which grant access to multiple discourses, as illustrated in the data in the following sections. This is also a helpful way in which to see literacy as a 'distributed resource' (Kell 2008: 909), as cultural knowledge is shared among groups and across family networks, particularly when knowledge and information are fundamental to the maintenance of the transnational networks which sustain chain migration between Mirpur and Lancashire. Kell (2008), drawing on Silverstein and Urban (1996), refers to the way in which literacy events are only a small part of text trajectories. She suggests that in order to pin down the flow of recontextualization, it is important to reconstruct sequences in ethnographic data and focus on any events related to the trajectory which may or may not

involve written texts. Literacy mediators are involved in the reading and writing that takes place in specific episodes, whereas the work of cultural brokers is often removed from encounters where a text is present and where there is talk around text as their expertise lies in understanding the macro-discourses related to a sequence of episodes. In the discussion that follows, reconstructing these sequences of events involves identifying how family members develop their literacy learning and take up literacy opportunities to become literacy mediators in specific episodes in which reading and writing are central, as well as looking at how they became cultural brokers who are able to translate dominant discourses across a sequence of episodes. Examining how cultural brokers also deploy their knowledge to build links with dominant institutions for minority groups, thereby providing a bridge across contexts and discourses, reveals the contrasts with literacy mediators who do not, or do not do so as successfully as cultural brokers. The following section begins by exploring the lives of the family members in this study before moving onto detailed analyses of the role of literacy mediators and cultural brokers in those lives. As the migration trajectories explored in this study began with Shakeel Ahmed, the Ahmed family tree can be found in Appendix 7.

## **6.5 Shakeel**

Shakeel is in his mid-sixties and lives in Hillington with his wife, Rakshanda, and their 27-year-old daughter, Nishat. Shakeel's four brothers and one sister also live in Hillington. All his siblings live within a ten-minute walk of his house, as do most of his twenty-six nieces and nephews who were all born in Lancashire. Shakeel has bought the house neighbouring his in a street of terraced houses and carried out alterations and renovations to create one large dwelling. The house has had further structural modifications to provide easier access for Nishat, who is physically and mentally disabled. Nadia, their eldest daughter, occasionally stays there with her children, Noor, Oman and Hina.

Shakeel was born in the village of Domal which is a two-hour car drive from Mirpur town. He left for Britain when he was twenty-one years old after a brief period in the army. He speaks Mirpuri at home, some Urdu and a few words of English. However, the two interviews which I carried out with Shakeel were conducted with a translator who is able to speak Mirpuri and Urdu.

Shakeel was twenty-one or twenty-two years old when a friend told him about a competition which would allow five hundred men from Azad Kashmir to live and work in Britain as part of a deal agreed between the governments of Pakistan and Britain. He did not know what kind of work was involved or where in the UK he would be living if he was successful, but these aspects did not concern him as he knew that men from Mirpur had already left to work in the UK. Even though he was happy in the army, Shakeel decided to enter the competition and was one of the 500 men who won a travel voucher to go to England. During this period Shakeel learned that the deal was part of the government of Pakistan's Mangla Dam project. The land which Old Mirpur town stood on was required by the government for construction of the dam. Mirpuris were encouraged to sell their land to the government in return for financial compensation and were also given the opportunity to relocate to the UK. Shakeel did not say whether this money had been used to settle in England or had been kept by the family members who did not migrate. However, he described how he had very little money when he arrived in Britain and struggled financially for the first few years. Shakeel felt at the time that because the Labour Party was in power in Britain they would 'look after' the Mirpuri men when they arrived in England, as they were, he explained, the party of the workers. He recalled being told by the other men that going to work in England would help the economic conditions of Mirpur. He was also told that he did not need to speak English as all that was required was 'hands to work'. To quote from my field notes:

Shakeel's experience of going to work in England is bound up with his view of himself as manual labour. It seems self-evident to him that he would not need to speak, read or write in English as his work would not require it. What would surprise policymakers is that his view has not

changed. He does not see his generation as speakers, writers or learners of a language that he never initially needed. As with the rest of his peer group, the overriding message is that there will always be others who can read/write/translate for him.

19 August 2011, Mirpur town, Azad Kashmir.

These notes are based on my interpretation of what Shakeel told me about not needing English to work in the UK. The following section explores the second phase in chain migration, family reunion, as Shakeel called over his wife Rakshanda to join him in the UK.

## **6.6 Rakshanda and Nadia**

Rakshanda is in her mid-sixties and was born in Chakswari, which is a one-hour drive from Mirpur town. She has lived in Hillington with her husband, Shakeel, since the mid-1960s, when she joined him a few years after his migration to England. Shakeel first settled with Mirpuri friends in Bradford, on the other side of the Pennines to Hillington, but there was no work there for him so he relocated to Hillington as a relative had told him there was work there. Once Shakeel was working and settled he called over Rakshanda and the two of them soon began to have children whom they raised in Hillington. Nadia is Rakshanda and Shakeel's eldest daughter.

Unlike many of her sisters, as a young girl, Rakshanda went to school in Azad Kashmir, and though she left school when she was still quite young she learnt to read and write in Urdu. She explained that she was unable to read and write in English. She suggested that this was because she was 'uneducated' due to her not having stayed in school long enough. However, I later discovered that she is able to read and write a little in English when she recalled that she used to help the children prepare for their spelling tests when they were at primary school in Hillington. Rakshanda told me that there was no need for literacy in English in her life as she has many family members who can act as literacy mediators and read and write for her. However, she gave two accounts of circumstances where she wished she had been able to

read and write better in English. One of these occasions was when the children were young and she would have liked to have been more involved in their education; and the second, discussed below, is when dealing with the health issues of her daughter, Nishat, who is physically and mentally disabled.

Rakshanda writes shopping lists and notes in Urdu and when she was younger she used to write letters in Urdu to her family in Mirpur. She has not written letters for a long time as she now speaks to family members via the landline in her house or on her daughter's mobile phone. It seems that Rakshanda can do what she needs to with literacy in Urdu and English, while for more complex linguistic tasks, such as the examples I discuss below, she relies on family members, mainly her daughters, who act as literacy mediators. Before her children were old enough to help, Rakshanda relied on other women in the community, though as her children have grown older she has become less reliant on people outside the family. She recalled that there were problems with asking other Pakistani women to help with language and literacy tasks though it was often necessary as Shakeel was busy at work. The problems which she mentioned included the lack of privacy when dealing with people outside the family and information not always being accurate, as often she could not reliably gauge the level of others' language and literacy ability (similar findings were made by Baynham et al. in their 2003 study of ESOL for migrant adults). This changed as more women from Mirpur arrived and the numbers of speakers of English increased. Rakshanda recalls that her life when she first arrived in the UK was very difficult. Everything took much longer as she was not familiar with the way things were done in Hillington and she felt very lonely. This changed when she started to have children.

Before exploring the family literacy practices of Rakshanda and Nadia, the following section establishes Rakshanda's personal literacy practices.



### **6.6.1 Rakshanda's personal literacy practices**

Rakshanda's literacy practices draw from a range of written and spoken languages, though the analysis here focuses on the literacies she has developed during her time in the UK, as these are the literacies that she remembers most clearly. This can be seen in Rakshanda's religious literacy practices. While still in Azad Kashmir, Rakshanda was unable to attend the mosque as this was not appropriate for women at that time. Therefore she had an imam come to her house to teach her and her sisters Arabic so that she could recite the Qur'an. During the first few years in the UK Rakshanda chose to learn Arabic at Qur'anic school in a local mosque as this was appropriate for Muslim women in Britain.

It seems from what Rakshanda told me in the interviews that her reasons for attending classes at the mosque were both to become literate in Arabic as well as to provide her with opportunities to socialise, be part of a group and fulfil her duties as a good Muslim, as she became better able to recite the Qur'an. Gregory and Williams (2000) found a similar link between Qur'anic Arabic literacy learning and the desire to belong to a group. In their studies of Bangladeshi women in the UK in the 1990s, Gregory and Williams recorded the literacy history of families where the home language was Sylheti, a dialect of Bengali and, like Mirpuri Punjabi, it had no modern written form. Also, like the Mirpuri women in Hillington, they found that for her Bangladeshi participants learning to read took place in different schools and different languages, and that reading was not the responsibility of the parents at home. As with Rakshanda, learning to read the Qur'an had a religious purpose where the pleasure the women gained was in pleasing Allah and could not be equated with the enjoyment Gregory and Williams's English-speaking mothers gained from reading novels. This is a salient distinction in understanding motivations for literacy learning. The Bangladeshi women, like Rakshanda, demonstrated a desire to read which was religious in motivation and did not include reading in their most familiar language but instead a language which was sponsored as the dominant language for religious instruction. Moreover, the women did not describe any conflict between home and school reading as

reading at home was considered, by both men and women Gregory and Williams found, an inappropriate activity for a girl.

Though none of the women interviewed in either Mirpur or Hillington for the current study suggested that reading was an inappropriate activity for girls, at the same time none of them were able to describe written material that they had access to at home, unlike the males in this study. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Usman talked at length about his brothers' and his own home reading, while suggesting that he did not see the need for his sister to read in English at home. Similarly, a cousin of Usman, Shazia, who was interviewed for this study was also unable to describe specific written material that she had access to at home, other than the Qur'an and her English language study material which she was using to prepare for an English language test as part of her visa application. It seems that, for Shazia, reading at home consisted of reading religious texts and doing schoolwork, but did not involve other types of reading.

Gregory and Williams's findings help in understanding Rakshanda's literacy practices as she was also unable to describe reading other than religious texts. For her, literacy was related to religious observance and not educational achievement, such as studying English as a second language. Hence, at no time in the interviews did Rakshanda suggest that Qur'anic Arabic learning was at the expense of learning English, which she had never done formally, rather it would seem that reading in any language other than Qur'anic Arabic was seen as inappropriate. The picture that emerged from my time with Rakshanda was, therefore, of a woman with little desire or need for learning English because there is enough distributed knowledge of English in her surroundings, which is similar to Kell's finding that literacy can be viewed as a distributed resource (2009). An example she gave of this was when she told me that she relied on her daughters to translate for her when she went to the doctor's or the hospital. Nadia, in a separate interview, also described similar situations. A specific example was when Nadia was told at the hospital that she could not act as a translator for her parents. She assumed that the hospital staff doubted her ability to translate. Thus, although family members

may be comfortable mediating, institutional procedures may suppress such activities.

The above are parts of the migrant's life which government ESOL policy does not easily see. This illustrates the misunderstanding by governments' ESOL policies where the lack of proficiency in English is seen as demonstrating a lack of cohesion between communities where English is not used by members of settled communities, such as the Pakistani community and majority white communities in the northwest of England (DCLG 2012). These intergenerational language issues are discussed by Cooke and Simpson who argue that many parents like Rakshanda, who have not had a full education themselves, are even more determined to ensure that their children have a solid education. Rakshanda herself said this when she explained that it was important that all her children had a good education in Britain, which in effect means a good education in English. However, Rakshanda did not see a need for her children to be able to read in any language before starting school and only spoke to her children in Mirpuri. Cooke and Simpson (2008) add that parents differ in their approaches to raising their children bilingually, some using the heritage language at home, others opting for English. In Rakshanda's case, Nadia had told me that she was unable to say more than the word 'toilet' in English when she started school in Hillington as Mirpuri was spoken at home and English was left to the school.

The following section explores Rakshanda's personal literacy development, described above, with the family literacy practices she is part of, as these require literacy in English for which she turns to her eldest daughter, Nadia.

### **6.6.2 Accessing information about health with literacy mediators in the home**

Rakshanda explained that she had learned a little English at school in Mirpur but that there were no formal classes so she was only able to understand a few words. She explained that English language lessons were not available in Hillington when she first arrived in Britain and that when she became aware of

them she was too busy looking after her family to attend. Baynham et al. (2003) made similar findings in their study of ESOL learners with similar backgrounds to Rakshanda, in that women need lessons in English as soon after their arrival in the country as possible, as the likelihood of their attendance decreases over time. Thus if women are to be encouraged to learn English by British governments, the research suggests that the earlier this starts the better. Early access to ESOL would also reduce the feelings of isolation that Rakshanda experienced soon after her arrival. Baynham et al. (2003) and Cooke and Simpson (2008) both stress the importance of acknowledging the increased confidence and self-esteem that women like Rakshanda experience through access to ESOL. Thus ESOL classes tailored to accessing work may be less advantageous than providing ESOL for women to learn alongside other women dealing with the challenges of recent arrival. The literacy required to be able to access ESOL for work curricula was not a priority for Rakshanda since, as she explained, there were always people who could help when reading and writing were required, though in an interview in Mirpur Rakshanda suggested that literacy was important when people went to the hospital. Both Rakshanda and her daughter Nadia in the Hillington interviews recalled how the family had struggled to understand information related to the health issues of Rakshanda's daughter, Nishat. Nishat has needed constant care from different members of the family throughout her life and this has always been shared by Rakshanda, her daughters and other female relatives.

When I asked Nadia about these duties, it became clear that in addition to the physical care that she gave her sister she also saw the long hours of information-seeking as part of that care. For over ten years Nadia had been using the Internet to find out about the best methods of care for someone with her sister's disability. This included using search engines and becoming familiar with medical language, as she often found herself on websites which were intended for medical practitioners and difficult for her to understand. When looking at doctor-patient interactions, Wodak (1996) found that in institutional discourse such as that found in the doctor's surgery, those entering the institution from outside are unable to act on their own initiative

and must react to the information received from the doctor. This form of discursive control, of who has access to discourses about health, can be seen in Nadia's health literacy practices. Nadia learned to overcome this discursive control as she learnt to search for information and generate her own understanding. Over time, Nadia was able to draw on blogs written by other carers in a similar position. This she found particularly helpful as outside of her immediate family she said it was difficult to discuss these issues with other Pakistanis as she explained that there were sensitivities around talking about ill health and disease publicly. However, with the help of her two sisters, she was able to find information by word of mouth as other Pakistani families in the area face similar health issues due to the higher prevalence of these related to cousin marriages in South Asian communities (Bittles et al. 1993).

Rakshanda and Nadia felt that they often needed to check what they were told by community members with information on the Internet. Rakshanda was more trusting of her peers in the community than Nadia who suggested that the Internet was more reliable than word of mouth. Nadia never gave the impression that she was acting independently, rather that she and her mother worked collaboratively through the information that Nadia collected. Nadia translated using code-switching and mode-switching while Rakshanda made the decisions, though the only information she gave me was that these decisions were related to her sister's disabilities. Papen's work (2010b) critiques how health policies in the UK support an informed patient agenda, yet access to information about health, such as the leaflets which doctors give to their patients, does not always provide enough information for patients to become fully knowledgeable about issues and illnesses affecting them and their families. She finds that a range of strategies are used to learn about health, which included reading webpages on the Internet, i.e. strategies which are often informal and incidental. Papen argues that these strategies are textually mediated as they rely on gaining medical knowledge by engaging with texts such as those on websites. Nadia, as a literacy mediator for her mother, worked with Rakshanda to explain the English information that she found on the Internet. She developed health-related literacy practices which became central to the family's ability to cope with ever-changing regimes of

funding for care, as well as providing a source of advice on how to cope with the day-to-day challenges of caring for a disabled member of the family. Thus literacy mediators like Nadia not only need to understand the bureaucratic system of healthcare but also need to be able to negotiate with what Wodak calls the 'power registers' (1996: 40) of the institution. Wodak describes these as the linguistic behaviour, or symbolic capital in Bourdieu's terms, of the powerful elite which is invested in knowledge expressed in specific institutional genres. Thus, Nadia must negotiate the power registers of the institutional setting which, I claim, she is able to do through developing her health literacy practices.

## **6.7 Nadia**

At the time of the research, Nadia had two children from her first marriage, a boy of ten and a girl of fourteen, and a son Oman with her second husband, Usman. Nadia is thirty years old and at the age of seventeen had an arranged marriage with her first cousin, Zeeshan, with whom she had grown up. However, the marriage broke down quickly, and so Nadia and Zeeshan divorced after only a few years. Nadia always focused on how good her aunt and uncle had been to her before and after the divorce, which she illustrated by explaining that they had, in her words, 'gifted' to her the family home she had shared with their son, Zeeshan. This is where Nadia and her children lived after the divorce, and it is now also the home of Usman and the two children he and Nadia have had together.

Like all her brothers and sisters, Nadia attended the local primary and secondary schools in Hillington, which are predominantly attended by children from South Asian, mainly Mirpuri, backgrounds. Nadia enjoyed school, did well and went on to study for a BA in English at a local College of Further Education. Education institutions have been major sponsors of literacy in Nadia's life and this has been predominantly via the sponsorship of standard British English, even though Nadia speaks a variety of English which is marked by the variations of a Lancashire dialect. Urdu is not spoken at home as it was not the lingua franca in Pakistan when Nadia's parents lived there up

until the 1960s. Nor was it used as widely in schools as it is today in Mirpur. However, due to the prestige of the language for people of Pakistani heritage, Nadia was encouraged to take Urdu by her parents when it was offered as a GCSE subject at secondary school. Today, Nadia does not try to speak Urdu as she explained that people would laugh at her, given that she cannot speak it well. Nor does Nadia read Urdu at home, even though she achieved a grade 'B' at GCSE in the subject.

As seen in the previous section, Rakshanda draws on Nadia's literacy practices as a set of resources which allow the family to be able to deal with the health problems of Nadia's sister, Nishat. The specific literacy practices which she has developed in relation to looking after her sister are informally acquired practices that Nadia engages with, drawing on skills learned in school, but which she adjusts to the specific situation of her sister's ill health and related financial issues. Nadia told me that it was her responsibility to collect and collate written correspondence with doctors, medical records and financial details, such as the government's incapacity benefit that Nishat receives. She has been doing this, with the help of her sisters, since she was young and continues to do it as an adult as her parents trust her record-keeping skills. She said it was easier for her to continue in this role than for other sisters to take responsibility, as there are many things to remember, particularly when it comes to benefits. However, these documents are all kept by Shakeel and Rakshanda, in their home, and not in Nadia's house.

Much has already been said about Nadia's literacy practices and their use by the wider family in Hillington, but the focus in the following analysis shifts to the literacies which Nadia developed which were central to Usman's migration. The reason for this is to illustrate the connections between the kind of textually-mediated society in which Nadia grew up and how the availability of literacy in English to Nadia in Hillington provided access routes, in Kalman's (2005) sense, to literacies related to Usman's migration. As in Brandt's study in the US (2001), print proliferates in the lives of British people 'as documents form part of the general environment in which the meanings of writing and reading develop. Beyond that, however, we can see how documents become

a site on which struggles for rights and resources play out, as demonstrated earlier in relation to incapacity benefit. As before, for individuals, 'these struggles can both stimulate learning and affect the worth of one's skills' (Barton and Hamilton 1998: 50). The worth of Nadia's skills in developing online literacies of searching for information on the Internet about her sister's medical condition were put to use in the visa application for her husband. This is an example of what Brandt suggests above, that Nadia learned from the medical searches and that these new transferable skills were being used to help get Usman his visa. As the following example shows, this is not restricted to the time of the application but in fact stretches back to the documents related to the divorce from her previous husband. The following section takes up the trajectory of the visa application as it was taken by family members from Mirpur to Lancashire.

#### **6.7.1 Becoming a cultural broker by extending literacy mediation to challenge dominant discourses**

In the previous section about Rakshanda it was not possible to understand individual family members' literacy practices without exploring how they were distributed across the family. This section continues to explore how these literacies are distributed by examining how they are put to use and extended by Nadia when using them in different domains. When Usman received the letter from UKBA informing him that his visa application was unsuccessful he was given two reasons. The first reason was that the Entry Clearance Officer (ECO) felt that Nadia was not earning enough money to be able to support Usman if he was unable to find work. The second was that insufficient documentary evidence had been provided to demonstrate that Nadia and her first husband Zeeshan were divorced. This section explores the latter of these two reasons, as Nadia began to respond to the need for these documents almost as soon as they heard the decision. The former reason is explored in the final sections of this chapter. The aim here is to see how the practices which Nadia developed to gain access to writing about health and well-being on the Internet, and her skills in negotiating institutional power registers, can



be put to use to open up access to other literacies in other domains and across countries.

Kalman's (2005) concept of literacy-generating spaces, explained at the beginning of this chapter, helps in exploring how the voluntary literacy situations which Nadia sought out when searching the Internet for knowledge about her sister's medical condition became the foundation for being able to respond to the literacy-demanding situations of collecting a raft of documents in order to fulfil the divorce-decree requirement of the visa application. In the interviews, Nadia had begun by telling me that she did not know how to find information about her first marriage as no one understood that they had never registered the marriage. In the first interview with Nadia she told me:

I tried to get them to understand at the register office but they said we can't do anything blah blah so I went to the MP office believe it or not in Hillington and I said that what am I supposed to do if there isn't a document? Search in everything, you won't find a document that says me and my husband were legally married because it never took place and what do I do, how do I get this document because the register office the registration office won't help me nobody's helping me (B4)

Later in the same interview Nadia explained that she had then gone onto the Internet to:

...look for search engines on the internet where you pay a couple of pounds and if you put two people's names in the actual marriage certificate will come up and obviously if I'm searching for me and my ex-husband nothing is gonna come up cos there never was such a document (B4)

This, Nadia explained, she had thought of because 'when you spend as long on the internet as I do searching for the allowances I was telling you about you know about Nishat's mobility allowance then you get used to how to find these things'. I interpreted this as meaning that Nadia was able to extend her literacy

practices from the searches she carried out for her health literacies and put them to use for visa literacies. However, as Nadia extended her literacy practices to tackle the bureaucratic literacies of the UKBA, she had also to engage with the dominant discourses of these institutions, and in doing so her role shifted to that of an emerging cultural broker, straddling both dominant and non-dominant cultural contexts. Usman

### **6.7.2 Supporting documents for the visa: The divorce decree**

Nadia described her union with Zeeshan as an Islamic marriage. At the age of 17 Nadia and her husband did not know that Islamic marriages must be registered with the UK authorities and therefore the marriage was not recorded at the local register office. At that age, Nadia explained that she did whatever her mother and father told her to do, hence she had assumed at the time that the *nikah* (engagement) ceremony that her mother and father had arranged was legally binding. It was not until three years later when Nadia was 20 years old and she was, in her words, 'reading up' on British marriage law that she realized that the marriage was not legally binding. However, though she explained to Zeeshan that the marriage needed to be registered, they did not do this as by that point the marriage had begun to break down. This caused problems later when Usman was applying for his visa to enter the UK as he needed to provide documentary evidence of Nadia and Zeeshan's marriage registration and subsequent divorce.

As the social goals shifted and, several years later, Nadia's ability to use the Internet developed, she was able to employ her digital literacies to prevent Usman's visa application being rejected a second time. This began by searching the Internet to find out whether there had been similar cases to hers. She was unable to find other women in a similar position and therefore visited the register office in person. Having been unsuccessful in trying to explain the situation at the local register office, Nadia went to her Member of Parliament (MP) in Hillington to ask for help, which also proved unsuccessful. It was not until Nadia returned to the register office that they were able to

provide Nadia with the contact details of the Home Office, explaining that Nadia would need a 'no-trace' letter. What this demonstrates is that even though the visa application procedure no longer involves a face-to-face interview in Pakistan, as the process is becoming increasingly textually mediated, the process of applying is not transparent enough from the forms alone. Nadia's difficulty in putting together the UK end of the application demonstrates the level of personal contact which is required in the process. The extract above which began with Nadia describing the search for the no-trace letter continued '...nobody's helping me. So basically by going in there the lady in the registry office did some research and gave me the contact details of the Home Office to request a no-trace letter.' This demonstrates an important aspect of literacy mediation here in that, to begin with, Nadia had to talk to several institutions in person to find out what to do before then going onto the Internet and using her digital literacy skills to find evidence to support a no-trace letter. Nadia gained access to institutional discourses about marriage by both speaking to information gatekeepers in their offices, where she asked pertinent questions, and then using her literacies to access information on the Internet. Wodak suggests that individuals entering an institution from outside 'do not act on their own initiative, but react by answering questions, listening and providing information sought. In the institution, persons who determine the interaction occupy an institutional role ... and their language is consequently supported or legitimized by the existing institutional power' (1996: 66). Fortunately, Nadia's health literacies had provided her with some experience of dealing with institutional discourse which she was able to transfer to other institutional settings and uses to access institutional discourses related to immigration.

This is an aspect of literacy mediation which is under-explored in the literature, as the focus has been on how literacy mediators 'can be faithful transcribers, editors, or composers of texts. They may read word by word, paraphrase, translate or summarise a text they were given' (Papen 2010a: 74). However, in the case of a visa application for a non-EEA national, the asymmetrical power relations demand that Nadia had first to find (by way of reading), collect and collate the various documents which make up the entire visa application

by engaging with dominant institutions, such as the register office. Moreover, Nadia needed to engage with non-dominant institutions, such as family members, about her former marriage, before setting to work on reading through them in detail to ensure that she had found the correct source. As she was reading on websites Nadia explained that she was 'trying to understand what they were getting at', but over time she became more familiar with 'what they were on about'. The example she gave was the wording in the instructions for applying for a no-trace letter which included a section about the birth certificates she needed to provide. Nadia told me that she could not understand this section to begin with but by searching on the Internet she was able to work out that she needed birth certificates for herself, her ex-husband and her father. I concluded that what Nadia meant was that she became increasingly able to unpack dominant discourses, 'trying to understand what they were getting at', and make accessible the language that was at first confusing, not because of a lack of proficiency in English (she is bilingual) but because of a combination of the registers and discourses invoked which made it difficult to understand, in her words, 'what they were on about'. However, Nadia learnt to move in and out of this position. When dealing with the divorce decree, Nadia had initially not understood the full meaning of marriage registration. Over time, she extended her literacy practices to be able to demonstrate, with a no-trace letter, that she had never had her marriage registered as she had never been legally married. The bureaucratic literacy practices of getting hold of a no-trace letter meant that, first of all, birth certificates for Nadia, her father and her husband had to be retrieved in order to prove that the family were British, and secondly to prove that she and Zeeshan had never been legally married in Britain or elsewhere. Nadia was surprised to find that birth certificates for the entire country were available online at a cost of two pounds (sterling). She used an Internet search engine to find the family's birth certificates online, checked these provided the information that was required and then sent them to the Home Office. Nadia received a 'no-trace' letter confirming that she had indeed not been legally married to Zeeshan. Reading official documents was central to this process, but what was also emerging in my interpretation was Nadia's confidence and ability to deal with dominant institutions. This social power is what Wodak,

drawing from Foucault (1984) and van Dijk (1984), understands as 'discursive control: who has access to the various types of discourse, who can and cannot talk to whom, in which situations, and about what' (1996: 65-66). In Nadia's case this social power comes from her ability to ask questions of officials and access discourses about marriage, as part of her developing bureaucratic literacy practices.

The larger context of Nadia's life was central to what she understood was happening throughout this process and how she learned to deal with bureaucratic institutions. For the first application, Nadia told me that because she had no written record of a divorce from Zeeshan she had believed that this would not be a problem, as she had provided the birth certificates of her two children which would be proof enough of her Islamic marriage:

I knew for a fact that the Board of Registers know that Muslim girls who get arranged marriage don't just get children without marriage so if I've got children who I've sent birth certificates into the visa application to show I've got two children here obviously I've got to tell them I was married at such a point but they don't believe that the *nikah* was a marriage, they don't believe the *nikah* was a marriage here, they only believe that if you go to registration office that's a marriage, that's a UK marriage and I provided enough evidence of that (R4)

What Nadia misunderstood was that regardless of whether the ECO dealing with Usman's application forms understood non-dominant contexts in this way or not, they do not deploy their knowledge in this way but rather make decisions based purely on the documentation provided. Looking back, Nadia explained how, at the time of the marriage, there was insufficient knowledge of the legal literacy practices associated with registering marriages in the UK as well as a lack of understanding of cultural practices related to marriage in the UK, which meant that Nadia was legally unmarried throughout her union with Zeeshan. Nadia oriented to the dominant discourse of legal marriage practices when she explained, 'I was reading up and I realised I wasn't married', meaning I wasn't married in the legal sense, three years after her *nikah* had

taken place. The development of Nadia's individual literacy practices provided her with access routes to knowledge about UK bureaucratic and legal procedures to the extent that, in her words, she realised she was not married. In the dominant cultural context of the UK, this would result in a precarious legal position as many entitlements are afforded through legal marriage, particularly for women who, like Nadia, have given up work to raise a family. However, in the non-dominant context of Mirpuri reciprocity, Zeeshan's parents gift to Nadia of the home she had been living in allowed Nadia to remarry and continue to live there with her new husband when he arrived.

Reciprocity can also be seen in the realignment of hierarchical relationships within Nadia's immediate family. Initially she is seen to act in accordance with the wishes of her parents and husband, a situation which changes as she takes up opportunities for literacy development. Nadia told me that she believed that she had more say in the choice of a second husband because she had 'taken over looking after my sister and making sure we knew what was what'. She described a shift in the family power relations which had partly come about through the responsibility she now had for looking after her sister, which for her was linked to managing the written records of the family's health and finances. Her position in the family had therefore been strengthened by her family's reliance on Nadia's literacy practices. Access to literacy, I claim here, means access to social power, which relates to gender roles within the family. Nadia's status as literacy mediator and cultural broker is part of the shift in gender roles which allowed Nadia to choose her second husband herself.

At the time of the first visa application, a solicitor in Mirpur had been used to advise on the application. Not long before the submission of papers in Mirpur prior to processing in Abu Dhabi, an immigration consultant warned Usman and Nadia that the application was not strong enough due to the lack of a divorce decree, but they went ahead anyway because, Usman told me, they wanted to submit the application before 29 November 2010 in order to avoid the imminent English language requirement. That application failed but Nadia's position was strengthened in the second application by filling the gap

in this knowledge when she took on the task of brokering a no-trace letter. The gap in information here illustrates the power structure in the visa-application process which provided Nadia with an opportunity to increase her own social power. Wodak's study of school meetings where access to discourse and information is restricted is similar to Nadia's access to discourse and information described here (1996). Wodak claims this access is a contested and negotiated process, where hierarchies are reproduced through discourse. However, in Nadia's case, her negotiation was such that she gained access, and as a result she also won more social power within the family. Unable to rely on the family network, Nadia independently approached the register office and her MP in order to find out how to proceed with obtaining a no-trace letter, having never engaged with these institutions before. Initially these institutions were local until she was advised to contact the Home Office for a no-trace letter. At this point, Nadia entered a new domain of activity and took the lead in expanding her own knowledge and thus the shared knowledge of the family.

However, Nadia did not build ongoing links with these institutions in the way that Robins (1996) describes but rather developed the literacy practices with which to engage temporarily with the dominant institutions on an ad hoc basis. She was only able to unpack the dominant discourses related to a no-trace letter and did not feel confident enough to take on the entire visa application process but instead turned to an immigration solicitor. On the continuum from literacy mediator to cultural broker, Nadia moved closer to the role of cultural broker but was unable fully to straddle the non-dominant and dominant contexts as a solicitor could (discussed in the final section of this chapter) as she had not developed a full understanding of all the dominant discourses that the Home Office invokes regarding immigration.

## **6.8 UK immigration solicitors as literacy mediators and cultural brokers**

The previous sections have explored the continuum from literacy mediator to cultural broker by examining how Nadia developed the skills for both. Papen

(2010a) suggests that the only noticeable difference between a literacy mediator and a cultural broker is the stronger emphasis on the need for the cultural broker to understand and translate discourses of the dominant cultures and institutions to their clients. This difference needs to be clearly delineated in order to understand how bureaucratic literacies related to visa procedures are constantly changing and what discourses, such as the employment discourses invoked in Nadia having to take up paid work, other than immigration discourses, are invoked by governments when increasing the number of curbs on immigration. There is a need to highlight the difference between the two concepts as although literacy mediation can include an element of realigning power relations between dominant and non-dominant groups, one term alone cannot adequately cover the degree to which that individual both writes on behalf of someone else and simultaneously translates several dominant discourses. Therefore, in order to explore what happens when several discourses are invoked, the following section examines what cultural brokers do when discourses about immigration also involve discourses about employment and welfare.

#### **6.8.1 Cultural brokerage in negotiating dominant discourses about immigration, employment and welfare**

On the recommendation of her brother-in-law, Nadia contacted an immigration solicitor once the forms for the second application, as well as the failed first application, had been brought to England by relatives travelling from Mirpur. This immigration solicitor was known to Nadia through advertisements which she placed on Urdu and English language satellite TV channels. Nadia felt the solicitor was very good and appeared to trust her although she was, in her words, 'leaving nothing to chance', as by this point Usman and Nadia's son Oman was already several months old and she had originally hoped that Usman would be with her in time for the birth.

After a face-to-face meeting and two telephone conversations, Fatima told Nadia exactly what the family needed to do in order to make a successful visa



application. The issue identified by Fatima that I focus on here is the details of how much Nadia needed to be earning, and what documents were required to demonstrate this, in order to show that she could support Usman and her children if Usman was unable to find work on his arrival. Fatima told Nadia the amount of money she needed to earn each week and advised her on the kind of work she needed to do. Nadia then explained the situation to her brother-in-law who gave her the job that he was going to give to Usman. This was an administrative job at his insurance claims company. This job had in fact prompted a further objection from the ECO in the first application, as the job had been specially created for Usman, and it was now being specially created for Nadia. Again, the family had misunderstood the terms on which work could be provided in this way.

Nadia described this job to Fatima who told Nadia the wording to use to describe the job in the relevant sections of Usman's visa application. Nadia explained that Fatima had 'got people working, she knows how much I need to be earning, she knows everything' and later, 'she told me the amounts I need to earn and where I need to put these on the forms'. All of this information had been missing from the advice that the previous UK solicitor had given Nadia for the first visa application. Fatima, as cultural broker and literacy mediator, straddled dominant and non-dominant contexts here as she used her knowledge of the reciprocal arrangements in Mirpuri families whereby jobs are created for family members along with her knowledge of UK employment law forbidding such practices for the purposes of immigration. Both the wording and the documentation are crucial here as Usman explained that the ECO had felt that the job-offer letter from her brother-in-law was a 'bogus letter'. Usman used the term that the ECO used in the decision letter they sent to Usman and added that 'they didn't even call him', suggesting that the ECO could have checked the content of the letter by speaking to the brother-in-law. This again demonstrates how non-dominant groups misunderstand that the entire process for checking documentation does not extend beyond what documents are included and what wording is written on those documents. What is not allowed is additional oral information. The written text is interpreted without administrators considering additional explanations.

The advice from the UK immigration solicitor had far-reaching consequences. Usman started to look for a job in Mirpur as he told me he could not afford to study after his visa application failed. He felt that he would need to contribute in some way as Nadia would be contributing by going out to work in England. The main effect on Nadia's immediate day-to-day life was that she was advised to find paid work in order to be able to demonstrate that the family had the financial security to support Usman, should he be unable to find work on his arrival in Britain. This meant that Nadia entered a new sphere of economic activity and found paid work in her brother-in-law's insurance claims company. Unsurprisingly for this close-knit family, this also meant that other family members were required to enter into a new social sphere as the children needed looking after while Nadia worked.

During this period, Nadia was only required to meet the immigration solicitor face to face when she gave her the first visa application forms and documentation, including the reasons for its failure from the UKBA, and again when the completed second visa application was ready for collection. In the first meeting, Fatima acted as a literacy mediator, asking Nadia questions and noting down her answers, in English, on a copy of the original failed visa application forms. After this second meeting Nadia and Fatima spoke by telephone in English several times. At the initial meeting, the solicitor had asked Nadia a series of questions about the house that Zeeshan's parents were gifting and the relationship between the people who had lived there. She also asked many questions about the kind of work that Nadia believed she would be able to find within the family.

After the first meeting, Fatima's role as mediator continued as Nadia began to send her documents for the new application and Fatima collated them while also continuing to offer advice about what information the wage slips should contain. Thus, once Nadia had started to send in the documents that made up the new application, such as the Land Registry documents about the house which was gifted by Zeeshan's parents, Fatima's role moved from offering practical advice about what documents, such as wage slips, to provide, to offering advice about the wording that must be used on the forms in order to

support the required documents. At the same time that Nadia was filling in sections of the forms, Fatima was also completing other sections of the forms herself, based on what Nadia told her. For example, Nadia told me that she had described her job at the insurance office on the phone to Fatima who then completed the relevant section of the visa application form once Nadia had sent her the wage slips, while she herself had completed the sections about the house.

Nadia, in Hillington, kept Usman, in Mirpur, updated about these developments when they talked every few days on Skype. An example of this is taken from an interview with Usman when Nadia was close to completing the forms prior to having them checked by Fatima and then returned (by Nadia or her relatives) to Usman in Mirpur:

...on Thursday she gave the papers to Fatima for checking and today Fatima is gonna call back to Nadia she check the papers and today or tomorrow she's gonna tell that you know what's what more we can add and if that's alright then they will be ready for sending to me (M4)

When I asked Nadia what kind of things Fatima was checking for, she told me that it was making sure that what Nadia had written about her job and the house fitted with what Fatima knew about a 'good' application. Nadia gave me two examples. The first example she gave was that Fatima knew what words to use to describe the job and how it showed that she was earning enough money. In these moments it would seem that Fatima invoked her knowledge of dominant discourses related to employment and immigration, thereby translating different dominant discourses as well as drawing from her knowledge of the register for bureaucratic forms when rewriting the words that Nadia used in the specific genre of a visa immigration form. The second example was when the solicitor told her they must avoid the marriage sounding like, in Fatima's words, 'a sham'. This relates to the dominant discourse in the UK about marriages which are arranged as a way of bringing further members into the country from, predominantly, South Asia. Nadia told Fatima on the phone that she lived with Usman in Mirpur for one month which

Fatima recontextualised and wrote on the form (Appendix 12) in the voice of Usman 'we have been co-habiting together and as a result my wife is pregnant. We are committed to remain as a married couple forever'. Fatima, Nadia told me, felt that this would prove to the UKBA that Nadia and Usman's marriage was not a sham. This is evidence that Fatima translates the discourse about a 'sham' marriage and provides her clients with access to the register, e.g. 'co-habiting', related to this discourse.

As Fatima wrote down the words that Nadia told her, but rephrased them, it would appear that Fatima is both broker and mediator here. These stages can be considered examples of recontextualisation as the forms change hands and are rewritten in a new immediate context of words and phrases by a new literacy mediator. The wording is changed to fit the new context. In the first context, Nadia responded orally to the solicitor's questions on the phone and Fatima recast these words when she wrote them down herself on the visa application form, the second context. The immigration solicitor acted as cultural broker as Nadia's oral descriptions in English were transformed by a process of register-switching (Baynham and Masing 2000; Baynham 1995). This switching involved Fatima following the conventions of official forms but also invoking the dominant discourses about employment in the first example and sham marriages in the second. Fairclough (1992) refers to this as (re)formulation, as the immigration solicitor presents an interpretation of the family's earnings where Nadia is recast as a working mother with a home of her own, unlike in the first visa application which portrayed Nadia as an unemployed mother without property.

The recontextualisation of the spoken text from the telephone conversation to the text written on the visa form demonstrates how recontextualisation is embedded within literacy mediation. However, this recontextualization involves changing the wording based on Fatima's understanding of the discourses related to employment and sham marriages, as well as immigration, knowledge which she deploys when changing the wording on the forms. It is this building up of knowledge of different discourses and relating them simultaneously to the wording on the form which is a feature of cultural

brokerage and not literacy mediation, as literacy mediation relies more on the writing on forms while cultural brokerage relies on knowledge of the dominant and non-dominant contexts. The everyday language of the family that Nadia used in her own voice, 'we were living together in Mirpur', and the technical language of bureaucracy, 'we have been co-habiting together and as a result my wife is pregnant' in Usman's voice, are brought together through the bridging discourse of the cultural broker.

## **6.9 Conclusion**

The examples explored in this chapter show how Nadia developed bureaucratic literacy practices when preparing her husband's second visa application which were extensions of the health literacy practices distributed across the family to deal with Nishat's disabilities. Looking at the literacy events as part of the bureaucratic encounters which the family must engage with shows how Nadia's practices, and therefore the distributed resources of the family, changed due to the bureaucratic requirements placed upon them. Due to the policy changes regarding how much sponsors of migrants can earn, which the solicitor used to formulate her wording on the visa forms, Nadia had to take up paid work and find carers for her children, but also gained a house in time for her new husband's arrival. She was only able to do this with the help of a cultural broker, the solicitor, who was able to transform immigration discourses at the macro level and make form-filling at the micro level more transparent.

This has been demonstrated by exploring what Wodak (2014) describes as investigating the empirical event across the four levels of context discussed in Chapter 2. Applying this theory to the literacy practices in this study meant that the immediate context of literacy events (the various situations in which different family members and the solicitor worked on the visa forms) were investigated alongside the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships with other bureaucratic literacy practices (health literacies). Moreover, combining NLS with the DHA also facilitated an analysis of the recontextualisation of the

everyday language used to describe marriage into a register that suits the bureaucratic register of the visa forms. This, in Wodak's terms, is an example of the discursive control of social power which regulates access to discourses (1996) and which, in Nadia and Usman's case, offered access to a successful visa application. In this sense, it is helpful to see literacy mediation, the concrete activity of reading and writing for or with others, in relation to how present a specific text is in a situation at one end of a spectrum, and cultural brokerage, which is primarily about understanding and translating between different discourses, at the other end of the spectrum when addressing bureaucratic literacies which invoke multiple discourses and cut across diverse cultural contexts and institutions. Moreover, I claim that it is the taking on of these ideas of intertextuality in my study that allows me to conceptualise more clearly the role of literacy practices in revealing the link between migrants' everyday experiences and the wider institutions and social structures that regulate their migration. Thus combining NLS with the DHA has enabled me to explore access to power by investigating the relationship between the four levels of context in the DHA.

## **Chapter 7: Digital Literacies**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I aim to link the discussion about access to and the availability of literacy in Mirpur and Hillington to the way that the participants in this study accessed linguistic resources online. Firstly, I explore the theoretical orientation of the chapter by defining key concepts such as linguistic resources and heteroglossia. Next, I explain the methods that I used to collect and analyse data. After this I introduce the online data, their analysis and the findings from this part of the study.

### **7.2 Theoretical framework for this chapter**

As discussed in Chapter 4, in the discourse of powerful Western governments, monolingualism is often taken to be the natural state of human life (Gal 2006: 15). This, as I have demonstrated, is the case with Urdu in Pakistan and English in the UK. Further to this, Gal argues, named languages are taken to be homogenous with as well as markers of the essential spirit of a particular group. Again, I have shown that in Pakistan this is exemplified by Urdu, which has become the symbol for Pakistani nationhood and national identity as a Muslim (Rassool 2007). In the UK, monolingual integration policies simultaneously link proficiency in English with social cohesion and undervalue the importance of heterogeneous minority languages in forging cohesion (Blackledge 2005). Rather than endorse this opposition between monolingualism and multilingualism I will employ the term linguistic repertoire as it is not limited to the competence of multilinguals or distinct 'languages' but rather relates to the repertoires of styles, dialects and registers of users (Kachru 1982).

Following the orientation I outlined in Chapter 2, in this chapter I explore this relationship between language, power and identity in more detail. I begin with the notion that the identities available to individuals at a given moment in

history are subject to change, like the ideologies that legitimize and value particular identities more than others (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Thus, in this section I discuss how language users look for new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities while also assigning new meanings to the links between linguistic varieties and identities (Norton 2006).

Following Blackledge and Creese (2010), I draw from concepts set out by Heller (2007) in her critical analysis of languages in society. Heller suggests moving away from seeing 'language', 'community' and 'identity' as natural phenomena and towards an understanding of them as socially constructed. This would mean that these categories could not be attached to individuals or groups based on, for example, their 'ethnicity' or 'language'. This reconceptualization is helpful in understanding the multilingual literacy practices of the participants in this study, as they speak and write using many language varieties and their ethnicities are not rooted in one single place or associated with one specific language. Moreover, Heller draws on Giddens (1984) in considering language as a set of resources that are unevenly socially distributed. This concept is employed in this chapter of my study to explore the specific linguistic resources that participants draw on from moment to moment in their literacy practices.

In order to explore these moment-to-moment resources I again draw from the work of Blackledge and Creese (2010, 2014), discussed in Chapter 2, by taking the premise that languages cannot be viewed as 'discrete, bounded and impermeable autonomous systems' (2010: 30) but rather see language as heteroglossia (see below). This is also in line with Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) work which calls for a critical historical account of language. Makoni and Pennycook's goal is to demonstrate that languages were 'invented' through a process of classification and naming (2007: 1). For this reason, both pairs of authors believe that researchers should turn to the users of language to understand the relationship between views about language and its usage. This would mean investigating what people believe about their own as well as others' use of language, alongside situated talk, and in addition to the social and economic effects of these views and uses (Makoni and Pennycook 2007).



In this chapter, I develop the notion of use beyond talk and look specifically at writing online and what participants told me about their online writing. This is because I am also interested in the interrelationship between what people believe about their practices and the way that they access and make use of linguistic resources.

Unlike traditional code-switching descriptions which focus on categorizing language and describing functions, the social constructivist approach which I adopt 'problematizes the constructs 'language' and 'community' while resisting classifications of languages or communities into bounded systems' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 65). In this way, Blackledge and Creese follow Bailey, who argues that heteroglossia can deal with monolingual and multilingual forms simultaneously. For example, in this study, the participants draw from different monolingual forms of varieties of English as well as several multilingual forms of language varieties from Pakistan. The monolingual forms of English the family in this study used include the local Lancashire dialect as well as the standard British English dialect. The multilingual forms used by the family include Punjabi, Potwari and Pahari (Mirpuri Punjabi).

The following discussion takes into account the social, historical and political contexts of utterances. Bailey (2007) and Blackledge and Creese (2010), following Bakhtin (1994), acknowledge that the social, historical and political forces that shape an utterance can be traced, given that every utterance is 'shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgements and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others' (Bakhtin 1981: 276). This concept of heteroglossia facilitates, I argue, an analysis of online vernacular writing because, as discussed in Chapter 2, Barton and Hamilton suggest that vernacular literacy practices serve everyday purposes and are rooted in everyday experiences (1998). I suggest that it is these everyday features of vernacular literacies which can be explored by identifying traces of social, historical and political forces in everyday writing. Where Bailey argues that heteroglossia connects the linguistic with the social and historical (2007: 269), I suggest that this

connection can be aligned with a literacy practices approach which also links reading and writing with the social, cultural and historical contexts in which they are embedded. This is related to my exploration in Chapter 5 of how the availability of printed matter influences how opportunities to access reading and writing practices are constituted and how in turn these opportunities facilitate the availability of printed matter (Kalman 2005). Kalman's work emphasizes that written culture is not automatically accessed by the mere presence of written materials but rather written language practices 'spring up and evolve in response to specific communicative and cultural needs, transforming and modifying written materials at the same time' (2005: 29). Thus in the following sections I explore how the interactants' multilingual literacy practices shape their writing on Facebook. In the following section I explain the methods I used for collecting and analysing data.

### **7.3 Methodology for this chapter**

#### **7.3.1 Data collection**

The overarching methodology which this thesis employed is outlined in Chapter 3. This section here provides an overview of the methods which were used to analyse the data from the primary online platform, Facebook, as this was the platform which I observed most extensively and draw on in the analysis for this chapter. Interviews and participant observation took place in Pakistan and the UK from 2010 to 2012, during which time I was observing Usman's Facebook profile and asking him about it in interviews throughout the course of our time together in Pakistan. However, once we were both in the UK, I focused the data collection on the photographs which Usman posted on his profile from February to August 2012, as this was a new practice for him and an important means of staying in touch with family and friends back in Mirpur soon after his arrival in Britain.

### 7.3.2 Facebook and multimodal literacies

Usman had been using the social network site Facebook for approximately two years when I started to interview him about his online writing. As with other Facebook users, Usman has a list of Facebook 'friends' on his profile page with whom he navigates connections using the semi-public system (boyd and Ellison 2008). These connections, for Usman, include maintaining ties with friends and family in Pakistan as well as family members who have migrated to different countries around the world. Some of the newer connections were those he was developing with Nadia's family in the UK for whom he used Facebook to communicate. These existing and emergent networks were used to prompt friends and family to join his list of 'friends' as others reciprocated and invited him to join theirs. Gillen signals this continuity between online and offline spaces through the notion of virtual spaces which rejects the dichotomy of offline/ analogue and draws attention to overlapping terms such as online, digital and Web 2.0 (in press).

A user's Facebook profile page includes a space for updates as well as an area for photographs. Users can also instant-message (IM) talk in groups as well as send private messages and update their friends using words, images and hyperlinks, for which reason I consider Usman's Facebook literacy practices to be multimodal. 'Mode' here, Kress suggests, includes socially and culturally shaped resources for making meaning (2003). Further to this, Kress claims that, nowadays, the written mode is interwoven with visual modes including photographs and, as such, reading no longer relies on the printed word alone but includes reading images and writing on the screen.

For these reasons, using technology in this way is seen as multimodal (Gee 2007; Knobel and Lankshear 2007). For Usman, this means that he and his friends post photographs on their profile pages, give each photograph a title and make comments about the photographs in the space underneath. People who can access Usman's profile then have the option to add further comments. Once individuals have posted, the responses often develop into an interactive 'conversation' between Usman and his Facebook 'friends'. All

postings appear in chronological order under the photograph. Each comment is made up of the date, the time, the writer's Facebook profile name and then the words of the comment.

### **7.3.3 Methods of Analysis**

As described above, a series of comments often appear under a posted photograph on Facebook as individuals respond to photographs and to each other's comments. However, the interactants do not always choose to respond to the most recent comment, instead different topics might be taken up and developed by different interactants. The term 'sequence of interactions' will be used to describe a series of 'turns' between two people on a particular topic. A sequence of interactions will often consist of multiple turns and intervening postings by other individuals who may be participating in a different sequence, or commenting on the original photograph. It is because of these intervening postings that I choose to employ the term 'sequence of interactions' rather than the term 'chain of messages' which Barton and Lee (2013) employ to research comments below photographs on the photo-sharing website Flickr. With the exception of one posting towards the end, all the sequences are visible to all the posters who only appear to respond directly to Usman, though they know others can read their comments. Therefore, in order to capture the coherence in the narrative of each sequence, interruptions will be placed in parentheses so that the sequence appears as one conversation.

As described in Chapter 3, after transcribing and coding, I identified which sets of postings were related to a discourse about migration. There were eight of these. Next, I examined these eight sets of postings for traces of the four discourse sub-topics: *leaving*, *kinship*, *work* and *settlement*. From these eight sets of postings, five were selected for detailed analysis as these contained many traces of the migration discourse subtopics. Only two of these appear in the final thesis due to the availability of space.

After the steps described above, self-report interviews were then carried out with Usman in which we discussed the transcripts of the online writing. In these interviews, Usman was shown the transcripts of the online data and asked to comment on the meaning-making process as he understood it. The integration of these various methods aided the development of the concept of heteroglossia as a social resource which prioritises the language user rather than the language (Heller 2007), as the self-report interviews provided the key participant with the opportunity to illuminate the analysis with his own meaning-making. These analyses are dealt with in the following section, alongside the formal translators' translations. The process of translation and procedures for analysis followed these steps:

- Download all the photographs and comments from Usman's Facebook profile and save to individual files
- Do my own rough translation
- Send to a translator in Pakistan and a translator in the UK
- Do a rough translation with Usman
- Code the translations and identify the discourse sub-topics: *leaving, kinship, work and settlement*
- Review Usman's translations alongside the translators' translations
- Conduct a semi-structured self-report interview with Usman
- Do draft 1 of the analysis by merging Usman's translations, the translators' translations, Usman's emic interview comments
- Do draft 2 of the analysis integrating sociopolitical contextual data into the analysis and ensuring all previous stages are cohesive.

Multiple translations of the data were done as there are several factors which could affect the translation of postings. Firstly, the degree of overlap in the Pahari-Potwari-Punjabi language continuum makes the distinction between different codes problematic (Lothers and Lothers 2007). Secondly, there is a lack of qualified translators working with the Mirpuri language. And thirdly, there is no Applied Linguists tradition in Pakistan (Rahman 2009) and little research on Mirpuri Panjabi internationally. For all these reasons, relying on

one source of translation was judged to be insufficient for this study, hence the use of translators in the UK and Pakistan in addition to the rough translations I did alone and with Usman.

Foregrounding the self-report interviews in coming to an understanding of the multilingual encounters is not only a methodological response to translation issues, but can also be seen as a means by which to understand the relationship between views about language and usage by investigating what people believe about their own as well as others' use of language. The interviews were therefore an important way to seek this emic view. Instead of analysing the Facebook data on the basis of what I had already learned from my time in Mirpur and Hillington, the aim was to ask Usman to analyse the data himself, from his perspective. In the discussion that follows, I also draw from the DHA and interactional sociolinguistics and thus include a more etic perspective, thereby bringing the two perspectives together with NLS. In order to foreground the self-report interviews and thus examine how identities are represented through Facebook comments, I follow Barton and Lee's work which suggests that:

...a more meaningful study of online identity performance should take into account *why* such features of language exist by observing authentic interactional contexts as well as the message producer's insider perspective. (2013: 69)

When exploring Usman's insider perspective I asked him about his relationship with the technology that he was using, thereby examining the practices which he associates with language use and production in online contexts, as well as asking how he goes about creating meaning in his postings. These interviews were reflexive in nature as the focus was on Usman's encounters on Facebook at different times and locations throughout his migration trajectory. After analysing the self-report data I then drew from more 'etic' perspectives in interactional sociolinguistics to see how Usman's online encounters merged with societal, historical and political forces to shape

language practices. Following Blackledge and Creese here, the goal of interactional sociolinguistics is:

...to analyse how interactants read-out and create meanings in interaction. Because language indexes social life and its structures and rituals, language use can be analysed to understand how presuppositions operate in interactions. Moreover, interactional sociolinguistics has looked at how interactants use language to create contexts. (2010: 62)

The methodological aim of this chapter is to bring together a literacy practices approach to the study of online vernacular writing with an interactional sociolinguistic perspective to see how social, political and historical forces merge when individuals access their linguistic practices online.

#### **7.4 Context of situation: Usman's migration to Hillington and his first six months in Britain**

The aim of this section is to analyse the context of the situation for the study of Usman's personal literacy practices, drawing on the conceptual scaffolding of the DHA's four-context model. This section therefore deals with the third level of context, the extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, which were recorded through field notes and reflections on the non-textual aspects of digital literacy practices. This context is central to understanding Usman's literacy opportunities.

As Usman settled into life in Hillington the main online activity he described was using the Internet to maintain close ties with friends and family in Pakistan. At the time of the online data collection in 2011 and 2012, Usman had been in the UK for around nine months. During this time his access to the Internet, and more specifically to his Facebook profile, had changed considerably. Usman recalled that he had met many of Nadia's family in Hillington whom he had been getting to know online before arriving, but was now using Facebook to stay in touch with people back in Mirpur. He was able

to do this at home by using his mobile phone to access Facebook as he had given the laptop which Nadia had bought for him to his family in Mirpur so that they could stay in touch with him. He was not working in the first few months after his arrival in Hillington and so had plenty of time to spend online.

Within three months of arriving in Hillington, Usman had found work in both a fast-food takeaway restaurant as a general assistant and at a taxi firm working on the radio. Both jobs demonstrate Usman's ability to take on work which requires proficiency in English. One of Usman's duties at the takeaway was to take the orders of customers who spoke a dialect of English used in Hillington and write down their orders in note form on slips of paper which were then given to the chef. The other members of staff were either born in Pakistan or of Pakistani heritage. Usman used Mirpuri with all the men, other than a young British Pakistani man who was not of Mirpuri heritage and with whom he spoke in a mixture of Urdu and English. At the taxi office many of the older men had been born in Mirpur and spoke to Usman in Mirpuri face to face in the office, and in English over the radio, though he was surprised at how 'bad' their English was. In summer 2012, Usman left the taxi firm and began working full-time at the takeaway, as doing both jobs had allowed him very little time with his family.

When Usman started work he continued to access the Internet via his mobile phone in the taxi office where he worked. With much easier access to the Internet at home and work, his primary online literacy practices cut across these two domains of home and work. After using email most frequently in Mirpur, then instant messaging after his arrival in Hillington, at this point in the data collection Usman was spending increasing amounts of time communicating via the photo-posting feature of Facebook. This was because Nadia had bought Usman a smartphone soon after his arrival in the UK. Usman's literacy practices changed as the affordances of the smartphone allowed him to access the Internet outside the home and take photographs which he introduced more easily into his communications. Usman went online largely in the afternoons, before going to work, though he often logged into his Facebook profile to chat during late shifts at work. Usman began to use the



photo-posting feature to upload pictures of himself and his son, Oman, as well as of other family members and holidays, as well as pictures of the local area. It is this feature of Facebook which the analysis in the next section will focus on, as this is where Usman makes a direct link between the photo-posting feature and its role in sustaining transnational ties:

I have to be in contact with my friends and family back home I never used to use it when I was there but now I'm here [indistinct] I've got no new friends and all that so I intend to keep in touch with the friends from the university school and posting my photos to my family (S4)

At this stage in Usman's migration he does not describe the network of Nadia's family, whom he sees regularly, as friends. Thus the social goal of Usman's online literacy practices are to stay in touch with friends and family in Mirpur as he felt he had no new friends in Hillington.

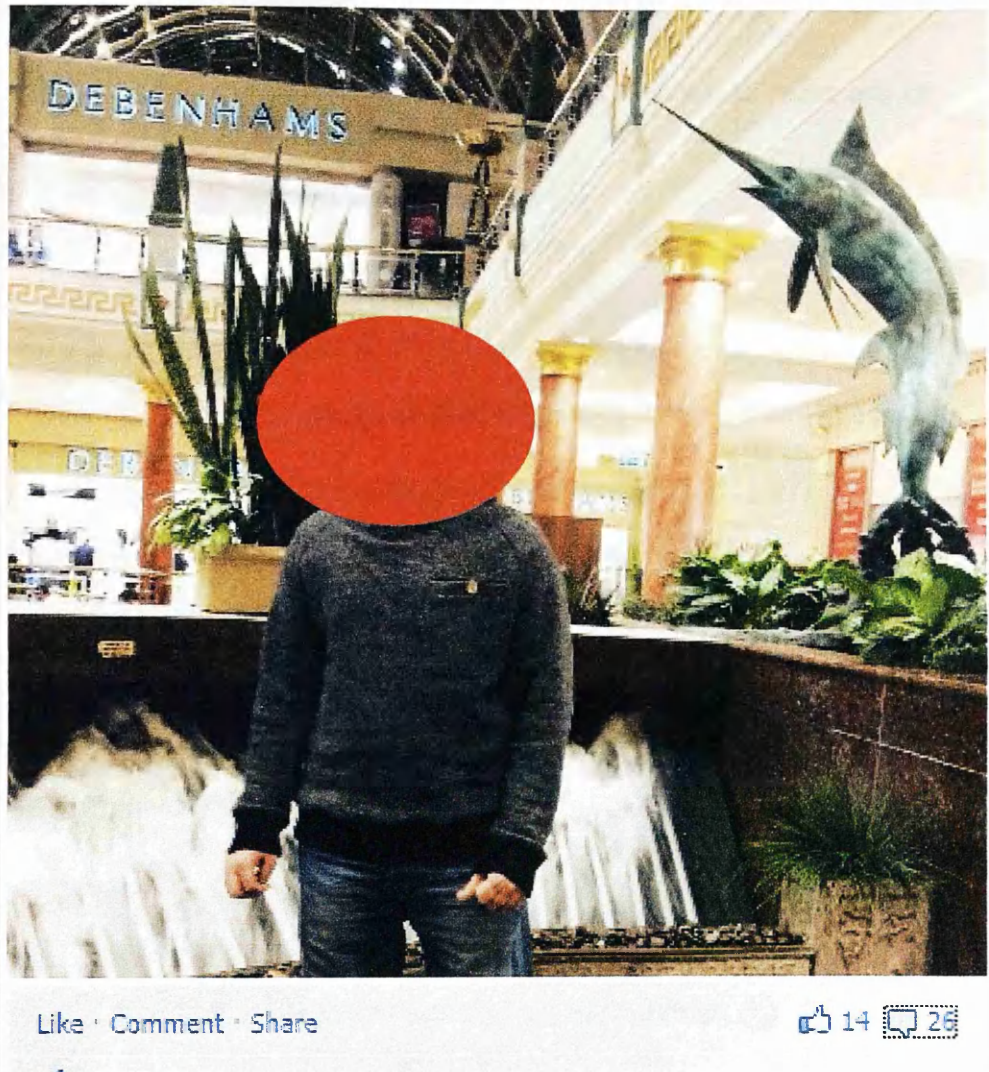
## **7.5 Analysis of 'Trafford'**

### **7.5.1 Background to the photograph**

The full transcript and translation for the 'Trafford' photograph postings appear in Appendix 13.

In this section I analyse the linguistic practices of Usman and seven of his friends and family who responded to Usman's posting of a photograph of himself in the Trafford Centre shopping mall, in Greater Manchester. The screenshots below show both the photograph which Usman posted and an extract of the postings which it generated (Figures 4 and 5 respectively).

Trafford centre manchester



**Figure 2: Screenshot of 'Trafford' photograph posted on Facebook**



#### Key

Hillington

Bury

Mirpur

Islamabad

Sahar

Figure 3: Screenshot of 'Trafford' postings on Facebook

### 7.5.2 Usman, Salman and 'chokidar' sequence and summary

Salman: you look spoiled :P

Usman: this is what happens when you eat too much and go to sleep lol

Salman: that's true, after all, that's all there is to do, eat, drink and sleep

Salman: Why are you still up? Are you nightguarding :P Now go to sleep

Usman: Dog I'm at the job, bastard

Salman: It's a gud job of nightwatchman you know how many pounds are you earning from that ?

Salman: hahaha

Usman: I earn enough

Salman: must be enough otherwise you wouldn't say it was enough given the kind of miser you are who doesn't spend 1 rupee from his own pocket

Usman: get lost

Later

Uncle Adeel: How are you and are you shopping?

Salman: he's not shopping he's a guard there

Usman: Watch out decanter behave

Salman: pccccc if I say the truth you say behave

In this section Usman and Salman are using several language varieties to discuss Usman's appearance in the Trafford Centre photograph and to joke about his new job in England. Salman uses his linguistic resources to question why Usman is awake so late and develops this into a joke about being a 'chokidar', which translates very roughly as guard, though in Pakistan this is seen as very menial work. Salman starts in Mirpuri with a blunt statement about looking spoiled, but then moves between Urdu and English, and their slang abbreviated varieties, as he becomes increasingly playful. Usman uses the same language varieties but with much shorter comments and appears to grow increasingly annoyed with his friend. The accusation that Usman is a nightguard prompts him to call Salman a bastard and tell him to 'get lost'. Later, after several intervening postings, Salman reappears when Usman has been asked if he is shopping to explain humorously that he is not shopping but



is working as a guard at the Trafford Centre, for which he is told to behave. Salman ends by suggesting that he is telling the truth.

#### **7.5.2.1 Heteroglossic vernacular writing in ‘chokidar’**

In this section I draw from the online data as well as the two self-report interviews which I conducted with Usman to enquire about his digital literacy practices and understand how the interactants access their linguistic resources online. Firstly, I discuss heteroglossia in the online data. Next, I link these heteroglossic encounters to Usman’s online vernacular literacies.

The extract begins with an exchange between Salman and Usman in Mirpuri. This is an example of what Gal refers to as ‘anti-standardizing moves’ (2006: 27), which include non-standard varieties as Mirpuri is not often found written in public domains because it is an informal spoken variety which does not carry the same prestige, outside domestic contexts, as Urdu or English. Written Mirpuri would not have been available to the interactants in school or any other public domains in Pakistan. They have gained access to this through their own vernacular practices, firstly, Usman told me, through their use of spoken Mirpuri, and then through their creative experiments with Mirpuri using romanized script in their digital literacies, such as in email and text messaging on their mobile phones. This is vernacular literacy as it is learned informally and it has status only within informal exchanges with friends and family. In other interviews for this study I was told that Mirpuri was the most prestigious language when Mirpuris are making decisions about a marriage partner. It was Usman’s wife’s priority language when she was in Hillington contemplating marriage to a man from Mirpur. This prestige in domestic settings came across when Usman described the word ‘phet’, in line 1, as ‘pure Pahari’ which they used because ‘Salman is the close one’. Usman’s privacy settings allow all his ‘friends’ to see these comments, thus the interaction is semi-public, though the participants in the exchange seem to read the conversation as if it was private, hence the use of Mirpuri.

In the second interactional frame, the interactants switch to Urdu. This can also be seen in terms of 'anti-standardizing moves' as the young men use popular urban cultural forms of Urdu to joke about Usman's job in England. The urban sophistication which Gal links to these 'anti-standardizing' moves is represented in Usman's comments about Salman's language use. When I asked Usman why Salman shifts to Urdu after the initial posting in Mirpuri, Usman explained that his friend uses a lot of 'slang Urdu' because he has many friends in Islamabad where 'those boys and girls [in Islamabad] they use this kind of language you know we never use'. The dichotomy Usman sets up is that slang Urdu is used in the capital city of Pakistan while 'we never use it because if he uses that Urdu kind of slang then we'll use it kind of Pahari slang or something'. What this suggests is that, in Mirpur, away from urban Islamabad, speakers would respond in Pahari (Mirpuri) if someone spoke to them in slang Urdu. Although this is not evidenced later in the posting when several Mirpuri men use slang Urdu, it represents Usman's views about the value of Mirpuri and slang Urdu as he ties the use of slang Urdu to the urban centre of Islamabad, even though it is used across Pakistan. This, I suggest, implies a relationship between the capital city and Gal's notion of urban sophistication, or if not sophistication then at least a dichotomy between the more rural Azad Kashmir and the city of Islamabad. In the interview with me, Usman was suggesting that Mirpuri takes precedence over slang Urdu. This is what Blackledge and Creese suggest marks the interrelationship between what people believe about language varieties and the way that they access and make use of linguistic resources (2010). Despite suggesting that when Salman uses 'slang Urdu' 'we', i.e. other Mirpuris, respond in Pahari, Usman does not do this here, but replies in Urdu with 'I'm at the job, bastard.' In the following interview extract, Usman illustrates how he and his friends deploy the range of linguistic resources available to them.

Tony: [about Salman] He's from Mirpur but he's got lots of friends in Islamabad?

Usman: He's got friends in Islamabad that's why

Tony: But he'd still use that slang Urdu with you yeah and you understand it or enough of it?

Usman: No like all of it we can understand it but we don't we don't do it

Tony: Why wouldn't you do it?

Usman: Cos it's not our thing

Tony: Ok

Usman: Our thing is more like Pahari line

Tony: And why do you think that cos you're both from Mirpur why do you think that your thing is more Pahari line

Usman: Cos I don't have any friends in Urdu

Tony: You don't have any friends who want to speak Urdu?

Usman: I do have friends who speak but they don't they don't they don't want to speak Urdu because cos if you're a friend you don't need to be formal and all that, this is not formal this is more like slang, he's got into a habit that's why (F-1/4)

Usman suggests here that both standard and non-standard languages are seen as common resources among young people. However, he contradicts himself when he says that 'I don't have any friends in Urdu' if what he means is 'I don't have any friends who speak Urdu', as this was not the case during the time I spent with Usman. It would seem Usman's use of the prepositional phrase 'in Urdu' connotes formal Urdu. What he seems to be saying is that he and his friends' language use is largely informal or 'slang', regardless of the standard code which the terms Urdu and Pahari connote.

This analysis of 'anti-standardizing moves' can also be drawn on to understand literacy practices. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Punjabi-Pahari-Potwari language continuum has no standard written form in Pakistan but is by far the widest spoken complex of language varieties, unlike Urdu which has a formal standardized written form. It is characterized in online writing by abbreviations and differences in spelling. This is because, Usman told me in an interview, he and his friends create their own spellings for Mirpuri. This is therefore a flexible script for Mirpuri, which Usman calls Pahari, and which he and Salman use with each other on Facebook.

However, the origins of Salman's 'slang Urdu' are similar but different in the way that Usman describes their association with urban contexts. In the second interview, about this extract, Usman explained the origins of 'slang Urdu' when describing a specific use of the variety:

It's in Urdu but like modern day Urdu, like the Urdu that persons like me will speak not the persons like er who got the good bit of Urdu cos first there was too much Urdu in our curriculum, social studies in Urdu, but now the social studies is in English and all that, so now there's more English, so the kids went to so the kids goes to the slang Urdu like that (F-2/4)

These online varieties of slang Urdu can be seen as vernacular as they are self-generated and voluntary, as well as heteroglossic in that they take their meaning and shape at a 'particular historical moment in a socially specific environment' (Bakhtin 1981: 276). The particular historical moment relates to the importance of Urdu as a symbol of Pakistani identity and the related identities of being a Muslim in Pakistan (Rassool 2007). Thus, Urdu remains important but at the same time takes on a new more informal form compared to standard Urdu. The social environment is, Usman suggests, a reason why 'kids goes to the slang' as a result of the language-in-education policies the state has pursued. In this sense, seen as 'anti-standardizing moves', Facebook writing is evidence that languages cannot be viewed as discrete, impermeable autonomous systems (Blackledge and Creese 2010) but are rather examples of Usman's digital literacies, showing how he draws on his wider multilingual resources.

All of this creative linguistic work brings benefits to Usman and Salman. Their complementary linguistic resources help to maintain their friendship as they negotiate subject positions in their playful banter. An example of this is the negotiation of the 'chokidar' identity which Salman playfully imposes on Usman. In lines 3 and 4, Salman responds with a conciliatory comment asking, rhetorically, what else there is to do other than sleep and eat. He quickly follows this with an additional posting, with a change of topic and a



joke about whether Usman is in fact a night guard as he can see that Usman is awake late at night, even though Salman knew, Usman told me in the interview, that he had already started work in the taxi office and was working night shifts. The term 'chokidar' (normally written 'chowkidar') is a term used in South Asia for watchmen who guard buildings, normally houses, to keep out intruders. They are not normally trained security guards and the work is seen as having low status. Usman explained that because Salman, in Pakistan, can see that it is the early hours in the morning in the UK his friend jokes with him about being a night guard. Usman recalled that Salman has other friends in the UK as well as family who have settled in Reading and is therefore familiar with the time difference between Britain and Pakistan.

Despite Usman's use of the word 'bastard', Salman continues with the joke about being a chokidar. The use of Urdu, Mirpuri and then English is a resource with which to make jokes. Usman explains 'chawal' is 'bad Pahari', though he goes on to explain that the word next to this, 'to', is 'good' Urdu, again marking a flexibility in the mix of varieties whereby standard and non-standard sit side by side with the English word 'pocket'. Usman and Salman are creative in the way that they turn an Urdu noun into a verb about doing the work of a chokidar. Each set of linguistic resources contributes to the meaning of the joke. However, the humour exists in more than the sound of the translated words and the way they play with the grammatical form.

According to Grice (1975), conversation should work without problems if speakers follow the maxims of his cooperative principle. However, Usman flouts the maxim of quantity when he does not make his contribution 'I'm at work bastard' as informative as required, as he does not explain that he is in the taxi office on the radio. The result is that the utterance acquires a new meaning in addition to its literal one. The new meaning, which can be inferred from the contextual situation and was explained to me by Usman in the interview, is the conversational implicature 'I'm at work at the taxi office.' Salman understands the intended implicature but chooses to respond in this public forum with an alternative implicature which suggests that Usman is indeed a night guard. He is pretending not to understand in order to continue

with the joke. The humour for a Pakistani audience is that chokidars have low status in Pakistan and so this would not be considered appropriate employment for Usman's caste. Moreover, this playfulness is achieved by access to different linguistic resources which, as heteroglossia, can be explored for their social, historical and political traces. Up to line 5, Salman uses only Mirpuri and Urdu, yet in line 6 he accesses three English words from his repertoire: 'good', 'job' and 'pounds'.

It's a gud job of nightwatchman you know how many pounds are you earning from that?

This utterance can be seen as carrying traces of the social and economic traces that shaped it. These forces merge in Salman's joke about working as a 'chokidar', as the humour relies on the social and economic reasons for Usman's migration. In terms of social and economic status, being a 'chokidar' could only be seen as a good job if it is translated to 'night guard' and if it was well paid in Britain. Chokidars earn very low wages in Pakistan, whereas guards can earn relatively good salaries for Mirpuris in Britain. Historically, the chain migration that resulted in Usman's move to Hillington, and Salman's relations to Reading, means that it is well known in Mirpur that the benefits of a UK salary, even for low-status work, sustain Mirpuri migration to Britain through remittances. However, politically, this chain migration is fraught with the risks outlined in Chapter 5, from the emasculation of the 'imported husband' (Charsley 2005) to the increasing threat of Islamophobia in Britain. Blackledge and Creese suggest that it is not the use of different codes which is important in understanding the 'social act and local rationalities' of interactants (2010: 122). They argue rather that it is the agency of the social actors as they draw upon their linguistic resources to perform a range of identities which is important. Taking this approach here means exploring how Salman imposes the identity of 'chokidar' on Usman. This reading is based on an understanding of the multiplicity of identities which are discursively constructed in relation to variables including social status, as well as age, race, class, gender, ethnicity and generation (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). All of these variables are salient in this

reading of the joke which could be seen as a more serious comment on Usman's low status as an imported husband on top of which Salman imposes a low-status job.

Overall, the extract evidences the two young men's willingness to use their linguistic resources as they draw on different experiences of, and ideas about, migration. Salman chooses Mirpuri, slang Urdu and English to impose playfully the identity of a chokidar on Usman who, by drawing on Mirpuri and Urdu, resists this identity by calling Salman a bastard. Thus the non-institutional context of Facebook can be seen as a site where access to multilingual literacies allows interactants to propose and discuss identities which illustrate the social, historical and political forces shaping Mirpuri migration to Britain.

### 7.5.3 Usman, Imran and 'lala' sequence and summary

Imran: ooo very nice usman

Usman: Oho lala Imran kya haal hain aap kay

Usman: Oho big brother imran how are you?

In these two short comments Usman's favourite cousin, Imran, comments in English that he thinks Usman's photograph is nice. Usman replies by asking respectfully how Imran is.

#### 7.5.3.1 Heteroglossic vernacular writing in 'lala'

In this extract Usman's first cousin, who lives in Malaysia, posts his response in English to the photograph. I met Usman's cousin Imran during one of my visits to Usman's grandmother's village in Azad Kashmir the previous year where he told me, in English, about his life in Malaysia. During my visits the family used spoken Mirpuri with each other. Usman explained that he and Imran would certainly use Mirpuri if they were chatting together, but online

Imran has chosen to post in English. Usman, on the other hand, responds in formal Urdu as a sign of respect to his older cousin. Usman explained that he has a great deal of respect for Imran who is seen as a success within the family and is well liked by Usman. However, within the two dominant languages of standard English and standard Urdu, Usman incorporates the use of what he called a 'pure Pahari' word 'lala'. He explained that 'lala', his 'favourite word', meaning 'big brother' in Pahari/ Mirpuri, is also now used in Urdu. Usman explained that:

the persons who do Urdu they do lala because lala is a good word in Urdu they'd say to their friends lala, lala means er, originally this word means big brother in Pahari (F-2/4)

This perspective counters the view that named languages are homogenous. Gal has argued that named languages, in this case Urdu and Mirpuri/ Pahari, are taken to be homogenous and are used to express the distinct spirit of a particular group (2006). As discussed in Chapter 4, Urdu is the language of both Pakistani nationhood and Islam in the country. In domestic contexts, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, Mirpuri is seen as the language of kinship among Mirpuris and carries the greatest prestige in marriage arrangements. However, Usman's description in the extract here demonstrates that languages are permeable and that monolingualism is not the natural state of human life which, Gal argues, is taken to be in the powerful discourse of monolingualism (2006). When Usman is reprimanded at school for using Mirpuri he suffers the symbolic violence that many minority language speakers are subject to when the dominant language ideology (that Urdu is the language of education in Pakistan) is resisted by Mirpuri speakers. Yet, in this interview extract, Usman argues that the word 'lala', from the minority 'ethnic' language Pahari, is making its way into the dominant language, Urdu. Usman went on to explain that the word means 'big brother' and is used specifically for blood relations in Mirpuri but that it took on a new meaning when it became incorporated into Urdu:

but now that the Urdu and Pahari meets and all that this word's been used by Urdu and all that they say lala we've got we've got the poets sayin' it sayin' you know changin' their names to lala (F-2/4)

Here Usman describes the Urdu language poets of Pakistan, seen by many in the country as custodians of Islamic culture, who he claims have started to use the term 'lala' because he explained later that it shows respect and not its original meaning of 'big brother'. This is illustrated by Usman with reference to Pakistan's national Urdu-language poet: 'even Iqbal used lala in his poems'. This is an example of how languages cannot be seen as discrete and impermeable autonomous systems (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Gal 2006) as poets access linguistic resources made available from across Pakistan. This illustrates what Makoni and Mashri (2007) call for when suggesting research is needed which describes how vernaculars leak into one another. Makoni and Mashri posit that understanding this leakage will lead to an understanding of the social realities of users of vernacular, meaning local, languages. Furthermore, they suggest that challenging existing ideas about the homogeneity of languages can lead to alternative ways of conceptualizing the status of individuals and collectives in the world. However, while I argue that this conceptualization of language is an important finding in my study, I do not suggest that distinct 'languages' do not hold powerful meanings for the participants in this study. For many, specific languages are an important feature of their individual and collective identities (May 2005). But while distinct languages carry meaning in this more abstract sense, in the more concrete instances of communication and interaction, people like Usman draw on all the different languages and language varieties they are familiar with to communicate. Thus, in interactions, these different languages are not very distinct and come together as a set of semiotic resources. To return to the interview, Usman uses the word 'lala' within a sentence of formal Urdu in order to show respect to his elder cousin:

Lala cos cos cos the first thing he's my cousin big brother the second thing you know I'm close to him in relation to the other cousins (F-2/4)

Hence, the Mirpuri/ Pahari 'lala' is an important feature of Usman's individual and collective identities. For Usman, respect has been bestowed upon a Mirpuri word as it becomes a borrowed word in formal Urdu. This highlights how language use is changing in offline worlds in Pakistan.

All of this occurs online alongside Imran's use of standard English, even though when I was with Usman and Imran in Pakistan they used spoken Mirpuri with each other. Imran's stance marker 'very nice usman' has no clear referent. In this sense it may be less about how Imran wishes to mark his stance and more about the communicative act he wants to achieve by writing. Barton and Lee (2013) have found that commenters on Facebook use positive politeness when they convey their evaluations of others through praise rather than criticism. This may well be a positive comment designed to counter Salman's previously playful criticism of Usman's new life in Britain. Similarly, within the domain of the family, Usman marks out the lala identity for Imran in order to sustain their relationship across the distance that their migration has put between them.

#### 7.5.4 Usman, Mohsin and 'messaging goodbye' sequence and summary

Mohsin: oye idiot have you gone to **england**?

Usman: well done Mr Mohsin, sir

Mohsin: son you know that in the end you've messed it up like we were good friends but in the end you didn't tell me. just broke my heart ... :(

Usman: you know mohsin what happened it's no big deal

Mohsin: you know you didn't send me any message even one message before going...

Usman: **Sorry my love**

In this sequence, Usman and his friend from the university, Mohsin, talk about Usman's departure to England. They use non-standard varieties of Urdu, standard Urdu, and English playfully to rebuke each other. Mohsin begins by informally calling Usman an idiot, to which Usman responds in an ironic tone

of overly formal terms of address which are unnecessary among friends. Mohsin tells Usman that he has broken his heart by leaving for England without telling him, to which Usman responds by explaining that this is not a 'big deal'. The sequence ends after Mohsin complains that Usman didn't even send him a message before leaving, for which Usman, sardonically, apologises.

#### **7.5.4.1 Heteroglossic vernacular writing in 'messaging goodbye'**

This sequence is largely monolingual Urdu, until the final comment in English, though the varieties of Urdu are non-standard and similar in their use of abbreviations and 'slang' forms to Salman's use of Urdu in the initial postings. In this way Mohsin's comments, which draw from slang Urdu, can also be seen as 'anti-standardizing moves' (Gal 2006: 27) since, like my previous examples, they do not use standard varieties. They are different to Salman's use of slang Urdu as they have different experiences drawing on different origins of the slang variety of Urdu. Mohsin's use, for example, may draw from less urban origins of the slang varieties as he, Usman told me, does not have the same connections with Islamabad as Salman does, though there may be other ways in which he is influenced by urban slangs, perhaps in online settings.

Mohsin, in Mirpur, takes the opportunity of seeing a photograph taken in Britain to reprimand his friend for moving to England with the indirect speech act 'you've gone to England?' There is playful use of the conversational particle 'oye' (which Usman told me is used to get someone's attention) and the reoccurrence of the term 'chawal'. The literal translation of 'chawal' is 'dog', but Usman translates it in this context as 'loser'. The implication of this use of the word alongside the question about moving to England is that the two are connected, that perhaps Usman is a loser because of his move to England. The presupposition is that Mohsin would already know that Usman had gone to England; hence the question, the abrupt initial 'oye' and identifying Usman as a loser appear to be a reprimand. The ironic response

from Usman in the following line strengthens this reading. He replies with two titles which bestow respect but which taken together signal that Usman is mocking Mohsin for stating the obvious; it would be well known among their circle of friends that Usman was in England. Usman calls Mohsin's bluff by congratulating 'Mr Mohsin saab' on his discovery that he has gone to England rather than taking a conciliatory stance. Usman felt that *chawal* is used in line 3 to mean 'a person who doesn't care', though Usman has translated the word in different contexts as 'idiot', 'miser' and in line 1 'loser'. As an imposed identity, these terms again characterise Usman and his migration negatively.

Usman explained in the self-report that he chose standard Urdu to joke with Mohsin. He then explained that Mohsin's reply 'son, I'll never forgive you, you've messed it up. You've broken my heart...' was in a mixture of standard Urdu and slang Urdu, because Mohsin was 'trying to be funny'. Usman explained that he did not know why Mohsin was criticising him in this way but felt that his friends were surprised that he had chosen to migrate as he had never spoken to any of them about it. Neither could he explain Mohsin's use of the word 'son' at the beginning of line 3, though the term can be associated with youthfulness and naivety, either of which Mohsin could be employing to connote that Usman had behaved irresponsibly. Mohsin's aim appears to demonstrate that he is not happy that Usman has gone to England, though he does this in a playful way. He suggests that Usman's leaving is unforgiveable and a sign that he has 'messed up', which could suggest that Usman's migration is seen as a failing. This is emphasised at the end of the line with the hyperbolic 'you've broken my heart', which could connote both depth of friendship or playfully acting the role of rejected lover, as heterosexual men do not often talk of breaking one another's hearts. This marks a shift from the beginning of the sentence, where Mohsin plays with an identity of concerned parent, in slang Urdu, moving to standard Urdu towards the end of the line where he has begun to sound more like a rejected lover, albeit teasing.

Usman responds with a conversational particle, 'oho', which connotes conciliation and contrasts with Mohsin's 'oye'. Thurlow and Brown (2003) posit



that brevity in computer-mediated communication is not only motivated by technological factors but also by communicative demands. Interactants are concerned with how their spelling will be received by their interlocutor. Thurlow and Brown identify phonological approximation as playful attempts to capture informal speech. Here, 'oho' as an approximation of speech, appears more conciliatory than 'oye'. Furthermore, Usman then suggests to Mohsin, and the audience of other readers, that the migration is 'no big deal' by drawing on non-standard Urdu. Mohsin does not respond to this act of reconciliation and remains in the role of victim from Usman's cruelty by reprimanding him for not sending a message before he left. Taking his turn in the banter, Usman switches to English to mimic the voice of an apologetic lover when he says, ironically, 'sorry my love'. This ending to the extract could be seen as two young men's willingness to use different linguistic resources as they draw on their different experiences of genre in their parody of a romantic comedy.

Usman explained in the self-report interview that Mohsin is a friend of his from university, though not one of his close friends. This is reflected in their language as they do not use Mirpuri. This kind of friendship or acquaintance therefore offers a different perspective on Usman's migration. Usman is positioned as a loser, a boy and a heartbreaker, while not doing very much to position himself otherwise as he tends to play along with these assumed roles. I use roles here as these are not identities which extend beyond this immediate interaction but they do provide an insight into Mohsin's beliefs about emigration from Mirpur and perhaps the values which he believes Usman has demonstrated in leaving and not saying goodbye. It could be argued that emigration is not looked on positively by those left behind. Transnational practices have had far-reaching effects for all Mirpuris, not just those who leave or who are closely related to a migrant. The town itself is referred to as 'little England' and Mohsin, as someone 'left behind', may be challenging Usman to account for his migration, particularly as Usman, I learned from spending time with him in Mirpur, had never intended to migrate and was a central figure among his peer group. It has been argued that the term transnationalism can be understood in terms of degrees of mobility

(Vertovec 2009) and includes individuals who have never left but whose locality is changed by the activities of migrants (Mahler 1998). Mohsin's playful anguish could be seen to be as the result of the loss of a friend to the transnational ties which make up everyday life in Mirpur. Portes claims that the wider cultural changes of mass migration impact on everyone, not just those who leave (2003). However, Usman wishes to suggest that these changes should not worry Mohsin, that his move to England is 'no big deal', the implication of which is that there is nothing out of the ordinary about what has happened, that the everyday activities of transnational life have become normative (Portes et al. 1999).

Similarly, a phrase like 'sorry my love' may also have become normative for Usman and Nadia. Usman writes 'my love' in English many times in the diary analysed in Chapter 6 where he describes his wife. Bakhtin notes that each utterance is 'shot through' with points of view and accents which take place in a socially specific environment (1981: 276). Reading Usman's use of 'sorry my love' at the end of this extract, to use the Bakhtinian phrase, 'brushes up against' the recontextualised voice of Usman's English-speaking wife in Hillington and her use of the dominant language of his new home country (*ibid.*). This may be a new phrase in Usman's repertoire which he got from his wife as he negotiates a new life with his British-born wife who uses English frequently in the home. Perhaps recontextualising the phrase from his home life, Usman repeats it here with Mohsin in a play on gender stereotypes as he apologises for his decision to leave Mirpur. Billig suggests that 'rebellious humour conveys an image of momentary freedom from the restraints of social convention' (2005: 208). If this is so, then Usman can be seen to be using his linguistic resources to flout the conventions of both his old and new homes. In the first instance, he conveys a momentary freedom from the dominant social ideologies about masculinity and sexual identity in Pakistan. In the second instance, he conveys a momentary freedom from the dominant social ideologies about masculinity in the UK and the potential emasculation of the 'imported husband' posited by Charsley (2005) about men who migrate to England from Mirpur. Usman can be seen to challenge dominant discourses about gender and sexual identities here through his heteroglossic digital

literacies as he seeks to present himself as different from the stereotypical image of the imported husband.

## **7.6 Analysis of ‘Poor Noor’**

### **7.6.1 Background to the untitled photograph ‘Poor Noor’**

The full transcript and translation for the postings which appeared under the untitled photograph which I call ‘Poor Noor’ can be found in Appendix 14.

In this section I analyse heteroglossia in the multilingual literacy practices of Usman, his wife’s cousin and friends’ postings who responded to Usman’s posting of him, his son and his stepson standing in the street outside their house in Hillington. The photograph does not appear in the thesis as it identifies the street in Hillington in which Usman lives.

The sequence of interactions takes place largely in English, though each interactant uses his or her own regional variety as well as drawing on other varieties which they have come into contact with. Rather than moving between languages, each interactant uses a specific language and draws from different varieties of it. This is another reason why heteroglossia is an appropriate means to explore online vernacular writing as it can be applied to both multilingual and monolingual contexts as the sequence is made up predominantly of varieties of English.

### **7.6.2 Summary of ‘Poor Noor’**

Usman explained in the self-report interview that the photograph was taken in the street outside his home in Hillington. It shows Usman holding his son, Oman. Standing next to them is Usman’s stepson, Noor, whose arm is in a bandage. Zara is Usman’s wife’s cousin, and so a close blood relative to Noor. The first interactional frame can be explored from the opening posting from Zara which expresses concern for Noor. The indirect speech act ‘Wats

happened to poor Noor!!!!' demands an explanation for Noor's bandaged arm, followed by subsequent explanations from Usman. The posting directly underneath Zara's comment by Fahd, 'hey little dude, hi', is ambiguous in terms of whom it is intended to address. These other interactional frames will be dealt with separately.

### **7.6.3 Heteroglossic vernacular writing in 'Poor Noor'**

In the third line, Usman addresses Zara's question in standard British English and continues with English throughout the interaction, though not always British English. In his next posting, Usman moves between standard British English and Pakistani English. This is a further example of the heterogeneity of Usman's linguistic practices. Despite the powerful ideology of homogenous Standard British English language proficiency, tested in the English language tests that Usman sat for his visa, here he draws from the Pakistani variety of English. This is also an 'anti-standardising move' though, given the low status of Pakistani English in Britain, this does not carry traces of urban sophistication. On the contrary, the English that is used by first-generation Mirpuri migrants is looked down on by the non-Mirpuri British Pakistanis interviewed for this study. Mirpuri migrants' English, like Mirpuris themselves, has been described as low class and rough by interviewees living in Manchester and Birmingham. Unlike slang Urdu's status in Pakistan, British Mirpuris' use of Pakistani English is not one of the language practices associated with immigrant groups which 'no longer represent backward looking traditions' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 28). Pakistani English is not, I argue, linked to global youth culture and urban sophistication but is indeed still seen as backward looking (Blackledge 2005).

Usman's brother, Zahir, in contrast to the previous monolingual English practices, posts with a comment which draws from standard Arabic, English and Urdu. This contrast is intensified by the topic of his posting which thanks God, presumably not for Noor's injury, but most likely for the blessing of a son for Usman. Whereas Zara intensifies her comment about Noor's arm with five

exclamation marks, Zahir intensifies his comment in Arabic about Oman with three exclamation marks. Both interactants are drawn to different people in the photograph and they draw from their different language experiences to signal this. While 'Thanks be to God!' is written in Arabic, Zahir uses English to comment 'nice photo', and Urdu to address his brother respectfully. As with many of the findings from Blackledge and Creese's study of multilingualism in the homes of the students of the complementary schools they were researching, this is the usual unmarked multilingualism of English, Arabic and the first language. In their study they found that these languages 'enjoy a flexible and non-conflictual co-existence' (2010: 33), as evidenced here by Zahir.

Turning to the self-report interview, Usman explained to me that Noor had fallen and injured his arm playing cricket. Usman had taken him to the doctor as he was worried about a lump that had developed on Noor's arm, but the doctor had said that the lump would heal.

For the posting by Fahd Tenacious, Usman's friend, Usman felt that the 'little dude' he was referring to was Oman, not Noor. This would have meant Fahd Tenacious, like Zahir, had chosen neither to comment on the image of Noor with his arm in a sling nor to respond to Zara's exclamatory statement in the opening line.

Responding to Zara online, Usman explained that Noor had 'slipped while walking and broke his arm', which is slightly different from the explanation given by Usman in the interview that the injury was sustained as Noor 'always tends to bowl in the air like so he was doing that and he fell'. Perhaps Usman says something different to Zara here because his priority is to ease her concern, which it does. Her deviant spelling 'hpe he gets better soon' is the second example of her drawing from abbreviated spelling in British English.

Kamran, Usman's youngest brother's karate teacher, posts from Azad Kashmir 'nice picture', drawing from his English language practices. This would again suggest a response to the photograph's inclusion of Oman rather

than a reference to Noor's arm, which would not warrant the words 'nice picture'.

In the final posting, Usman felt that his friend Fahd Tenacious was referring to Usman as a father. Fahd Tenacious posts in English 'take care of him' and then 'o to no' in Urdu which means 'or else...'. This is the most direct reference to Usman's identity as a father in the online data. Fahd, in Mirpur, chooses to use both English and Urdu here. English may signal Usman's identity as the father of a British English-speaking son. But it is unclear why Fahd would then turn to Urdu to issue his warning, perhaps it signals Usman's Pakistani identity alongside his new identity of a father.

Understanding the language practices here as heteroglossia enables a reading of Fahd's final posting which is shaped by the social, political and historical forces of migration. Usman's decision to migrate was made quickly while his friends continued with their undergraduate studies and remained unaware, Usman told me, of the many personal changes that were taking place in his life. I suggest that traces of this lack of disclosure on Usman's part are present in these postings and that these traces explain how Usman negotiates an identity, characterized by Charlsey as the 'imported husband' (2005), after his migration. Perhaps Usman is concerned that his friends think of him as an imported husband. None of the three Mirpuri interactants in this sequence address Usman's stepson, Noor, as I believe that at that point Usman had not told them that he was a stepfather. Usman told me in the interview he could not remember if he had told them or not. I suggest that they only address Oman as they only know about Oman. Fahd calls him 'my little dude', though he would never have met him, yet like the others he does not mention Noor who, in the photograph, has his arm in a sling. Nowhere in the Facebook data does Usman mention that Noor is his stepson. Moreover, I had known Usman for nine months before he told me that Nadia was divorced, and a further two months before he told me that she already had two children from her previous marriage. As with Usman's Mirpuri friends, perhaps he too was concerned that I might have thought of him as an imported husband.

Usman's Facebook writing, I argue, comes at a significant stage in the negotiation of his identities as a father, husband and stepfather. It is important not to lose sight of the photograph to which these comments relate. Having looked through his other profile pictures, this appeared to be the first picture including Noor posted by Usman and thus it may well have been the first time he went public with his stepson online, a further negotiation of his new identity as stepfather. Both photograph and language choice help Usman express how he wants to be seen by his Facebook 'friends' in Mirpur and Hillington.

#### **7.6.4 Usman's identities in the 'Poor Noor' postings**

The five exclamation marks (rather than question marks which conventionally accompany an interrogative) in Zara's opening posting convey her concern for Noor in the photograph of him with his arm in a sling, while at the same time requesting information about the events which led up to his injury. The deviation in the spelling of 'wats' and the use of exclamation marks rather than question marks index informality as well as concern rather than, I argue, the fact that she does not know how to spell the word 'what' correctly. Tagg refers to this as consonant writing (2013: 3).

In line 3, just under an hour later, Usman responds in British Standard English to Zara's question with the declarative 'He slipped while walking and broke his arm.' Here, Usman, having already positioned himself as a care-giver by posting a photograph with his sons, emphasizes this identity by responding with an explanation of how Noor had the accident. Usman's writing displays a high level of grammatical competence. The clause structure, which is made up of three verbal groups followed by one nominal group, is clear and demonstrates a clear position on the issue of what happened. Highlighting Usman's competence here is important, as his careful grammatical construction of the line, I argue, illustrates his desire to belong to the collective of British Mirpuris, like Zara, who are fluent in British English even though Zara uses non-standard spelling. Following Rampton (1991, 2005), I employ his use of the terms inheritance (ways in which individuals can be born into a

language tradition), affiliation (attachment or identification felt to a language) and expertise (proficiency in a language) which, he argues, are useful tools for describing a bilingual speaker. The last of these three I argue is important in understanding the first two terms. I will now examine the self-report data with reference to these notions as they help to understand Usman's use of English as expressions of his desire to belong to the collective of British Mirpuris that is his new family.

In line 4, Usman takes up Zara's point about Noor getting better and assures her that 'He is better now been through operation he is good now.' Though he chooses not to use punctuation between clauses, his arguments are effectively grouped together and respond to Zara's initial concern by emphasising that Noor is well again. Usman omits the auxiliary verb 'has' and the indefinite article 'an' when he explains that Noor has 'been through operation' though he still displays considerable grammatical competence when writing in formal English. The sentence begins with a present tense verbal group which sets up the reference time for the story but the next verbal group, the embedded clause 'been through operation', uses the perfect tense to describe what occurred in the past, before the final verbal group returns to the present with 'he is good now'. In the language of Usman's inheritance, Pakistani English, the use of the phrasal verb 'been through' collocates with 'operation' rather than 'have an operation' in British English. The narrative is told using present tense forms but with an embedded clause in a past tense. Usman holds back from introducing the operation until the second clause as he manipulates the sequence of events by changing their order to foreground the fact that Noor is better. This, I argue, is central to Usman's goal of convincing Zara he is a responsible stepfather. The choice of verb forms is an important part of this narrative technique whereby Usman positions himself as a care-giver. Here, the past tense establishes two points along a timeline: a time utterance and a time reference. Here, the time utterance is clear but the reference to time, 'been through', is unclear and is made even less clear by the missing auxiliary verb in order to emphasize that Noor is better. Auxiliaries conventionally accompany lexical verbs in order to provide more information about how the process is to be interpreted, though Usman omits this



information about the past and continues to the present point, foregrounding Noor's recovery.

Usman is able to access British Standard English alongside Pakistani English here because the grammar which was made available to him by literacy mediators and the sponsorship of literacy in English in Mirpur have both more widely provided Usman with plenty of opportunities to develop his understanding of English grammar. In Chapter 5, messages about the importance of English as well as formal help with grammar were provided by the father of his friend. He came to depend on the grammar books Fahd's father gave him and which, he told me, he still uses in Hillington. Moreover, Usman's diary entries contain many references to his strong desire to learn 'proper English' which I took to mean the formal English which is heavily influenced by English literature in Pakistan and is different to the Pakistani English of his inheritance. It would also seem that at this point in the postings Usman takes this opportunity to access his resources in British English, his *expertise*, to build an *affiliation* with his new British English speaking family (Rampton 2005). From my first meeting with him, Usman told me how much he enjoyed speaking English with Nadia, as he seemed to with me too. It would seem that the value for him is in the formality of the form of English he is using which is evidenced by the long hours he has spent over the years learning English grammar. Usman now accesses these resources with Zara, who is a blood relative to Noor, in order to demonstrate that he is a capable stepfather to Noor and a reliable new member of their family. The discussion here benefits from seeing the interactants' language use as heteroglossic and indexing identities 'which do not fit comfortably into countable cultural brackets' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 73). In other words, Usman and his new family's linguistic practices can be seen as cultural practices which cannot easily be related to hyphenated identities such as British-Pakistani, British-Mirpuri or British-Kashmiri. Rather, Usman constructs his belonging to this new collective by drawing on all of his linguistic resources.

## 7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at online vernacular writing as heteroglossia. In order to do this, I examined the research participants' postings on Facebook as, following Blackledge and Creese (2010), the aim was to investigate non-institutional contexts for traces of the social, historical and political forces which shape the research participants' multilingual literacy practices and their beliefs about language and literacy. I began by exploring this interrelationship between what people believe about language and languages and the way that they access and make use of linguistic resources before exploring what this meant for their online writing.

Firstly, online varieties of Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic and English can be seen as vernacular, as they are self-generated and voluntary. The interactants create their own scripts for spoken Mirpuri and flout orthographic conventions for standard written Urdu when they use romanized letter sequences for Perso-Arabic script. Furthermore, these online varieties are also heteroglossic as they take their meaning and shape from 'a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment' (Bakhtin 1981: 276). For example, one particular historical moment relates to the contemporary importance of Urdu as a symbol of Pakistani identity, while at the same time Usman relates its use to the urban area of Pakistan's capital city, Islamabad. However, Usman also recognises that the use of standard forms of Urdu and English at school has resulted in a form of resistance from youth as 'kids goes to the slang'. This slang is then recontextualised by Usman after his migration to the UK when he uses slang Urdu to stay in touch with friends in Mirpur, thereby using the affordances of his digital literacies to sustain the ties to his birthplace while also forging new relationships and identities with his new family in Hillington through his use of standard British English.

Exploring how the online interactants on Facebook make use of these language practices can be contrasted with the relatively powerless positions that are imposed on multilingual speakers by the British authorities by focusing on how migrants use their multilingualism in new ways (Rampton

2005). It has been argued that though some speakers are unable to negotiate their identities from powerless positions, some speakers in modern nation-states are using their linguistic skills to negotiate new subject positions (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) though new subject positions may be less accessible in Hillington than heterogeneous urban centres such as Manchester, Birmingham and London. Usman's new language practices seem to show him resisting the identity of the powerless imported husband more than negotiating an urban sophistication.

I have explored these new language practices by conceptualising them as heteroglossic online vernacular writing, focusing on how Usman, in his conversations with me, explains the language choices made on Facebook. However, in the following chapter, I explore these language choices in more detail by combining the concept of heteroglossia with work on language ideologies in order to explore how the latter influence values about language by systematically analyzing the participants' justification of language use in their literacy practices.

## **Chapter 8    The discursive construction of online vernacular writing**

### **8.1    Introduction**

The previous chapter explored vernacular writing by looking at what people said on Facebook and the linguistic resources they used to say it. This chapter explores vernacular writing by looking at what Usman said in interviews about his choice of the written and spoken forms of the linguistic resources discussed in Chapter 7 and how Usman defines and justifies the use of these language resources online. Thus, the purpose of the chapter is to explore how online vernacular writing is constructed in the self-report interviews. Following Reisigl and Wodak's dimensions of analysis (2009), I will analyse the discursive strategies and linguistic means and forms of realisation that are employed to legitimize why specific language resources are used. As discussed in Chapter 2, these choices are influenced by the evaluations individuals make about different language varieties (Wodak 2014). Because these language ideologies are 'cultural ideas, presumptions and presuppositions with which different social groups name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices' (Gal 2006: 13), the chapter examines how language choices are (re)constructed by the key respondent in this study in order to identify the linguistic and rhetorical traces which he uses to describe his language practices. The texts I analyse are two self-report interviews with Usman in which I asked him about the reasons people use different languages and literacies in the online data. This chapter begins by explaining how I selected the postings that I would analyse and how I identified the salient interview data which were related to these postings. Next, I discuss how I analyse discursive strategies and their linguistic realisation in text and talk. Finally I explore four particular constructions of online vernacular writing in the interview data.

## 8.2 Selecting data: discourse topics, online data and self-report interviews

This section of the chapter describes how I combined the analysis of textual material from the interviews with the key respondents with an analysis of their online data from Facebook. The analysis is based on the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in Critical Discourse Studies. Following Krzyżanowski (2008), the aim is to link the general level of the key topics of discourse-stratifying content discussed at the beginning of Chapter 4 with an in-depth analysis of discursive strategies which serve to legitimize language choices in online vernacular writing. I do this by using the four discourse sub-topics of *kinship*, *leaving*, *work* and *earnings* to select postings from Facebook data. Finally in this section, a second in-depth level will be discussed by looking at two self-report interviews in which I asked Usman questions about specific postings identified in online data.

Once the interview data had been analysed for sub-topics, these topics were used to select data from the online writing of participants who used Facebook. Each online encounter was then examined for its references to the four sub-topics listed above. Once the most salient postings had been identified, I then examined the relevant sections in the self-report interviews where the key respondent, Usman, talked about his literacy practices in specific postings related to the four discourse sub-topics. This resulted in two self-report interviews of three and two hours' duration being selected for an analysis of the discursive construction of vernacular writing. Within this limited data set of two interviews, I selected only those parts which are directly connected with writing in different languages for in-depth analysis. These salient extracts make up almost 20 per cent of the self-report interview data. In addition, these extracts also contain intertextual links to other interviews with Usman, his family and friends. Barton and Lee (2013) argue that in order to understand texts and their associated practices, studying individuals' everyday relationships with technology can be enhanced through highly reflexive interviews which shed light on the literacy practices associated with language use and production in online contexts. Rather than use the techno-biographic

interview technique employed by Barton and Lee, the analysis in this section draws from the self-report interviews which I carried out with Usman after his arrival in England. The focus in these interviews was Usman's perspective on his own, his friends' and his family's online encounters on Facebook after his arrival in Hillington.

### **8.3 Discursive strategies and their linguistic realisation in the interview data**

As described in Chapter 2, research into the discursive construction of national identity using the DHA framework has been able to find evidence that marginalized groups such as migrants are the subject of specific discursive strategies in texts taken from the public sphere (Wodak et al. 2012; Blackledge 2005; Baker et al. 2008). In this chapter, I explore how discursive strategies are applied in data taken from the private sphere of interviews about language and literacy use on Facebook. I explore how discursive strategies are employed to define and justify language choices and to legitimize why the language resources I explored in Chapter 7 are used. This means looking at when these resources are used, where and by whom. In the following section I analyse the co-construction of language ideologies using the work of Milani (2008) who draws on earlier work by Irvine and Gal (2000) as a means of tracing the influence of language ideologies in self-report data. By drawing on research by Gal and Irvine, Milani identifies three semiotic processes defined as iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure, in order to illustrate how social groups assess and construct linguistic-ideological differences between groups. Firstly, for Irvine and Gal (2000: 37), the linguistic features which index social groups are transformed into iconic representations, 'as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature of essence'. Secondly, fractal recursivity is seen as the projection of an opposition which is salient at one level of a relationship onto another level (Wodak 2014; Irvine and Gal 2000). For example, Blackledge uses this concept when exploring how English proficiency is conflated with social cohesion (2004: 29-30). And thirdly, erasure stands for

the processes via which ideology reduces activities, individuals or groups and makes them invisible (Irvine and Gal 2000). Thus, the absence of voices in erasure follows the concealment of activities and agents (Wodak 2014).

I operationalise Milani's concepts in the framework of the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 2009) thus integrating work on language ideologies, critical discourse studies and a literacy practices approach to understanding online vernacular writing. In this chapter I employ the strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification/ mitigation to explore how Usman constructs different connotations with each language choice in his online vernacular writing for his Facebook 'friends'. I focus specifically on how language and literacy fit into his migration soon after his arrival in England/ departure from Pakistan.

In using the terms 'slang', 'informal' and 'roman' (meaning Roman script) when talking about vernacular writing, Usman assigned particular qualities to the literacies most closely related to his migration. He did so by employing four main strategies, which are defined as loose groupings of discursive strategies (Wodak and Meyer 2009; Unger 2013), which, I argue, lead to particular constructions of functions of language choice in online vernacular writing. I describe these four strategies as:

1. Written and spoken Urdu as a resource for friends and family from Pakistan;
2. Written and spoken Mirpuri as a resource for close friends from Mirpur;
3. Written English as a resource for family in Mirpur;
4. Written English as a resource for family in Hillington.

The first macro-strategy relates primarily to the role of Urdu in the maintenance of ties to family and friends who are not close friends in Pakistan. The second macro-strategy relates primarily to the role of Mirpuri in the maintenance of ties to close friends in Mirpur, Azad Kashmir. The third macro-strategy relates primarily to the role of English as a resource for maintaining ties with family in Mirpur, Azad Kashmir. The final macro-strategy relates to the role of English in building ties with family in Hillington. 'Slang'

and 'informal' are qualities which Usman assigns to these written forms, while 'roman', when assigned to language use by Usman, connotes a specific script which is related to 'slang' and 'informal'.

In the following analysis sections, eight interview extracts are drawn on. These interviews were carried out in Lancashire in February and March 2012. Each of these extracts appears in Appendix 15.

#### **8.4 Written and spoken Urdu as a resource for friends and family from Pakistan**

The selected texts that I analyse in this section all use the term Urdu.

##### **Extracts 1 and 2: Slang Urdu as a written and spoken resource for friends**

In Extract 1 (Appendix 15), Usman creates a dichotomy between standard Urdu and non-standard Urdu which is used repeatedly in the interviews. In this dichotomy the terms non-standard and standard are not used but rather metonymies such as the simile 'like modern day Urdu'. The presupposition is that young people's use of non-standard Urdu is a result of the shifts in the medium of instruction at school for certain subjects. This also serves as an evaluative strategy where Usman implies that there is a link between language use at school and the use of literacy outside of school, given that Usman is describing his friend's use of non-standard Urdu in Facebook postings. Usman appraises his own use of Urdu negatively, an attribute he shares with others who use it in the same way that he does. However, 'modern' connotes forward-looking language use which is linked to progress and can thus be seen as an additional, positive feature of the non-standard use of Urdu.

This extract provides a case of erasure via a historical argument (topos of history) and a specific functional view of language where modern-day Urdu is seen as reflecting the status of speakers. Usman argues that his use of modern/ slang Urdu, as one of the 'kids', could be perceived as a reaction to



the use of standard Urdu and English in schools. In this extract Usman appears to deny the differences in prestige between languages and their speakers which he describes elsewhere in interviews and suggests, through erasure, that the difference is a result of the medium of instruction for school subjects.

In Extract 2 (Appendix 15), the adjective 'slang' is introduced, which becomes a regular appraisal of the non-standard variety which Usman and his friends use online. There is a clear definition of the function of 'slang Urdu' at the beginning where Usman justifies its use as a necessary characteristic of language use by young people in the capital city of Pakistan.

In terms of argumentation strategies, Usman appeals to several topoi in this extract. Topoi are conclusion rules that connect an argument with a conclusion (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Firstly, he invokes the 'topos of definition' which can be traced back to the conclusion rule that if a group of persons is named as X, the group of persons should carry certain attributes contained in the meaning of X (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 71-73). This topos is employed here where the phrase 'he's always used slang Urdu 'cause he's got friends in Islamabad' implies that because the group of friends live in Islamabad they must use Urdu, i.e. thus linking the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad, with the national language of Pakistan, Urdu. Usman's use of perspectivation strategies establishes a dichotomy between users of slang Urdu in Islamabad and users of other languages outside Islamabad. The pronoun we in 'you know we never use it' explicitly invokes groups of users outside Islamabad. This discursive strategy represents Usman and other users of Pahari in terms of the social activities related to language use. The out-group here 'those boys and girls' (where 'those' characterises stereotypical discourse) and the in-group in 'we never use it' are juxtaposed without providing information as to why Usman would not use slang Urdu. The deictic 'we' implies a collective which is not attached to Islamabad but to Pahari, a referential strategy that aligns Pahari users with the geographic location of Azad Kashmir. This strategic move is negated by the data in which Usman uses a great deal of slang Urdu. It must therefore be seen as important that, at this point in the interview, Usman implies that there is a

difference between Islamabad and its languages and the areas where Pahari is spoken. Wodak (2014: 204) suggests that in cases such as these, the differences are essentialised as a 'naturally given power-related language regime'. Thus, this extract provides a case of iconization in that Urdu is constructed as an essential part of Islamabad's identity and Pahari is constructed as an essential part of Mirpuri identity.

At the end of the extract Usman again uses the topos of definition to imply that his friends do not want to speak Urdu. The conclusion he draws is that standard Urdu is too formal for use among friends, thereby suggesting in the prepositional phrase 'I don't have friends in Urdu' that he only has friends who use slang Urdu. Here, 'in Urdu' stands metonymically for speakers and/or writers of Urdu. This predicational strategy is an obvious exaggeration which is not evidenced in the online data where Usman uses standard Urdu regularly, albeit in roman script.

Usman uses intensifying strategies by repeating 'we don't do it' which position the in-group by sharpening the argument that Mirpuris (we) do not use slang Urdu, though Usman suggests that the in-group has its own slang variety of Pahari. 'Pahari line' is used as a metonym for the division between in-groups and out-groups. The imaginary line could be that of the division between Azad Kashmir and Pakistan, Pahari connoting Azad Kashmiri identity and Urdu connoting Pakistani identity. However, Pahari is erroneously referred to as the language of Mirpuris, though as Lothers and Lothers (2007) explain, the language used in Mirpur is a mixture of Punjabi and Potwari. Pahari, which means 'language of the mountains', is in fact spoken much further north in Kashmir, though many Mirpuris believe it is their language. My interpretation is that this is indicative of Usman's desire to signal his insider status as a Pahari/ Mirpuri speaker. Other interactants such as Mohsin and Saleem are also from Mirpur but Usman does not use Pahari/ Mirpuri with them. In all the Facebook postings analysed in this data set, Usman used Mirpuri at length with Salman and Arsalan, who are his best friends according to what Usman told me. Usman can be seen to be bridging two worlds here: Mirpur (AJK) and Islamabad (Pakistan), as he uses an intensification strategy to answer my question about whether he understands slang Urdu: *No like all of it. We can*

*understand it. But we don't do it. We don't do it.* Hence, 'we' encompasses Usman's close friends. This is discussed in the second function, namely Mirpuri as the written language of close friends online.

### **8.5 Written and spoken Mirpuri as a resource for close friends**

The selected texts that I analyse in this section all use the term Pahari or Mirpuri.

#### **Extract 3: Written Pahari for close friends and whether those close friends can understand Pahari**

Usman told me that the opening lines of the Trafford postings where Salman calls him 'spoiled' are all written in Pahari.

In Extract 3 (Appendix 15) Usman draws the conclusion that Pahari is used if interactants can both understand the language and are close enough friends to use it. This is indicated by the adjective 'close'. This predication strategy is realised elsewhere in the interviews with explicit similes and metaphors when describing the use of Pahari. For example, Salman's use of the word *phet* meaning 'spoiled' is recontextualised by Usman to mean 'settled' which he told me:

is a very positive word, it's all about the health and the wealth when you know you say *phet kya hal* you say oh you know you're *phet* it means that you are content with your life and you look happy and healthy and all that (F-2/4)

The adjectives 'settled', 'positive', 'content', 'happy' and 'healthy' and the positively connoted nouns 'health' and 'wealth' suggest a positive evaluation of Pahari and a positive construction, and self-presentation, of Usman three months after his arrival in England. These evocations refer to a specific use of Pahari which Usman employs in order to evaluate his image in the photograph and trust his friend. This serves as an evaluative strategy by drawing on the belief that only close friends use Pahari and thus it is a similar case of

iconization where Pahari is constructed as an essential part of close friendships from Mirpur.

## **8.6 Written English as a resource for family in Mirpur**

### **Extract 4: Written English as a resource for Mirpuri brothers Usman and Zahir in Instant Messaging**

In Extract 4 (Appendix 15) Usman begins with hyperbole. The rhetorical figure 'every time this one' attributes constant English language use to Zahir. Having claimed being a regular writer in English, Usman then indulges in positive self-presentation suggesting that he was the reason for Zahir's use of written English. Usman continues the predication strategy by means of 'argument by example'. Pointing to the computer screen where Zahir has just posted 'what's going on?' in an instant message, Usman employs a positive in-group reference which is directed towards people who use English. The repetition and intensification strategy, 'he's alright with English', helps Usman to construct his brother Zahir as a good user of English, which seems to be important to him. Usman constructs a role for written English online which is more important than the other languages in Zahir's repertoire.

There is a shift in footing in the following line after Usman interrupts the interview to explain why he thinks Zahir is using English. In 'He don't use mobiles as much' Usman is attempting to construct a link between using mobile phones and developing the ability to use non-standard varieties, such as slang Urdu. Usman backs this up with an argument by example, and indulges in positive self-presentation, where he illustrates the use of mobile phones and the ability to use abbreviated script (pointing to it on the screen) by using his own ability as an example. In this case Usman seems to construct a link between his own creativity with digital literacy and his use of mobile phones. This is confirmed in the final line of the extract with the negative attribution 'he never does it' and the intensifying 'just/so' in 'he just studies so he knows English'. English here connotes formal standard English

which is contrasted with non-standard English in the following extract when Usman acts as a literacy mediator for his brother's use of the latter.

In the middle section of the extract, Usman provides a definition and a specific functional view of language and literacy through a set of oppositions. Usman explains that his brother is 'alright with English' but that he does not use mobiles often and thus is unable to understand some of the slang because he 'just studies and so he knows English'. The argument runs here that if Zahir would use his mobile phone more for writing texts messages he would also be able to use 'slang' English. Hence this extract provides a case of fractal recursivity where one state of affairs is mapped onto another state of affairs. There is an implicit opposition between learning standard English in one's studies and learning non-standard English on a mobile phone.

### **8.7 Extract 5: Literacy mediation in informal English**

In Extract 5 (Appendix 15), the standard variety of English which Zahir has been using to communicate with Usman by instant messaging is contrasted with the non-standard use of 'nofing' by Usman. Usman then draws on non-standard pronunciation in the interview with me to explain the reason he writes 'nofing'. His use of the labiodental fricative /f/ and not the interdental fricative /θ/ draw on the accent which Usman has started to use since his arrival in Hillington rather than the standard sounds of England or Pakistan. At this point in the interview Usman does not tell me that the pronunciation and spelling of 'nofing' connotes belonging in Hillington, but my interpretation is that 'but it's alright for him to know' is a justification strategy which implies that the non-standard use of 'nofing' is important for Zahir to know. As can be seen from the transcript, I infer this from the interview, as my next question assumes that there is a link between teaching Zahir Hillington English and Zahir coming to live in Hillington, though Usman confirms that Zahir will not migrate. In the following extract Zahir has started to use Urdu on screen in the instant messages which Usman is replying to in a mixture of English and Urdu.

## 8.8 Extract 6: Knowing roman script for spoken languages with no script

In the Extract 6 (Appendix 15) Usman claims that Zahir does not know how to write using romanized Mirpuri by pointing to an example in the transcript which we are discussing in the self-report interview (he is not pointing to the screen as in the last extract). 'Knowing a bit of English' seems to be a topos for the argument that the ability to write English (in roman script) helps interactants write Urdu online, the warrant here being that literacy in English makes literacy in romanized Urdu more accessible. The footing shifts when Usman introduces Pahari which Zahir knows (how to speak) but, as Usman claims, Zahir does not know how to write online because he did not practise it. Practice is used one other time in the interview in relation to interactants developing the ability to use non-standard varieties. At this point it is useful to turn to the second self-report interview where I asked Usman follow-up questions after the first interview. I had returned to the topic of how Usman created a script for Mirpuri online. I asked him the question: How do you decide which roman letters to use for Pahari? He answered:

It goes with the accent how you speak the word goes with the accent like if you if a person don't know English they can't they can't write roman. For writing roman you should've know you should know the English and the Urdu. If you know the Urdu then you know how this thing will go in English how this thing will go, what word will I choose in English to write this word this word in English (F-2/4)

I also asked why Zahir wasn't able to write Pahari in roman script, to which Usman replied:

'cause he don't know how to use it all. He don't know how to use it. He never used it. It's like you know like a practice (F-2/4)

This notion of practising can be understood as a continuation of the access to literacy in English and Urdu discussed in Chapter 5, where the sponsorship of literacy in both languages at school leads Usman to practice literacy in both languages in other settings, such as online. What Usman seems to be

implying is that if users have access to different languages (Urdu, English and Mirpuri) and different scripts (roman) then they are able to extend their literacy practices to online settings if they practise using these languages in new settings. This represents a link between dominant and vernacular literacies.

English is a dominant literacy in Pakistan and England, as discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, but in online literacy practices roman/English scripts become affordances for vernacular writing in Pahari and Urdu. Hence online vernacular writing can be seen as a continuation of the literacies developed in online (mobile) and offline (school) settings. Thus sponsorship of literacy in institutional settings continues into self-sponsored literacies online. This is what, I argue, Brandt and Clinton mean when they describe the origins of literacy developing elsewhere (2002: 335). However, new literate designs, which is how Brandt and Clinton describe these experiments with literacy, may not always be accessible to interactants online. When responding to Usman's posting of a photograph of Oman staring at the ground outside their home, Aqeel posted 'looking fa his frog'. Usman told me that Aqeel was one of his close friends. He was the son of the English teacher in the Degree College in Mirpur who had encouraged Usman to study English when he was younger. Aqeel was now studying for a master's in English in Islamabad. With reference to the use of 'fa' Usman told me that 'it's kind of slang I think'. When I asked Usman if he would use that kind of English he explained 'no I wouldn't like that 'cause I don't know what that means but I think he knows what that means'. This suggests that Usman does not experiment with abbreviations in the way that several of his interactants do. Nowhere in the photo-postings does Usman use abbreviated English. Rather, he uses the standard varieties of English which have been sponsored in the institutional settings of his schools and in the grammar books that he was lent by Aqeel's father. This possible lack of creativity is marked, given his ability to innovate with slang Urdu and Mirpuri online. In the following extract, Usman's new family in Hillington display their creativity with non-standard English.

## 8.9 Extract 7: Written English as a resource for Mirpuris in Britain

Collectivisation is a salient strategy in this Extract 7 (Appendix 15), as is iconization which implies the essentialization of specific patterns of both monolingual and multilingual language use due to power relations and language ideologies (Wodak 2014). Usman attributes Zara's use of English to her being from 'here', meaning Hillington and/or Britain. Thus English is an iconic representation of Britishness and is taken as an inherent characteristic of Zara's social group. However, Usman told me that he uses spoken English words occasionally with his Mirpuri family in Hillington but communicates with all of his relatives using spoken Mirpuri, rarely English. This was confirmed during my visits to Usman's house and Nadia's sister's house where spoken Mirpuri was used among family members as it also is in Mirpuri in the home. This extract and the associated postings imply the opposite online, that English is the language of communication on Facebook.

Usman mitigates the claim 'I don't think she knows how to speak Punjabi Urdu' as, out of politeness, he did not want to suggest that a relative of his could not do something that he could. That would be impolite in Mirpuri families. He continues by describing the appropriateness of different forms of language online. 'Frank' connotes explicitness, which Usman implies would be inappropriate for the wife of his cousin. In gendering the construction of online vernacular writing, Usman suggests that Zara may indeed know how to use roman script but that it would be inappropriate for her to do so because of gender-role definitions: she is the wife of his cousin. Further to this, the term 'uncle' in the following turn implies that it would also be inappropriate for an older male relative. In this extract it seems that wives and uncles are both out-groups for roman English. In the second interview, when I followed up with a question about why he had used English with Zara, he told me *'cause she's used and I don't know if I write Urdu if she understand or not that's why'*, which implies that Usman has used English to be part of the in-group of Mirpuris in Britain as well as confirming that Zara may not know Urdu in roman script. In the final extract, the frame is no longer related to the origins of literacy for Mirpuris in Mirpur but rather the availability of literacy in roman



Urdu and Mirpuri for Zara in Hillington. This is realised through a series of oppositions recurring at different levels 'creating either sub-categories on each side of a contrast or super-categories that include both sides but oppose them to something else' (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38). The discursive construction of antinomies and dichotomies via referential and predication strategies, as defined above, is employed to attribute specific characteristics to Zara. These are gendered in the sense that, as the wife of Usman's cousin, it would be inappropriate for a woman to write in roman script. This represents a case of iconization implied by the naturalisation of gendered patterns of language use due to specific power relations between men and women. In other words, the stereotypes attributed to the use of specific spoken 'slang' features are mapped onto the use of specific features of online vernacular writing.

#### **8.10 Extract 8: 'that's Facebook, that's totally another thing'**

In Extract 8 (Appendix 15), Usman juxtaposes Facebook with text messaging by means of an 'argument by example'. Collectivisation is the discursive strategy realised by the deictics 'they' and 'we' in which the agents are left vague as it is unclear who does the chatting by sms, though the dichotomy between Facebook and sms still stands. The argumentation here counters Usman's stance in Extracts 7 and 8 where he stated that there is a link between mobile phones (which are used for sms) and practising roman script. This can be seen as indicative of the conflict between Usman's desire to signal insider status as a speaker and writer of roman script and his hesitancy when discussing access to online vernacular writing that different technologies provide.

#### **8.11 Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to see how, when and with what functions vernacular literacies are used by Usman, his friends and his family just after

his migration to England. The analysis illustrates that an important aspect of the vernacular literacies is that they are self-generated. This means that regardless of their language variety, these vernacular literacies can be contrasted with the dominant literacies of the visa application which are imposed by bureaucratic institutions in Pakistan and the UK. Usman's description of his vernacular literacies suggests that they are, on the one hand, a continuation of the literacies which he has developed offline as he makes links between education and 'slang' Urdu, and sms and 'informal' English, while on the other hand there are discontinuities as these literacies serve different purposes and are associated with different values. This demonstrates that though everyday literacies may be self-sponsored, as in the case of online vernacular writing, these literacies might have their origins elsewhere (Brandt and Clinton 2002). I demonstrated these origins in the previous chapter by exploring social, political and economic traces in the online writing before exploring what Usman told me about these language choices in the self-report interviews. In this chapter I have now illustrated the range of functions of these language choices in interaction by analysing how language ideologies influence those choices in detail.

The analysis indicates that Usman draws from his everyday linguistic resources, which he combines in various ways and which are constantly changing; thus it would be artificial to see them as separate languages. Although these resources are constantly changing, there are also continuities when those choices are influenced by Usman's language ideologies, e.g. when he suggests it is inappropriate for Zara to use roman script. This is because language ideologies, as discussed in Chapter 2, are frequently influenced by how identities and power relations are negotiated in society (Woolard 1998; Blackledge 2005).

Integrating NLS with interactional sociolinguistics in Chapter 7 and with the DHA in the current chapter illustrates well that online vernacular writing in different language varieties offers different meaning-making resources in a range of settings. Returning to a social-practices perspective on literacy, this supports the view that languages differ in terms of what different users can

easily do with them which, Barton and Lee argue, is true at all levels of language (2013). When combining NLS, interactional sociolinguistics and the DHA, the findings here give the insight that 'in the context of language online, new language and literacy practices emerge as a result of people perceiving and taking up new affordances on the Internet' (Barton and Lee 2013: 28). Thus, it becomes obvious that these affordances include scripts for slang Urdu, informal English and Mirpuri which enable the family to maintain ties with friends and family in Mirpur as well as to build relationships with Mirpuris in Britain.

## Chapter 9 Conclusion

My aim throughout this thesis was to explore the relationship between literacy, language and migration, as the critical project I embarked on was to identify how power relations in Pakistan and the UK prevent access to the dominant literacies of migration. To address this problem, I examined both the dominant literacies and migrants' vernacular literacies. This enabled me to show how all of Usman's family's languages are drawn on in a range of settings.

My study focused on the social, cultural and political aspects of language use and their constitutive role in migration. In other words, I explored how migrants' literacy practices shape, and are shaped by, the social structures and institutions of their migrations. This meant contrasting the dominant literacies of the UK Border's Agency with the non-dominant literacies of Facebook. By doing this I was also able to demonstrate how migrants negotiate different individual and group identities in these contexts. An example of this is how Usman used his online vernacular writing to construct the identity of caregiver to Oman on Facebook, while in institutional settings he is positioned as entering into a 'bogus' or 'sham' marriage. To do this I required an integrated framework which conceptualised multilingual literacy practices, and the texts and language varieties which instantiate them, as flexible resources. Initially I combined NLS with the Discourse Historical Approach in order to understand how literacy practices are patterned by power relationships. This enabled me to trace the language and literacy practices which migrants use to challenge domination by appropriating dominant literacies in the visa application process. At the same time they also recontextualised dominant literacies in their vernacular writing on Facebook when creating their own script for standard Urdu and English. To do this, I also needed to draw on a theory of language known as heteroglossia and the methods of interactional sociolinguistics to explore different language varieties in vernacular writing and how these varieties are valued and justified. To do this I incorporated work on language ideologies into my NLS/DHA framework

in order to focus specifically on how language choices fitted into Usman's migration soon after his arrival in the UK.

In this concluding chapter I draw together the findings from each chapter in relation to the research aim and questions which I presented in Chapter 1. Next, I tie together the theoretical and methodological threads from the analysis chapters and assess the effectiveness of my research methodology before outlining my contribution, as I see it, to Literacy Studies and Critical Discourse Studies. Finally, I discuss avenues for further research.

## **9.1 Research Aim and Research Questions**

On the basis of the initial research findings described in Chapter 1, I formulated the following general research aim: to understand the literacies and languages related to migration from Pakistan to the UK and what these tell us about how migrants make use of all of their language resources in a range of institutional and non-institutional settings. I did this by taking an ethnographic perspective to examine one Mirpuri family's migrations to the UK. On the basis of this aim, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What literacies are available in Mirpur and how do prospective migrants access English and Urdu for migration?
2. How do Mirpuri migrants to the UK and their families use literacy mediation when dealing with the dominant literacies of migration?
3. What language and literacy practices do Mirpuri migrants, their families and friends choose to stay in touch online and how do they justify these language and literacy choices?
4. How can the Discourse Historical Approach in Critical Discourse Studies be combined with New Literacy Studies to explore the multilingual literacy practices of migrants?

In the following section I discuss my findings in relation to these four primary research questions.

### **Research Question 1**

What literacies are available in Mirpur and how do prospective migrants access English and Urdu for migration?

Here, my aim was to establish what literacies were available in Mirpur, identify how these literacies were used by Mirpuris as part of their everyday literacy practices and explore how these everyday literacies provided access to the specific literacies of migration.

Firstly, I found that literacy in Urdu and English is available in Mirpur in many domains, including schools, universities and homes, as there are many English and Urdu language learning materials in these domains for those, like Usman, who can gain entry to those schools. Secondly, it was clear that Usman and his brothers take up this availability (in Kalman's terminology, see Chapter 5) and make use of literacy in Urdu and English, as well as Arabic, in the home where the availability of these dominant literacies converges in their religious literacies. This was evidenced in Usman's personal diary when he chooses to translate Urdu and Arabic religious and military texts into English. This demonstrates a blurring of the dominant literacies and discourses of the Koran and military slogans with the vernacular literacies of a personal diary, and thus can be seen as an example of interdiscursivity in the diary. Such recontextualisations of religious discourses into nationalist discourses allow me to illustrate the links between Usman's everyday experience of being a religiously observant Muslim and a patriotic Pakistani, and the wider institutions of family, religion and military that shaped these identities. Moreover, these recontextualisations also show how literacy in English fitted into Usman's literacy practices prior to migration while he was still a prospective migrant. However, identifying how this availability of literacy in English was linked to the specific literacies of migration was more complex. To

understand this complexity, I first had to conceptualise and understand the link between the sponsorship of literacy in Mirpur and opportunities for migration. By exploring literacy events, such as the literacy-demanding situation of a meeting with an immigration consultant, I observed that the three principal sponsors of literacy in Mirpur, education, the military and religious institutions, provided unequal access to literacy in English and Urdu. In other words, because literacy practices are patterned by power relationships and institutions, and some literacies are more influential than others (Barton and Hamilton 1998), the sponsors of literacy in Mirpur often provided only partial access to the literacies required for migration. An example from the data is how English literacy is available in schools but access is not granted due to the poor quality of teaching, and so learners must turn to each other in collaboration, as Usman and his brother did, to develop the varieties of English that Usman would come to use in his migration.

By examining relevant literacy events related to migration, with a view to understanding the literacy practices these instantiate, the study extended the analytical potential of literacy practices by linking practices to access to and the availability and sponsorship of literacy, since adopting an NLS approach offers a way of linking individuals' activities to the social structures which shape their literacies (Barton and Hamilton 1998), demonstrating how access to literacy is regulated by sponsors' established links between what people do with literacy and the ways that institutions support or prevent what they do. For example, literacy in English was available to Usman at school in Mirpur as it is the official language of Pakistan due to the continuation of colonial language policy to the present day. However, Usman felt that literacy in English at his own and his siblings' schools did not provide sufficient access to the formal standard British English that he wanted for himself and his brothers. Thus the family extended their school learning together, in the home, to improve their access to English. Here, school-sponsored and self-sponsored literacy practices shaped Usman's access to the literacy in English that he could later draw on in his visa applications. This analysis of literacy mediation, where the availability of English is drawn on by family members in a range of

different social contexts, enabled me to demonstrate how literacy in English is accessed in a specific literacy event, such as completing a visa form.

## **Research Question 2**

How do Mirpuri migrants to the UK and their families use literacy mediation when dealing with the dominant literacies of migration?

Addressing the second research question, I found that there were specific literacy practices, related to literacy mediation and cultural brokerage, which characterised migrants' bureaucratic literacies. These literacies, I argue, require the help of literacy mediation but draw more closely on the broker's ability to straddle both dominant and non-dominant contexts and translate dominant discourses. However, my study suggests that a spectrum exists along which literacy mediation and cultural brokerage lie. In my analysis, I define this spectrum in relation to how present a specific text is in a situation and whether the job that needs doing is primarily reading and writing, e.g. filling in boxes on a form, or primarily about understanding and translating between different discourses.

By employing the concept of cultural brokerage to emphasize the bridge it provides between dominant and non-dominant knowledge, the decisive role of brokers in negotiating the links between individuals' everyday non-dominant literacies and dominant institutions' bureaucratic literacies enables researchers to explore issues of power when examining the relationship between local and global contexts in migration. This is because literacy events like completing a visa form invoke broader cultural patterns of literacy practices, such as registering marriages, and provide opportunities for migrants to appropriate bureaucratic literacy practices in order to make successful visa applications. For example, the British Pakistani immigration solicitor in Preston understands both the Mirpuri tradition of providing work for spouses of family members as well as the British government's immigration and employment law relating to visa requirements and visa sponsors' salary



thresholds. The literacy events which instantiate these practices, such as the completion of visa forms by a cultural broker who is able to draw on her understanding of dominant and non-dominant contexts, are shaped by the priorities of individuals who have much to lose if visa applications fail. Thus, when bureaucratic literacies have significant personal as well as practical consequences for the whole family, migrants are able to draw on wider community networks which allow them to comply with the institutional requirements which shape the family's lives in both the UK and Pakistan.

### **Research Question 3**

What language and literacy practices do Mirpuri migrants, their families and friends choose to stay in touch online and how do they justify these language and literacy choices?

In this case, I first needed to establish which language and literacy practices the family used to stay in touch online. This was not straightforward, as a traditional sociolinguistic code-switching approach did not allow me to capture how online interactants used old and new linguistic resources to negotiate new identities in their vernacular writing. This was because Usman and his family and friends used both the regional varieties of Punjabi spoken in their ancestral villages and the standard and non-standard varieties of English spoken in Pakistan, the UK and across the world. To get to grips with these complex language practices, I developed a multi-disciplinary framework which enabled me to bring together the concept of vernacular writing as self-generated and self-sponsored (Barton and Hamilton 1998) with a theory of language as heteroglossia, drawing on Bakhtin (1986). For example, the political decisions which led to the selection of Urdu as Pakistan's national language and culminated in its social uses in schools were explored in order to understand the choice of Urdu in out-of-school contexts online. Hence there is a link here between the access to literacy in Urdu in Mirpur discussed in response to research question 2 and access to the language resources which interactants use online.

I explored this link by looking at what people said online and the linguistic resources they used to say it, followed by a detailed investigation of how Usman legitimized the specific language resources he used by employing some methodologies of the Discourse-Historical Approach. I was then able to identify the discursive strategies and linguistic means that are employed to legitimize why specific language resources were used, as Usman assigned particular qualities to the literacies most closely related to his migration.

I found that Usman did this by employing four main strategies (see below), which I define as loose groupings of discursive strategies (Wodak et al. 2009; Unger 2013). These discursive strategies, I claim, lead to particular constructions of functions of language choice in online vernacular writing, i.e. discursive strategies are used to account for the choice of specific language varieties. The first of these functions is that written and spoken Urdu is used as a resource for friends and family from Pakistan to maintain ties to acquaintances, such as Mohsin, who was not a close friend of Usman in Pakistan. In the context of Usman's Facebook pages, I was able to specify the use of 'slang' Urdu between acquaintances, whereas Usman used more formal Urdu when showing respect to an uncle with whom he was also not close. However, written and spoken Mirpuri were used as a resource for close friends and family from Mirpur. Although Usman's privacy settings meant all his 'friends' could read these postings, Usman used Mirpuri with his close friend Salman and his close cousin Imran to signal intimacy. Thirdly, written English functioned as a resource for maintaining ties with siblings in Mirpur. Here, the choice of English was related to Usman's role as literacy mediator in his brother's English language learning. In the context of instant messaging, Usman moved between standard and non-standard varieties of English when encouraging his brother, Zahir, to do the same. Usman continues with his role of literacy mediator, begun in Mirpur but extended to online contexts from Hillington, as he acknowledges that Zahir has been unable to develop his non-standard English due to his lack of experience in using these varieties when writing text messages. Finally, written English also functioned in the development of ties with Usman's new family in Hillington. In forging new relationships with his wife's cousin, Zara, online, Usman draws on standard

varieties of British English to give detailed accounts of his stepson's accident and thus, it would seem, positions himself as a responsible caregiver, proficient in the dominant literacy, standard British English, of his new home.

#### **Research Question 4**

How can the Discourse Historical Approach in Critical Discourse Studies be combined with New Literacy Studies to explore the multilingual literacy practices of migrants?

The purpose underlying question 4 is to use my findings in questions 1 to 3 to reflect on how I combined the DHA with NLS while exploring the participants' literacy practices. In doing this I found that there are two specific areas where combining these two theoretical and methodological approaches can best be described. Both are discussed individually, below.

#### **Analysing context**

In order to explore what and how literacies travel and endure in migration, I needed a heuristic model with which to explore both local and global contexts. For the reasons discussed in Chapter 2, I combined NLS with the DHA by operationalising the DHA's 'four-level context model' (Wodak 2001, 2011) to explore migrants' literacy practices. Firstly, this meant analysing the socio-political context of migration from Pakistan to the UK. Secondly, specific contexts of situation were analysed in relation to literacy sponsorship and literacy mediation as a means of establishing how prospective migrants used literacy in specific situations, such as an immigration consultant's office. These two levels of context are common to NLS and not specific to the DHA. However, I suggest that, in NLS, these two levels are not systematically linked to the following two levels of context through the recursive analysis of recontextualisation. By combining the two approaches I was able to explore the third level of context, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between discourses of migration as part of the analysis of literacy mediation,

thus combining NLS with the DHA throughout those chapters. Finally, online vernacular writing texts were analysed as literacy events at the first level of context in the DHA model. During this close textual analysis I worked hard not to lose sight of the meanings that individual participants brought with them to their writing. This emic perspective, taking into account the writer's reasons for saying things in a certain way, is central to NLS but less so to the DHA, hence text-based analysis alone would not have allowed me to do this. This meant that I was able to identify literacy practices related to reading, writing and migration at a range of sites, including institutional settings and non-institutional settings. This triangulation was certainly enabled by the DHA's multi-level approach.

The result of this triangulation can be seen in, for example, Chapter 6, where I found that cultural brokerage and literacy mediation invoked different discourses, about employment and marriage, and therefore different aspects of the wider family's network of social practices. The family, and the different literacy mediators they turned to, holds specific beliefs about language and literacy in Pakistan and the UK. Their values and beliefs influence how they use dominant and non-dominant literacies in sustaining chain migration between the two countries. Theoretically and methodologically, together NLS and the DHA provided a framework within which to explore the text and talk which surrounded the completion of visa forms in Preston and Hillington, whereby the immigration solicitor read questions over the telephone in English and Mirpuri to Nadia, who then provided answers which the solicitor put on the forms.

## **Exploring values**

As discussed in Chapter 2, NLS is grounded in Street's ideological model of literacy (1984). In other words, NLS researchers maintain that they are interested in how literacy is shaped by the values of the individuals and groups who use it. Hence, in order to understand how vernacular literacy is shaped by the values of the participants in this study, I again drew from my integrated framework and the work in DHA on language ideologies by paying

specific attention to the linguistic phenomena of migrants' digital literacy practices. In the less text-oriented work in NLS, language ideologies are discussed more intuitively, thereby sometimes neglecting the dialogicality of multiple readings (Wodak 2014 personal communication) which, I claim, my analysis of heteroglossia and language ideologies addresses in necessary detail. This enabled me to link why migrants choose specific languages online to language ideologies which are subconsciously and sometimes consciously used to define and justify language choice in the migrants' digital literacy practices. An example of this is Usman's choice of slang Urdu with his acquaintances, which he explained was a reaction by young people to the standard varieties of Urdu imposed at school. Thus, by integrating interactional sociolinguistics, NLS and the DHA, I illustrated how heteroglossic online vernacular writing offers opportunities for migrants to maintain relationships with family and friends in both Mirpur and Hillington. The findings from the multidisciplinary framework I established challenge the common-sense opinion that standard English facilitates 'integration'. Quite the contrary in fact, as all of the languages in migrants' repertoires are drawn on when developing ties and the presence of English in the multilingual repertoires of the participants in my study does not ensure integration with non-Mirpuri communities.

## **9.2 Effectiveness of the research methodology and the contribution to the field**

In this study I have contributed to the fields of both NLS and the DHA in Critical Discourse Studies. For the former, I have provided a methodology for including detailed textual analysis in the study of literacy as social practice which draws on the DHA's four-level context model as well as work in the discourse ethnographic tradition and language ideologies. I achieved this primarily by establishing my initial findings through an ethnographically-grounded study of the production and use of texts before extending this study to the detailed textual analysis of some of the texts themselves. By texts I mean both online Facebook texts as well as texts produced during recorded interviews, which I analysed by applying some methods and methodologies of

the DHA. This included adopting a critical perspective and challenging common-sense opinions about the power of English in integration, while also employing recent research in the DHA which applies an ethnographic perspective, and its contributions, to multilingualism, migration and discrimination, as well as to the systematic analysis of discourse and the discursive construction of identities. In my study, the precise analysis of language ideologies and language choice in the participants' literacy practices adds to the less text-oriented work in NLS where language ideologies, as noted above, are often discussed more intuitively. This approach provided me with the theoretical and methodological tools to explore, systematically, the discursive construction of vernacular writing – this can be regarded as a new approach in the field of literacy studies.

### **9.3 Opportunities for further research**

The political situation in the UK and across Europe makes the study of non-dominant languages particularly salient, as immigration and integration legislation increasingly conflate proficiency in the dominant language, such as English, with the capability of migrants to integrate. It is within this climate that the ethnographic data collected for this study could be put to use to explore further studies of language and education in British schools as well as the use of non-dominant languages in the public sphere in order to develop new understandings of multilingual interaction in the UK.

In terms of my overarching research interests formulated in the introduction to this study – i.e. that of Mirpuri migrants' lack of access to dominant literacies prior to their departure from Pakistan and whether this is compounded by their low literacy in Mirpuri Punjabi when they arrive in the UK – I have come to the following conclusion: The findings of my study suggest that access to literacy in Mirpur can only be understood when an individual's literacy practices are seen as being shared among that individual's kin group and embedded in the reciprocity that Mirpuris bring to all of their social practices. In this sense, passing tests in English only really acts as a gatekeeping device to keep out

those individuals who do not have access to the literacy mediators and cultural brokers that Usman and his family had access to.

## Appendix 1: Letter of consent for Phase 1 research in Manchester, UK, and Pakistan



January 2009

Dear Participant

I am currently working on a research project about families who **read and write in different languages at school and at home.**

I am writing to you because I would like to interview you and ask you about the reading and writing you and your family do at school, at home, at work and in your everyday lives. I would also like to ask you about you or your family's migration to the UK. In the interview, I would particularly like to talk about the different languages you use in Pakistan and the UK.

The interview will take between 30-50 minutes and I would like to tape-record the interview. (I will only tape-record the interview with you, if you agree and I will ask you at the beginning of the interview about this). Everything you tell me during the interview will be kept confidential - any information about you, or names of other people and places that are mentioned when we talk, will be changed so that you and others cannot be recognised.

In order to comply with the ethics procedures of our university and my discipline (Applied Linguistics), I ask you to sign a copy of this letter to show the university that:

- I explained what the interview was about
- I asked for your permission to interview you and to use some of the things that you tell me in any report or article I, or my colleagues, write about the research
- I have promised to keep anything that you tell me confidential by changing any of the names used in the interview.

If you have any questions then please ask me.

Kind regards, Anthony Capstick



I agree to being interviewed.

- I have been told what the interview is about
- I give my permission for the researcher, if he wishes, to use some of the things that I say during the interview in any article or other publications he will write about the research.
- I have been promised that anything I say will be kept confidential and that any names used will be changed.

Name..... Date.....

## **Appendix 2: Phase 1 interviews**

### **Introducing myself, my translator, the research, and seeking consent**

Hello my name is Tony Capstick and I'm a PhD student at Lancaster University. I am researching language and migration. This means that I need to interview families to see what languages they use at home and outside the home as well as the languages that they used before migrating.

What you tell me in this interview will remain confidential. When I transcribe this interview I will not use your real name but I will give you a different name so that no one can recognise you if they read my final study. The information that you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and in research articles and maybe one day a book about migration from Mirpur to England.

I will not reveal the details of what you tell me about yourself, your family, and your migrations. This means that anything you tell me about your visa application is confidential.

You are free to withdraw from the interview and this study at any point.

Before we start, do you have any questions about me, my research or my translator? You will also have time at the end of the interview to ask questions.

### **Interview checklist**

#### **Biographical**

- Where were you born and when?
- Tell me about your family (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about your friends (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about where you live
- Have you ever moved house?
- What do you do in your spare time?
- Tell me about your religion

**Education (if attended school from an early age)**

- Tell me about your life before starting school
- What do you remember about starting school?
- What languages did your teacher/friends/principal/class monitor use?
- Did you speak Urdu with your parents/Punjabi with your teachers?
- Tell me about your lessons/books/notes/tests/qualifications

**Everyday literacy practices**

- Tell me about your weekly shopping
- What records do you keep in your life?
- Have you ever written a job application?

**Men**

- What reading and writing do you do at work?
- Is there writing in your mosque?

**Women**

- What records do you keep related to your children?
- What reading do you do from the Qur'an?

## **Appendix 3: Phase 2 interviews**

### **Introducing myself, my translator, the research, and seeking consent**

*I would say this in English then my translator would translate into Punjabi/Urdu*

Hello my name is Tony Capstick and I'm the English language adviser for the British Council in Islamabad. I am also doing a PhD at Lancaster University in England and it is this reason that I am here today. My PhD is a study of how people use reading and writing in their lives before they migrate, so in Mirpur, and after they migrate, so in England. This means that I will ask you questions about your family here and in England, your schools, your visa applications and your plans for the future.

What you tell me in this interview will remain confidential. When I transcribe this interview I will not use your real name but I will give you a different name so that no one can recognise you if they read my final study. The information that you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and in research articles and maybe one day a book about migration from Mirpur to England.

I will not reveal the details of what you tell me about yourself and your family. This means that anything you tell me about your visa application is confidential.

You are free to withdraw from the interview at any point. Before we start, do you have any questions about me or my research? You will also have time at the end of the interview to ask questions. My translator will now introduce himself/herself.

## **Interview checklist**

### **Biographical**

- Where were you born and when?
- Tell me about your family (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about your friends (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about where you live
- Have you ever moved house?
- What do you do in your spare time?
- Tell me about your religion

### **Education (if attended school from an early age)**

- Tell me about your life before starting school
- What do you remember about starting school?
- What languages did your teacher/friends/principal/class monitor use?
- Did you speak Urdu with your parents/Punjabi with your teachers?
- Tell me about your lessons/books/notes/tests/qualifications

### **Everyday literacy practices**

- Tell me about your weekly shopping
- What records do you keep in your life?
- Have you ever written a job application?

### **Men**

- What reading and writing do you do at work?
- Is there writing in your mosque?

### **Women**

- What records do you keep related to your children?
- What reading do you do from the Qur'an?

## **English language school data**

### **Student interviews**

- We'll chat together with the help of the translator, but could you say a few things about yourself in English first?
- Why are you learning English?
- What do you enjoy/dislike?
- Tell me about your lessons
- What books do you use?
- Tell me about how you use English outside the classroom
- Where can I see/hear English in Mirpur?
- Tell me about your plans for England
- Tell me about your visa application
- Tell me about your family in England

### **Teacher interviews (teachers are unqualified and have never attended teacher education programmes)**

- Tell me about your students
- How long have you been teaching English?
- Tell me about how you teach reading/writing/speaking/listening
- How did you learn to teach?
- What writing do your students do?
- What homework do your students do?

## **Appendix 4: Phase 3 interviews**

### **Introducing myself, my translator, the research, and seeking consent**

*I would say this in English then my translator would translate into Punjabi or Urdu*

Hello my name is Tony Capstick and I'm researching migration from Mirpur to England as part of my PhD from Lancaster University in the North West of England near Manchester. I have just finished working as the English language adviser for the British Council in Islamabad and will return to Lancaster University soon.

I am here today to talk to you about your family's migrations to England. My PhD is a study of how people use reading and writing in their lives before they migrate, so in Mirpur, and after they migrate, so in England. This means that I will ask you questions about your family here and in England, your schools, your visa applications and your plans for the future. What you tell me in this interview will remain confidential. When I transcribe this interview I will not use your real name but I will give you a different name so that no one can recognise you if they read my final study. The information that you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and in research articles and maybe one day a book about migration from Mirpur to England.

I will not reveal the details of what you tell me about yourself and your family. This means that anything you tell me about your visa application is confidential.

You are free to withdraw from the interview at any point. Before we start, do you have any questions about me or my research? You will also have time at the end of the interview to ask questions. My translator will now introduce himself/herself.

## **Biographical**

- Where were you born and when?
- Tell me about your family (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about your friends (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about where you live
- Have you ever moved house?
- What do you do in your spare time?
- Tell me about your religion

## **Education (if attended school from an early age)**

- Tell me about your life before starting school
- What do you remember about starting school?
- What languages did your teacher/friends/principal/class monitor use?
- Did you speak Urdu with your parents/Punjabi with your teachers?
- Tell me about your lessons/books/notes/tests/qualifications

## **Everyday literacy practices**

- Tell me about your weekly shopping
- What records do you keep in your life?
- Have you ever written a job application?

## **Men**

- What reading and writing do you do at work?
- Is there writing in your mosque?

## **Women**

- What records do you keep related to your children?
- What reading do you do from the Qur'an?

## **Migration**

- Tell me about your plans to move to England





## **Appendix 5: Phase 4 interviews**

### **Introducing myself, my translator, the research, and seeking consent**

Hello my name is Tony Capstick and I'm researching migration from Mirpur to England as part of my PhD from Lancaster University in the North West of England. I am here today to talk to you about your family's migrations to England from Mirpur. My PhD is a study of how people use reading and writing in their lives before they migrate, so in Mirpur, and after they migrate, so in England. This means that I will ask you questions about your family here and in England, your schools, your visa applications and your plans for the future.

What you tell me in this interview will remain confidential. When I transcribe this interview I will not use your real name but I will give you a different name so that no one can recognise you if they read my final study. The information that you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and in research articles and maybe one day a book about migration from Mirpur to England.

I will not reveal the details of what you tell me about yourself and your family. This means that anything you tell me about your visa application is confidential.

You are free to withdraw from the interview at any point. Before we start, do you have any questions about me or my research? You will also have time at the end of the interview to ask questions.

## **Interview checklist**

### **Biographical**

- Where were you born and when?
- Tell me about your family (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about your friends (language use and any writing used to stay in touch)
- Tell me about where you live
- Have you ever moved house?
- What do you do in your spare time?
- Tell me about your religion

### **Education (if attended school from an early age)**

- Tell me about your life before starting school
- What do you remember about starting school?
- What languages did your teacher/friends/principal/class monitor use?
- Did you speak Urdu with your parents/Punjabi with your teachers?
- Tell me about your lessons/books/notes/tests/qualifications

### **Everyday literacy practices**

- Tell me about your weekly shopping
- What records do you keep in your life?
- Have you ever written a job application?

### **Men**

- What reading and writing do you do at work?
- Is there writing in your mosque?

### **Women**

- What records do you keep related to your children?
- What reading do you do from the Qur'an?

### **Migration (for interviewees born in Mirpur)**

- Tell me about the time when you/your family decided to leave Pakistan
- When did you come to England?
- What can you remember about arriving in England?
- What did you like/did not like about the neighbourhood/neighbours/town/country/shops
- Can you remember the people who were around when you arrived and the languages they used?

### **Marriage and migration (for interviewees born in Lancashire)**

- Tell me about Mirpur/your visits
- Tell me about your fiancé/wife/husband/family
- Tell me about your wedding
- Tell me about the visa applications
- Who helped with the visa application/how/where are they?

### **Settling in (Usman in Lancashire)**

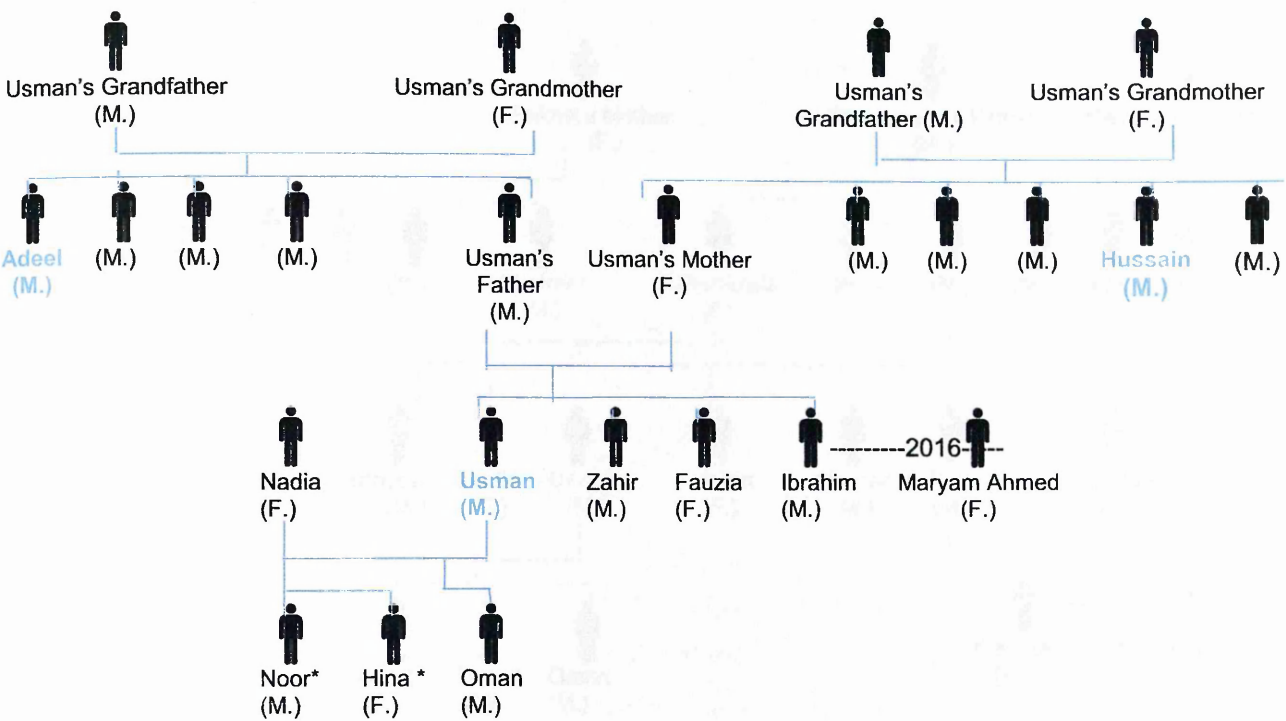
- How are you settling in?
- What correspondence have you had from UKBA
- What are your plans for the gym/mosque/work?
- Who have you met since arriving (elicit languages/new friends)
- How are you staying in touch with friends and family from home?
- What languages do you use at work/mosque/shopping/with the in-laws/with your children?
- What friends have you made other than British Pakistanis?

## Facebook interviews (with Usman)

In these interviews Usman and I sit together with Facebook open on either my laptop or his mobile phone, or looking at a transcript. Most of the questions are related to the language on the screen/in the transcript

- How do you know this person (biographical details of the Facebook 'friends')
- Tell me what you and this person did/do together
- Why do you use that [pointing to language/script] here?
- Where/when/how do you access Facebook?
- What other social media do you use?
- What do you use your mobile phone for?
- How are you using these devices to stay in touch with family/friends/work colleagues?
- How are you using these devices to make new friends in Britain?

Appendix 6: Shezad family tree



Key

Migrants in blue

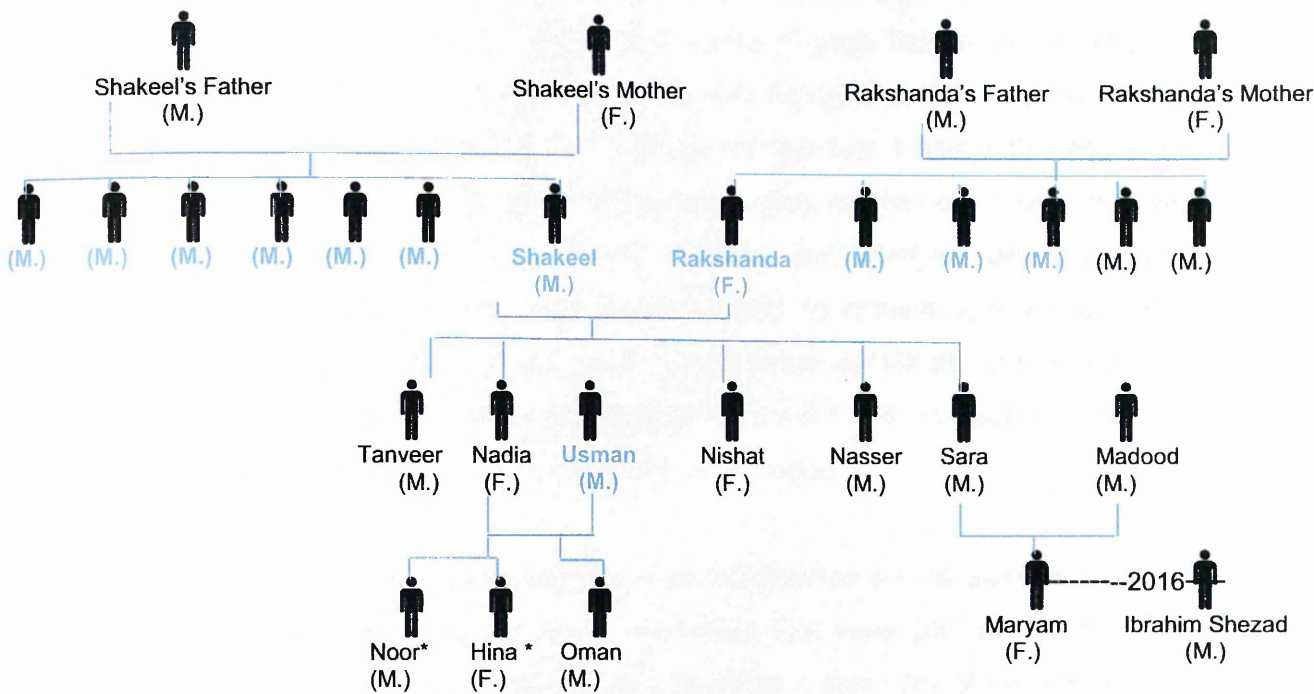
M. = Male

F. = Female

\*Children from marriage between Nadia and Zeesham

Named family members appear in the thesis

Appendix 7: Ahmed family tree



Key

Migrants in blue

M. = Male

F. = Female

\*Children from marriage between Nadia and Zeesham

Named family members appear in the thesis

## Appendix 8: Summary of interviews with key respondents during Phases 2-4

As discussed in chapter 3, my fieldwork included participant observation in many sites in Pakistan and England where I made field notes to record the literacies I observed. These field notes also included details of what I was told about everyday life during the informal contact that I had with people that I met. In addition to this informal contact, I also carried out formal interviews with migrants, students, teachers, officials, and their families and friends. Many of these research participants wished to remain anonymous, thus, I have chosen not to disclose certain biographical details about the participants in the hope that individuals and their families will not be traceable. I see this as part of my ethical approach to working with migrants.

Given this concern for anonymity, I do not provide an exhaustive list of all of the people, times and places of interviews that were part of my research in Pakistan and the UK. Instead, below I provide a summary of the interview data with the two key respondents Usman and Nadia. The purpose of this summary is to enable the reader to cross-reference the interview extracts in the main body of the thesis with details of the interview, date, location and content of the interview provided below. The aim is to provide the chronological details of the key respondents' interviews which relate to the four phases of the study as well as providing the reader with a sense of the stages of Usman's migration.

| Data code | Interviewee | Date           | Location  | Phase | Content                     |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-------|-----------------------------|
| B2        | Usman       | November 2010  | Mirpur    | 2     | Biography/writing           |
| S2        | Usman       | November 2010  | Mirpur    | 2     | Schooling/language learning |
| M2        | Usman       | December 2010  | Mirpur    | 2     | Migration                   |
| R2        | Usman       | February 2011  | Mirpur    | 2     | Reading/writing/family      |
| AB3       | Usman       | June 2011      | Mirpur    | 3     | Additional biography        |
| M3        | Usman       | June 2011      | Mirpur    | 3     | Migration/diary sheets      |
| W3        | Usman       | July 2011      | Mirpur    | 3     | Work/visa/diary sheets      |
| MA3       | Usman       | August 2011    | Mirpur    | 3     | Marriage/visa/diary sheets  |
| R3        | Usman       | August 2011    | Islamabad | 3     | Ramadam/visa/reading        |
| PD-1/3    | Usman       | August 2011    | Mirpur    | 3     | Personal diary/visa         |
| PD-2/3    | Usman       | August 2011    | Mirpur    | 3     | Personal diary/visa         |
| B4        | Nadia       | September 2011 | Lancs, UK | 4     | Biography/visa              |



|       |               |               |            |   |                                |
|-------|---------------|---------------|------------|---|--------------------------------|
| R4    | Nadia & Ibrar | October 2011  | Lancs , UK | 4 | Reading/writing/visa           |
| S4    | Usman         | December 2011 | Lancs , UK | 4 | Settling in/visa               |
| SR4   | Usman         | January 2012  | Lancs , UK | 4 | Settling in/reading            |
| F-1/4 | Usman         | February 2012 | Lancs , UK | 4 | Facebook                       |
| F-2/4 | Usman         | March 2012    | Lancs , UK | 4 | Facebook/translations          |
| F-3/4 | Usman         | April 2012    | Lancs , UK | 4 | Facebook/translations          |
| N4    | Usman & Nadia | July 2013     | Lancs , UK | 4 | British Pakistanis in the news |
| C4    | Usman & Nadia | August 2014   | Lancs , UK | 4 | Checking biographical detail   |

### Interviews with other members of the family and friends

| Data code | Interviewee         | Date          | Location   | Phase | Content                        |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------|------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| LLF1      | Arsalan             | June 2011     | Mirpur     | 3     | Language, literacy, friendship |
| LLF2      | Salman              | July 2011     | Mirpur     | 3     | Language, literacy, friendship |
| BL1       | Usman's father      | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/literacy             |
| BL2       | Zahir               | August 2011   | Islamabad  | 3     | Biography/literacy             |
| BM1       | Ibrahim             | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/migration            |
| BL2       | Usman's grandmother | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/literacy             |
| BL3       | Usman's uncle       | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/literacy             |
| BM2       | Imran               | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/migration            |
| BM3       | Rakshanda           | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/migration            |
| BM4       | Shakeel             | August 2011   | Mirpur     | 3     | Biography/migration            |
|           |                     |               |            |       |                                |
| L1        | Rakshanda           | October 2011  | Lancs , UK | 4     | Literacy                       |
| L2        | Shakeel             | October 2011  | Lancs , UK | 4     | Literacy                       |
| BM5       | Madood              | December 2011 | Lancs , UK | 4     | Biography/migration            |
| B1        | Sara                | December 2011 | Lancs , UK | 4     | Biography                      |

### List of data

| Type of data           | Research participant    | Date    | Location | Phase | Content                 |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------|----------|-------|-------------------------|
| Fieldnotes             | Usman & family          | 2010    | Mirpur   | 3     | 2 weddings              |
| Fieldnotes & classwork | English students        | 2010    | Mirpur   | 2 & 3 | Classroom observations  |
| Fieldnotes & documents | Usman & colleagues      | 2010    | Mirpur   | 3     | Work place literacies   |
| Fieldnotes & documents | Ed. Ministry officials  | 2010    | Mirpur   | 2 & 3 | Academic literacies     |
| Fieldnotes             | Immigration consultants | 2010    | Mirpur   | 2 & 3 | Migration literacies    |
| Fieldnotes             | Usman & family          | 2010    | Mirpur   | 2 & 3 | Participant observation |
| Fieldnotes             | Nayer & family          | 2010    | Mirpur   | 2 & 3 | Participant observation |
| Fieldnotes             | Nadia & family          | 2011    | UK       | 4     | Participant observation |
| Fieldnotes             | Mirpuri people          | 2010-11 | Mirpur   | 2 & 3 | Participant observation |
| Fieldnotes             | Lancashire people       | 2011    | UK       | 4     | Participant observation |

## Appendix 9: Usman's literacy diary sheet

### Tony capstick and [REDACTED] research on migration and languages.

| Time       | Activity   | Reading&writing  | Speaking  |
|------------|--|--|---|
| Morning    | 1 Did sehri<br>2 wake up for work<br>3 in office   | Reading prayer<br>2 Reading quran<br>3 reading ticket prints and writing it in ledger  | 1 Speaking Arabic<br>2 Arabic<br>3 speaking in Punjabi and paharri with the colleagues                    |
| After noon | 1. Posting of daily payment and receiving vouchers<br>2. make the daily sale report for pia                        | Reading from the vouchers and writing them first in software and then in excel made sheet which I made for record<br>2 reding form the tickets and make the report according to the payable amoun t which we have to pay the airline | Speaking in urdu<br>Speaking in urdu  |
| Evening    | 1 closing the office doing last minute preparation.<br>2 nazia called<br>3 doing aftari<br>4 amadeus notes writing | 1 making notes for the next day. As in list for next day<br>2 no reding and writing<br>3 praying<br>4 reading notes from laptop and writing it in my note book   | speaking in urdu<br>2 speaking in paharri and english .<br>3 speaking in urdu and Arabic<br>4 no speaking |

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Date:16-aug-2011  
TEUSDAY

Appendix 10: Usman's personal diary extracts

Extract 1

|         |        |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|---------|--------|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| January | 2003   | S | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 |    |
|         |        | S | 5 | 12 | 19 | 26 |    |
|         |        | M | 6 | 13 | 20 | 27 |    |
|         |        | T | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |    |
|         |        | W | 8 | 15 | 22 | 29 |    |
|         |        | T | 9 | 16 | 23 | 30 |    |
| 1-364   | Week 1 | F | 3 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31 |

JANUARY  
Wednesday

1

بنابر / كانون الثاني  
الأربعاء

٢٨ شوال ١٤٢٢ هـ

7 Sweet ★ Roze

8  
9 Sweet خوش  
10 Roze  
11 Welcome  
12

3 give respect & get respect.

5 Band of Brothers

NOTES

I dedicate this diary to my family  
and the great and loving people  
of (London) (Sahar) & Dublin. and above  
Mirpur. ← all

## Extract 2

|          |      |   |   |    |    |    |
|----------|------|---|---|----|----|----|
| February | 2003 | S | 1 | 8  | 15 | 22 |
|          |      | S | 2 | 9  | 16 | 23 |
|          |      | M | 3 | 10 | 17 | 24 |
|          |      | T | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 |
|          |      | W | 5 | 12 | 19 | 26 |
|          |      | T | 6 | 13 | 20 | 27 |
|          |      | F | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |

4-561

JANUARY  
Saturday

4

بداية / كانون الثاني  
السبت

٢ ذو القعدة ١٤٢٣ هـ

7 And if we dont come back.  
8 tell them that we sacrifice  
9 our ~~tomorrow~~ today for their  
10 ~~tomorrow~~.

Pak Army

12

1

2

5

6

7

NOTES

|        |      |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|--------|------|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| March  | 2003 | S | 1 | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29 |
|        |      | S | 2 | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30 |
|        |      | M | 3 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31 |
|        |      | T | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 |    |
|        |      | W | 5 | 12 | 19 | 26 |    |
|        |      | T | 6 | 13 | 20 | 27 |    |
| 31-331 |      | F | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |    |

FEBRUARY  
Monday

3

فبراير/شباط  
الاثنين

٢ ذو الحجة ١٤٢٣ هـ

لحم من الله وفتح قريب

Pak Army

Lion hearts

Sindhi

balochi

punjabi

pathan

Kashmiri

Pak Fauj

Kay

Jawan

NOTES

29  
30  
31

2003 S 5 12 19 26  
S 6 13 20 27  
M 7 14 21 28  
T 1 8 15 22 29  
W 2 9 16 23 30  
T 3 10 17 24  
F 4 11 18 25

MARCH  
Wednesday

19

مارس  
١٩

237

١٦ محرم ١٤٢٤ هـ

7 I am a Terrorist.

8 I am an intolerant person.

9 I am a fundamentalist.

10 I am an extremist.

11 Towards every evil do

12 west like.

1 Drug Addiction.

2 prostitution.

3 Alcoholism.

4 pornography.

5

6 In U.S.A. the rate

7 of theft is higher

8 than any other country

9 of world.

22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

|            |      |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|------------|------|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| Al-Jazirah | 2003 | S | 1 | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29 |
|            |      | S | 2 | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30 |
|            |      | M | 3 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31 |
|            |      | T | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 |    |
|            |      | W | 5 | 12 | 19 | 26 |    |
|            |      | T | 6 | 13 | 20 | 27 |    |
| 44-217     |      | F | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |    |

FEBRUARY  
Monday

17

فبراير / ثمانين  
الاثنين

16 ذو الحجة 1423 هـ

SOLDIER.

S = SON OF LAND

O = OCEAN OF DIGNITY

L = LEADER OF NATION

D = DONATER OF LIFE

E = EARNER OF SHAHADAT

R = RISERS OF FLAG.

شیر دلیر جوان چٹان سیاه

NOTES

with the Frontier force regiment  
 then Sikh Regiment and M.L.I.  
 One each.

## Extract 6

APRIL Tuesday 15  
15 ربيع الثاني 1432 هـ

parent i love them very much. but i have no shame in stating that i love my wife both loves her. Their own places in my heart i love my [redacted] and [redacted] too and my own kid is coming on 20th of January 2011. I've just stepped out of my teenage and.

APRIL Wednesday 16  
16 ربيع الثاني 1432 هـ

I am becoming a father how lucky iam that is just because of my wife [redacted] I love her so much.

[redacted] is my love. She is like a dove. [redacted] is my life. She is my wife. [redacted] is my every prayer. I Dont want to share. She is a gift.

## Extract 7

APRIL Sunday 20  
20 ربيع الثاني 1432 هـ

physically but emotionally and. Heartly she is with me all the time she walks with me my head pumps always her name. and my breath continues just because of her thoughts inside my mind.

She lived with me only for three weeks but in them 3 weeks she made me the happiest blok on the

APRIL Monday 21  
21 ربيع الثاني 1432 هـ

planet and i know that i've made her the most happy and the most satisfied girl on the planet. I love her so much because she loved me the same. She cares for me and she used to look within my eyes in the way. no body ever did and most of all she is the one who celebrated my birthday - me body. eky did that too. and as a matter of fact i 've



# Extract 8

|       |     |      |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|-------|-----|------|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| 19 26 | Mon | 2003 | S | 3 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31 |
| 20 27 |     |      | S | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 |    |
| 21 28 |     |      | M | 5 | 12 | 19 | 26 |    |
| 22 29 |     |      | T | 6 | 13 | 20 | 27 |    |
| 23 30 |     |      | W | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |    |
| 24 31 |     |      | T | 1 | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29 |
| 25    |     |      | F | 2 | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30 |

APRIL  
Monday

28

٢٧ صفر ١٤٢٤ هـ

إبريل / نيسان  
الاثنين

7 [Redacted]  
8 [Redacted]  
9 [Redacted]  
10 ~~~~~> ~~~~~>

11 2nd January 2011.

12 Today its been 2 months and  
1 20 days and no answer.  
2 I am waiting and waiting.  
3 and waiting and waiting.....  
4 and still waiting.  
5 and There's nothing else i can  
6 do Can i?  
7

NOTES

## **Appendix 11: List of documentation to support visa application for Pakistani migrants to the UK**

### Requirements from the UK:

- Sponsor's passport (attested; including departure/arrival stamps *[English]*)
- Sponsor's original bank statements *[English]*
- Sponsor's job letter confirming monthly/annual salary and pay slips *[English]*
- Divorce decree *[English]*
- Sponsorship declaration *[English or translation]*
- Land registry *[English]*
- Property survey report *[English]*
- Personal correspondence: (telephone bills to show they have spoken to someone partner in the UK if they are illiterate, emails, greetings cards) *[English or Urdu]*

### Requirements from Pakistan

- Valid passport *[English]*
- Marriage certificate *[must be translated into English and attested by oath]*
- Applicant parents' full name and DOB *[English or translation]*
- Divorce decree *[English or translation]*
- Proof of relationship between sponsor and applicant (photographs, personal correspondence, telephone bills, emails, greetings cards) *[English or Urdu]*
- UKBA approved English language certificate *[English]*

## Appendix 12: Usman's visa application extract

8.4.11 Do you intend to live with your sponsor permanently?  
Put a cross (x) in the relevant box

Yes ☒ No ☐

8.4.12 Have you lived with your sponsor in a relationship like a marriage or civil partnership at any time (including since a wedding or civil partnership ceremony)?  
Put a cross (x) in the relevant box

Yes ☒ No ☐

If 'Yes' please give full details

MY LOVING WIFE AND I LIVED TOGETHER AS A MARRIED COUPLE FROM LATE 1990S UNTIL 1998. DURING THIS PERIOD WE HAD BEEN CHASING FOR A PERMIT AS A RESULT MY WIFE IS PREGNANT WE ARE COMMITTED TO REMAIN AS A MARRIED COUPLE FOR EVER.

8.4.13 Have you or your sponsor ever been married or in a long-term marriage like relationship before?  
Put a cross (x) in the relevant box

Yes ☒ No ☐

If 'Yes' please give full details

SPONSOR WAS ONLY MARRIED PREVIOUSLY TO ONE [REDACTED] THE MARRIAGE WAS BROKEN AND AS A RESULT A FINAL ISLAMIC TALAQ OBTAINED ON 20-3-2001 ISLAMIC

8.4.14 Does your sponsor have any children?  
Put a cross (x) in the relevant box

Yes ☒ No ☐

If 'Yes' please provide full details of each of your sponsor's children

[REDACTED] DOB 08-5-1971 [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] DOB 16-2-2003 [REDACTED]

8.4.15 Is your sponsor responsible for supporting anyone financially including any children listed above?  
Put a cross (x) in the relevant box

Yes ☒ No ☐

If 'Yes' please give full details

[REDACTED]

Now go to Part 8.6 'Your life in the UK'

### 8.5 Other Dependents

Only complete this section if you are NOT applying as a fiancé(e), spouse, unmarried partner, civil partner, partner or proposed civil partner.

8.5.1 How exactly are you and your sponsor related?

NA

8.5.2 Who do you live with at the moment and what is your relationship to them?

NA

8.5.3 Who owns your home and what is your relationship to them?

8.5.4 Who supports you financially and what is your relationship to them?

NA

8.5.5 What other family members do you have and where do they live?

8.5.6 How often do you see these family members?

8.5.7 Is your sponsor responsible for anyone else's financial support? Put a cross (x) in the relevant box

Yes ☒ No ☐

If 'Yes' please give full details

[REDACTED]

09

9

SETTLEMENT (VAF4A DEC 2008)

## Appendix 13: 'Trafford' Facebook transcript and translation

### Language guide

Purple = Mirpuri Punjabi but referred to as Pahari by Usman

Blue = Greater Punjabi

Green = Urdu

Red = English

| Name           | Date        | Time   | Words  |
|----------------|-------------|--------|--|
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 3.38am | teri o phet gaya ha tou to :P<br>you look spoiled :P   |
| Usman          | February 21 | 3.40am | Pai ji kha pi kay say jao to yehi<br>hoga na lol<br>this is what happens when you eat<br>too much and go to sleep lol  |
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 3.41am | aho a v gal sahi ha ahir d.... ka<br>yahi kam to hota khata peta n sata<br>:P<br>that's true, after all, that's all there<br>is to do, eat, drink and sleep :P |
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 3.42am | tou abi tk jag raha ha ? ghar ki<br>chokidari :P k liya pc so ja aub<br>Why are you still up? Are you<br>nightguarding :P Now go to sleep                      |
| Usman          | February 21 | 3.45am | Kutay job pe hun haraami<br>Dog I'm at the job, bastard  |
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 3.46am | oooo chokidari ki job gud job pc<br>ktna pound kma raha ha?<br>It's a gud job of nightwatchman<br>you know how many pounds are<br>you earning from that?       |

|                |             |         |  |
|----------------|-------------|---------|--|
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 3.46am  | hahaha   |
| Usman          | February 21 | 3.55am  | Kutay kaafi hain<br>I earn enough  |
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 3.56am  | kafi han tabhi tou b kar raha warna<br>tera jesa chawal to pocket sa 1 r.s<br>nahi nekal skta<br>must be enough otherwise you<br>wouldn't say it was enough given<br>the kind of miser you are who<br>doesn't spend 1 rupee from his<br>own pocket |
| Imran          | February 21 | 4.21am  | ooo very nice usman  |
| Usman          | February 21 | 4.29am  | Tu dafa ho ja<br>get lost  |
| Usman          | February 21 | 4.29am  | Oho lala imran kya haal hain aap<br>kay<br>Oho big brother imran how are<br>you?   |
| Mohsin         | February 21 | 5.53am  | oye chawal tu england chala gay?<br>oye idiot have you gone to<br>england?   |
| Usman          | February 21 | 6.57am  | shabbash janab mohsin saab<br>well done Mr Mohsin, sir   |
| Mohsin         | February 21 | 8.40am  | bachay kabi nai maaf karta tu...<br>akheer e chawli mari ha tu nay. Dil<br>torr dia....:(<br>son you know that in the end<br>you've messed it up like we were<br>good friends but in the end you<br>didn't tell me. just broke my heart<br>....:(  |
| Adeel          | February 21 | 11.50am | Kia Hall hai janab shopping ho<br>rehee hai Kia  |

|                |             |        |   |
|----------------|-------------|--------|---|
|                |             |        | How are you and are you shopping?   |
| Saleem         | February 21 | 3.19pm | Wow, Maza karoo Bro, Allah Khush rakha app ko<br>Wow, enjoy life Bro, may Allah bless you   |
| Usman          | February 21 | 4.33pm | Oho mohsin kya hua yra<br>you know mohsin what happened<br>it's no big deal   |
| Usman          | February 21 | 4.33pm | Thank you Saleem bhai<br>Thank you Saleem bhai  |
| Usman          | February 21 | 4.34pm | Haan ji adil bhai day off tha is liye<br>Trafford gya hua tha<br>Yes sir Adeel mate, it was my day off so I went to the Trafford  |
| Salman Raja Ak | February 21 | 4.38pm | shopping wal e guard ha idhr ka<br>he's not shopping he's a guard there   |
| Usman          | February 21 | 5.30pm | Kupi kutay baaz aaja<br>Watch out dog behave  |
| Mohsin         | February 21 | 6.44pm | jatay howay aik msg b nai kar k<br>gaya kameenay....<br>you know you didn't send me any message even one message before going.... |
| Usman          | February 21 | 9.17pm | Sorry my love   |
| Sunny Baba     | February 22 | 3.37am | pccccc if I say the truth you say behave  |
| Kamran         | February 22 | 4.41am | nice raja g   |

## Appendix 14: 'Poor Noor' Facebook transcript and translation

### Language guide

Red = British Standard English

Red = Pakistani English


Red = American English

Green = Arabic

Green = Urdu

| Name              | Date   | Time    | Words   |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---|
| Zara Begum        | May 28 | 5.09pm  | <i>Wats happened to poor Noor!!!!</i>                         |
| Fahd<br>Tenacious | May 28 | 6.06pm  | <i>My little dude, hi.</i>                                    |
| Usman             | May 28 | 6.50pm  | <i>He slipped while walking and broke his arm</i>             |
| Zara Begum        | May 28 | 7.54pm  | <i>Aw bless him.hpe he gets better.</i>                       |
| Usman             | May 28 | 11.18pm | <i>He is better now been through operation he is good now</i> |
| Kamran            | May 28 | 11.19pm | <i>nice picture....</i>                                       |
| Zahir             | May 29 | 8.56am  | <i>!!!nice photo bhai</i>                                     |
| Fahd<br>Tenacious | June 1 | 1.21pm  | <i>Father take care of him ok nae to....</i>                  |

| Name              | Date   | Time    | Words   |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---|
| Zara Begum        | May 28 | 5.09pm  | <i>Wats happened to poor Noor!!!!</i>                         |
| Fahd<br>Tenacious | May 28 | 6.06pm  | <i>My little dude, hi.</i>                                    |
| Usman             | May 28 | 6.50pm  | <i>He slipped while walking and broke his arm</i>             |
| Zara Begum        | May 28 | 7.54pm  | <i>Aw bless him.hpe he gets better.</i>                       |
| Usman             | May 28 | 11.18pm | <i>He is better now been through operation he is good now</i> |
| Kamran            | May 28 | 11.19pm | <i>nice picture....</i>                                       |

|                   |        |        |   |
|-------------------|--------|--------|---|
| Zahir             | May 29 | 8.56am |  !!!nice photo brother |
| Fahd<br>Tenacious | June 1 | 1.21pm | <i>Father take care of him otherwise...</i>   |



## **Appendix 15: Chapter 8 interview extracts**

### **Extract 1**

Usman: It's in Urdu but like the modern day Urdu, like the Urdu that persons like me will speak not the persons like er who got the got the good but of Urdu 'cause first there was too much Urdu in our curriculum, social studies in Urdu, but now the social studies is in English and all that, so now there's more English, so the kids went to so the kids goes to the slang Urdu like that [points to written abbreviated Urdu in the transcript in front of us]

### **Extract 2**

Usman: he's always used slang Urdu 'cause he's got friends in Islamabad girls or boys ... he got friends in Islamabad and all that and those boys and girls use this kind of language you know we never use

Tony: you never use it?

Usman: we never use it because if he uses that kind Urdu kind of slang then we'll use it kind of Pahari slang

Tony: Ah right, but where's he from? He's from Mirpur?

Usman: He's from Mirpur

Tony: But he's got lots of friends in Islamabad?

Usman: He's got friends in Islamabad that's why

Tony: But he'd still use that slang Urdu with you?

Usman: Yeah

Tony: And you understand it, or enough of it?

Usman: No like all of it. We can understand it. But we don't do it. We don't do it.

Tony: Why wouldn't you do it?

Usman: 'cause it's not our thing.

Tony: OK

Usman: our thing is more like Pahari line

Tony: And why do you think that? 'Cause you're both from Mirpur? Why do you think that your thing is more Pahari line?

Usman: 'Cause I don't have any friends in Urdu

Tony: You don't have any friends who want to speak Urdu?

Usman: I do have friends who speak Urdu but they don't they don't they don't want to speak Urdu because if you're a friend you don't need to be formal and all that, this is not formal [pointing to written slang Urdu in the transcript] this is more like slang. He's got into a habit that's why

### **Extract 3**

Tony: Every word. Why all in Pahari?

Usman: 'Cause I know he'll understand it and er he's my friend so that's why

Tony: OK

Usman: He's the close one if he wasn't the close one I wouldn't use it

### **Extract 4**

Tony: why is your brother writing to you in English?

Usman: Every time this one every time yeah

Tony: Really. Why would he do that?

Usman: I don't know 'cause I told him to do that, it's good

Tony: Really

Usman: Look at that [pointing to Zahir's on-screen written English and quoting Zahir's words] 'what's going on?' he's alright with English, he's very much alright with English

Tony: Yeah I know they're alright with English but...

Usman [interrupting]: why do they choose it? 'cause 'cause this one [Zahir] he don't use mobile as much he has the thing with the mobiles. I use mobiles so much so I know I can [pointing to abbreviated word] what does that mean and all that. He don't use mobiles as much

Tony: Ah right so you can understand some of the...

Usman [interrupting] some of the slang and all that cos I used to do it but he never do it

Tony: Ah OK

Usman: You know he just studies and so he knows English

### **Extract 5**

Zahir has asked Usman 'what's going on?' to which Usman has replied 'nofing'

Tony: You're telling him to use English but then you're using informal English. Why are you doing that?

Usman: so that so that he could know that this is the word nofing so he can use it

Tony: is that a word?

Usman: Nofing [pronounced with /f/]

Tony: [spelling out the letters] N-O-F-I-N-G?

Usman: Yeah, it's not a word. Nothing is a word. But if you pronounce it nofing [Hillington accent] so you know it's alright

Tony: So he'll know that you're teaching him informal English?

Usman: So it's alright for him to know

Tony: But Zahir isn't going to come [to Hillington] he's not the brother who is gonna come?

Usman: He's not gonna come, no, not gonna come.

### **Extract 6**

Tony: why do you think he's using Urdu?

Usman: [yawns] why is he using Urdu? 'cause he's alright with it

Tony: why's he not writing Mirpuri?

Usman: 'cause I don't think he knows how to write the you know [pointing to the romanized Mirpuri on the transcript in front of us on the table]

Tony: Ah OK so he wouldn't get into trying to find a roman word for a Mirpuri word?

Usman: no he won't he'll just go with the Urdu

Tony: But then why does he know Urdu with the roman word 'cause when he writes Urdu it's in Urdu script?

Usman: It's in Urdu script 'cause he knows Urdu and he knows how to write it 'cause he knows a bit of English so Urdu in English is alright and he knows he knows Pahari but he didn't practise

### **Extract 7**

Tony: [pointing to the opening line of Zara's posting] Why has she used English there do you think?

Usman: 'cause she's from here and er cause she's from here

Tony: and would she normally use English?

Usman: Yes she'd normally use English when she speaks ... she don't she knows how to speak Punjabi but I don't think she knows how to write Punjabi Urdu

Tony: Ah right so would you say it's because...

Usman: [interrupting] because she doesn't know how to do the roman ... I think so ... maybe she does but she don't do it with me ... 'cause 'er doing the roman thing is quite frank quite frank. If I use roman with you then that means I'm alright with you. And she's ... em ... she's wife of my cousin so she's so if she wants to talk to me she'll make out like it's alright

Tony: So is it to do with how formal the language is?

Usman: Yup it does 'cause if the person like like like ... if you knew the roman English I'll use the roman English with you but you don't know so that's why I use English ... er I won't use the roman English with my uncle

Tony: What would you use?

Usman: I'd use English or I'd use Urdu

Tony: Have you ever seen her use the roman Urdu?

Usman: That's what I'm sayin' that I don't know maybe she does but she never use it with me.

### **Extract 8**

Tony: [pointing to the word 'hpe' meaning 'hope'] is that something you do?

Usman: yeah I do sometimes

Tony: does she do it a lot?

Usman: I think she does

Tony: why does she use that kind of English?

Usman: um because she's too much under the influence of her friends teenage friends they does it when ... it doesn't matter

Tony: where do you think she started to use that kind of language first?

Usman: from sms from friends I think. You know what when they do the sms that's that's Facebook, that's totally another thing. But when we use the sms we just do like very quick it's like chatting [mimics texting with thumb]

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