

Unlocking Cultural Treasures: Viewpoints of Preschool Teachers Working with Refugee Children on Funds of Knowledge

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ABSTRACT: Funds of knowledge (FoK) is one of the most practical approaches used in multicultural classrooms, particularly in countries hosting numerous refugees. This phenomenological study examined the experiences of 21 preschool teachers working with refugee children regarding how they define FoK and the value of knowing FoK. Accordingly, teachers had comprehensive perspectives regarding FoK. They perceived FoK as valuable in developing bonds and overcoming prejudices. This study revealed the necessity of internalizing the asset approach for inclusive early childhood settings. Policymakers worldwide should incorporate FoK into teacher training and early childhood education curricula. Increasing studies regarding FoK is strongly recommended.

KEYWORDS: Funds of knowledge, early childhood educators, multicultural classroom, children, refugee children

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In recent years, population displacement has dramatically increased worldwide, reaching 108.4 million people, of which 35.3 million are refugees, and 43.3 million are children (UNHCR, 2023). The United Nations defined refugees as the individuals who left their home country because of violence, feared persecution, conflict, or other situations that disturbed public order and so required protection internationally (2023). Among countries hosting refugees worldwide, Türkiye hosts the largest refugee population at 3.4 million, followed closely by the Islamic Republic of Iran (UNHCR, 2023).

Even though explicit policies and practices regarding diversity remain scarce (Tak Hue & Karim, 2023), the rising number of refugees has been accompanied by solutions for helping refugees rebuild their lives, including local integration, as well as improving various policies or strategies worldwide (OECD, 2021). Studies in education regarding increased cultural, social, and linguistic diversity have brought about inclusive educational practices (Banks, 2015; Lim & Kester, 2023). These educational practices serve as tools for increasing the cultural competence of educators in recognizing, interpreting, and valuing diversity in educational settings. Culturally competent educators who can apply relevant educational practices and actively integrate these practices into curriculum are a priority (Eden et al., 2024). Such educators are needed to provide an inclusive learning environment where children with diverse backgrounds can feel engaged, safe, and supported through recognition of their identities and home cultures (Cooper et al., 2023; Pathak et al., 2024).

With such goals in mind, greater emphasis on and practices with culturally responsive pedagogy have been established (Cun, 2021; Lim & Kester, 2023). Educators who need to enhance inclusive learning environments in which diversity is appreciated, and equity is provided for all children, must explore diverse strategies and approaches (Eden et al., 2024). The funds of knowledge (FoK) approach (Gonzalez et al., 2005) helps to fill this need by providing a model to recognize, connect, and respect the lived experiences of immigrant families.

Through FoK, educators can reverse disassociation, apathy, and prejudices of both children and parents as well as maintain enthusiasm for learning about diversity and children's learning characteristics (Clement et al., 2015). The FoK approach can become an essential factor in increasing the quality of education due to its responsiveness towards parents and children, judgement of diversity, and parent-child-teacher relationships in multicultural classrooms (Pathak et al., 2024). Also, strong connections between family and school are linked to improved learning in children (Assefa & Zenebe, 2024), sense of belonging (Hue & Karim, 2023), and mutual respect (Guliya et al., 2023). Thus, the need for research that investigates both children's and their parents' FoK in multicultural classrooms becomes evident. In this context, the aim of the current study is to examine how Turkish preschool teachers define FoK as well as to understand the value of FoK for refugee children and their families in school settings.

Conceptualization of FoK

The roots of FoK date back to the 1990s as a counterpoint to the ideas that children of working-class families were not provided rich and stimulating learning environments, which led to disadvantages (Moll et al., 1992). Moll and colleagues (1992) proposed that families gain comprehensive “funds of knowledge,” defined as “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for households or individual functioning and well-being” (p. 133). This approach has roots in Vygotsky’s (1998) sociocultural perspective, which posits that a person should be understood within their sociocultural environment, since the person’s experiences and personhood are not only inherently driven, but developed through transmission and interaction with nearby cultural and social resources.

FoK is intertwined with culture, comprehended as the shared patterns of life that belong to a social group and transmitted through generations (Eisenhart, 2001). This approach to pedagogy recognizes the varied cultural knowledge that families bring into educational settings because it covers not only facts and skills but also the ways learning is formed by social relationships, lived experiences, and cultural history (Clement et al., 2015). FoK goes beyond academic content to include values, habits, beliefs, skills, and social networks owing to everyday life experiences. FoK is holistic in that it also considers personal experiences, dispositions, attitudes, social relations, beliefs, and even metacognitive skills such as making sense of numbers. These qualities reflect a blend of individual, cultural, social, and cognitive resources, affecting not only how people learn but also how they relate their knowledge with others (Oughton, 2010). FoK recognizes a rich tapestry of learning that draws on diverse resources from individual perspectives to values and practices gained through social interactions.

Value of Knowing FoK

The National Association for the Education of Young Children (2020) revised professional standards and competencies for early childhood educators by highlighting the importance of providing responsive learning environments, being knowledgeable about characteristics of parents and children from diverse backgrounds, having mutual and respectful trust, and recognizing culture to maintain cohesion between the home and school environment, values stemming directly from FoK (Kim, 2023; Moll et al., 1992; Nash et al., 2024).

Considering the myriad ways FoK is understood, it offers numerous opportunities for reaching children and recognizing their cultural identity (Oliveira & Gallo, 2023), which ultimately empowers teacher, parent, and student relationships (Ramos & Kiyama, 2021). Especially, FoK attempts to provide effective practices for diverse children. This goal is centered on the acquisition of information about others’ real-life practices; that is, “what people do and what they

say about what they do” (Gonzalez, 2005, p. 40), instead of relying upon negative assumptions, mindsets, or stereotypes. This goal assists teachers in finding suitable ways to scaffold learning by confirming children’s backgrounds, skills, and/or competencies (Kim, 2023) because FoK acts as a “virtual backpack” made up of all the lived experiences of children (Barblett et al., 2023), their understanding of themselves, as well as their understanding of their family and community, which they take with them into early childhood settings (Boylan et al., 2023). Thus, FoK relates to family structure, familial culture, and historical knowledge, and using this approach in preschool education can create a bridge between home and school by decreasing gaps between families and teachers (Cooper et al., 2023).

FoK has many benefits for children, their parents, and teachers. First, it is regarded as a tool for supporting a child’s transition to school, used as a bridge between information about the child along with the needed practices to be utilized in learning environments (Boylan et al., 2023). Also, FoK assists teachers in noticing children’s interests, passions, and skills, which later can be used in curriculum to encourage learning (Subero et al., 2017). For example, relating FoK with curricular content such as literacy and social sciences engages children more in the learning process (Llopart & Guitart, 2017). Along with understanding that FoK is vital for children’s learning, various studies emphasize its impact on triad interaction between child, family, and the teacher. FoK facilitates children getting to know one another and showing respect for diverse life experiences by boosting communication and fostering compromise, trust, and collaboration among children and families (Gilde & Volman, 2021).

Along with the value of FoK for children, FoK is also beneficial to teachers who need to learn the backgrounds of the families with whom they work (Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020). As Whyte and Karabon (2016) indicate, teachers are more likely to internalize an asset-based mentality when they connect cultural resources and home knowledge with school learning, and it assists teachers and families in developing mutual trust and relationships (Kim, 2023). In addition, interactions between teachers, children, and their families improve cultural sensitivity and reduce prejudices about cultural differences of all involved (Kurucz, 2020). Therefore, FoK is helpful for enhancing responsive and quality teacher-family partnerships (Sebolt, 2018).

In the literature, several studies about FoK have been conducted in various countries, including the United States (Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020; Ramos & Kiyama, 2021; Subero et al., 2017), New Zealand (Cooper et al., 2023), Mexico (Álvarez, 2021), Spain (Llopart & Guitart, 2017), and the Netherlands (Gilde & Volman, 2021). In a study conducted by Navarro-Cruz and Luschel (2020), Latina mothers living in the United States were consulted. Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and have particular and diverse needs. Accordingly, researchers studied this group with the aim of developing partnerships among teachers and families. For example, researchers intended to explore factors in preschools regarding high-quality education. Analysis of results gathered from a study by Navarro-Cruz and Luschel (2020) made within the scope of the FoK approach showed that mother’s preferences for their own children’s

schooling derived from their own personal experiences. This indicated that when defining quality education factors, valuing and understanding the FoK of parents from diverse cultural backgrounds should be considered. In another study conducted by Cooper et al. (2023) in New Zealand, the researchers made projects with teachers who work with marginalized Māori learners through reaching out and identifying the children's and their families' FoK. The project outcomes showed that teachers seeking FoK for this group of students empowered their participation and created caring relationships; the learning experiences they fostered became more equitable, collaboration with families strengthened, and the dominant learning culture was challenged. Following the projects, the researchers explained how the FoK approach is suitable for use with culturally diverse students, especially among ethnic minorities. Additionally, Gilde and Volman (2021) identified how primary school teachers engaged the FoK of students within their classrooms. Participants of the study were primary school teachers who worked in primary grade multicultural classrooms in Amsterdam, Netherlands. Action research methodology was used to improve FoK practices and teacher competencies. It was shown in the results that teachers used learning moments, lessons, and projects to reach students' FoK within the classroom, as well as to communicate with parents and colleagues. Also, these teachers made connections between curriculum and the FoK of students to make the learning process more meaningful. Furthermore, it is recommended that teachers should first be aware of the presence of FoK, then they should focus on connecting students' FoK and classroom curriculum.

The research revealed there are many studies about how FoK is related to quality education (Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020); the necessity of these studies within multicultural classrooms is highlighted (Cooper et al., 2023). But still, there are several challenges existing within these educational practices, such as teacher bias (Llopart et al., 2018), prejudice regarding families (Volman & Gilde, 2021), language barriers among children, teachers, and parents (Zhang-Yu et al., 2023), inadequate administrative support from schools (Butler & Miretzky, 2020), and lacking classroom resources or time constraints within the daily educational program (Durham et al., 2023). To overcome these challenges, studies examining the value of FoK, such as the current study, can act as a guiding light by providing new insights into the literature on multicultural environments.

To bridge the gap in the literature, the first aim of the current study was to reveal teachers' descriptions of FoK, which illuminates teachers' awareness of FoK. As Gilde and Volman (2020) mentioned, only after teachers know the description of FoK can they have an awareness of how to make the appropriate educational choices. Second, in the current study, the aim was to depict the value of FoK through teachers' own self-reported classroom practices, especially focusing on early childhood education classrooms as well as providing a fresh and unique perspective that includes children from diverse backgrounds, as stressed by Cooper et al. (2023), for quality education to occur (Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020).

Moreover, countries such as Türkiye, which hosts the greatest number of refugees (UN, 2022) at 3.4 million, have conducted limited research examining FoK. This indicates a need for in-depth research on FoK with early childhood teachers, especially in the countries hosting the greatest number of refugees. This study was conducted in Türkiye; we believe it can be a reference for countries such as the Islamic Republic of Iran with 3.4 million refugees, Germany with 2.5 million, Colombia also with 2.5 million, Pakistan with 2.1 million (UNHCR, 2023), as well as other countries settling large numbers of refugee children and their families.

All in all, it is necessary to learn the FoK experiences of teachers who work with refugee children in multicultural classrooms, as well as to determine the value they place on FoK for developing educational practices related to cultural competence (Eden et al., 2024). By improving teacher practices with FoK, there can be various benefits, such as enhancing professional early childhood programs (Douglass, 2018) and the bonds educators develop with families (Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020), recognizing, connecting, and respecting these families' lived experiences (Kim, 2023). FoK can also help teachers learn more about the children's diversity and individual characteristics (Clement et al., 2015) and help them bridge the relationship between home and school (Cooper et al., 2023; Gonzalez et al., 2005).

Contextual Background

Among the 108.4 million people displaced worldwide, children constitute 40% at 43.3 million (UNHCR, 2023). Türkiye hosts 3.4 million refugees, 47% of whom are children (UNHCR, 2023; UNICEF, 2022). According to the Ministry of National Education of Türkiye, 53,170 refugee children were enrolled in formal early childhood education during the 2021-2022 academic year (MoNE, 2022). However, due to refugee families' low socioeconomic status, language barriers, and traditional family structure, teachers have often found it challenging to incorporate students and families into the Turkish educational system (MoNE, 2022). Using the FoK approach can be helpful for including refugees in preschool settings by transforming differences into richness, due to FoK's emphasis on improving trust between teachers, children, and parents (Gonzalez, 2005; Ramos & Kiyama, 2021). Additionally, as Cooper and colleagues highlighted (2023), through FoK, negative mindsets, stereotypes, and/or assumptions regarding minority groups can be replaced with more positive knowledge and communication. All these aspects bring a fresh perspective to the current study context of Türkiye, which is hosting the largest number of refugees in the world and making efforts to incorporate the FoK approach in early childhood education.

In the current study, the intention was to examine Turkish preschool teachers' definitions of FoK, as well as expressions of the value of knowing FoK by those who are working with refugee children. In sum, researchers attempted to answer the following questions: (1) How do preschool teachers working in multicultural classrooms in Türkiye describe FoK? (2) What are the self-reported

beliefs of preschool teachers in Türkiye who are working in multicultural classrooms regarding the value of knowing FoK?

Methodology

In this study, phenomenological research design was conducted to identify, understand, and describe preschool teachers' self-reports regarding their definitions of FoK and the value of knowing the FoK of students and the students' parents. According to Fraenkel et al. (2012), qualitative phenomenological research "...investigates various reactions to, or perceptions of a particular phenomenon" (p. 432). Because it allows for an in-depth exploration of participants' lived experiences and views that are crucial for understanding the nuanced and subjective nature of their perceptions of FoK, phenomenological research design was chosen.

Participants

Twenty-one volunteer preschool teachers working in different multicultural early childhood classrooms in Ankara, the capital city of Türkiye, participated in the study. Purposive sampling was used in selecting teachers working in nine different public kindergartens during the 2022-2023 academic year. Purposive sampling means that participants were intentionally chosen based on characteristics that make them likely to provide insight into the examined phenomenon (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018). Inclusion criteria for participants were two-fold. First, preschool teachers had to work with children aged 3-6-years-old in public independent kindergartens or public kindergartens affiliated with primary schools. Second, they needed to have at least one refugee child in their classroom. Researchers contacted school principals via telephone or face-to-face to reach preschool teachers; participation for teachers was voluntary.

All teachers in this study were female, aged 28-46 years old ($M=33.19$), had between 4-22 years teaching experience ($M=10.55$), and worked with 3-6 year-old preschoolers, who were of Syrian and Turkish origins, in multicultural classrooms. Moreover, teachers held an early childhood education bachelor's degree, child development bachelor's, or associate degree. This study is a part of a broader research project aimed at exploring preschool teachers' views and experiences within multicultural classrooms.

Data Collection

The data collection process encompassed semi-structured interviews with 21 teachers in this study. Researchers prepared the interview protocol based on

previous studies (Clement et al., 2015; Gilde & Volman, 2021; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Llopart & Guitart, 2017; Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020; Ramos & Maquez Kiyama, 2021; Rodriguez, 2013), according to the specific needs of Türkiye, and the specific research questions of this study. Insights from prior research, for instance the work of Gonzales et al. (2005) on theorizing practices of FoK, provided a foundational understanding of the primary themes such as culturally responsive teaching practices and identifiers of FoK. This comprehensive approach ensured the interview protocol was relevant, culturally reflective, and aligned with the study's aim. After obtaining expert opinions and piloting with two teachers unrelated to the main study, a final semi-structured interview form was established which included 11 open-ended questions, as presented in Appendix C. This was done to ensure each interview session provided sufficient and thoughtful insights into teachers' perceptions regarding FoK. The interview questions were comprised of demographic, experience-oriented, impact, and perception-related types of questions. Examples of demographic questions include, "Could you please tell us about yourself?" and "How many years have you been teaching?" During the interviews, the researchers asked, "What do you understand by FoK? How do you define it?" After gaining teachers' responses, researchers provided a brief explanation of FoK for the teachers to establish a viewpoint of FoK in the educational context without affecting participants' sharing, as suggested by Alby and Fatigante (2014). Because FoK is not specified formally in the national program, it can be used as a hidden curriculum component.

Procedure

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 preschool teachers, either face-to-face (n=15) or online (n=6) in Turkish, which is the native language of the participants and the researchers. Each interview session involved the participation of two researchers and one teacher. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in secluded school rooms to ensure privacy. The interviews typically lasted 40 to 45 minutes and were recorded using digital audio-recording equipment. Online interviews were conducted and recorded with an online meeting program. Following the interviews, the recordings were securely stored on password-protected devices to maintain confidentiality. Then, the recordings were transcribed verbatim manually by the researchers. After transcription, these interviews were translated into English by researchers fluent in Turkish and English, and proofreading was conducted by a native speaker. Transcription files were stored on encrypted drives.

Data Analysis

Thematic content analysis was used to analyze patterns within the qualitative dataset. Data coding was conducted using the inductive approach for

developing themes, as outlined by Saldaña and Omasta (2018). Accordingly, the researchers systematically developed a detailed understanding of the data with a two-cycle process. Three different coders, the first, second, and fourth researchers of this study, independently read all transcripts multiple times to identify initial codes, which were subsequently combined to form categories. This analysis was done using MAXQDA software. In the end, the categories that emerged formed themes. For example, initial codes included “cultured”, “environment-based experiences”, “lifestyle”, “communication style”, “life perspective”, and “accumulative family culture”, which together formed the category of “lifelong experiences”. The other initial codes included “family structure”, “songs/folksongs”, “language, religion, and race”, “fashion”, and “food”, which together formed the category of “identifiers of FoK”. These two categories named “lifelong experiences” and “identifiers of FoK” formed the theme of “description of FoK”. Following the independent coding phase, the coders convened multiple times to negotiate the themes that had emerged from the data. This negotiation involved discussions to reconcile differences and achieve consensus on the thematic structures. After establishing thematic structures for the whole data set, the final two researchers examined the codes, categories, and themes. Then, five researchers met to debate the data and structure, and consensus was reached. The data analysis process showed the sum of codes within the categories exceeded the total number of participants. This occurred because some participants referred to the same code multiple times during the interviews. In other words, a single participant might have contributed two different codes within the same category, and this multiple contribution resulted in them being counted more than once. Yet, this is a recognized aspect of qualitative analysis (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018).

Trustworthiness

According to Fraenkel et al. (2012), trustworthiness is crucial in qualitative research. Researchers justify their conclusions from data obtained via the instrument, which in our case was semi-structured interview questions. The interview protocol was checked by an expert from early childhood education and the education of refugee children. Revisions were made to the instrument according to the expert evaluations. Additionally, interviews were conducted with two preschool teachers as a pilot prior to the main study. The pilot study enabled researchers to recognize which interview questions were appropriate to the study’s aim. As a result, some questions were revised to be more explicit and, overall, the clarity of the questions improved. Next, coders met multiple times throughout the analysis process to discuss themes. After coding the data, the inter-coder reliability was checked manually by using the formula from Miles and Huberman (1994). The study’s reliability was assessed using the entirety of the data and was satisfied with 94% agreement among three coders (Miles & Huberman, 1994). 100% agreement was achieved among the research team. Moreover, to ensure intercoder reliability, theme-code compatibility was evaluated. For instance, after

themes were created, a reverse check of each code for each theme was conducted by the researchers (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018).

Researcher Reflexivity

All five researchers were affiliated as instructors at two different universities in the same city in Türkiye and their native language was Turkish. Regarding the researchers' backgrounds, each was experienced in qualitative research and had no direct connection to the population studied. Therefore, they had an outsider perspective. First, four researchers, who were research and teaching assistants and at the same time doctoral students, conducted the interviews with preschool teachers in Turkish. The fifth researcher was a lecturer who worked on early childhood education, preschool teacher education, multicultural education, and parent engagement. She played a consultant role in developing and conducting the research. The positionalities of the researchers as outsiders supported the neutrality characteristic while conducting interviews with participant teachers and collecting, analyzing, and reporting data, as suggested by Holmes (2020). Researchers were all affiliated with early childhood education departments, and they all had an interest in the education of refugee children as well as FoK. Three of the researchers had teaching experience in culturally diverse preschool classrooms, and two researchers had conducted empirical studies on multicultural education by observing and collecting data from teachers, parents, and children, providing them with a background in this area.

Ethics

This study received ethical approval from a public university (Reference No: 0152-ODTUIAEK-2023). Additionally, consent forms were obtained from voluntary teachers to ensure informed participation. The participants were explicitly informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time in alignment with ethical guidelines (Fraenkel et al., 2012).

Limitations

The nature of phenomenological studies emphasizes the importance of participants' experiences and perspectives, and the insights provided by preschool teachers through interviews conducted in this study were highly valuable. While phenomenological research inherently values subjective representations (Fraenkel et al., 2012), relying solely on self-reported data might introduce biases such as social desirability or insufficient sharing of information with the researchers. However, the rich and in-depth qualitative findings of this study

provided a foundation for future research with larger samples as well as offered valuable insights to inform and strengthen more generalizable studies. Future research can incorporate additional data collection means, such as observations or document analysis, to validate and enrich the findings derived from this study.

Findings

Researchers attempted to answer the following research questions: (1) How do preschool teachers working in multicultural classrooms in Türkiye describe FoK? (2); What are the self-reported beliefs of preschool teachers in Türkiye who are working in multicultural classrooms regarding the value of knowing FoK? Accordingly, teachers' definitions regarding FoK, under two categories, and their beliefs on the value of knowing FoK, including six categories, are presented below. To clarify the reporting order of findings, the flow of the findings is given in Figure 1.

DESCRIPTION OF FoK	Lifelong experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultured • Environment- based experiences • Lifestyle • Communication style • Life perspective • Accumulative family culture
	Identifiers of FoK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family structure • Songs/ folksongs • Language, religion, race • Fashion • Food
THE VALUE OF KNOWING FoK	Facilitating mood of relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive relationship between teachers and parents • Trusting relationship between teachers and parents • Intimate relationship between teachers and parents • Between parent and child
	Empowering social-emotional development of children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children's self-confidence • Attitude toward school/learning • Experience of diversity • Facilitating academic learning
	Providing information about stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children's daily life experiences • Children's needs • Children's interests • Parents' daily life experiences • Parents' talent
	Assisting in understanding Turkish culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refugees' adoption to cultural elements • Engraining cultural values among children
	Developing bond	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between individuals • Between individuals and school
	Overcoming prejudice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From teachers to refugees • From parents to refugees

Figure 1

Flow of the Findings

Description of FoK

The participating teachers shared their understanding of Funds of Knowledge (FoK) from a variety of perspectives, which were analyzed and

grouped into two distinct categories. Their descriptions are presented within the main themes of "lifelong experiences" and "identifiers of FoK."

Lifelong Experiences

In describing FoK, most teachers (n=17) concentrated on people's lifelong experiences. In this regard, some teachers (n=11) approached these experiences and FoK from a comprehensive and cumulative perspective. For example, they expressed that each family has a different and accumulated cultural background, which is passed down from families to the younger generation and affects their behaviors, beliefs, and lifeways. Furthermore, according to the teachers, some behavioral patterns such as cooking styles, showing respect to relatives (i.e., kissing grandparents' hands), and different clothing styles reflect accumulated family culture. While describing FoK, teachers also emphasized customs and traditions as being components of accumulated culture. They stated people begin learning their traditions and customs from the moment they are born and transmit them to new generations. In this sense, one of the teachers (P3) expressed her idea that: "This is not a concept that can be learned... Over time, as we get older, it all accumulates. I think we can call everything that our families instill in us FoK."

Whereas some teachers had more personal perspectives, focusing on people's current lives and their impact on FoK, some teachers (n=7) defined FoK by emphasizing elements supporting a person being cultured. For instance, teacher P6 described FoK by stating: "The places I've traveled, the books I've read, the school I've attended, the city I live in, the movies one watches, concerts, theaters." Moreover, some teachers (n=6) emphasized the impact of social and geographical environment on people's current lives and their FoK. That is, the social and geographical environment affects cultural characteristics, which in turn are reflected in their behavior. One teacher (P21) expressed this issue by providing an example:

The environment in which children live is influential. Let me give an example of a stove or radiator. When explaining the heating system, if we explain the properties of natural gas to a student who has a stove at home and has never seen a radiator, the student will not understand. However, if we provide education by considering the lives of children, then we will ensure that children are more involved in education.

Furthermore, some teachers provided rough definitions of FoK based on people's lifelong experiences. They mentioned different lifestyles, communication styles, and life perspectives. Teacher P7, for example, explained FoK as: "It can mean the way people live, their behavior, character, the way they talk, the way they think."

Identifiers of FoK

Besides their lifelong experiences, teachers ($n=6$) also expressed identifiers of FoK when describing this concept. For instance, they mentioned different family structures (i.e., nuclear, extended). One teacher (P17) stated: “Some children live together with their grandparents” and implied the impact of family structure on children’s behaviors and FoK. Moreover, P16 emphasized the same issue by saying that: “In Ankara, children mostly live with their nuclear family. During summer vacations grandparents may come, and they may all stay together, but it is very rare.” Some teachers also expressed songs/folk songs, language, religion, race, fashion, and foods as components of FoK. One teacher (P15) expressed the place of these components in life, stating: “When I think of FoK, I mean fashion, clothes, foods, and so on. I see it as a concept that I can include everything.” Another teacher (P16) emphasized the same thing by stating that: “We have very different cultural values that can change even from one city to another. For example, food, clothes vary from one city to another in our country.” P13 also sorted the components as follows: “I can think of religion, language, race, the language we speak. I think FoK includes all of them.”

All in all, teachers primarily focused on people's lifelong experiences when defining FoK. In this regard, some teachers approached FoK from a comprehensive perspective and defined it as accumulative family culture, while others believed personal perspectives emphasized people's current lives and their impact on FoK. Teachers also provided a rough definition of FoK based on lifelong experiences. Besides lifelong experiences, some teachers described FoK using FoK identifiers; their definitions of FoK were complementary and interconnected, even when teachers approached FoK from different perspectives. All categories and codes regarding the “description of FoK” theme are presented in Appendix A.

Teachers’ Beliefs in the Value of Knowing FoK

Teachers' beliefs regarding the value of knowing FoK were presented through six categories, which included “facilitating mood of relationship”, “empowering development of children”, “providing information about stakeholders”, “assisting to understand culture in Türkiye”, “developing bonds”, and “overcoming prejudice”.

Facilitating Mood of Relationship

In explaining the value of knowing FoK, almost all teachers ($n=20$) expressed that they facilitate knowing FoK through the mood of relationships. In this regard, some teachers concentrated on the relationship between parents and teachers. Through their explanations, they ($n=9$) highlighted the enhancement of

positive relationships between parents and teachers. That is, learning FoK increased interaction with parents, which helped in establishing positive relationships. P21 explained this issue by saying that:

While the number of organizations increases, more communication between teacher and parent is established. Their coming to school impacts both children, because of the benefit of parent involvement activities on the child, and parents, because of the transmission of their FoK. This positively affects our interaction and communication with parents.

Moreover, some teachers (n=7) expressed that knowing FoK enhanced trust between parents and teachers; that is, parents trusted teachers more when teachers attempted to understand and respect parents' FoK. One teacher (P4) expressed: "The parents trust teachers more. As the parents trust the teacher; they can leave their children with that teacher in good faith." Furthermore, teachers (n=14) expressed knowing FoK supported rapport with parents. While learning families' FoK, parents acted less timid. As a result, they connected better, and teachers obtained more truthful information regarding children and families' FoK. One teacher (P15) focused on this issue by stating: "A teacher should not be unreachable. Families sometimes hide some information. I think conversations decrease this. When I form a warm relationship with the parents, they also establish it. I reach more accurate and consistent information about the child." Four teachers concentrated on the relationships between parents and children when explaining the facilitating role of knowing FoK on the mood of relationship, mentioning that integrating parents into school activities as a means of knowing FoK allowed children to become happy and proud of their mothers. Also, parents learned their children's classroom routine while teachers learned families' FoK. Thus, this process enhanced relationships between child and parent. One teacher (P19) explained her ideas as: "Every child's mother is special, but children feel proud when they see their mother in class. Seeing their mother here makes them happy. I think it strengthens the mother-child relationship."

Empowering Development of Children

While expressing the value of knowing FoK, teachers also approached the topic from children's perspective. Most teachers (n=15) explained the positive influence of knowing FoK on empowering social-emotional development. They reported that knowing FoK positively affected children's self-confidence and, according to teachers, by integrating children's FoK into classroom routines via conversation and activities, children became more active and felt more comfortable in expressing their feelings and experiences, which in turn improved their self-confidence. P1 expressed her idea by giving an example regarding how classroom routines and activities empower children's self-confidence:

While talking about the holidays, children's customs, and celebrations of their family, this provides expressing emotions. Sometimes, when we talk

about occupations, a child says his uncle is a doctor. I mean, he conveys his feelings to me and his friends.

Additionally, some teachers (n=5) expressed knowing FoK affected children's attitudes toward school and learning. When teachers attempted to understand children's and families' FoK, children's motivation to attend school increased. Also, teachers (n=5) gave attention to children's social-emotional development due to knowing FoK. Teachers having both refugee and local children within their classroom highlighted that children learn from one another. In this context, one teacher (P11) expressed: "Children learn from each other. They learn something from their way of life, customs, and traditions." Children experience the positive effects of diversity within the classroom when teachers know each child's FoK. Moreover, some teachers (n=4) expressed knowing FoK facilitated children's academic learning. That is, knowing FoK improves communication and interaction with parents, as well as integration of children's FoK to school activities, ultimately facilitating children's academic learning. One teacher (P18) underlined this by stating that: "This is how our communication improves. The better our communication with parents, the more things we will bring to the child. That's why it is effective."

Providing Information about Stakeholders

According to twelve teachers, knowing FoK provided valuable information about stakeholders, which includes children and parents. Some teachers mentioned learning from children's daily life experiences. For instance, they became familiar with children's home environments, including physical conditions, family relationships, and behaviors between parents and children. One teacher (P7) mentioned her experience by saying that:

I make home visits, then I better understand the families' lives. I learn about their home environments and lifestyles. Sometimes I can even understand their life from the way they sit. They may eat at the floor/table with chairs. Some children have a playroom, while others do not.

Moreover, a few teachers expressed how to learn children's needs (n=3) by knowing their FoK. For instance, based on parents' response forms, they learned about children's medical conditions and/or positive/negative experiences from childhood. P4 stated: "As a teacher, I can understand whether the child has allergies or not, what kind of childhood the child had, whether it was difficult or easy, by what the parents wrote." Thus, they gained a better understanding of children's developmental needs and could utilize this information to support children's education. Also, one teacher explained how to understand children's interests by knowing FoK. That is, she learned one student's favorite food and animal from the parents' response form. She then used that information to support the child's learning. Furthermore, some teachers (n=6) expressed they may become familiar with parents' daily experiences, including their social environment,

education level, work income, sociocultural level, and lifeways. Regarding this issue, P21 mentioned: "Let's say parents express problems they are having with their children. I make inferences about their lives after my observations. This also contributes to education." They also learn about the parents' talents and use the information to integrate parents into their children's education. P8 explained some of her own actions:

According to parents' profiles, I make comments such as which parent can do that activity or be more willing to do that activity. Let's say Ms. Ayşe can do it better, let's call her and let her come and explain it.

In brief, teachers believed in the value of knowing FoK because it provides valuable information about both children's and parents' daily experiences, and they can use this information to enhance their educational activities.

Assisting to Understand Culture in Türkiye

Some teachers (n=12) viewed the value of knowing FoK from an approach which included understanding national culture. According to these teachers, FoK can be a tool for expanding children's understanding of Turkish culture. They believed that knowing FoK provided insight into children's cultural values. They also perceived school as a place for transmitting national culture and stated that national day ceremonies contributed to engraining Türkiye's national cultural values in children. Regarding this issue, teacher P9 expressed: "Since there is a collective atmosphere in the school, when our culture is reflected more (i.e., national holiday celebrations, birthdays, important ceremonies), children become more aware of it, and it becomes more permanent in their minds." Moreover, P17 stated that:

I think that elements of our culture, such as the Republic Day of Türkiye, should be transmitted to children. The early childhood period is crucial for this. For example, we teach children moments of silence during the National Anthem in the early childhood period. When there is a ceremony outside, when I hear the National Anthem, I stand in silence in the classroom and sing the National Anthem. Children watch with full attention; they wonder what I am doing. This is actually how they learn. Therefore, the preschool period is critical.

In contrast, some teachers (n=10) approached the topic from a different perspective and mentioned refugees' adoption of cultural elements such as national days/holidays; Atatürk, who is the founder of the Republic of Türkiye; and the Turkish flag. According to teachers, through national day school ceremonies, refugee children and families can become familiar with aspects of Türkiye's identity. P2, for example, stated that:

Refugee children cannot keep their culture alive. They live in our culture. For instance, the child knows Atatürk and the Turkish flag. We conducted a

commemorative ceremony for Atatürk on the 10th of November, recently, she learned a song about Atatürk. It mostly reflects our culture.

P17 also expressed this issue by saying that:

We have books about the culture of Türkiye. For example, I sent the book titled “My Hometown Erzurum” to the children's homes to examine it with their families. This is good for refugee children. They get to know Turkey and learn about Turkish culture. As another example, we recently visited a mausoleum. Imagine that you don't know Atatürk all your life, but you go to his grave. It was a very good experience for the refugee child.

Teachers approached the understanding of national culture from the perspectives of both native children and refugee children. According to these teachers, FoK is a valuable tool for understanding the culture in Türkiye.

Developing Bonds

Approximately half of participant teachers (n=11) reported that knowing FoK helped in developing personal/social bonds. Some teachers (n=7) concentrated on the bonds between individuals. For instance, they expressed that children adapt to teachers more quickly if teachers respect children's culture, know children's FoK, and integrate it into the classroom. One teacher (P16) explained her idea: “When you act closer to the culture of refugee children, they will adapt to you more quickly. It will be more familiar to say something from their culture.” Moreover, P14 expressed that: “I am curious about their lives. When I do this, I establish a bond with the child. That's why I care to learn about them.” Teachers also mentioned that developing a bond between teacher and parent through home-visits and inviting parents to attend school activities aided in teachers learning FoK. For instance, P21 said: “With the participation of families in the activities, we not only involve the parents more but also get to know them more. Thus, we have mutual interaction between parents, teachers, and children.” Additionally, teachers mentioned that knowing FoK contributed to developing bonds among the parents. For instance, if teachers used parental involvement to learn families' FoK, parents within the classroom readily communicated and interacted with one another, which developed bonds among parents. P3 stated her opinion with the following words:

Family involvement allows families to get to know each other more because they actually communicate with other families. This is also good for refugee parents – since they cannot express themselves, there is inevitably exclusion and loneliness. However, the more a person gets to know another person, a tighter bonds is established. As families communicate, the bonds between them are established.

Also, teachers (n=6) mentioned developing a bond between individuals and school as a value of knowing FoK. That is, inclusion of parents' hobbies, professions, and ceremonies into educational activities made children feel valued and safe, and they developed a bond with school. Regarding this issue, P13 stated that: I can't say I

did an activity like this and there was a change immediately, but I can say that every child feels more belonging to the environment over time.”

Overcoming Prejudice

Some teachers (n=3) expressed positive impacts of knowing FoK for overcoming prejudice from both teachers' and refugees' perspectives. Teachers explained having some prejudice regarding refugees; however, their prejudices decreased as they became familiar with refugees' lives. P3 shared her experience by stating: “I had prejudices against refugee children because some teachers told me ‘They are troubled’, ‘be careful’, etc. When I contacted the parents and learned about their lives, the prejudice disappeared.” Teachers also held these sentiments for local parents, explaining local parents with students in their classroom held prejudice towards refugees, and some parents did not want refugee children in their child’s class. Fortunately, they overcame these prejudices after refugee children and their families adapted to the class based upon the teachers’ efforts to learn FoK and integrate it to class. Regarding this issue, P10 mentioned:

Last year, a parent said that she never wanted a refugee in class. We said there are refugee children in every class. Over time, she observed harmony in class, and we had a good year together without any problems.

All in all, teachers approached the value of knowing FoK from different perspectives. Most teachers emphasized its facilitating role on mood of the relationship between parents, teachers, and the children, while some teachers explained the value of knowing FoK from children’s perspectives by highlighting its positive influence on social-emotional development. Moreover, teachers found FoK useful for developing bonds and providing information about the parents and children. They expressed the importance of FoK for overcoming prejudice toward refugees and assisting children in understanding the national culture. Overall, it can be stated that teachers believed knowing children's and families' FoK was valuable for the early childhood years. All categories and codes regarding the theme ‘value of knowing FoK’ are presented in Appendix B.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the definition and value of FoK from the perspectives of preschool teachers working in classrooms that included refugee children. It was shown in this study that teachers defined FoK comprehensively by focusing on identifiers such as songs, language, religion, fashion, transmission of culture such as customs and traditions, and lifelong experiences like life perspective, lifestyle, and communication style. Importantly, these definitions corroborate Moll et al. (1992), who define FoK as knowledge and skills historically gathered and culturally developed, which are crucial for

household and/or individual functioning, as well as well-being within a culture/society. Similarly, Oughton (2010) expresses FoK as depending on personal experiences and interpersonal relations. In this study, teachers' definitions were compatible with universal definitions of FoK, and teachers were supportive of FoK practices.

Specifically, the use of current and non-current issues such as popular songs, folk songs, popular culture, fashion, family structure, language, religion, and foods as part of teachers' definitions showed they have a cosmopolitan perception of FoK. Moreover, the fact that teachers described FoK as accumulated family culture and/or customs and traditions transferred from one generation to the next showed that they think of FoK as interactive. Additionally, the phrase "lifelong experiences" was not identified in the literature, yet it was included in teachers' FoK definitions. This might be interpreted as perceiving FoK as being experiential as well as dynamic and developing over a lifetime. Therefore, the multiple perspectives provided in teachers' responses not only broadened the definitions of FoK found in the literature, but also highlight that participating teachers embraced broad and comprehensive aspects of culture. This finding can be qualified as an important and affirmative key in teachers' realization of children's and parents' differences in learning by being mindful of all kinds of FoK descriptions. In this regard, early childhood educators should think multi-dimensionally and wisely use these differences in the classroom as assets useful for learning new materials in the target culture.

Sometimes FoK can be considered synonymous with "culture", which is defined as "patterns in a way of life characteristic of a bounded social group and passed down from one generation to the next" (Eisenhart, 2001, p. 4). However, it was found in the current study that FoK includes almost everything regarding one's life based on not only customs and traditions coming from previous generations but also experiences gained individually within one's personal story. In this direction, it can be interpreted that research studies regarding FoK can change based on context and time because this local study, conducted in a multicultural context in Türkiye that has not been studied before, provided unique contributions to the literature. Therefore, further studies on this topic are needed in different contexts and countries to enlarge the definition of FoK considering the current study findings.

One of the most obvious study findings was that preschool teachers found FoK valuable for improving the mood of relationships, developing bonds between stakeholders, and overcoming prejudices towards different cultures. Similar to previous studies (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Hedges et al., 2016; Llopart & Guitart, 2017; Ramos & Marquez Kiyama, 2021; Sebolt, 2018; Velez-Ibanez & Greenberg, 1992), the current study findings indicate that teachers considered FoK significant for developing personal and interpersonal interactions. For instance, Hedges et al. (2016) conducted a case study in Vietnam related to how partnership relationships are re-conceptualized through FoK. According to their results, FoK leads to more responsive and reciprocal teacher-parent partnerships, which benefit children's development. The fact that similar results were obtained in the current study

reveals the value of FoK in early childhood education for building strong interpersonal relations. The points of view of teachers and refugee families can be different regarding schooling and education, which can create barriers in the relationship between teachers and families. Teachers cannot deal with the dominant structure of schooling and generally transfer knowledge from school to the home through one-way communication (Whyte & Karabon, 2016). In such a situation, refugee families might not engage in education or may feel uncomfortable sharing their point of view or cultural knowledge. However, our study shows strong results for teachers who listen to the point of view of refugee families, respect their FoK, and explain the expectations of school to create strong relationships with them.

Furthermore, teachers reported that using FoK was helpful for overcoming prejudices families, children, and teachers had towards refugees. This finding of the study brings a fresh perspective to the related literature of FoK because this finding was different in scope from previous research, which found that using FoK only assisted in overcoming teacher prejudices. For instance, Kurucz (2020) indicated that interacting with families and children having diverse FoK can lead teachers to lessen their prejudices towards differences in cultural values. In the current research, it was revealed that using FoK was beneficial for overcoming majority group parents' prejudices towards minority group parents. Therefore, optimistically, this study can contribute to the existing literature by finding that the obstacles that prevent the implementation of multicultural education can be lessened by the implementation of FoK (Llopart et al., 2018; Volman & Gilde, 2020). For this reason, schools and educators should get to know their students and the parents at every step of the educational process to create more responsive and unprejudiced educational environments, especially when working with minority groups. For example, Hedges et al. (2016) implemented a research study including a transformative collaborative workshop process with ethnic-minority families and Cun (2021) conducted a study regarding the effectiveness of household visits to refugee families in the scope of the FoK approach. Both studies found effectiveness in understanding and valuing families' FoK so that teachers could thereafter create non-judgmental relationships with families and students. Türkiye and other countries hosting refugee children (Guliya et al., 2023; Hue & Karim, 2024; UNHCR, 2023; Volman, & Gilde, 2020) should learn from this body of research and use similar strategies to learn the FoK of refugee families in early childhood education.

Several studies support using FoK in early childhood education as being helpful for children's holistic development by encouraging participation in effective learning (Llopart & Guitart, 2017; Pathak et al., 2024; Subero et al., 2017), developing academic performance (Rodriguez, 2013), and facilitating knowing one another, giving mutual respect, and developing communication skills (Gilde & Volman, 2021; Guliya et al., 2023). Importantly, the current study findings supported results from studies that FoK is worthwhile for empowering children's development based on improving their social and emotional development, attitude towards learning, motivation to attend school, and becoming familiar with cultures/lifestyles different from the teachers' perspective. Teachers should create

culturally responsive learning environments by designing learning centers or story books which include specific details from the life of each child as a means of reflecting the children's FoK. Also, teachers should design curriculum which leads to learning children's FoK by assigning tasks to children which allows them to explain their lifestyles, family backgrounds, and/or household experiences. In this way, children can talk about different cultures, which aids in developing both their intellectual and social-emotional skills. Furthermore, they can learn about other ways of life, customs, and traditions, as well as internalize the issue of diversity and be mindful and respectful of others' differences.

Teachers in our study stated that using FoK was significant in providing information to stakeholders including parents and children regarding becoming familiar with children's home environment, parents' daily life experiences and talents, and children's overall needs and interests. Similarly, the value of FoK was previously emphasized for learning children's backgrounds, skills, and competencies (Cooper et al., 2023), as well as features of children's and families' preferences (Navarro-Cruz & Luschel, 2020). Turkish teachers appeared to understand and incorporate the value of cultural factors in line with FoK and to develop education quality in a developmentally appropriate way, while also accounting for the needs and values of each child and/or parent.

Despite teachers' views that FoK is very valuable, a situation that naturally develops in societies including majority and minority groups (Szech, 2021; Zhang-Yu et al., 2023) was also noted in previous studies and the current study. That is, teachers highlighted FoK as beneficial in refugee children's adoption of dominant culture values. For instance, participants in our study believed FoK assisted refugee children in becoming part of the Turkish community. Teachers also mentioned FoK as beneficial for learning about diversity, which referred to Turkish children and teachers learning about refugee children's culture. Regarding both statements, it was revealed that, while refugee children's adoption to Turkish culture was emphasized by teachers, learning the culture of refugee children was mentioned less, which may highlight teachers' tendency to adopt refugee children into the dominant culture while having less tendency to learn about refugee children's values. Similarly, Szech (2021), highlighted that refugees are expected to be involved in the educational process by adopting the dominant culture. Zhang-Yu et al. (2023) added that programs focusing on majority-culture often view cultural differences as a deficiency rather than an asset. Also, Erdemir (2021) mentioned that refugee children often go unheard and their experiences are often neglected, especially during early childhood education. Like the dominant culture stereotypical adaptation idea found in previous studies, it emerged within this study that teachers mentioned benefiting from FoK for adapting students to Turkish culture. A possible reason for this similarity might be that teachers commonly did not internalize the asset approach, which encourages the use of diverse cultures in education as a form of richness. In the same manner, it was highlighted that "multiculturalism has been created as the opposite of the understanding of 'assimilation'. Rather than the assimilation of various cultures in a country, and environment in the dominant culture, it is based on accepting the existence of those cultures" (Banks, 2006, p. 40). Accordingly, teachers can be supported in

recognizing differences as richness and embracing the contributions of all cultures to one another, so culturally sensitive learning environments develop (Lim & Kester, 2023). This study presents a fresh look at FoK and demonstrates the value of FoK as an asset approach; it also presents FoK as a way to integrate all cultures into early childhood education settings, especially in countries with large numbers of refugee children.

The overall results of this current study, based on the value of FoK and set in Türkiye, support a comprehensive perspective of teachers' definitions of FoK, which highlight the benefits of FoK for not only teachers' personal development and children's overall development, but also for the development of society by overcoming prejudices, gaining stakeholders' information, and understanding Turkish culture. In this study, it was understood that teachers were able to create a framework based on their value perception of FoK, which addressed three points including teachers, children, and society. The teachers in this study recognized that children carry the FoK of everyone in their family into the school environment and this FoK affects teachers, families, and other children due to the interactive process mentioned by teachers. As a result of each stakeholder's influence on the other, their perspectives may evolve over time regarding respect for others' differences and these outputs may positively affect the holistic development of children.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Early childhood teachers working in multicultural classrooms including both Turkish children and Syrian refugee children defined FoK based on lifelong experiences such as ways of living and speaking, being cultured, the transmission of culture such as through accumulated family culture, customs, and traditions, and identifiers of FoK such as songs/folk songs, clothing styles, foods, race, language, and religion. It would not be incorrect to state that the teachers in this study held comprehensive and holistic perspectives regarding FoK. According to participating teachers, FoK was valuable in developing the mood of relationships between school and home, children and teacher, child and parent, as well as forming bonds between child and school, teacher and parent, and parent and parent. Furthermore, teachers stated that empowering the development of children, providing information regarding stakeholders, assisting in understanding Turkish culture, and overcoming prejudices were other important benefits of using FoK.

Based on findings from this study, several recommendations are provided to educators, policymakers, and researchers. First, early childhood educators can internalize FoK as an asset approach to recognize cultural differences as richness within the learning environment so that children can feel like they belong in dominant culture schools and communities. It is important for teachers and schools to expand the current conceptualization of family involvement by being cultural brokers and adjusting their position of authority to partner with families and children to learn and use FoK more effectively within early childhood education. Second,

policymakers can include FoK in national early childhood education curricula and teacher education curricula due to the value of FoK having been proven through previous studies and the current study. FoK can also be used to strengthen professional development opportunities for in-service teachers as an extremely helpful tool in understanding how to approach minority groups, how to observe children and their parents, and how to be more aware of every stakeholder's FoK. Teachers can learn how to better organize educational activities that lead to learning and understanding children's FoK within their classroom environments. Finally, studies regarding this subject remain limited and outdated; yet, considering mobility and demographic changes worldwide (OECD, 2022), it is necessary to increase studies on FoK to recognize cultural differences between children as well as to increase culturally inclusive education in the countries in which there are refugees. It is very important to address FoK in different contexts within qualitative studies. However, considering almost all the research on this subject is carried out qualitatively, there is a resulting gap in quantitative research. It is recommended that quantitative scale studies using findings obtained in this and similar studies be developed. Through these efforts, the definition of FoK can expand with the help of large samples; as a result, more people will be able to use the FoK approach to create culturally sensitive educational environments.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Description of Funds of Knowledge (FoK)

Theme	Category	Code
Description of FoK	Lifelong experiences (n=17)	Cultured (n=7)
		Environment-based experiences (n=6)
		Lifestyle (n=5)
		Communication style (n=3)
		Life perspective (n=4)
		Accumulative family culture (n=11)
	Identifiers of FoK (n=6)	Family structure (n=3)
		Songs/folksongs (n=1)
		Language, religion, and race (n=1)
		Fashion (n=1)
		Food (n=3)

Appendix B

Teachers' Beliefs Regarding the Value of Knowing FoK

Theme	Category	Code
Teachers' belief in the value of knowing FoK	Facilitating mood of relationship (n=20)	Positive relationship between teachers and parents (n=9)
		Trusting relationship between teachers and parents (n=7)
		Intimate relationship between teachers and parents (n=14)
		Between parent and child (n=4)
	Empowering social-emotional development of children (n=15)	Children's self-confidence (n=5)
		Attitude toward school/learning (n=5)
		Experience of diversity (n=5)
		Facilitating academic learning (n=4)

	Providing information about stakeholders (n=12)	Children's daily life experiences (n=8)
		Children's needs (n=3)
		Children's interests (n=1)
		Parents' daily life experiences (n=6)
		Parents' talent (n=1)
	Assisting in understanding Turkish culture (n=12)	Refugees' adoption to cultural elements (n=10)
		Engraining cultural values among children (n=6)
	Developing bond (n=11)	Between individuals (n=7)
		Between individuals and school (n=6)
	Overcoming prejudice (n=3)	From teachers to refugees (n=2)
		From parents to refugees (n=2)

Appendix C

Interview Questions

1. Can you tell us a little about yourself?
2. What is your educational background? What is the school and department you graduated from?
3. How old are you?
4. Where do you teach?
5. How many years have you been teaching?
6. What is the age range of the group you teach?
7. How many students do you have in your class, how many of them are children of refugee families?
8. What do you understand by FoK? How do you define it?
9. In your opinion, what is the importance of using children's and families' FoK in preschool education?
10. How do you think the school's practices for learning FoK affect the children's and families' commitment to school?
11. Do you think there may be a connection between families' and children's FoK and family participation activities? If so, what kind of a connection could there be?

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