EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS AN ACADEMIC GATEKEEPER IN PAKISTANI EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: FOCUS RAWALPINDI – ISLAMABAD.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled "*Exploring the Role of English Language as an Academic Gatekeeper in Pakistani Educational System: Focus Rawalpindi-Islamabad*" submitted by Maleeha Sattar is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

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FORMAL DECLARATION

I, Maleeha Sattar, hereby solemnly declare that the work described in my thesis "Exploring the Role of English Language as an Academic Gatekeeper in Pakistani Educational System: Focus Rawalpindi - Islamabad" has been carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Huma Haque. I have not used any further means for the completion of this work except those I have explicitly mentioned in this thesis. All concepts adopted and copied from other written sources have been properly referred with the source.

This work has not been published or submitted to any other examination board in the same or a similar form.

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Maleeha Sattar
12 June, 2017

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DEDICATION

To Soul, my guiding star

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بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

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Finally, I take all the responsibility of any oversights or omissions in this study.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to explain the rationale behind the policy of English Language as Compulsory subject in Pakistan. It also documents the perceptual experience of the students who are negatively as well as positively affected by this policy. The study follows the qualitative strategy of research. It employs In-Depth Interviews from different stakeholders as the main method to collect primary data. This study builds upon findings of various studies conducted in Pakistan which found a positive relationship between the socio economic status and level of proficiency in English language. This study sees this relationship as a product of differential access to English learning opportunities available to haves & have nots in the larger society. Findings of the study confirm that students from lower socio-economic background are suffering or are at the risk of suffering at the hands of policy of English as a compulsory subject. It also finds absence of any sense of resistance among those who are at the receiving end of the policy.

My assertions is that the unquestioning acceptance of English as a superior language is a consequence of the official endorsement of the idea that English is a prerequisite for personal as well as social development. The study, attempts to problematize the hegemonic role of English as a compulsory subject. It is also argued here that state and its policies, being dominated by the English proficient elite, exhibit an ambivalent attitude at best despite offering a lot of lip service towards the sufferings of non-proficient lot. However, this study falls short of offering any solutions to the problem owing to its limited scope and manifold limitations.

Keywords: English, compulsory language, gatekeeping, policy as discourse

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a multilingual country like Pakistan, language policy can act as a gatekeeper for students by determining who gets what from the education system restricting and permitting their progress in the field of education. The restricting role of language becomes problematic when a foreign language like English becomes cornerstone of its education policy by favoring the students who have competence in English language while marginalizing those lacking proficiency in it. State's policies play a pivotal role in conferring prestige to a language. The policy makers through their policies assign differential statuses to different languages so that some languages become more important than others to help sustain what Gramsci (1971) calls "the hegemony of the dominant class over a society's subaltern classes"(as cited in Rahman, 1995, p.4). These policies reflect the interests of ruling classes, while, forming basis of hegemonic practices which help to maintain status quo and perpetuate the already existing inequalities. Language policies, even when they are not explicitly stated, have implications for citizens (Bamgbọse, 2000).

My assertion is that the hegemonic role of English language in Pakistan's educational system is creating as well as perpetuating the already existing class inequalities in the larger society. This hegemony of English language in Pakistan's educational system not only creates and perpetuates inequalities in larger society but every year it also stops a substantial number of students from continuing their education beyond high school because they fail in English compulsory. With reference to the inequalities mentioned earlier, I am arguing that these in equalities have a three tiered form that manifests itself in terms of low learning levels,

suppression of indigenous thought processes and lack of opportunities to obtain quality higher education.

This study aims at analyzing the gate keeping or exclusionary as well as inclusionary role of English in education system of Pakistan beyond "reductive framework[1]" of medium of instruction(Pennycook, 2002, p.20). Despite the fact that there is considerable amount of body of research conducted locally and internationally on the role of English language in Pakistan; no study could be found that problematizes the compulsory status of English language in Pakistan's education system. Each year, a significant number of students fail in English compulsory at SSC[2] (32% on average in last five years see *Figure 1*) and HSSC[3]level (55% on average in last 5 years see *Figure 2*) who are then denied access to further education owing to this mishap. For the most part, this segment belongs to Pakistan's poor and disadvantaged socio-economic classes and groups. Thus language policy, it is being argued here, has negative implications for providing equality of opportunity to all the Pakistanis across the board in the field of education.

The expansion of the British Colonial Empire in 17th and 18th century in the Sub-continent resulted in the proliferation of English language in this area. English language in post-colonial times was declared the official language in the sub-continent which relegated the status of vernacular languages. Prior to independence of the sub-continent, language question remained a vital rallying cry during the independence movement.

In 1947, when Pakistan came into being, English was retained as an official language and Urdu was declared as its national language by the Pakistani state.

[1] Pennycook argues that seeing role of English as the medium of instruction only is a reductive framework as it ignores overall implications of the English language for the larger society.
[2] Secondary School Certificate
[3] Higher Secondary School Certificate

English enjoys the dominant status to date in all the erstwhile British colonies. In Pakistan, English continues to be the language favored and used by the state. It is a language used by the elites. There is great demand to learn the language due to the status it enjoys in the country.

Education polices of Pakistan have played an important role in cementing this hegemonic role of English language. All the education policies of Pakistan to date have emphasized the importance of English language as a medium of instruction. Since independence, almost all the language policies of Pakistan have reiterated the importance of using English as a medium of instruction. However**,** there is no agreement on the appropriate age or grade from which to employ English as a medium of instruction. All the education policies in the country deem English as an appropriate medium of instruction for graduate students.

English is also taught as a compulsory subject at SSC, HSSC and Bachelors levels. This compulsory status of English has assigned a gate keeping role to English language. Each year a significant number of students who cannot pass English as a compulsory subject are denied the opportunity to continue their education due to their failure in the subject. The percentage of the students who failed and passed English compulsory at SSC level and HSSC level from 2006 -2014 in Rawalpindi district are presented below:-

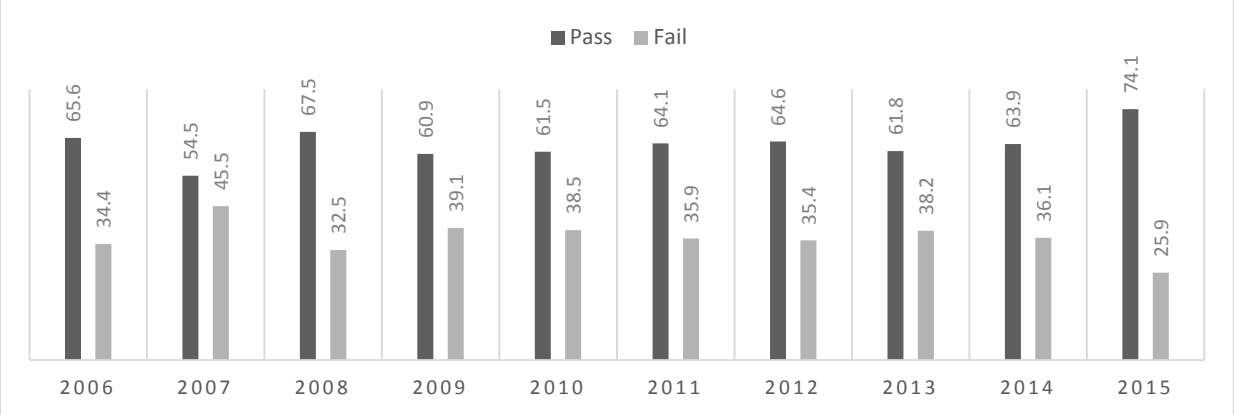


Figure 1 Year-Wise (2006-2015) Pass/Fail Percentages of SSC Students in English Compulsory. Adapted from data provided by Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE), Rawalpindi.

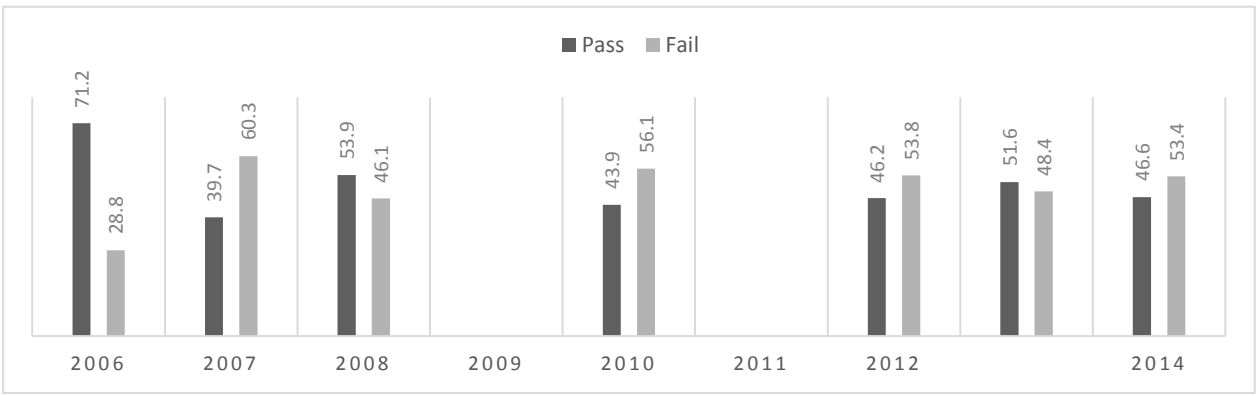


Figure 2 Year-Wise (2006-2014) Pass/Fail Percentages of HSSC Students in English Compulsory. Adapted from data provided by Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE), Rawalpindi.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

English remains a foreign language for majority of the Pakistani students. They do not have the opportunities to learn the language as their socio-linguistic environment with respect to English is stimulus poor[4] and they have little exposure to it outside the school premises. For most of the students, the exposure to English language even in school is limited as the teacher is likely to lack in English language proficiency him/herself(Shamim, 2008). This situation makes it difficult for students to learn the

[4] Here stimulus poor means that their environment lacks basic ingredients to learn English language.

language. Despite these difficulties, English remains a compulsory subject till bachelor level in Pakistani academic milieu. My stance here is that, logically speaking, in this context the policy or practice of retaining English as a compulsory subject needs to be **questioned and problematized**. It is important because every year English as a compulsory subject plays the gate keeping role with reference to higher education.

Given the context presented in the preceding text I have narrowed down my broad area of interest to the following research problem which is **exploring the role of English as an academic gatekeeper in Pakistani educational system**. I have operationalized my research problem into the following questions and objectives.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What is the rationale underlying the Pakistani state's perspective on education that dictates English to be a compulsory subject at SSC level?
2. What is the perceptual experience of the students who are negatively as well positively affected by the gate keeping role of English being a compulsory subject at school level?
3. How does the dominance of English in our education system create and perpetuate class and inequalities in the larger society?

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1. To study the reports and proposals put together by various commissions on education made by the state. All of the educational policies put together by the state of Pakistan from 1947 to 2009 will also be analyzed. Both categories of the documents as mentioned above would be looked at to identify the rationale underlying the same that justifies the compulsory status of English at SSC level.

2. To document the perceptual experience of students who are adversely as well as positively affected by the gate keeping role of English compulsory at SSC level in my locales.
3. To figure out different conduits through which the dominance of English language discriminates against the have nots in the larger society.

1.4 Key Terms

I have defined the important terms used in my research questions as follows:-

1.4.1 Rationale

Merriam Webster Dictionary (n.d.) defines rationale as "an explanation of controlling principles of opinion, belief, practice, or phenomena". Cambridge Dictionary(n.d.) defines it as "the reasons or intentions that cause a particular set of beliefs or actions". Collins Dictionary (n.d.) defines it as a reasoned exposition, especially one defining the fundamental reasons for a course of action, belief, etc". Oxford Dictionary (n.d.) defines the term rationale as "a set of reasons or a logical basis for a course of action or belief". For the purpose of this research, I have used the Oxford Dictionary's definition.

1.4.2 Perceptual Experience

There are two major ways of looking at perception namely as a cognitive phenomenon and as a social phenomenon. The cognitive view as put forth by Kriegel (2004)describes perceptual experience as a "two-step naturalization of conscious experience: first, reduce its phenomenal character to a certain kind of representational content; then, reduce that representational content to some sort of informational or teleological relationship between brain states and world states" (Kriegel, 2004, p.1). Then there is Speaks (2009)perspective who tends to look at perceptual experience as

a social phenomenon and notes that "the phenomenal character of a perceptual experience is: how that experience feels; how it seems, from the point of view of the perceiver; what it is like to have the experience" (Speaks, 2009, p.1). He argues that the "content of a perceptual experience is: the way that experience presents the world as being; the way that world is, according to that experience; the way that world appears to be to the perceiver"(Speaks, 2009, p.1). For this study, I have used Speaks's concept of perception. I have chosen to use Speaks's conception because it looks at perception as a socially lived experience and not as a cognitive or psychological phenomenon. Thus, no projective techniques are being used in the current research and no measurements are required.

1.4.3Gatekeeping

Oxford Dictionary (n.d.) defines gatekeeper as "a person or thing that controls access to something". Open Education Sociology Dictionary(n.d.) defines gate keeping as "the process by which an individual or group controls access to goods and services but particularly to information and people with power".

The concept of gate keeping was first proposed by Kurt Lewin. The concept is widely used in the field of journalism and communications and they define gate keeping as "the process by which the vast array of potential news messages are winnowed, shaped, and prodded into those few that are actually transmitted by the news media. It is often defined as a series of decision points at which news items are either continued or halted as they pass along news channels from source to reporter to a series of editors"(Shoemakeret.al. 2001,p.233). Coleman et al's (2012) have used this term to describe the role English language plays in Pakistan.

For the purpose of this research, I have improvised on the definition of Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim, and Wrigley (2001) and I am using it as Coleman, Capstick, and

Council (2012) have used it. Thus, for this research, gate keeping role of English compulsory is its role that allows students who pass in the subject to continue further education and "unfairly excludes" the students who fail in English compulsory from obtaining higher education (p.21).

1.3.4 Hegemony

Hegemony is a concept put forth by Gramsci. Ives (2009) argues that the global spread of English can best be understood from Gramscian perspective of hegemony. The concept of hegemony in social critical theory and/ or theories, has also been employed to show that when states, institutions or individuals decide to promote proliferation of English language by learning, or by teaching, it is actually the result of power differentials (Ives, 2009; J. W. Tollefson, 2000).Hegemony entails gaining the consent of those who are to be dominated. It takes place when the dominant groups have influenced the subordinated group to "accept their language norms" and when those failing to follow suit consider it as their own deficiency (Hornberger & McKay, 2010, p.112).Erickson (1987) argues that "hegemonic practices are routine actions and unexamined beliefs that are consonant with the cultural system of meaning and ontology within which it makes sense to take certain actions, entirely without malevolent intent, that nonetheless systematically limits the life chances of stigmatized groups" (Erickson, 1987, p.352). The linguistic domination is usually attained when people accept and internalize the dominant ideology.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Reviewed

Keeping in view my research problem and operationalization of the same, I have reviewed literature in six domains a) nature of education policymaking, theories and orientations for studying education policies, b) articulation between language, education policymaking and social justice, c) discourse and creation of inequalities, d) the history of English becoming a global language and its impacts on everyday life of people living in global village, e) history, structure and dynamics of linguistic and education policies in Pakistan and f) English language as a gatekeeper in the Pakistani academic scenario.

In the first domain, I have reviewed scholarly works produced by Jones (2013),Bacchi (2000), Rogers et al. (2005), andRizvi and Lingard (2009). The literature in this domain briefly discusses **the nature of education policy making and the theories and orientations employed for studying the same**.

In the second domain i.e. **articulation between language, education policymaking and social justice,** I have reviewed works of García (2015),Cooper (1989), J. Tollefson (1994),Hornberger and McKay (2010), Matear (2008), Mesthrie (2011), Ashraf and Tsegay (2015), Rahman (2001a), Jasso-Aguilar (1999), Bamgboṣe (2000),Mustafa (2014) and Ball (1997). I have also discussed briefly the works of Tamim (2014a),Tamim (2014b),Tamim (2012), D'andrea (2007), Rahman (2001), Mahadeo (1999)and Tollefson (1994). All of the scholarship takes into account the ways in which English language becoming the lingua franca has created issues of social justice globally.

As the research questions and objectives of the current work very clearly state that English language as a compulsory subject is one of the main areas of concern in this study so I have also reviewed literature that addresses **the history of spread of English and effects of its role as a global language**. In this domain I have reviewed the works of Dillard (1985), Seidlhofer (2005), Pennycook (2002), Dogancay-Aktuna (1998), Fedrici et al. (2000), Seidlhofer (2004),Pennycook (2007), Phillipson (2008), Crystal (2012), Ives (2004), Ives (2009), Tollefson (2000), Erickson (1987), Millar (2007), Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996)and Phillipson (2009).

I have reviewed the works of Shamim (2011), Mansoor (2003), Mansoor (2004),Tamim (2014a),Rahman (2004),Ashraf and Tsegay (2015), Rahman (2005) and Waseem (2014) to see the **history and dynamics of linguistic and education policy in Pakistan**.

In order to understand the way **language acts as a gatekeeper** I have reviewed works of Pennycook and Tollefson (1995), Makoni and Pennycook (2007), Naysmith (1986),Rahman (2000), Tamim (2012),Skutnabb-Kangas (2009), Ortega (1999), Qasim and Qasim (2014), Sheared and Sissel (2001) andColeman et al. (2012).

I will begin by looking at various conceptualizations of education policy in policy studies and education research. The literature on policy generally and education policy particularly points out that in education research conceptualization of policy varies in between studies and sometimes even with in a single study. Jones (2013)outlines four key themes widely used while conceptualizing the policies. They are policy as text, policy as values-laden actions, policy as process and policy as discursive**.** Identifying the problems with the first three conceptualizations of policies the author argues that policy as text conceptualization calls for content analysis and

ignores the assumptions and interests of the policymakers. Another lacunae in this approach as pointed out by Jones (2013) is that the stakeholders being effected by the formulated policiesremain invisible. The policy as value laden action conceptualization emerged in 1960s. This model is not completely oblivious of the context as it not only takes into account the context but also reflects upon it. Jones (2013) points out that the inadequacy of this model was realized after Kogan (1970) who in his work argued that values are not static, they are challenged as the interests of different individuals/groups clash(Kogan, 1970, as cited in Jones, 2013). In 1980s, the third model emerged that viewed policy as a process. This model demands of the researchers that policy be studied with reference to how local actors and dynamics of its implementation affects education policy outcomes. This model also asserts that policies change with the change in leadership. Jones (2013) notes that those who "view policy as discursive trace the language of texts back to the source in spoken language of social life"[5] (p.10). The policy as discursive or discourse is also advocated by Bacchi (2000), Rogers et al. (2005) and Taylor (1997). The adherents of policy as discourse point of view, hold that discourse "does the ideological work" and therefore discourse is not only present in the crafted policies but can also be "found" at places like education conferences, in talks of stakeholders and in media (Jones, 2013, p.11). He also notes that adherents of policy as discourse also argue that "discursive models" make it possible to understand the "identities or subject positions offered to the students" by the policies(Jones, 2013, p.11). The policy as discourse approach argues that the governments do not always react to problems but they also create and construct the problems in the very policy documents that aims to address them (Bacchi, 2000).

[5]According to the author this materialist theory of discourse has originated from the works of Foucault, Bakhtin, cultural materialists and post-structuralist feminists and queer theorists.

Policy study itself is a rather new field that began in late 1950s but now it has developed as an important field. Rizvi and Lingard (2009) noted that from late 1950s till 1970s the rationalist approach to policy studies was dominant. This approach emphasized the evidence based policymaking where the policy analysts had to provide the governments with research based information about various policy options. This approach began losing its appeal during the 1980s when new perspectives in social sciences (like those of feminists, post-structuralist and post-colonialists etc) started to gain attention and challenged the positivist approaches in social sciences. The authors note that during the 1980s and 1990s the rise of neo-liberalism resulted in adoption of neo-liberal approaches to policy studies. This approach envisaged the minimum role of the government in education policymaking and advocated reliance on the dictates of market mechanisms on the issues that were erstwhile considered to be domain of the public policy. The phenomenon of globalization also influenced the nature of policymaking. According to the author, this shift to neo-liberal orientation towards education policymaking resulted in emphasis on the demand for privatization of educational institutions and resulted in making education a private good or commodity than a public one. This shift in orientation resulted in altering the purpose of education. Education during this period came to be seen "in terms of a narrower set of concerns about human capital development, and the role education must play to meet the needs of the global economy and to ensure the competitiveness of the national economy"(Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, p.3).

Before looking at the articulation of language and education policy and the issue of power arising due to their interaction I will look at nature of the language planning briefly. Language planning from 1970s to late 1980s viewed language as having two main functions i.e. the corpus planning and the status planning. The

corpus planning referred to changes in the form of language, its standardization and modernization etc. The status planning refers to the steps taken to elevate the status of any language(García, 2015). She notes that it wasCooper (1989) who challenged the erstwhile notion that languages are planned by the state and argued that language planning was also in the hands of the individuals. Cooper also introduced the concept of acquisition planning. The policies of teaching English (or any other dominant language) as a second or foreign language along with the policy of educating children in their mother tongue falls under this category. Cooper's perspective notwithstanding, the real paradigm shift came in language policy and planning with the work of J. W. Tollefson (1991)who argued that state's choice of the dominant language to be in any country is determined by the ideological and class related issues and it is closely linked with the issues of dominance, hegemony and power. Hornberger and McKay (2010) while talking about nature of the language policies makes distinction between the explicit and implicit language policies. They note that the explicit policies enjoy the official status while the implicit ones are embedded in institutional practices. They also point out that implicit policies can also become hegemonic. Hegemony is defined by them as "the ability of the dominant group to maintain and exercise power either through coercion or by manufacture of consent" (Hornberger & McKay, 2010, p.113). Hegemony entails gaining the consent of those who are to be dominated. It takes place when the dominant groups have influenced the subordinated group to "accept their language norms" and when those failing to follow suit consider it as their own deficiency(Hornberger & McKay, 2010, p.112). There are two major approaches to language planning identified byJ. W. Tollefson (1991) namely, neo-classical approach and the historical structuralist approach. The neo-classical approach lays stress on the importance of individual choice and existing

language condition whereas the historical structuralist approach focuses on the socio-historical factors and is concerned with the issues of class, hegemony and dominance. Unlike the neo-classical approach, the historical structuralist approach argues that those who overlook the political role of policy planning inevitably end up supporting the status quo. García (2015)also asserts that language planning is a political enterprise with ideological connotation. In her review article she argues that language always has ideological connotations and it is related to "social systems of domination and subordination of groups, having to do not only with ethnicity, but also with class, gender, and race" (p.354). She refers to Bourdieu (1991), to further her argument. Bourdieu has argued that habit us defined as a "system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditionings" makes the "material form of life "embodied and turned into second nature" (as cited in Garcia, 2015, p.354). She argues that Bourdieu's concept enables us to understand why those who do not have any control over the practices of language deem the standard varieties more authentic than the ones that they speak.

In contemporary times the issues of social justice are deemed important in the education policy research (Taylor, 1997). Ball (1997) notes that in education policy research the main tension is the one that exists between those who are committed to obtaining efficiency and those who are committed to the issues of social justice. Vincent (2003) asserts that conventionally social justice has been viewed from economic perspective as a distributive issue which ignored the cultural as well as relational dimensions of social justice. She notes that in 1970s and 1980s the educational studies were dominated by class based analysis of the situation. This in turn meant that there was a pre-occupation with the distributive dimension of social justice. The outcome of this trend was that other aspects of identity i.e race, gender,

ethnicity and religion that constructed/shaped the identities of the people were given less attention. This inattention however is now been replaced with focus on recognition of difference on part of those concerned with social justice. Social justice thus has now become an important concern of education policy studies as education (policy) is an important arena where the "production and reproduction of particular identities and social positionings" happen(Vincent, 2003, p.2). Young (1992)argues that concepts of domination and oppression should also be given due consideration while addressing the issue of social justice along with the distributive aspects of issues(Young, 1992, as cited in Vincent, 2003). By this she means that the social structural and institutional contexts should also be analysed because they determine the nature of distribution that takes place. Literature discussing the effects of education policies and their repercussions in terms of social justicein contemporary times are also take into consideration the issues related to identity formation. They are doing so in order to locate the issues of just and unjust social practices and policies. Hall (1993) points out that identity is not a monolith and should not be addressed as such. He asserts that we have designated social identities as well the identities that we construct of ourselves i.e. self-image(Hall, 1993, as cited in Vincent, 2003). Vincent notes that "the effect of structural forces and individual agency combine to shape identities" (Vincent, 2003, p.5). She argues that compulsory education plays an important role in creation of identity since it is "affirming for some, but very disabling for others" as it provides "running commentary on the development of our skills and abilities" (Vincent, 2003, p.5). The main concern of my study is the gatekeeping role of English as a compulsory language. To facilitate things for the reader however before discussing the history of spread of English I will briefly discuss the articulation between education policy and language.

In the domain of education policy, language is the primary area of concern. Even the decision to teach a language to students is an "educational issue, but it is also a highly political and financial one in which power, domination, and political affiliation play central roles"(Bohn, 2003, as cited in Matear, 2008). Literature also highlights how education policies privilege English language and how these policies cause inequalities and create issues of access and social justice (D'Andrea, 2007; Mahadeo, 1999; Rahman, 2000, 2001a; Tamim, 2012, 2014a, 2014b; J. Tollefson, 1994)

Language is not a "neutral medium" it can also act as an "instrument of differentiation" by reproducing inequalities (Mesthrie, 2011, p.46).Kempf (2006) argue that language can be "a tool for empowerment or disempowerment"(Kempf, 2006, as cited in Ashraf & Tsegay, 2015).Rahman (1998)has also put forth the idea that modern knowledge is ontologically geared towards creating hierarchies. He argues that language in its written as well as oral form "in process of producing knowledge creates discourses" (p.6). These discourses give unmatched power to some people and make it possible for them to exploit humans in the name of "merit, technical expertise and science"(Rahman, 1998, p.1). Languages become prestigious when they are granted a superior status by the state. They also get legitimacy when they are used by various state institutions involved in national language policy making (Jasso-Aguilar, 1999). Language policies whether clearly delineated or not have repercussions for people (Bamgbo̩se, 2000, p.1). The language policies give rise to language practices. The state may standardize a certain form and/ or dialect of a language and give it an official status. This would result in lowering the status of the other forms and/ or dialects of the language and its speaker(Rahman,2008). Education policy is an important arena that hierarchizes different languages spoken in a

particular geographical and cultural area. According to Mustafa (2014) there are three ways in which language is used in education system of any country. First it may be taught as a subject. She asserts that more than one language can be taught as a subject, this can be the mother tongue of child/student or it can be taught as a second language. Second, it may be used as a medium of instruction to teach various subjects. The third way is that different languages may be taught in schools[6]. In Pakistan, English is taught as a compulsory subject at SSC, HSSC level and graduation level. It is also used as a medium of instruction in many private as well as public schools. The importance of English language in Pakistan's education system can also be gauged from the fact that it is the only compulsory language subject at graduation level.

My stance is that English is a privileged language. In many countries, it is the dominant language. It is important to understand how it attained its current status. Dillard (1985)notes that the prestige of English and its status as a lingua franca pushes a large number of people across the world to learn it. English as a lingua franca (ELF) is the term used for role of English in today's world, and it means that it is used in everyday life by people who have different first language (Seidlhofer, 2005). English as an international language (EIL) is another term used in literature to stress upon the role of English in today's world.

Regarding the spread of English, many scholars have argued that spread of English started with British colonial activities around the globe. An example substantiating this claim is Pennycook's assertion that English is a "product of colonialism" (Pennycook, 2002, p.20). He also argues that British colonial policies related to provision of education in English or denying it to the colonized nations

[6]In educational system of Pakistan in all provinces except Sindh, English and Urdu are taught as subjects. While in Sindh; English, Urdu and Sindhi are the languages that are taught as distinct subjects. When it comes to the issue of medium of instruction in high schools already existing research is indicative of the fact that in Pakistan it is pluralistic which means some schools have English as medium of instruction while other have Urdu.

reflected the colonial understanding of how the colonies could be administered effectively.

In post-colonial[7] states today, English remains the official language. In many of these states, English is still the official language because of the advantages it offers to individuals and nations (Dogancay-Aktuna, 1998). As noted by Dogancay-Aktuna (1998) after the decline of Commonwealth the political hegemony of US became the major contributing factor to the spread of English (in place of Britain) globally. In recent years English has emerged as a lingua franca and has slowly and effectively replaced French as the international diplomatic language. Federici et al. (2000) have noted that while international capitalism was instrumental in the spread of English language globally the 'consolidation of ' the same now requires the hegemony of English language (p.55).

There are two main voices around the articulation of globalization and English becoming lingua franca in scholarship. The stance of the first voice is that, English becoming a lingua franca is a teleological consequence of the process of "globalization"[8]. It is argued that globalization necessitated that there be a common language that could be used for effective international communication in the global village. English became a means to this end (Seidlhofer, 2004). The second voice however disagrees with the former and holds the stance that English becoming a lingua franca is not a teleological consequence of the process of globalization but a consequence of concerted and intentional effort on part of the English speaking world generally and British and US specifically. The foremost proponent of the latter

[7] The term Post-colonial is highly debated in literature because a large number of scholars argue that there is no such thing as a post-colonial state. Their argument is that most of the lesser developed countries and previous colonies have gone from being militarily colonial spaces to neo-colonial spaces.

[8] Globalization is used to explain the new world order in which a shift has occurred from early twentieth century's nation states to an increased need to assimilate and form national alliances to end cultural isolation.

stance is Philipson. He asserts that "the projection of English as the 'world language' par excellence is symptomatic of globalization processes" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, p.439). Phillipson writes that "in the post-communist states[9], English is being vigorously promoted as the royal road to democracy, a market economy and human rights"(Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, p.431).Building on Philipson's argument Pennycook (2007) points out that the global spread of English has cultural, social, economic and educational effects. He also asserts that it has debunked several myths regarding the global spread of English. He argues that "spread of English as natural (having evolved into global language without any overt political action)and neutral (as being disconnected to social, economic and political concerns), and beneficial (as being inherently beneficial to all who learn and use it) is untenable"(Pennycook, 2007, p.100). Phillipson (2008) succinctly explains how and why the UK-US unity in terms of promoting dominance of English as the world language is little questioned politically. It is also pointed out that there is practically no resistance against this growing hegemony of English on part of other European nations. This is despite the fact that these nations are not as helpless as the countries of the south might be. In the same work he analyses a number of western organizations like British council, Rhodes scholarships, English speaking Union and Rotary Club. His stance is that these organizations along with different treaties signed between UK and US are instrumental ininitiating and perpetuating the domination of English language. It is also pointed out that academia is not benign for it has an important role in promoting the World English project. Phillipson (2008) has fiercely criticized Kaplan (2001) Crystal (1999) and Von Parijs and de Swann (1989)who are

[9] An interesting point to be noted here though is that However, the phenomenon of spread of English is not just limited to post-communist states, post-colonial states[9] for even the non-English speaking colonial powers of the past are victims of the hegemony of English at this historical juncture.

adherents of the rational choice theory and who legitimatize the world wide use of English as something that happened naturally to the people and at times accidently.

The proponents of the rational choice theory ignore how the dominant languages flourish at the cost of minority languages and get numerous socio-political benefits out of it. Grin (2005) highlights five main effects that give an edge to the dominant language speakers at the cost of the minority language speakers. These effects are: a) the privileged market effect, b) the communication saving effect, c) the language learning saving effect, d) the alternative human capital investment effect and e) legitimacy and rhetorical effect. The privilege market effect gives an edge to native speakers of the dominant language in market and occupations where the native-level skills are needed. The communication saving effect makes it possible for the native dominant language speakers to communicate in their native language without needing any translations. It would be so because the speakers of other languages will make an effort to communicate in the dominant language. The native speakers of the dominant language do not need to make an effort to learn other languages and this allows them to invest the effort, resources and time in other valuable types of human capital. The legitimacy and rhetorical effect entails that the dominant language speakers will have an edge when the communication in the dominant language is taking place with the non-native speakers.

It is due to the perceived benefits of learning English language that its speakers are growing in numbers around the globe. In many countries, foreign language learning is synonymous to learning English. Therefore, terms like English as International language (EIL), lingua franca, Global English, etc. are often used. This has resulted in hegemony of English. English has also become the language of the global elites (Ives, 2004, p.15). Gramsci's concept of hegemony is often employed in

literature to analyze the situation of unbridled spread of English. Ives (2009) argues that the global spread of English can best be understood from Gramscian perspective of hegemony. Gramsci's concept of hegemony, an important concept in social critical theory and/ or theories , has also been employed to show that even when its seems that states, institutions or individuals decide to promote proliferation of English language by learning, or by teaching, it is actually the result of power differentials (Ives, 2009; J. W. Tollefson, 2000). Referring to hegemony as dominant ideas that we take granted Phillipson (2009) writes that English enjoys a hegemonic position in many former colonies. He argues that hegemonic role of English is attained when "the acceptance of ideas which legitimatize the role for English come to be accepted as natural state of affairs rather than a choice which reflects particular interests" and "pre-eminence of English is legitimatized as being 'common sense' social fact thus concealing as to whose interests are being served by the dominant ideology"(Phillipson, 2009, p.376).

Ives (2009) says that in some "hegemonic blocs", the proliferation of English also stops the development of "subaltern social group consciousness" as well as creation of "critical counter hegemonic responses"(Ives, 2009, in Mayo, 2010, p.79).

Erickson (1987) argues that "hegemonic practices are routine actions and unexamined beliefs that are consonant with the cultural system of meaning and ontology within which it makes sense to take certain actions, entirely without malevolent intent, that nonetheless systematically limits the life chances of stigmatized groups" (Erickson, 1987, p.352). The linguistic domination is usually attained when people accept and internalize the dominant ideology. Erickson (1987) adds

> *Hegemony refers to the ubiquitous, taken for granted status of a dominant culture within a culturally plural and class stratified society such as the United States. Because of the ubiquity of the dominant culture and institutional arrangements that are consonant with its assumptions, it is not necessary for dominant groups to use overt means, i.e., naked force, to maintain their position of advantage. Rather as members of society, dominant and subordinate alike, act in concert with cultural assumptions and interests of the dominant group, existing power relationships can be maintained, as it were, by an invisible hand. This is an essential element in Gramsci's notion of hegemony*(p.352).

Owing to the advantageous status of English its speakers enjoy many privileges that speakers of other languages, hailing from different backgrounds do not(Ricento, 2009). Phillipson (2009) also questions if it is fair that some "should be able to communicate, negotiate, trade, and be culturally productive in their mother tongue whereas, others have to use a second or a foreign language?" He says that "structural and ideological underpinnings of global linguistic hegemony tends to be regarded as legitimate, despite the massive economic and cultural advantages this gives to the English-speaking world" (Phillipson, 2009, as cited in Ricento, 2009, p.350).

In Pakistan, some work has been produced that examines the role and status of English language with reference to national language as well as the regional languages. Shamim (2011) paints a grim picture with reference to English language learning in Pakistan and argues that the quality and the standards of achievement in English language learning are low. The students from low socio-economic backgrounds have limited proficiency in English and have little exposure to English in

their environment (Mansoor, 2003). In higher education English is the dominant language and students learn it to get instrumental benefits (Mansoor, 2004). The literature from Pakistan is mainly concerned with the levels of learning of English language and calls for additive bilingualism and improving the standards of English language while advocating the policy of English for All (Mansoor, 2004; Shamim, 2011) or equitable access to English language learning (Tamim, 2014b).

The issue of inequality has also been taken into consideration for example,Rahman (2004) terms the difference between English medium elite schools and Urdu medium schools for the multitude as being "educational apartheid"(p.74). Rahman (2010) explains the same situation in following words:

> *By supporting English through a parallel system of elite schooling, Pakistan's ruling elite acts as an ally of the forces of globalisation at least as far as the hegemony of English is concerned. The major consequence of this policy is the weakening of local languages and the lowering of their status. This, in turn, opposes linguistic and cultural diversity, weakens the 'have-nots' even further and increases poverty by leaving the best-paid jobs in the hands of the international elite and the English-using elite of the peripheries*(p.30).

He has also noted that language policy and education in Pakistan is "subordinated" to the interests of elite in Pakistan. He argues that "ideological polarization" exists between different socio-economic classes in Pakistan which if not taken care of may lead to violence(Rahman, 2005, p.95).

Ashraf and Tsegay (2015) have brought to our notice the fact that there exist quality differentials among Pakistani schools so the policies that privilege English language benefits the already privileged people who choose high quality English medium schools or international schools for their child. They also argue that

Englishization has paved way for "local competition and class formation rather than becoming a means of global communication and economic development" in Pakistan(Ashraf & Tsegay, 2015, p.79). The language policies with their inequitable "distribution of power and privileges" have created a gulf between the students of rural and urban areas, students from government institutions or low cost private schools and the students from elite institutions (Waseem, 2014, p.145).

English language acts as a gatekeeper and puts some languages at risk (threatens them) and distributes power, wealth, knowledge, resources and prestigeun equally by controlling access to "positions of wealth and prestige both within and between nations"(Pennycook & Tollefson, 1995 p 55). Naysmith (1986) also argues the same and asserts that English perpetuates the already existing inequalities internationally and suggests that it must be challenged. Exclusionary effects of English are mostly ignored by those who create the myth of English as an international language (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). These derogatory effects can be seen in multilingual settings to include jobs, social prestige (Rahman, 2000; Tamim, 2012), health or physical well-being (Tamim & Tariq, 2013) and immigration (Copeland, 2010).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) argues that exclusionary effects result when schools try to regulate the ways in which languages are used. Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) uses Foucault's (1991) concept of *governmentality* to show that schools 'regulate' the ways in which languages are used and create "language hierarchies" where "some languages, or some ways of using language, are more valued than others"(Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009, p.141). She also argues that the education systems generally do not recognize or capitalize on the bilingual practices of the children.

The native speakers of English may be required to study a foreign language at school level but they are not expected to be proficient in the use of that language in their daily lives. Contrary to this the non- native minority students are expected to develop an academic proficiency in the majority language. This proficiency often comes at the expense of the development of their first language (Ortega, 1999). Besides, it is unfair to assess a child on language abilities on the basis of a foreign language which she/he does not use once she/he steps outside the school premises. The curriculum imparted in second or third language also make it difficult to assess how much a child has learned (Qasim & Qasim, 2014).

The hegemonic practices and structures, also do not take into account the issues of social justice and try to normalize the experiences of some members while invalidating the experiences of others. It is being argued that these hegemonic structures create the *'marginalized others'*. Sheared (1992) is further argued that *"the silencing of lived experiences in discourses constructed through legislation and policies created by dominant culture, which other "commatizes or negates" the political, economic and social realities of those living in the margins of society"*(Sheared, 1992, as cited in Sheared & Sissel, 2001, p.4).

The individuals work in more than one and overlapping social spaces and it is this multiplicity of an individual's locations and roles in the society that determines the contextual marginality or centrality of an individual (Sheared & Sissel, 2001). Sometimes those at the margins may develop views that show that they have internalized the hegemonic discourse while on other occasions they may develop "oppositional view of the world" (Hooks, 1984, cited in Sissel & Sheared, 2001, p.323)They have also shown that sometimes those at the margins may develop the "ability to critically reflect" on how hegemonic structures and discourses affect them

differently (often negatively) from those at the center. The academic world can also "overtly or inadvertently participate in the maintenance or perpetuation of hegemony as knowledge producers and disseminators" (Sissel & Sheared, 2001 p.5). This may happen when the academic community does not include the voices of those marginalized by hegemonic practices or discourses. Coleman et al. (2012) also note in their report commissioned by British Council, titled "*Language in education in Pakistan: Recommendations for policy and practice"*, the gatekeeping role of English in society. That "having English allows some people to gain access to the best jobs and the best education. But not having English unfairly excludes many people from these experiences"(Coleman et al., 2012, p.21).

My research aims to explore the hegemonic discourses that dictate that English be a compulsory subject in Pakistan. It also aims to explore how hegemonic discourses are promoted, accommodated or resisted by those affected and marginalized by the policy of having English as a compulsory subject. I intend realizing this goal by including the voices and experiences of the marginalized. The study further aims to investigate how English as a compulsory subject is discriminating against female gender, particular ethnic groups, the have nots, and rural population and professionals at the lower rung of the ladder in the larger society.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

My conceptual framework has emerged out of a merger of neo-classical approach, historical structuralist approach and the discourse perspective. All of these approaches have been discussed in detail in the literature review part of this document. The concept of **evidence based policymaking as used by** Rizvi and Lingard (2009)is used to analyze the data pertaining to process of policymaking in Pakistan and to

ascertain if it has its roots in academic and applied research or not. The concept of **status planning** as used by García (2015)is combined with Cooper's (1989) concept of **acquisition planning** to see the role/s assigned to English language in Pakistan's education policy.

This study conceptualizes **policy as discourse** as done by Jones (2013). Building on this concept, the policy as discourse is analyzed using discourse as conceptualized in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Fairclough (2013). Fair clough views discourse as an element of social practices which is one of the three levels of social reality for him along with structure and events. This study argues that it is at the level of practices where policies are made which give rise to events that manifest the differential roles of policy. The current study uses Garcia's (2015) conceptualization of **language policy as a political and ideological enterprise** to establish that language policy is neither apolitical nor sans ideology. Tollefson's (1991) conception of language **having ideological and class dimension** is used to reinforce and elaborate upon the Garcian concept mentioned above. Other concepts of Tollefson (1991) that helped in the analysis of the data generated from the current research is the articulation of concepts of **dominance, hegemony and power in policymaking.** Using these concept allowed the researcher to lay bare the political dimensions of policymaking. In the same vein Gramsci's concept of hegemony along with Ives (2009) improvisation of the same is also used. Ives while improvising on Gramsci's concept of hegemony uses it to delineate the role of educational policy to manufacture consent on micro as well as macro level. The concept of hegemony is used to see how the policies and pedagogical practices impose the dominant discourse on those negatively affected by the gatekeeping effect of English language. These concept are also used to explore if affected students have accepted as well as

internalized the imposed hegemonic discourse or dominant ideology and do they blame themselves if they fail in English compulsory or do they view it as a structural issue. The study also analyzes if the proliferation of English language stops the development of subaltern consciousness and prevents formation of **collective critical counter hegemonic** responses by those negatively affected by the unjust practices.

Although, there has been a series of educational policies in this country but the language policy per se doesn't exist in Pakistan in any documented form. This, however, doesn't mean that Pakistan doesn't have a language policy because at the level of practice generally and within the education system particularly English language has been implemented as a medium of instruction as well as a compulsory subject till bachelor level from the time of independence to date. To deal with this simultaneous absence and presence of language policy and status of English within it, the concepts of **implicit and explicit language policies as used by** Hornberger and McKay's (2010) are used. So, explicit language policy is used to denote the absence of documented language policy in the country while implicit language policy is used to discuss the structure and dynamics of unwritten but practiced language policy which has made English the dominant language in the academy of the country.

An important concept that this study borrows is by Vincent (2003) about **the role of compulsory education as being "affirming for some and disabling for others**" in creation of identities by providing "running commentary on the development of our skills and abilities" (Vincent2003, p.5). This concept is used to analyze the role of English compulsory in Pakistan at SSC level in re/creation and transformation of differential student identities in Pakistani academia. Building further on Vincent's concept of identity, this study uses her conceptualization of **identity.** She defines **identity** as constituted by the interplay of structural forces and

individual agency. This concept is used to see how the identity formation results in construction of what Hall (in Vincent) calls the **designated social identities** as well as **self-constructed images** i.e. self-image. While analyzing messages disseminated by the educational institutions and their relationship with construction of identity this study also used Wodak's (2012)conceptualization of **identity.** Building on Hall and Vincent's (2003) conceptualization of identity Wodak (2012) views **identities being re/created and transformed** as a result of particular contexts as the interaction between people takes place. This conceptualization of identity formation takes into account the **inclusionary and exclusionary** processes that arise due to the way people define themselves and others. In summation then to analyze identity construction processes in schools, this study uses the conceptualizations of identity as put forth by Vincent (2003), Wodak (2012) and Hall. The aforementioned conceptualizations of identity are useful to analyze how students construct their self-image with reference to their own performance in English compulsory.

My stance is that Identity formation, distortion and transformation are processes located at the heart of phenomena of social justice. Owing to this stance this study uses Vincent's (2003) **pluralistic conceptualization of social justice** as having distributive dimension as well as cultural and relational aspects. This pluralistic conceptualization is used to examine how the role and status conferred upon English language in our education system produces differential social identities and differential social positioning of individuals.

As indicated in the preceding text the study views the role of language in education policy as a political issue having financial dimensions in which power, domination and political affiliation play an important role as envisaged by Bohn(Bohn, 2013, as cited in Matear, 2008). Thus the role of language in education

system of Pakistan is viewed as **an instrument of differentiation** as pointed out by Mesthrie (2011) and as **a tool for empowerment or disempowerment** as noted by Kempf (Kempf in Ashraf & Tsegay, 2015, p.56). The study analyzes the language and education policies of Pakistan using Ashraf and Tsegay's (2015) concept of **"Englishization**"(Ashraf & Tsegay, 2015, p.79). This concept is used to see if it is creating competition among students belonging to different socio-economic classes. The concept of Englishization makes it easier to understand the differential distribution of prestige in knowledge along the axis of residence[10] and institutions[11].

To analyze the relationship between dominance of English in our education system this study uses concepts ofPennycook (2002), Federici et al. (2000) and Kangas. Ituses Pennycook's (2002) idea of British colonial legacy and connects it with Federici et al's. (2000) concept of historical **emergence of hegemonic role of English language** in post colonial state of pakistan. The study employs the concept of intentional efforts on part of English speaking world to discuss how and why English became the dominant academic lanaguge in Pakistan. This means I am arguing to the effect that dominace of English in pakistani academia should not be understood as a teleogical consequence of process of globalization merely as some scholar would have us believe.

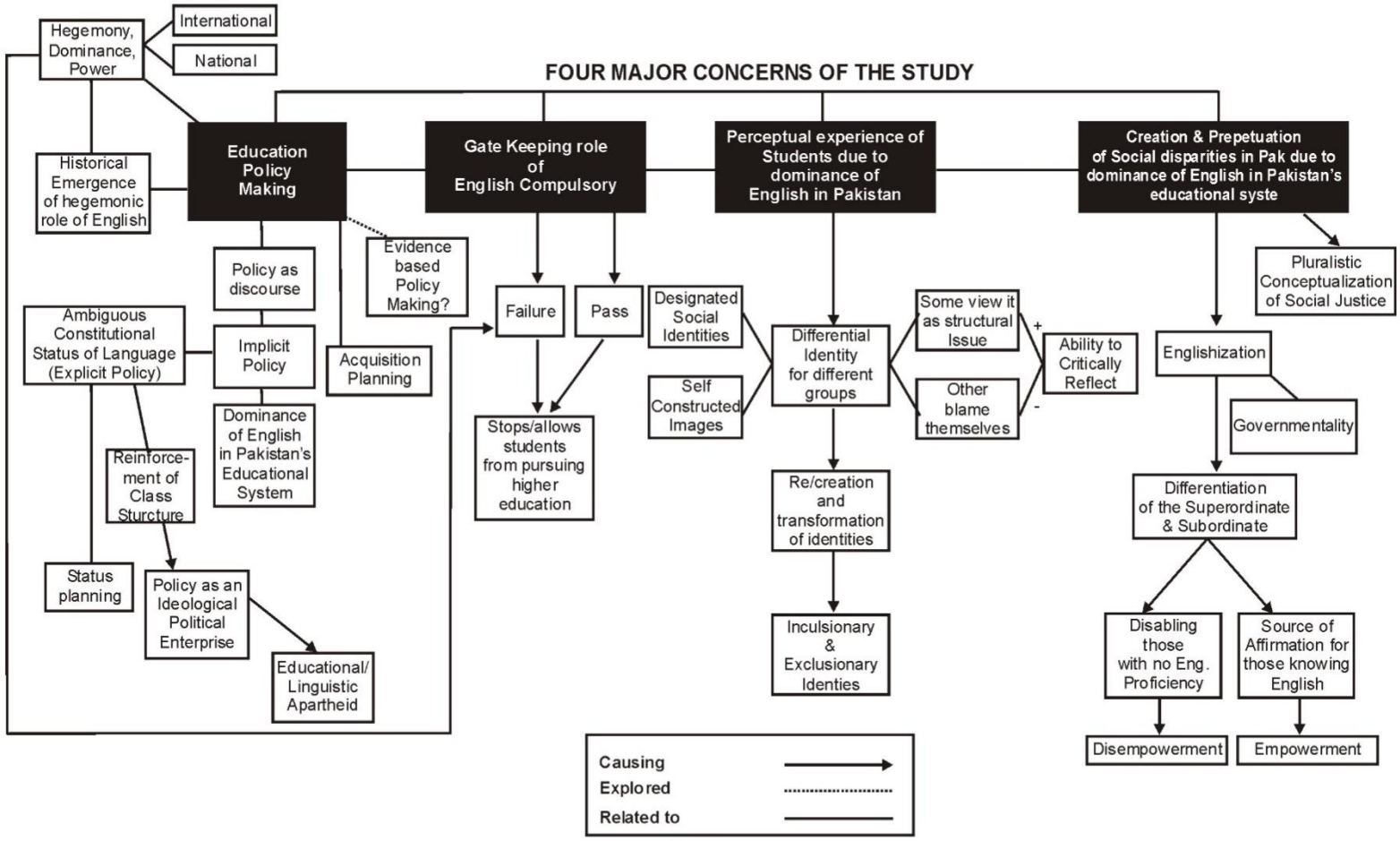
The study views the discourses created as a result of language practices and policies in Pakistani educational milieu in the same way as Rahman (2001a) sees it. For Rahman these discourses have conferred an unmatched power on some people and enabled them to exploit other humans in the name of merit. Rahman's (2002) concept of **educational apartheid** being created by the differential use of English language in education system of Pakistan is also used. I have used this concept to see

[10] When I use this term I am referring to the residential status of students (rural vs urban).
[11] By institutions I mean the government and private schools here.

how the dominant elite by supporting the parallel education system of elite English medium schools is acting as **an ally of forces of globalization**. My argument is that, this process is constructing the hegemony of English in Pakistani society. This in turn is resulting in perpetuating the class inequalities in the larger society. This study also tries to explain how the language and education policy in Pakistan is "subordinated" to the interest of elite in Pakistan as Rahman (2005) puts it. The concept of **exclusionary effects of English** put forth by Rahman (2000) and Tamim (2012) is also employed in my analysis. This concept is used to see how not knowing English creates differential and inferior experiential reality for students who are not proficient in English. I am also arguing that this differential experience acts as an exclusionary tool for those coming from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Foucualt's concept of **governmentality** as used by Skutnab-Kangas (2009) is also used in the current analysis. It enables me to see how schools serve as regulatory and hierarchy creating spaces where some languages are more valued than others. This research analyzes how the role of hegemonic practices and discourses **normalize the experiences** of some and silence or **invalidate the experience of others** as Sheared and Sissel (2001) put it. Moreover, it also analyzes if the exclusionary gatekeeping role of English compulsory creates the **ability to critically reflect** on the hegemonic discourses among the disadvantaged students.

2.3 Conceptual Framework – Picture



CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1 Difference between Methodology and Methods

Methods and methodology are often used interchangeably but these are two different things. Methodology is the logic underlying the research design whereas methods are the tools or techniques used to obtain data.

3.2 Methodology

The term methodology is related to the investigation of methods and assumptions about the means by which the knowledge is created. Methodology tells us about the "logic of enquiry" and also informs about the strengths and limitations of the "techniques and procedures" (Grix, 2010, p.32). He also notes that methodology refers to the way a research should be conducted and enables the researcher to decide the best suited methods for the purpose of research.

This study follows critical social analysis as methodological strategy which is both normative and explanatory in nature. It is normative as it criticizes the existing social reality of Pakistan for not being the way it should be i.e. existing reality in this study is the policy of English Compulsory which restricts the students to continue their studies from school to the college level due to their lack of proficiency in compulsory subject of English. This failure is due to their inability to learn English which is a foreign language to them and it has little or no existence in their daily lives except the time that they spend in school learning this subject. My contention is that the policy of English as compulsory subject is unjust which is creating unequal opportunities for different social groups in the larger society i.e. students from higher

socio-economic groups are more likely to have greater proficiency in English as compared to those who come from lower socio economic groups (Rahman, 2001b; Tamim, 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Tamim, Musa, Tariq, & Rathore, 2015). Methodological strategy used in this study will also be explanatory as it will not only describe the social reality but it will also explain why this reality turned out to be the way it is now.

3.3 Research Design

For Majumdar (2005), a research design is a logical framework that enables the researcher to answer "two basic questions i.e. a) does the research provide answers to the basic research objectives and b) if yes how well it does so" (Majumdar, 2005, p.119). His stance is that these two questions can only be answered adequately if the researcher ensures that he/she has chosen the correct investigative strategy and his/her planning and structuring of his/her research is such that the two questions mentioned above are answered with acute precision and accuracy. The sum total of the strategy, plan and structure of any research project is its research design.

Keeping in view my research questions and objectives, I have used descriptive research design. A descriptive research design enable the researcher to "obtain a precise and accurate description of the characteristics of the phenomena, or a particular social group being studied to determine the frequency with which some events and characteristics occur in the population or sample of the study and the associations that exists among them . A descriptive research design also allows investigation of some social and psychological aspects of a group or people of a community" (Majumdar, 2005, p.114).

My decision to use the descriptive research design is based on several reasons; a) the fact that the rationale underlying the Pakistani educational system dictating that English be a compulsory subject be identified and described necessitates employment of a research design focused on description of phenomena, b) the fact that my research questions and objectives demand a descriptive understanding and documentation of the perceptual experience of students who are positively or negatively affected by the gatekeeping role of English compulsory requires a descriptive research design. A descriptive research deign is also significant here because it permits the researcher to investigate the socio-psychological aspects of the community being studied as pointed out by Majumdar (2005). This research design allowed me to accomplish the tasks referred to in the earlier part of this point. c) My research questions and objectives also demanded that the causal association between English language as a compulsory subject and perpetuation of different types of inequalities in the larger society be explicated. The descriptive research design is very helpful in addressing this issue since it allows studying how certain events and characteristics occur in the population or the sample of the study and the associations that exist among them.

3.4 Units of Data Collection

A unit of data collection can be an individual, group of people, process, or entity which is explored by the researcher to get information relevant to his/her research topic.

For purpose of my research the units of data collection were as follows:

1. Documents (Books, reports, Pakistan's education policies and related documents)

2. Functionaries of BISE[12] Rawalpindi
3. The students of SSC
4. Principals and English teachers of selected schools
5. Functionaries of public sector organizations who are/were involved in formulating and implementing education policy
6. Functionary of non-government organizations working on education as a development issue in Pakistan and academicians writing on language and education related issues
7. Alumni of the selected schools

3.5 Locales of the Study

The study deals with multiple locales necessitated by the number of units of data collection as enumerated above. These multiple locales are four schools from Tehsil Murree, BISE Office in Rawalpindi, Ministry of Education & Professional Training Islamabad, office of an NGO working on educational issues located in Lahore (Idara-e-Taleemo-Agahi[13]) and BNU Lahore (for Dr. Tariq Rahman's interview).

3.5.1 Locale One

Within this locale there were four sub-locales a) one government girls' high school, b) one government boys' high school c) a non-elite Co-educational English medium school and d) one elite English medium school for boys in Murree. All these schools are situated on old Murree Road.

Government Girls High School Samli Tajjal, Murree

[12] Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education

[13] Idara-e-Taleemo Agahi produces Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) in Pakistan which is the largest citizen led household based initiative. It annually collects data about the children's schooling and basic learning.

This is a high school for girls located in Samli Tajjal area of Murree. It is a government school. This school was established in 1952 and it was upgraded to high school in 2010. The 10th class has 45 students enrolled who have appeared in year 2016 for secondary school examination.

The local transport drops the students and teachers travelling to school at Company Bagh stop near reputed T.B sanatorium. There is a small market (i.e. *bazar)* and the same road that leads to the school is used by patients and their relatives coming from faraway places to this sanatorium. Almost all the students and teachers walk at least ten minutes to reach the school from the main road. Majority of the students walk to and from the school every day.

All government schools in Murree (including this one) charge twenty rupees per month from each student that go into the *Firogh-e-Taleem* Fund of each school. The amount of this fund is to be spent on the welfare of the needy students as deemed fit by the head of the school.



Figure 3 Picture of the road leading to GGHS Samli Tajjal



Figure 4 Picture of Middle Sec of school taken from the High Section

Government High School for Boys Ghora Gali, Murree

This high school for boys is located in Ghora Gali, Murree. It was established in 1876 and it was upgraded to a high school in 1983. The 10th class has 45 students enrolled who appeared in year 2016 for secondary school examination. This school is situated near main road. Majority of the boys also walk to and from school. Those coming from far off areas use local transport to travel.



Figure 5 Picture of the road leading to GHS Ghora Gali



Figure 6 Picture of Middle Section of School

Ali Grammar School, Tret, Murree

This is a low cost private co-education school, located in Tret. It is at the main Murree Road. This school started five years ago and it has an enrollment of around 200 students. They have recently started classes at graduation level as well. The 10th class has an enrollment of 13 students who appeared in year 2016 board examination.

Lawrence College,Ghora Gali, Murree

This is an elite boarding school for boys located in Ghora Gali. This school was established in 1860. The school charges high fee from the students, per annum fee for Senior School (VIII –X) is 495612 rupees. The school also receives10 million per year as a grant from the Punjab government[14]. It also give scholarships to bright students from unprivileged background and remote areas. The school houses a diversity of students in terms of their geographical location. While there are children of teachers, students from disadvantaged background admitted under scholarship scheme and children of officers belonging to armed forces, the majority of the students hail from privileged backgrounds.



Figure 7 High Section of Lawrence College Ghora Gali

3.6 Methods/Techniques of Data Collection

Methods are defined as "the techniques or procedures used to collate and analyze data" (Blaikie, 2000, as cited in Grix, 2010, p.30). The methods selected for a research study are related to the research questions and to the sources from which data

[14] Chief Minister of Punjab, Mian Shehbaz Sharif, on his visit last year on 156th Founder Day of college enhanced this grant to 100 million. Source:http://lawrencecollege.edu.pk/events/

is obtained. Methods are determined by the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher and the nature of the study undertaken by him/her. Multiple methods were used to collect information in the current research. As already mentioned above the current research falls within qualitative research strategy. In my research I used following methods/techniques:

3.6.1 Rapport Building

Rapport building is the very first technique employed by any researcher conducting qualitative research. It is so because a qualitative researcher works with a small sample and it aims at gaining in-depth knowledge about the phenomena being studied. It also requires that the members of the community being studied are completely confident about the fact that the researcher under no circumstances would break their confidence and the confidentiality will be maintained strictly. In order to build rapport the researcher must explain his/her research project in a fashion that it is understandable for and acceptable to the respondents. It also entails creating a space for construction of a meaningful relationship between the researcher and the researched. In order to do so the researcher must respect the norms and values of the researched, spend extended periods of time with the researched group or community and behave and act like the local people.

Before embarking on the field work I obtained the phone numbers of heads of various schools an introduced my research work to them. I visited several schools before finalizing the school where I collected data. Few considerations were kept in mind for selecting the school these included the location of the school, the environment at the school and the number of students enrolled in 10^{th} class. The high school for girls was the first school where I started my field work. The reason for selecting the school was that it had considerably large number of students enrolled

compared to the schools that I had visited earlier. The field work began in June and lasted for about five months. I travelled each day to and from field using public transport. I would reach school around 9 am every day and would leave at off time with the teachers and students walking to the main road. This strategy helped me to build rapport, allowed me to have informal conversations with the teachers and students and observe them as they went about their daily routines in school. The principal of the high school, along with other teachers also used public transport to get to and to go back from their work place. There were at least four teachers who were posted in Murree and they travelled each day to school from Rawalpindi.

Once in school I had to wait sometimes to interview the students because their classes were going on. During this time I usually sat on back benches and observed the class. This allowed me to observe the nature of the teacher-student relationship and their overall attitude towards studies. I also observed students during their English classes this helped me to identify the difficulties they faced. It also helped me while conducting interview schedules and semi-structured interviews. It not only helped me cross check the data but also helped me form suitable questions.

I spent considerably large time in the first school that I visited. It helped me understand the dynamics of the social setting as well. In the second school that I visited I made my first visit with my guardian who introduced I and my work to the principal at the boy's high school and solicited his permission. After making two visits I realized that it will be appropriate to come accompanied in this school so I requested my friend to accompany me on the visits that I later made.

The third school that I visited was a private school about which I was informed by the teachers that it is a reputed school. The newly appointed principal in

that school is graduate of NUML Islamabad and she was cognizant of the importance of the research work. She facilitated me at all the visits.

Rapport building continues throughout the fieldwork. Before visiting Lawrence College I obtained information about the principal and the college. I also informed them about the work I had done already and the literature that I have read. All this helped in building the rapport and ensured that field work goes unhindered. Similarly, before interviewing participants from UDC 5 and UDC 6 I read background papers and annual reports of the organizations in question. I also read articles written by academicians to be interviewed before my interview sessions with them.

3.6.2 Interview

The simplest definition of interview is interview as conversation. More formally speaking, there are several kinds of interviews that are used in academic research. The difference between these types is determined by the degree of control that the interviewer is allowed to exercise over the interview situation. In the context of this research there are three major types of Interviews, i.e. informal interview, structured interview and semi-structured interview. I used all three types of interviews mentioned above. All the three types of interviews were interrelated and augmented each other and without anyone of these obtaining complete information would have been impossible.

3.6.2.1 Informal Interview

Bernard defines this type of interview as a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee which is "characterized by a total lack of structure or interviewer control. The researcher just tries to remember the conversations heard during the course of the day in the field…informal interviewing is the method of choice during the first phase

of field work when you are just settling in and getting to know the lay of the land" (Bernard, 1994, p.209). The informal interviews continued throughout the course of field work. I found these form of interview particularly useful during the phase of rapport building with UDC 3 and 4. These interviews were not only instrumental in terms of rapport building but they also served as means of obtaining a firm grasp over the structure and dynamics of UDC 3 and 4. I also used this type of interview while conducting structured interviews in UDC 3. The use of this interview type allowed me to strengthen my rapport and also enabled me to uncover topics of interest that could have been overlooked in structured interviews. The information about these new topics of interest was added in the remarks column. This technique coupled with semi-structured interviews allowed me to fill up gaps in the data obtained through the interview guides (semi-structured). These interviews also allowed me to cross check information obtained through interview guides with these UDCs.

3.6.2.2 Interview Schedules

Another name of interview schedule is structured interview. According to Bernard "structured interviewing involves exposing every informant in the sample to same stimuli. The stimulus is a set of close ended questions. Every member of the sample is asked these questions in the same sequence. The most common form of structured interviewing is the questionnaire" (Bernard, 1994, p.212). The interview schedule was used for UDC 3 in conjunction with the informal interviews. This instrument was designed to collect information about the socio-economic and academic background of students, their linguistic environment, and their own views about proficiency they have in different languages (APPENDIX A). This allowed me to understand the ethnic, class, gender and urban/rural background of the students. Eighty eight students were interviewed using this interview schedule. For the purpose of this study, I

interviewed 10th class students who have appeared in the board's examination for 9th class. I interviewed all the students of 10th class in selected schools except in Lawrence College, where I interviewed seven students. The reason why I interviewed seven students only in Lawrence college was that, the students were taking their final term exams after which they would have gone for winter break. The school administration, however, was very cooperative and they helped me in choosing a sample that represented all socio-economic backgrounds that the student body comprised. Number of students interviewed from each school is given in the following table.

Table 1

Number of students interviewed from each school

Type of School	Number of Students
GGHS[15] Samli Tajjal	37
GHS[16] Ghora Gali	31
Ali Grammar School	13
Lawrence College Ghora Gali	7
Total	88

Each interview lasted for about twenty minutes. These interviews revealed a lot of information about my research participants. It yielded information about their daily routines, nature of the chores they are involved in at home, time required to reach school and the mode of transportation used. The related questions also explored the nature of their exposure to different media and the language in their environment.

[15] Government Girls High School
[16] Government High School

3.6.2.3 Semi-structured Interviews

This type of interview, also called an interview guide, is "a tool in which a researcher figures out a finite number of broad areas of interest to him/her and formulates one or two questions for each area to be asked as a point of departure for the discussion of that area. The backbone of the interview guide is the concept of probe. The interviewer asks the questions she/he has formulated for each area and obtains details about that area by formulating subsequent questions on the basis of the responses he/she gets from the interviewee. The more impromptu the questions a researcher asks within his/her broad area of interest, the more the interview guide becomes useful for him/her. It is a very useful technique for the researcher to obtain in-depth information within a large domain. The control of the interview in case of the interview guide rests primarily with the interviewee… this kind of interview disallows the interviewer to impose his/her social reality onto the native's perception" (Khan, 2013, p.106). Separate interview guides were developed for each UDC to obtain relevant in-depth information from the research participants. This allowed me to capture pluri-vocality around the issue of educational policymaking, implementation and consequences of the same in the domain of professional pursuits. Interview guides also allowed me to gain information from **emic**[17] perspective.

During the field work forty five respondents were interviewed. The number of respondents from each UDC is given below in Table 2:

[17] Emic perspective refers to the insider's perspective here

Table 2 *Number of participants interviewed from each UDC*

UDC 2 - Functionaries of BISE Rawalpindi	2
UDC 3 - The students of SSC	24
UDC 4 –Principals and English teachers of the selected schools	8
UDC 5 - Functionaries of public sector organizations who are/were involved in formulating and implementing education policy	3
UDC 6 - Functionary of non-government organizations working on education as a development issue in Pakistan and academicians writing on language and education related issues	4
UDC 7 - Alumni of the selected schools	4
Total	45

The selection criteria and further information about respondents from UDC 2, UDC 5, UDC 6 and UDC 7 is discussed ahead in the same chapter (see section 3.7.2). The information about the participants of UDC 3 is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (see section 6.2.1). Among the 8 participants in UDC 4, four were the principals/head of the selected schools and the remaining 4 were English language teachers for grade 10 in selected schools.

3.6.3 Observer as Participant

Observer as a participant is a role in between the complete participant observer and complete observer but closer to the later role (Gold, 1958). In this role both the researcher and participant is cognizant that "theirs is a field relationship" (Gold, 1958, p.220). This role allows the researcher to build a relationship with the research participants over the time. Assuming this role, I made unstructured observations while

going to and from field, during class hours and recess time. This technique requires minimal participation of researcher in the activities under observation. While there is connection with the locale but the researcher need not participate fully in it. In this research the technique of observer as participant started at the rapport building phase in schools and lasted throughout my work with UDC 3 and 4.

3.6.4 Discourse Analysis

Discourse as a term isa highly debated one. Discourses are defined as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak"(Foucault, 1972, as cited in Lia, 2010, p.120).

There are four main approaches to discourse analysis that are currently used (Lia, 2010). These approaches are: Conversation Analysis (CA), Discourse Analysis (DA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA).

The current research has used CDA which takes "a macro-analytic view of the world" and uses the meaning of discourse in its broadest sense as social and ideological practices (Lia, 2010, p.126). CDA takes into account how the language is used in institutional and political discourses around particular socially significant issues. The study analyzes the discourse at two levels namely, textual level[18] and discursive[19].

CDA is used with UDC 1 to critically deconstruct Pakistan's education policies and related documents. This has allowed me to understand the implicit and explicit meanings of the dominant as well as subjugated discourses around educational policy making, planning and implementation in the country. It has also

[18] Textual analysis (vocabulary, grammar, and cohesion text structure)

[19] Discursive analysis (coherence, intertextuality and interdiscursivity)

allowed me to identify and understand the subversive and muted voices around the issue of education planning in Pakistan. This technique enabled me to collect data about my first research question and objective in substantial depth.

3.7 Sampling

"A sample is a small proportion of the population that is selected for observation and analysis. By observing the characteristics of the sample one can make certain inferences about the characteristics of the population from which it was drawn" (Best & Kahn, 2006, p.13). Broadly speaking sampling procedures can be divided into two categories namely probability and non-probability sampling procedures. A qualitative researcher can use probability or non-probability sampling methods. Unlike most quantitative researchers who use only one sampling method for the entire study qualitative researchers more often than not use multiple sampling methods in one research study.

Irrespective of the type and number of sampling methods used, a qualitative researcher must keep certain principles in mind while deciding upon sampling procedures. These principles include: a) qualitative researcher does not choose a large sample but rather goes for smaller sample which catches pluri-vocality around the issue being investigated b) the qualitative sample is flexible in size, type and subjects c) in a qualitative research the sample units are often chosen while the study is in progress and finally d) the sample of the qualitative study is not **representative** but determined by the factor of **suitability**. The size of the sample is based on the principle of saturation. In the current research I will use multiple methods of sampling. The methods to be used are discussed in the forthcoming section.

3.7.1 Stratified Random Sampling

"Stratified random sampling is a probability sampling procedure in which the targeted population is divided in to a number of strata and a sample is drawn from each stratum. The resulting sub-samples make up the final sample" (Sarantakos, 2005, p.158). I used this sampling method with UDC 3. I had originally planned to stratify each of the four selected schools namely government high school for girls, government high school for boys, a non-elite English medium school[20]and an elite English medium school into two strata a) arts group andb) science group[21]. A point to be noted here however, is that this stratification could only be done in government high school for girls and non-elite English medium school[22] because in the current class of SSC no one had opted for Arts group in the other two schools. Thus in these schools I had to work with science students only. Each available stratum in each school was further sub-stratified along the axis pass/fail. From each of the available sub-strata (in Lawrence College and non-elite private English medium school no student of SSC had failed in English) I picked my sample. Stratifying the target population in UDC 3 enabled me to identify the students positively as well as negatively affected by the gatekeeping role of English language.

3.7.2 Purposive Sampling

"Purposive or judgmental sampling enables you to use your judgment to select cases that will best enable you to answer your research question(s) and to meet your

[20] Both elite and non-elite private schools are privately owned but there are two major differences a) the elite private schools have higher fee than the non-elite private schools. B) The elite schools have usually chains of schools whereas the non-elite schools do not have an organized group of branches.
[21] The information obtained from BISE, Rawalpindi showed that students of Humanities were more like to fail in English compulsory compared to students from science group. Therefore, Science and arts was used a strata to ensure the participation of students from both groups.
[22] Both elite and non-elite private schools are privately owned but there are two major differences a) the elite private schools have higher fee than the non-elite private schools. B) The elite schools have usually chains of schools whereas the non-elite schools do not have an organized group of branches.

objectives. This form of sample is often used when working with very small samples and when you wish to select cases that are particularly informative" (Neuman, 2005, as cited in Saunders et al., 2009, p.238). I used purposive sampling with UDC 2, UDC 5, UDC 6 and UDC 7. While, using this technique with UDC 2, I selected two respondents on the basis of my judgment of their knowledge and expertise in their area of operation within BISE. Among those interviewed from BISE, one respondent dealt with the results and headed the Web Development Section at BISE and the other respondent dealt with the examination section as a Controller Examination. Both the respondents were instrumental in providing me the required information. These respondents provided me the relevant data which enabled me to see how the students have fared in English compulsory at SSC level and HSSC level over the years. The data obtained also revealed as to what category of students were more likely to fail.

Among the participants from UDC 5, two respondents are serving at Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training. One of the respondents is DG education at the Ministry and other respondent is serving in Curriculum Wing of the Ministry. Whereas, one of respondent, Mr. Javed Hassan Aly, is a retired civil servant and as a head of National Policy Review Team he authored the White Paper on education.

The participants from UDC 6 were also selected by using the purposive sampling. Two participants were formally interviewed from non-government organizations. Since the conception of this study, along with the literature review, I have been following the activities and reports of various NGOs being reported in media with reference to education and language issue. The two NGOs were selected because they have published several reports on the issues related to this study. One NGO also undertook a huge consultations across country before recommending

government on the forthcoming national education policy. The consultation process involved many stakeholders and had a website for ready reference dedicated to the consultation process.

Similarly, two participants were interviewed from among the academicians writing on the language and education related issues. I interviewed Dr. Tariq Rahman who is HEC's Distinguished National Professor &. Professor Emeritus of Sociolinguistic History. I also interviewed, Zubeida Mustafa, who has authored a book titled, "Tyranny of Language in Education". She also writes frequently on the language issue in Pakistan.

For UDC 7, I used purposive sampling to identify the respondents. Public schools that I visited neither had alumni associations nor did they maintain the records of their previous students. Therefore, I asked the students and teachers that I interviewed, about the alumni who live nearby or are in touch with them. In girls high school I got in touch with four alumni and I spoke to all four of them. They were friends and they had come to get their certificates from the school. However, I chose to do an in-depth interview with the daughter of the lady who sold home-made things to students during break time. She had graduated from the school four years ago and now assisted her mother at the make-shift school canteen. Similarly, I got in touch with two alumni from the boys high school with the help of the teachers who had their contact information. Neither of the school heads at public school could name a single alum who had made any achievement in their educational or professional career. In contrast to the non-maintenance of record at public schools the elite English medium school maintained an updated list of alumni on their website. This rendered it easierto contact their alumni. The main purpose to do the alumni interview was to see how the

students belonging to the selected institutions were faring in their educational or professional careers.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION POLICIES IN PAKISTAN AND QUESTION OF LANGUAGE WITHIN IT

On its inception, Pakistan inherited an education system bequeathed to her by its former colonial masters. It was the Charter Act, 1813 that established that education will be the responsibility of East India Company. However, it was Macaulay's Minute of Education (1835) that is said to have created the class based education system. The Minutes aimed to create a "class of persons, Indian in blood but English in taste, in morals and intellect". This class, it was envisaged will be created by establishing separate institutions that will educate the selected few. Later on, the Wood's Dispatch of 1854 also aimed to provide education to the Indians to ensure their moral and intellectual development as well as to enable them to help the British rule in India. It also recognized the importance of educating women along with the expansion of mass education. Other endeavors to address the education and related issues were made in the following major reports and commissions: Hunter Commission, 1882, Sadlar Commission, 1917, Hartong committee, 1929, Abbot and Woods Report, 1937 and Sargent Report, 1944. The suggestions made by the commissions and reports included promotion of universal literacy, providing scientific and vocational education and training. Suggestion to diversify the courses and establishing the different tiers of education system were also made.

The foot print of the implicit and explicit policies adopted during British period can often be seen while reviewing the post-partition policies. The policy regarding the treatment of local languages, the existence of parallel education system for the privileged ones and non-privileged ones and the dominance of English language in

education system are more or less justified on the basis of similar reasoning as employed by the British.

In this chapter I have briefly discussed as to how the following post-partition education policies and commission reports have addressed the education related issues in Pakistan. The data derived from reviewed education policies informed the critical discourse analysis done in the preceding chapter. The Following policies are reviewed for this purpose:

1 Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference 1947

2 Second Educational Conference 1951

3 Report of the Commission on National Education 1959

4 Report of the National Commission on Students Problems 1966

5 The New Education Policy of Government of Pakistan 1970

6 Education Policy 1972-80

7 National Education Policy and Implementation Program 1979

8 National Education Policy 1992

9 National Education Policy 1998-2010

10 National Education Policy 2009

In the following text, I have briefly delineated salient features of the aforementioned policies to summarize as to how the education policies have evolved over the years in Pakistan.

4.1 Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference 1947

The conference was the first effort by the State of Pakistan to set an agenda for education policymaking in Pakistan tailored to suit its unique needs. The conference started on 27th November, 1947 and deliberations continued for five days. Quaid-e-

Azam addressed this conference and emphasized on the importance of educating masses with an education that is in lieu with modern times and is simultaneously in accordance with our cultural history. He stressed the importance of providing technical and scientific education to compete with the world which he noted was moving at a fast pace. The education should also inculcate "higher sense of honor, integrity, responsibility and self-less service to the nation" (p.5).

In the same conference Mr. Fazalur Rahman, the Education Minister, criticized the system established by Macaulay[23] as being a mere source of information which did not impart knowledge. He argued that spiritual, social and vocational aspects should be the guiding principles of the educational ideology.

The conference members decided that Urdu will be used as a common link language and should be taught as a compulsory [24] subject at school level. The decision regarding the medium of instruction at provincial level was left to the provinces. English language was retained as a compulsory subject at school level as a "transitional measure".

The proceedings of the conference show that stocktaking was done and while making recommendations the financial as well as well as human resource constraints were given consideration. The salient features of this first education conference were as under

- It envisioned that education will be guided by Islamic ideology
- It indicated the desire to add value to education by providing technical and vocational training

[23] Lord Macaulay's 1835 Minutes of Education recommended setting up a system that would produce people among the locals who were "English in taste, moral and intellect". He also called for imparting European knowledge in English language to selected few in selected institutions.

[24] The representative from East Bangladesh (Dr. Qudrat-e-Khuda) had argued to make it an optional subject.

- It established that it is responsibility of the government to provide free and compulsory primary education which will be gradually extended to VII class after next five years
- It stressed the importance of providing physical education and training to the students

4.2 Second Educational Conference 1951

This document is not an education policy but a plan delineated to implement the decisions made in 1947 Education Conference. Like the preceding effort, this also attempted to look for ways to include Islamic ideology in the field of education. The education system in place was criticized as being a colonial remnant. In the face of financial and infrastructural constraints faced by government, private sector was envisaged to play a more pronounced role in educating the citizens. This conference also noted the lack of trained and qualified teachers at all levels. The duration of BA degree also came under discussion but no final decision was made in this regard.It was proposed in this policy to assign Urdu language the status of national as well as official language. The conference suggested using mother tongue as medium of instruction at primary level, and using Urdu as a medium of instruction at secondary level. However, it made Urdu a compulsory subject at primary as well as secondary level.

4.3 Report of the Comission on National Education 1959

This detailed report noted that previously, economists viewed imparting of education as a burden on the government and social services rather than as a means of human capital. The report pointed out how a paradigm shift has occurred at the global level

acknowledging a positive relationship between education and industrial production. Hence, the report called for being cognizant of this global shift in paradigm.

This commission also explored the issues related to accommodation of staff and students, utilization of space and equipment, educational administration, dearth of educational planning and research, the recruitment and training of education cadre.

The report recommended that at secondary level, 60% of the cost should be borne by the parents and also asked for spike in fees in the field of higher education. However, it was also expected by government that the economic conditions would improve and education would be provided as a "free service" without burdening parents with fees. Financial constraints were a major cause of concern and it was recommended that grants/foreign aid and contributions from industry along with loans from government be sought to ease these constraints. It was suggested that 7% of the revenue collected by the Central Government should be spent on education sector.

The committee also called for the formation of sub-committees to explore the possibility of romanizing the Urdu and Bengali scripts in order to modernize these languages.

4.4 Report of the National Commissin on Students Problems 1966

This report was prepared by the commission that is commonly known as 'Hamood-ur-Rahman' commission. This report addressed the issues related to students' unrest and looked at the problems that surfaced in the implementation of the Report of Commission on National Education in 1959. The report defended the establishment of the elite education institutes as being the necessary evil. It noted that large amount of money from public exchequer is spent on the establishment of elite public institutions. The commission termed such institutions as necessary ones as they "produce better

students" who are better positioned to join the civil services, security forces and even the white collar jobs available in the private sector.

4.5 The New Education Policy of Government of Pakistan 1970

This policy was adopted by the Cabinet on March 26, 1970. This policy could not be implemented, as shortly after its announcement the unrest in former East Pakistan started. As a result of this unrest Bangladesh came into being.

This policy acknowledged that delay in developing better facilities of education at various levels not only causes frustration among students and their parents but it also results in loss of invaluable human resource. This policy envisioned the role of education as crucial; in protecting and instilling Islamic values, in enabling to meet the economic needs, in stirring social change and development at the individual and community level. It also views the role of education as an important one in creating social and cultural harmony. This policy admitted that Pakistan has one of the highest rates of illiteracy in the world. It recommended giving priority to the provision of universal elementary education, making education free of cost up to class V and encouraging enrolment of girls in schools by establishing more schools for girls. It also stressed the need for providing vocational and technical skills to the youth so as to make them employable. It envisioned creating a 50:50 balance of students in disciplines such as arts and science at both college and the university level. In order to facilitate teachers, it announced an increase in pay packages of government teachers and also recommended to give promotions on the basis of research output and qualification rather than based on the number of years in service.

This policy suggested devising rules and regulations for bringing private institutions under the aegis of national system. It proposed making the private sector

accountable to provincial governments especially with regards to their policy about medium of instruction, curriculum and examination, admission and fee policy as well as recruitment and remuneration of teachers.

The policy mentioned that compulsory status of Islamiat up to class X and called for establishing Islamic Studies' Departments at the university level. It talked about the welfare of students and announced the establishment of the scholarship schemes as well to providing amenities to students.

This policy delineated the main functions of medium of instruction as means a) to facilitate the learning with little possible effort required, b) to intelligibly communicate and 3) to encourage critical and creative thinking. This was the first document that called the use of English as medium of instruction as being unjust as it fails to fulfils above mentioned functions. It noted that even at higher stages use of English promotes rote learning and results in failing to develop critical and creative thinking for large number of students. It noted that issue of medium of instruction is inextricably linked to the official status of English language and called for formation of commission to recommend a changeover to national language and study its repercussions.

4.6 Education Policy 1972-80

This policy called for formulating and practicing 'basic ideology'[25] of Pakistan. . One of its objectives was to promote national cohesion as well as social and cultural harmony. It also called for eradicating illiteracy and equalizing access to education for the women, underprivileged groups and physically handicapped students. It aimed to ensure participation of students, teachers and parents in the domain of education while

[25] A point to be mentioned here is that it does not define the 'basic ideology' anywhere in the document

hoping to promote the welfare, dignity and sense of responsibility among students and teachers. It announced a two phased approach in making education free and compulsory up to VII class. Later, IX and X class were targeted, and efforts were channelized in making education free and compulsory for the aforementioned school levels. It also envisioned providing text books and writing materials to students free of cost at these levels. The policy put the onus of deciding about giving the compulsory status to education to be debated and decided in the assemblies. It also aimed to provide new school facilities on priority basis especially to the rural and backward areas and particularly for girl. It announced the establishment of National Literacy Corps for recruiting the unemployed people from civil service and ex-servicemen to meet the demand of teachers in order to ensure universalization of elementary education.

This policy also emphasized the importance of technical education and vocational trainings. It called for enabling students to learn the skills that could benefit local communities. The report envisioned the boys leaving school after matriculation as ready to be integrated in the socio-economic framework and trained to serve as middle-class technician or workers. It called for increasing enrolment of students in science subjects and lamented that vast majority opt for arts subject (80%), which creates a huge difference in the enrolment rate of both the disciplines (arts and science). This policy introduced many firsts, like setting up of an Open Public University for students belonging to far flung areas and aiming to effectively use different means of mass media (i.e. radio, television, films etc) to disseminate information and educate students.

The most significant announcement made in this policy was to nationalize all privately managed colleges by September, 1972. It also announced that all privately

owned schools will also be gradually nationalized in a span of two years starting from October, 1972. It noted that institutions like Aitchison, though heavily financed by government, remained inaccessible to intelligent poor students. The policy envisioned changing these schools into schools for gifted students; where intellect would unite students hailing from different backgrounds rather than create a socio-economic divide. The policy also announced increase in number of scholarships, providing students interest free loans, building book banks and giving transport facilities at low cost.

This policy however had nothing to say about the medium of instruction or languages in education.

4.7 National Education Policy and Implementation Program 1979

The major aims of this policy included nurturing a 'deep and abiding' loyalty to Islam, developing consciousness among students that Pakistan is part of the Universal Muslim Ummah, and building character of students according to Quran and Sunnat. One of its objectives was to help students in promoting the message of Islam throughout the world and expected them to make contributions to welfare of Muslims all over the globe. It also aimed to provide equal educational opportunities to religious minorities while facilitating their cultural and religious development.

The policy claimed to be the first one acknowledging and supporting the 'great potential of our indigenous institutions' and called for a 'deviation from alien models'. It envisioned providing minimum level of functional literacy to all the citizens irrespective of their caste, creed or faith. For this purpose, it suggested to use mosques, factories and civic building to set up part time schools there. This policy also envisaged designing separate curriculum for female students which would aim to

create awareness about their ‘distinctive role’ in Muslim society. It also called for establishing ‘separate’ institutions for them.

The policy also suggested to change the four tiered system to three tiered system; first tier being class I to VII (elementary level), second tier being IX, X, XI and XII (secondary level), and third tier formed by XIII, XIV, XV, XVI (higher education). This restructuring of education system was seen as a way to deal with the financial constraints. It was also proposed to switch from public examination at class X to internal system of evaluation at the level of the institution.

The establishment of Academy of Education Planning and Management (AEPM) was also envisioned in this policy to facilitate in-service training of teachers at national level.

This policy criticized the previous policy for enabling the nationalization of private schools on ground of financial losses that it incurred to the national exchequer without improving the quality of education. The policy also criticized the nationalization of private school on grounds that hampered the development of education in the country and denied the community participation to educate the citizens. It asserted that private sector will be encouraged to open schools especially in rural areas. It also announced to give tax-relief to people and organizations giving donations to these schools.

This policy suggested using Urdu as medium of instruction to promote ‘brotherhood’, patriotism, unity of ideas and for cementing the ideological base. This policy was to do away with the nomenclature of English medium schools and viewed their existence as a colonial legacy that prevented the emergence of a uniform education system. It noted the importance of English language as a means to obtain ‘modern knowledge’. It called for translating scientific and technical knowledge in

Urdu to achieve the goal of using the national language as medium of instruction at all levels. Urdu it suggested be made a compulsory subject from class III whereas, English be a compulsory subject from class VI.

4.8 National Education Policy 1992

The policy noted that attempts made by previous governments to Islamize education have failed to meet the intended goals. This policy envisioned providing Islamic education that would enable students to understand Quran and 'appreciate' its worldview in the 'context of new scientific and technological advancements'. It argued that education should not be seen as a sector but as an integral element of human development plan which should aim at forming an 'intellectually healthy Muslim nation'. It suggested the private sector's investment should be encouraged in the field of education and especially government should try to facilitate their involvement in providing education to adults. It envisioned a more active role to be played by the private sector/finance in education sector and called for removing the apprehensions that investors had. It also allowed the development of textbooks by private sector. It aimed at reducing inequalities in education by creating more schools and vocational training centers in rural areas. It also aimed at achieving efficient and effective education system for higher education by enhancing the existing capabilities and assuming more entrepreneurial role. It also called for depoliticizing the universities and aimed at regulating and monitoring the conduct of students to create an enabling environment that facilitated learning at the campuses. One of the objectives of this policy was to eliminate the ethnic biases, prejudices, sectarianism and discourage consumerism. The policy announced setting up of National Testing Service to ensure standardization and ensure that sections and admissions are being

done on merit. This policy noted that efforts to develop human capital had not been given priority in the previous policies.

This policy claimed to adopt a flexible policy on the issue of medium of instruction. The decision about medium of instruction was to be taken by the provinces and which could be either provincial language, national language or English.

4.9 National Education Policy 1998-2010

National Education Policy of 1998-2010 notes that Pakistan is an ideological state. The policy noted that Pakistan is not a secular country albeit it has failed to detach its education system from colonial and secular conceptions of education. It stressed that survival of Pakistan depends on adhering to these ideological principles. It stated that the purpose of education is to create an Islamic society. Building on this premise it called for making Islam a part of all the subjects instead of merely restricting it to Islamiat. The policy argued that secular western countries and those having Marxist orientation also incorporate their ideologies in all the disciplines.

Like the policy documents of year 1979, and 1992 this policy also criticized the nationalization of education system done during the early 1970. This policy also noted the concerns regarding the exorbitant fee, non-regulation of curriculum and the tendency of these schools to cater the needs of urban elites and middle classes.

However, it suggested to facilitate the private sector in the field of education by announcing tax rebates especially on the expenditures incurred in the construction of private schools. The policy implementation strategy with respect to private sector in education was the same as delineated in National Education Policy of 1992. This policy incentivized the private sector to build schools in rural areas by announcing

that government should not only provide land for this purpose but also pay the 1/3rd of the cost incurred in building and managing such schools.

4.10 National Education Policy 2009

National Education policy 2009 viewed the role of education as a means to social and economic development. It aimed to reinvigorate the education system to meet the socio-political and ideological needs of the citizens as well as society. Education is viewed to promote social cohesion and cultivating a respect for cultural and ethnic diversity. It is envisioned as playing a role to create global citizens gifted with analytical and thinking skills. Like previous policies, since 1972, this policy also envisaged an active role of private sector in providing the educational facilities. It identified the key factors which resulted in lack of implementation of education policies. This includes, but is not limited to, incoherent policies, structural issues, inadequate planning and stakeholder's lack of interest and participation.

The policy recognized the presence of elite schools in both public and private sector. The policy aimed at bridging the public-private divide and called for philanthropists to adopt schools in public sector. It also aimed at developing regulatory system to monitor private schools in order to ensure transparency and accountability.

According to this policy, English is recognized as an international language while Urdu is seen as a marker of identity and national cohesion. The policy suggests using English as a medium of instruction for Science and Math from class IV onwards. While discussing the structural divide this policy notes that in order to get a white collar job in private or public sector a minimum level of proficiency in English is required. It notes that English language results in creating social stratification

between the elites and non-elites and its role as a language of social mobility results in creating a demand for it. It envisaged providing opportunities to learn English to students from less privileged backgrounds.

The policies reviewed show the state has been about the role of language in our education system. The indecision of the state, on the issue has resulted in ambiguity about the medium of instruction, the appropriate age and grade for introducing English as a subject and as medium of instruction. The last policy i.e. National Education Policy of 2009 is also ambiguous on the issue. In the following Chapter I have attempted to do critical discourse analysis of the aforementioned policy document to explain the ambiguities in the education policies with reference to language issue in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS1: POLICY AS DISCOURSE

In this chapter I have attempted to do the critical discourse analysis of the National Education Policy 2009 in order to identify the dominated and subjugated discourses related to the dominance of English language. This policy seemed to be the most suitable for discourse analysis as it not only covers the current scenario of Education in Pakistan but it also embodies the contextual aspects of previous education policies (discussed in Chapter 4) of Pakistan spanned over decades.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse analysis as defined by Fairclough (2001,2003,2009) is analysis of discourse and its implications for power relations. Language takes center stage in critical discourse analysis and it is seen as a social practice which is related to specific contexts based on history. These contexts serve not only as vehicles of reproducing the existing social relations but also become means through which these social relations are contested to determine whose interests will be served and whose interests will be denied. CDA undertakes to locate the interests of different social subjects in the positioning of texts. How the texts are positioned and why these texts are positioned in a particular way is the main stay of inquiry in CDA.

CDA model used by Fairclough (1989, 1995) consists of three kinds of analysis to describe the texts (Textual Analysis), to interpret the texts (Discursive Analysis) and to explain the social relations (Social Analysis). This model of CDA enables the researcher to make selections of texts to analyze how it is positioned, sequenced and laid out. Following diagram shows how this model works

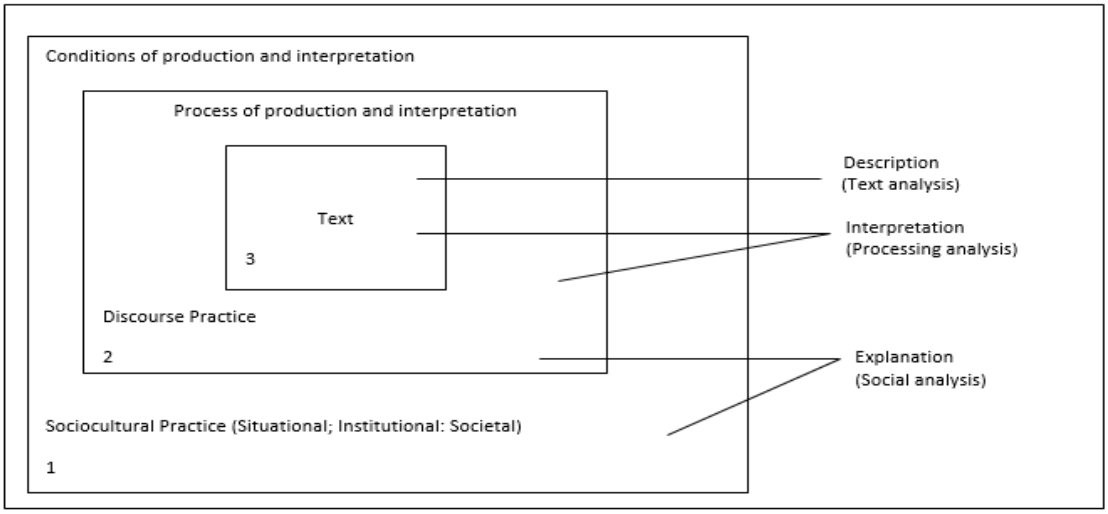


Figure 8 Fairclough's three dimensional model

I started with the selection of appropriate text(s) that contains all the attributes required to use the above model of CDA. As this study seeks to problematize the current Policy of English as a Compulsory subject, I have selected texts from the current Education Policy of Pakistan i.e. National education Policy (NEP, 2009). It seemed to be the most suitable for discourse analysis as it not only covers the current scenario of Education in Pakistan but it also embodies the contextual aspects of previous education policies of Pakistan spanned over decades.

Section 21 of NEP 2009 is the text that I have used as an entry point into CDA. This text carries significant textual, contextual and analytical value in my opinion which makes it very suitable selection. This text also serves as an explanatory basis for relevant policy actions taken by the Government of Pakistan regarding the English Language in Pakistan's education system. The texts which underline the rationale of the significant policy action were also analyzed in their due course. However the following text from the NEP 2009 served as the analytical entry point into CDA.

21. English is an international language, and important for competition in a globalized world order. Urdu is our national language that connects people all across Pakistan and is a symbol of national cohesion and integration. In addition, there are mother tongues / local vernaculars in the country that are markers of ethnic and cultural richness and diversity. The challenge is that a child is able to carry forward the cultural assets and be at the same time, able to compete nationally and internationally.(Section21, NEP, 2009).

Box 1: Section 21 of National Education Policy, 2009

5.1.1 Textual Analysis

The selected text is clearly a set of assertions about complex social, political and economic phenomena like languages, world order, national cohesion and integration, ethnic and cultural richness and diversity. This kind of text is identified as the strategy text as strategy texts are not mere documents representing specific ideas, but the strategy texts have force potential (Fairclough, 1992) and textual agency (Cooren, 2004). That is, strategy documents serve several purposes: they communicate socially negotiated meanings, legitimate ways of thinking and action and de-legitimate others, produce consent but may also trigger resistance, and have all kinds of political and ideological effects, some more apparent than others (Pälli, Pekka, Sorsa, Virpi and Vaara, Eero, 2010).

Hilary Janks (1997) divides the Transitivity analysis of texts into following points of examination based on Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar (1985). This is also the basis for Fairclough's key questions for text analysis (1989, pp.110-111). In simple terms one has systematically to examine

- Lexicalization
- Patterns of transitivity
- The use of active and passive voice
- The use of nominalization

- The choices of mood
- The choices of modality or polarity
- The thematic structure of the text
- The information focus
- The cohesion devices.

Due to the limited time and expertise, I have only examined the use of nominalization which has been very fruitful in identifying the contradiction in the text. Although, Janks (1997) emphasizes upon the essentiality of examining all the above mentioned aspects, but as shown above, I have been able to identify the pattern of inconsistency and points of contradiction in the texts by identifying the use of nominalization technique. Therefore, there is no need to examine all those aspects keeping in view the time constraint and limited scope of the Critical Discourse Analysis in this study.

5.1.1.1 Nominalization

This text attempts to present the following assertions as realties but some of them more important and instrumental than the others.

- This world is a globalized Order.
- A competition is going on this world order.
- English is vital to compete in this World Order.
- Urdu is our National Language
- Urdu is a symbol of National cohesion and integration
- There are mother tongues/local vernaculars in the country that are markers of ethnic and cultural richness and diversity.

A cursory look at the selected text shows the order of preference of languages for the policy makers. It starts with asserting that "English is an international language and important for competition in the globalized world." Then comes "Urdu" which is the

National language and last and apparently the least important "mother tongues/local vernaculars get a mention from this policy document as something of a liability. English is positioned as the language having prime importance as compared to Urdu and local languages. Urdu is though attributed to be the language of national cohesion and integration but still the text positioning makes it secondary and subservient to the language which is related to the world order i.e the English Language. Local languages and vernaculars are even left nameless as insignificant entities having nothing to with the "globalized world order," the main mover of this policy. Although this policy is named as "National Education Policy 2009" but a systematic understanding of its text makes it very clear that it is more an effort to respond to and get benefit from the global order. Obviously, for the policy makers, it is very difficult to allow any importance to the local languages as their orientation is entirely international.

While NEP,2009 is conscious of the structural divide prevalent in the country caused by different factors as the following text shows

3.5 OVERCOMING STRUCTURAL DIVIDES

73. There exists the challenge of ensuring a uniform system of education that provides level playing field for the children irrespective of their caste, creed, family's economic capacity and religion, and in line with the fundamental rights and principles of policy as enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan. Broadly there are three parallel streams in education that have created unequal opportunities for children who manage to enter the education system. In addition there are sub-streams within each. The main ones are public sector schools, private schools and Madrassahs. Within public sector and private sector schools there are elite and non-elite schools. The former caters to the economic elite only while the latter like Cadet Colleges, at least conceptually, allow talented children of the lower middle classes also. These elite schools cater to a very small minority of school going children. The bulk of lower middle class to poor children study in the non-elite low quality private and public schools. Most of these schools fail to produce students who can compete for high end jobs to allow vertical social transition.

Box 2 Section73 of National Education Policy, 2009

But the above mentioned text (Box 2) fails or ignores to identify the language as a tool of structural divide though it acknowledges caste, creed, family's economic capacity and religion as factors of structural divide. It is the international orientation of the policy makers which makes them oblivious of the role of language as a tool of differentiation.

In the following text, it identifies the English language as one of the sources of social stratification between Elite and Non-Elite but only nominally. It absolves itself from taking the responsibility of presence of this divide by using the **nominalization** technique. Nominalization turns processes into states and objects, and concretes into abstracts (Fairclough, 1998, p.181).

74. A number of factors lead to the differences that allow students of the elite schools to do better. The management, resources and teaching quality being the main ones. Most of these elite schools follow the Cambridge or London University O/A levels systems that have a different curriculum, assessment system and textbooks. A major bias of the job market for white collar jobs appears in the form of the candidate's proficiency in the English language. It is not easy to obtain a white collar job in either the public or private sectors without a minimum level proficiency in the English language. Most private and public schools do not have the capacity to develop the requisite proficiency levels in their students. English language also works as one of the sources for social stratification between elite and non-elite. Combined with employment opportunities associated with proficiency of the English language the social attitudes have generated an across the board demand for learning English language in the country.

Box 3 Section 74 of National Education Policy, 2009

The above box shows, how the government through this text mystifies its agency to allow the agent of the clause (government itself) to be deleted. Billing (2008) explained that ideological language not only deletes the agents of processes through the use of nominalization, but then it ascribes these nominalization processes

with agency. This text gives an expression that public/private school divide is an independent phenomenon having nothing to with the government. Hence, providing justification that government has nothing to do with it as the text implies that the government, instead of taking measures to eradicate inequalities faced by the non-proficient users of English language in the job market, it highlights the demand for the English language in the country keeping a mum over ways and means to eradicate the source of social stratification.

This text clearly shows that although the source of social stratification (English language) is so obvious in the society that the government cannot deny its presence but the policy makers use their spin doctoring expertise to delete its presence when it comes to devising strategies to find solutions. Ironically, the policy maker comes up with more of the problem than the solution to the problem in the following texts titled as "Policy Actions".

Policy Actions:

1. The state shall provide greater opportunities to the citizens and areas that have been largely excluded from the mainstream development and participation in the 28 national processes by ensuring even and equitable human development across Pakistan.
2. Governments shall identify schools in less developed areas for prioritization in resource allocation and management for improving quality.
3. Ministry of Education in consultation with Provincial and Area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and lagging behind regions.
4. The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.
5. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.
6. English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.
7. For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.
8. Opportunities shall be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English language.
9. A comprehensive school language policy shall be developed in consultation with provincial and area governments and other stakeholders.

stratification. This contradiction is beautifully camouflaged by announcing that "opportunities will be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English Language. Where, the policy is very clear in assigning English the role of medium of instructions at different levels and for subjects by giving the exact years of the implementation of the policy but when it comes to the real problem i.e. to provide English Language learning opportunities to the poor, it simply makes the policy action ambiguous and non-evaluative without actually giving any action plan.

5.1.2 Discursive Analysis

Having dealt with NEP in the preceding text I will now do the discursive analysis of the texts (policies, conventions, charters, agreements and memorandums etc.) manifested in the NEP 2009.

Discursive analysis is conducted in 5 steps.

At first step, the texts (policies, conventions, charters, agreements and memorandums etc.) manifested in the NEP 2009 were located. Those texts included the references to the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, Education System Reform Assistance (ESRA) program 2007, Global Competitive Index (GCI), Human Development Index (HDI), Vision 2030 of the Planning Commission of Pakistan, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA).

Presence of the above mentioned texts in the NEP 2009 shows that it was influenced by both local and global discourses on education. However, the mention of local references was more of rhetoric than of any substantive consequence on the production of NEP 2009. On the other hand, the global conventions (EFA and MDGs) and the data produced by global organizations (HDI and GSI) had a bearing on the NEP 2009 in terms of policy actions and implementations. The text being analyzed recognizes the importance of international organizations and relies heavily on the data

produced by those organizations. The language used in the policy actions, given below, is also oft-repeated in the reports produced by the international organizations. The underlined text from NEP 2009 shows the oft-repeated words in the documents produced by international organizations.

Policy Actions:
1. Provinces and Area Governments shall affirm the goal of achieving universal and free primary education by 2015 and up to class 10 by 2025.
2. Provincial and Area Governments shall develop plans for achieving these targets, including intermediate enrolment targets and estimates of the required financial, technical, human and organizational resources.
3. The plans shall also promote equity in education with the aim of eliminating social exclusion and promoting national cohesion. Greater opportunities shall be provided to marginalized groups of society, particularly girls.
4. To achieve the commitments of Government of Pakistan towards Education for All (EFA) and the MDGs, inclusive and child-friendly education shall be promoted.

Box 5Policy Actions from National Education Policy, 2009

At second step, an inter-discursivity analysis is done to locate different discourses which affected the production of the NEP 2009. It helped to identify the dominant and hegemonic discourses (globalization, English as global language, global knowledge society, global economy, global competitiveness, global citizen, globalized world order, globalized and competitive world etc.) and the subjugated discourses like mother tongue, vernaculars, national language, national cohesion and social exclusion. The frequency with which the globalization and its connected discourses are discussed in the NEP 2009 and the weightage these discourses are accorded in the policy actions clearly shows their hegemonic status in Pakistan's education milieu. On the other hand the discourses like local/vernaculars, national coherence and social exclusion merely get a lip service in the NEP 2009 as it never went beyond the words to translate these discourses into policy actions; hence this

treatment makes them subjugated discourses which are sacrificed at the altar of globalization.

Dominance of globalization and its allied discourses in the NEP 2009 is not meaningless but it implies that English language should be the focal point around which all the education system of Pakistan will revolve. Following excerpt from the NEP 2009 underscores the difference of attention and action that different discourses (dominant and subjugated) attracted from the policy makers.

Policy Actions:

1. The state shall provide greater opportunities to the citizens and areas that have been largely excluded from the mainstream development and participation in the 28 national processes by ensuring even and equitable human development across Pakistan.
2. Governments shall identify schools in less developed areas for prioritization in resource allocation and management for improving quality.
3. Ministry of Education in consultation with Provincial and Area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and lagging behind regions.
4. The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.
5. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.
6. English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.
7. For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.
8. Opportunities shall be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English language.
9. A comprehensive school language policy shall be developed in consultation with

Box 6 Policy Actions from National Education Policy, 2009

The underlined text shows the emphasis NEP places on the English language. Here, Urdu and regional language is mentioned but the policy is not categorical towards them. While, Urdu or regional languages are presented as an option; English language has a definite and binding imprint over the policy actions. The

contradiction[26] in the policy regarding the medium of instruction is also clear. At one point the policy says that the Provincial and Area Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction and then it asserts that after five years the teaching of mathematics and science will be English medium. The policy is not only contradictory but also ambiguous. Even when the policy definitely says that after five years the medium of instruction shall be English for mathematics and science it does not mention if the policy will be implemented from class IV or even before that.

At third step, procedural steps which were involved in producing the draft text of the policy were identified and analyzed. Interviews with key person who was involved in NEP 2009 formulation identified the following steps through which the final policy text was produced.

- Stocktaking of the problems faced by the education system of Pakistan. It included the texts produced after Literature review, green papers, research studies, district consultations and education conferences.
- Setting the direction of policy through issue based consultation with key organizations, coordination with development partners and thematic papers.
- Policy development through preparing a white paper, policy document and implementation plan.

It was reported during the interviews that international donors including USAID were very much involved at different steps of the above mentioned processes. This opinion is also reflected in the NEP 2009

Despite the recognition of the problematic role of international donors in the following excerpt from the NEP 2009

[26] This contradiction was also highlighted by Zubeida Mustafa in personal communication.

LEVERAGING INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIPS

32. International development partners are providing generous support to education sector in Pakistan. Different donors have different focus in terms of programmatic emphasis and geographical coverage. However, at times their projects overlap in an unbefitting manner or their programmatic focus and emphasis bring limited value addition to the objectives of the Government. Getting optimum value from these investments has become a challenge in the absence of institutionalized mechanisms for donor coordination. In order to help and optimize the partnership with international development agencies, it is important to review

The recognition of positive as well negative role of INGOs notwithstanding the policy actions recommended by NEP 2009 itself contradict the above mentioned concerns about the International donors as every effort has been made to please the same donors by giving a walk over to the discourses of globalization leaving other competing discourses out of the education field.

At fourth step, discursive shifts during the policy making process is identified. It was revealed during an interview with one of the key persons involved in formulation of NEP 2009 [27] that there was a significant discursive shift between the Revised White Paper prepared by him and the draft and then also between the draft and policy document. This is very clearly indicated in what he said in his interview

The minister argued that you go about following the process but do not suggest the policy that contradicts the policy already adopted by the government

He revealed that he had to resign because of his differences with then Education Minister over the issue of medium of instruction. He had suggested after consultation that English should be taught as a subject from class 3 and it should be introduced as a medium of instruction from class six and that too in schools where there is sufficient resource to implement the policy. It was also noted that up till the White Paper stage, the process was consultative and inclusive but after resignation of

[27] Reference of interview should be given here

my respondent, the process became non-consultative and non-inclusive at draft and policy document stages.

Fifth step is about consumption of NEP 2009. The interviews with the experts revealed that consumers of the national education policies are only government schools. Zubeida Mustafa noted:

Private schools do not follow them so they do not care at all. Theirs is a world of their own. The policies are not implemented even in public sector schools which act as they pleased. The consumers are therefore the poor but even they suffer because of the ad-hocism and non-implementation.

5.1.3 Social Analysis

Education policy formulation, when viewed as a discursive social practice, also entails non-discursive or other social elements of social practices. These elements include, social subjects with beliefs, objects and instruments, time and space, social relations along with the discursive elements (Fairclough, 2003). These discursive and non-discursive elements of social practices are dialectically related (Harvey, 1996). It means that, for example, power relations are internalized by the discursive elements and vice versa. A particular articulation of these elements of social practices is called order of discourse (Fairclough, 2003, 2009). An order of discourse can be an articulation of discourses in different fields i.e. educational field, political field, economic field and cultural field as well. Some discourses within a particular order of discourse can be dominant and others can be marginal.

My assertion, here, is that the order of discourse under study is specific articulation of discourses like globalization, change, equality, social exclusion and English as the language of globalized world order in the social practice (formulation and implementation of NEP 2009). One aspect of this social practice is social

relations which give rise to distribution of power among different social subjects. It is to say that NEP 2009 is not only a product of discursive practices but also that of power relations already existing in the Pakistani society. The dialectical relationship of power relations as non-discursive elements of social practice (NEP 2009) with discursive elements of NEP 2009 not only creates but perpetuates the power relations already existing in the society.

I further assert that the dominance of the discourse of English as the language of globalized world order in the NEP 2009 is partly a product of existing power relations among different social subjects in society. These power relations are highly skewed in the favor of those social subjects who exhibit a higher degree of English language proficiency as against those who have none or lesser degree of proficiency in English language. These power relations are perpetuated through the implementation of the NEP 2009 which makes demands of globalization and consequently English language is the cornerstone of its strategy to meet those demands. Belief in the currency of the discourse of globalization facilitates the dominance of English language against the regional, local languages. It becomes a tool of marginalization of those languages as they cannot fulfill the demands of globalization and eventually they may face abrupt extinction or die out gradually in the official fields of governance. My stance is in line with (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001 p.33) when they say that "among the principal perpetratorsof this linguistic (and cultural) genocide are formal education and mass media, and behind them are economic and political actors on a macro- level" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2001, p.33).

Policy of English as compulsory subject at SSC and HSSC levels in Pakistan is, thus, partly a product of dominant discourses of globalization, English as language of

globalization and globalized world order as they are the discursive elements of social practice of policy formulation in Pakistan. Dropping out of a significant number of students at above mentioned levels in the education system of Pakistan due to their failure to acquire a certain level of proficiency in English language condemns them to the margins of society and they become subservient to those who can acquire or afford to utilize the English Language proficiency to their benefit. Hence the power relations perpetuated.

CHAPTER 6

DATA PRESENTATION

In this chapter I will present the primary data obtained during the course of field work. Before I present the themes that emerged from the data collected during field work I will first present the findings of interview schedules conducted with the students. I will start with the presentation of the socio-economic and linguistic context of the students of grade 10th from the selected schools. The thematic presentation of data will be done according to the themes that emerged from the data collected from different locales. Depending on the theme, where it is needed, I have also added observations made during the field work.

6.1 Profile of Students Interviewed Using Interview Schedules

For the purpose of this study, I interviewed 10th class students who have appeared in the board's examination for 9th class. I interviewed all the students of 10th class in selected schools except in Lawrence College, whereI interviewed seven students. The reason why I interviewed seven students only in Lawrence college was that, the students were taking their final term exams after which they would have gone for winter break. The school administration however was very cooperative and they helped me in choosing a sample that represented all socio-economic backgrounds that the student body comprised. Table below gives the exact number of students interviewed from each school.

Table 3

Number of students interviewed from each school

Type of School	Number of Students
GGHS[28] Samli Tajjal	37
GHS[29] Ghora Gali	31
Ali Grammar School	13
Lawrence College Ghora Gali	7
Total	88

The instrument (see Annexure A) used to obtain information from the students of the selected schools was helpful in obtaining detailed information from the students. The observation made during the interviews as the remarks made by respondents were also noted during the interviews.

6.1.1 Socio-Economic and Educational Profile and Characteristics of students.

6.1.1.1 Gender, Age and Ethnicity

Out of a total of 88 students, 43 were female and remaining 45 respondents were males. All the respondents were Muslims. The respondents were aged between 14 years to 17 years. Majority of the students were Abbasi, four identified them as Syed, two identified themselves as Pathan. Along with that three identified them as Punjabi and one respondent identified him as a Baluch.

6.1.1.2 Occupation of Family Members

Majority of the students that I interviewed belonged to less privileged backgrounds. The occupation of the fathers of the students that I interviewed included working as

[28] Government Girls High School
[29] Government High School

drivers, serving at hotel, running small shops in the area. Only one girl student reported that her mother was employed as maid in the nearby hospital, otherwise none of students from government school or those from non-elite English medium school had working mothers.

Two students from Lawrence College, who were admitted under merit scheme for students from Baluchistan, belonged to less privileged backgrounds. Two students belonged to landed families, three students were sons of government officials and the remaining one was son of a doctor. Only one boy's mother worked as vice principal of a private school in Rawalpindi.

6.1.1.3 Academic Qualification of Parents

The academic qualification of the parents from public school was not very high. Among the respondents fathers of almost 17% students were illiterate. Fathers of 17% have primary or less than primary level education. Of the total, 22% reported that their father has done matriculation. Only three students reported that their father have done graduation. Among the students,40% reported that their mothers are illiterate. Among these 27% reported that their mothers have primary or less than primary level of education. More than half of (4 out of 7) students from Lawrence College reported that their mothers have completed graduation.

The interviews revealed that the parents of majority of the students were not highly qualified.

6.1.1.4 Time Needed to Reach School

Among students 20% reported that they reach school in 5 to 10 minutes. Of the total 34% reached school between 20 to 30 minutes. Of the total 19% reported that in order to reach school they need 40 or more minutes.

Time needed	Percentages of students
5 to 10 minutes	20%
Between 10 to 20 minutes	21%
Between 20 to 30 minutes	34%
Between 30 to 40 minutes	6%
Between 40 to 50 minutes	9%
One hour or more	10%

It is important to note here that once time to go back from school is included the reported time doubles up. Majority of students (79%) walked to and from school every day. Almost 15% of total students interviewed used local buses and vans to reach the school. Among the remaining only 6% students reported coming via car, four of these belonged to the low cost private school and only one student from public school reported coming via car. The students from Lawrence College were not asked this question as they were all boarders and resided within the school premises.

As majority of students walked each day to and from school that means that in case of bad weather they were likely to have an off-day. Especially on rainy days the attendance was markedly low.

6.1.2 Socio-Linguistic Environment of Students

During the interviews students were asked about the different languages in their environment. They were also asked that how often they usedthe reported languages and with whom they use it.

6.1.2.1 Exposure to Languages in School

Medium of instruction in public school and non-elite private school was always Urdu. Whereas, the medium of instruction in Lawrence College was reported to be English

by the students. It was observed during the field work that the students at public schools mostly interacted in Pahari outside class, when the teachers were not around. Teachers often complained about this attitude of students and viewed it negatively. During the class observation in public schools it was observed that students faced problems in reading as well. It was common practice to memorize the questions answers, summaries and essays.All the interviews from public schools and non-elite English medium schools were conducted in Urdu. It was observed during the fieldwork that students from public schools used only used common words of English during their daily school routines. Whereas, the interviewees from Lawrence College were quite comfortable while communicating in English. At Lawrence College except two interviews, all the interviews were conducted in English. The interaction with the teachers and management of Lawrence College was mostly in English. English language was the main language at the school's premises.

6.1.2.2 Exposure to Languages at Community

Majority of the students reported that the language used in the community is the same as home language. Students reported that they use Urdu as a link language when they have to communicate with someone with different mother tongue.

6.1.2.3 Exposure to Languages at Home

Among the students 86% reported that they speak Pahari at their homes. None of the respondents reported English being their home language. Among the respondents, 2% each reported Punjabi and Pashto being their home language. Few students reported Urdu as their home language.

6.1.2.4 Nature of Media Exposure of Students

Among the students 90% reported that they watch TV daily. Among these 86% had no access to cable TV or dish antenna. The 14%, who had access to cable/dish,

included students from Lawrence College who had fixed 40 minutes each day during weekdays to watch TV. Not many students preferreading newspaper on daily basis. Only 26% reported that they read newspaper. However, none of them except three students from Lawrence College and two students from GHS Ghora Gali reported reading it regularly.

Interestingly, 68% students reported that they read books other than syllabus books. However, when they were asked to name the authors or the works that they have recently read other than three students none could name it. The students from government schools named magazines like *Ubqari*[30], *Paigham*[31]along with digests and magazines. These monthly magazines are readily available at low prices that ranges from 30 rupees to 50 rupees.The non-availability of the books may be one of the reasons why there is no practice of book reading among the students from public schools. The libraries and computer labs in schools are usually a no-go area for students. The students from one of the public school informed that they had never been to computer lab. There are no book shops available near these schools. In my view, even if they are available the affordability could be a concern for parents. Also, usually it is assumed that reading books other than the syllabus books is wastage of precious time so attitudes of parents may also be a factor that discourage students.

Only one girl from private school in Tret named Helen Keller as her favorite author and also named William Wordsworth as her favorite poet. Among those interviewed from Lawrence College three students claimed that they are avid book readers. One student informed he was reading the poetry of Bulle Shah these days. Another student reported his fondness of Bertrand Russell's and G.B.Shaw's works.

[30] Ubqari is an Urdu magazine. The magazine is published by Ubqari Trust based in Lahore. The magazine aims to address the "spiritual and physical sufferings". It is available online as well and can be accessed at http://www.ubqari.org/edition/online

[31] Bazm-e-Paigham is a monthly Urdu magazine published by Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba. Its target audience is children.

One student named J.K Rowling as his favorite. All of them reported that they watch English movies. They also had Facebook profiles and reported using it whenever they go to their homes. None of them had their own phone.

Among the students five boys from GHS Ghora Gali reported that they have their own cell phone. Very few students reported using internet and when they did it they used it rarely. Only three boys reported using Facebook regularly.

6.1.3 Performance in English Compulsory

The study argues that the gatekeeping is done on the basis of the results obtained by the students as well as on the basis of their level of proficiency in English language. Therefore, it is important to discuss the result of students.

The results obtained by the students from public school shows that among the forty girls who appeared for board's exam in 2016, half of them had failed in English compulsory and scored less than 25 marks out of total of 75. Majority of those who failed in the subject were Arts students. Overall the performance of students from Science Group was relatively better than students from Humanities/Arts Group. Table 4 gives and overview of the marks obtained by the students of selected schools.

Table 4 Overview of performance of students in English compulsory in the selected schools

Type of School	Highest Marks Obtained*	Remarks about Overall Results
GGHS[32] Samli Tajjal	48	Among the 40 students that appeared in board's examination Half of the students (20 out of 40) cleared English compulsory. Those who passed the exam their marks ranged between 25 to 30
GHS[33] Ghora Gali	54	Among the 40 students that appeared in board's examination Only 20%(8 out of 40) cleared English compulsory. Those who passed their marks ranged between 25 to 38
Ali Grammar School	61	Of the 14 who appeared in the board's examination none had failed in English compulsory. Lowest marks obtained in the class were 27. Four students obtained marks above 50
Lawrence College	70	All the students that I interviewed obtained marks above 59
***Total marks of English Compulsory at SSC Part I is 75. Any student obtaining 25 or above marks is declared pass.** **Source: Field work**		

It is important to note that none of the students, appearing in BISE 2016 examination, from elite school and the non-elite private school failed in English compulsory. In comparison, almost half of the girl students failed in English compulsory and among boys merely eight students passed in English compulsory. Even those who passed in English compulsory did not obtain very good marks.

[32] Government Girls High School
[33] Government High School

Thematic Presenation of the Data

The following text presents the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews conducted during the field work.

6.2.1. Profile of Participants

For the purpose of this study, 45 respondents were interviewed. Table 5 presents the number of respondents interviewed from each UDC. Separate interview guides (see APPENDICES) were formed for each UDC to collect the information from them regarding issues of interest of this study.

Table 5 Number of participants interviewed from each UDC

UDC 2 - Functionaries of BISE Rawalpindi	2
UDC 3 - The students of SSC from selected schools	24
UDC 4 –Principals and English teachers of the selected schools	8
UDC 5 - Functionaries of public sector organizations who are/were involved in formulating and implementing education policy	3
UDC 6 - Functionary of non-government organizations working on education as a development issue in Pakistan and academicians writing on language and education related issues	4
UDC 7 - Alumni of the selected schools	4
Total	45

For the purpose of this study I interviewed 24 students. The number of students interviewed from each school is given below in the table. The table also shows the marks obtained by students in English compulsory during SSC Part I examination. Among the students from the Public schools the marks are relatively lower as

compared to the marks obtained by the students from Lawrence College or non-elite English medium school. However, it is important to note here that it was observed during the interviews that only the students from Lawrence College communicated in English during the interviews.

Table 6 Information about the students interviewed from each school

Name of Institution	Total	Performance in English compulsory
GGHS	7	Three girls from science group and four girls from arts group were interviewed for the purpose of this study. Students were divided into science group and arts group. Number of participants from each group with their marks in English compulsory are given below Science Group: Hamna (48), Jabeen (20)*, Maheen (18)* Arts Group: Rania (34), Saba (25), Saariya (16), Neelum (19)
GHS	8	All the students belonged to science group and had computer as the main subject along with Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics Naveed (54), Khizar (34), Osaman (25), Javed (19), Omair (16), Waqas (14), Raza (16)*, Dayan (10)*
Ali Grammar	2	Two students (male and female) scoring highest marks (60+) in English were interviewed for this study. Hassan (61), Gul (60)
Lawrence College	7	All the students that I interviewed had 60+ marks in English Compulsory. Three students belonged to Baluchistan. Remaining four hailed from Punjab. However, two of them were born and bred in Islamabad. Sohail (69), Bari (63), Oranng (69), Akbar (70), Jabran (61), Zayyan (71), Hashim (67)
Total	24	.
*denotes that student has failed in one or more subjects other than English compulsory. Total marks in part I of SSC examination in English are 75. The student obtaining 25 (33%) or more than 25 marks is declared pass in the examination. Names have been changed to protect the identity of the students.		

6.2.2 'English is everywhere': The Ubiquity of English and its Importance

The spontaneous response of almost all the students was that English is present everywhere these days. One of the respondents Osman noted, "Nowadays where ever you go it is English." Naveed also had similar views, "When I look ahead it is English everywhere.. it is important for job mostly and even for further studies it will be English." Khizar pointed out that those who know it are more likely to get good jobs compared to those who do not know it. Raza stressed the importance of knowing English and said, "When you go to Pindi everything is written in English there .. Similarly, if you have to visit hospital you can locate the relevant place there."

Neelum argued that it is important as "Everybody talks in English these days and many people are also doing English courses." Almost all the students pointed out that it is important to get good jobs and for further studies. Saba even argued that it is most important subject. Jabeen replied that after Matriculation it is English everywhere. Hamna stressing the importance of English noted:

> *English makes a difference. Parents also say that your English is not correct/good (sahi). Do some courses of English. You should know English. It is good. If you talk to someone then it should be visible. Everybody says you should know English.*

Only two students said that English is not important. They argued that Urdu is more important because it is our national language.

6.3.3 Views about English as a Subject

The students were asked about what comes to their mind when they think about English language as a subject. The responses of female students who had failed in English compulsory are different from the responses of male students who had failed in English compulsory. Some of the responses of female students included "I like it, it

is easy", Jabeen said, "What comes to mind is that we should learn it and work hard so that we don't get compartment (laughter)." Saariya, who had failed in English compulsory, informed that she finds it difficult. Two female students categorically said they don't like the subject. One of them, Rania, had highest marks in class in English compulsory (i.e. 34 out of 75) and the other one, Maheen, had failed in it. Interestingly, among the male students who had failed in English compulsory only one student, Waqas, said that he liked English. Remaining four who had failed in English noted that students find English difficult in their school and face problems in reading, speaking and memorizing the content. Boys who had failed were more likely to talk in general terms when I asked them about their views regarding English as a subject. Without using personal pronouns they used words like "here" and "our"[34] and talked about as a collective problem. For instance, Raza said mostly people are Pahari here that is why they drop out because of difficulty they face in English. Dayyan who had failed in English also shared his views using "in our class,"[35]he opined: "This is a difficult subject. It is absolute truth. It is difficult to memorize it. Here in our classes almost all the children memorize it." Osama expressed views in response to this question that some other students also expressed while responding to the questions about their opinion regarding the language policy in Pakistan. He opined, "I find English difficult. Do not like English. Cannot read it properly. Our national language is Urdu so it should be there only."

Among those who have cleared the subject, Hamna noted that when she understands it then she finds it interesting otherwise she finds it difficult. Saba, who marginally passed scoring 25 numbers observed:

[34] '*yahan*', '*idhar*' and '*hamari*'
[35] Hamari class mein

Just do it with difficulty as it takes a lot of time. Sometimes memorizing a paragraph may take half an hour… when I think about English what comes to my mind is that it will be great if I learn it.

Similar views were expressed by Naveed who had scored 54 marks in the subject, highest in his school and pretty good if compared to the marks obtained by other students in both the public schools. He shared: "English is just fine. Don't find it interesting. When I fail to understand a sentence then I leave it but then I think that when papers will be around I'll have to do it ultimately and then I study." Two students said they find the subject interesting. When I asked one of them that why students don not like this subject here generally he commented, "Here it is so because teacher is very strict."

6.3.4 Views about Learning English

I asked all the students if it is important to learn English. Almost all students agreed that it is important to learn the language. The excerpt from interview of one female student, Saba, from public school is given below:

Interviewer: Is it important to learn the language?

Saba: It is important to an extent. Where ever you go English is in demand.

Interviewer: Like Where?

Saba: Means wherever, in offices for doing job. Wherever you go people give more importance to English. They prefer it.

Interviewer: Do you think it should be so?

Saba: (2 sec pause) It should be. If people give it importance then obviously we should also (laughs)

Interviewer: Why?

Saba: Because obviously everyone is doing English, everything is in English that is why[36].

Later on in the interview I asked her if it is important to learn the language to which she replied yes it is very important to learn the language.

Iinterviewer: Is it important to learn English?

Saba: Yes

Interviewer: Why?

Saba: Because English has a lot of value. It is obvious everyone speaks English. Everyone should know it.

Interviewer: Where do they speak it?

Saba: People don't speakEnglish here but most people I have seen they are usually talking in English (laughs).

Interviewer: Where mostly?

Saba: Everywhere they are speaking English.

Almost similar stance was taken by Rania who said, "Everyone mostly speaks English, only few speak Urdu that is why it is important." When I asked her who frequently talks in English she replied, "Everyone that you listen to is speaking English."

6.3.5 Views about English as a Compulsory Subject

When I asked them if English should be a compulsory subject all female students replied that it should be a compulsory subject. Each had her own reason. When I asked Jabeen, who had failed in English compulsory, as to why English should be a

[36]*Kiun k ab English ki zahir si baat hai sarey loog english hi kar rahey hain boltey saara kuch english mein hi kar rahey hain iss wajah se*

compulsory subject she replied, "Because a person can study it and get marks with the help of others around you[37]". Conversation with Jabeen went ahead like this:

Jabeen: It should not be.

Interviewer: Why?

Jabeen: No particular reason

Interviewer: There must be some reason in your mind?

Jabeen: May be it should be. I don't think so.

Interviewer: Why?

Jabeen: (3 sec pause) I don't know (laughs)

However, later in interview she said that it should be a compulsory subject so people can learn it. Other girls were also reluctant to categorically say yes or no to this question. One girl argued that, "English should be a compulsory subject but there should be teachers to teach the subject as well." In contrast, except Naveed, (who scored highest marks in the class), all the boys form public school responded that it should not be a compulsory subject. While giving reasons five of them pointed out that it is a difficult subject therefore it should be optional. Two students argued that it should be an optional subject as there are some people who cannot understand it all. Students from the government boys'school also pointed out the non-availability of teachers of English. Talking about the reason why English as a compulsory subject creates problems for students Osman further elaborated,

> *Because it is difficult to understand, an individual (insaan) has to learn it to some extent... this is not our mother language... it depends on the base (foundation) that one had from start... it is easier to understand, to talk, to*

[37]Kiunk saath phir thora bota banda parh laita hai dekh sun k number ajatey hain

read and write in the language that you know from beginning. If you don't know a language, say Pashto, how will you write it?

The spontaneous response of all the students from Lawrence College was that it should be a compulsory subject. Four students, however, later on while talking about their home towns noted that the practice is unjust and it excludes students who have no opportunities to learn the language.

6.3.6 Views about Medium of Instruction

Medium of instruction entails two things; the language in which the lesson is delivered by the instructor in class and the language in which curriculum or educational content is available. Among the fifteen students from public schools, all of them reported having English as medium of instruction at some point in their educational career. Some had English as medium of instruction in the private school which they had attended earlier prior to enrolling in their respective schools now. The change in policy regarding the medium of instruction at governmental level was also the reason behind the different medium of instruction at different points in time. The students that I interviewed informed me that the medium of instruction was changed to English medium when they were promoted to class 8^{th}. This decision was reversed by government, a year later because both students and teachers complained about the problems. However, all these students had Urdu as medium of instruction in their classes now.

It was noted that some students had mixed opinions about the issue of medium of instruction. For example, Jabeen, who had failed in English compulsory, said that, "I find it easy in English and it is easy for me in Urdu as well, but in English I find it easier." Similarly, Waqas, who had failed in English informed that prior to joining this school he had English as medium of instruction in his previous school but now

the medium of instruction was Urdu and he found it easier. However, the next moment he added that books should be in English. When I asked him about the reason of this shift in opinion he said because it will help to learn English. Naveed, who had scored the highest marks in class, said that he had English as medium of instruction till 6th class but he prefers Urdu as medium of instruction. He argued that, "English should not be in every subject. When it is in Urdu, the concept is understandable then and one can write it in own wording. In English, it is not understandable. Tenses aren't correct." Another girl,Hamna, noted that most of the students face difficulty in English. Those who have had English as medium of instruction from the beginning find it easier others find it difficult. Khizar, who otherwise stressed the importance of learning English said, "Whichever language is more understandable it should be in that."

The medium of instruction wasn't much of an issue for the students from Lawrence College. Two boys reported that they had been to Urdu medium schools briefly. All of them were in favor of English medium system. However, when I asked them to think about the context of Pakistan's education system and consider the background of the majority they did acknowledge that policy needs to be reviewed.

It was observed during the field work that medium of instruction during the English class was rarely English. It was so in both the public schools as well as in the low cost English medium school.

Among the principal and teachers all the interviewees were of the view that medium of instruction in early years of child's education should be mother tongue by which all of them meant Urdu. The principal of Lawrence College said that personally he is in favour of argument of using mother tongue as medium of instruction and also mentioned the recently published work of Zubeida Mustafa. He

noted: "There have been studies, I know, conducted internationally by recognized educationist, linguist and academicians who have consistently pointed out that yes children learn much more easily, much more rapidly and their creativity and it evokes their imagination if they are taught in their own mother tongue." He also mentioned the names of countries like Norway, Sweden, France, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Columbia and Cuba where the medium of instruction up to high school level is mother tongue or at least national language. The personal views of the principal notwithstanding, it is important to mention here that medium of instruction at Lawrence College, like other elite schools, is English. It is not viewed as a problem or an issue that is cause of concern for the teachers, parents or even students. In fact, the parents who can afford the cost, send their children to such schools because they provide the requisite environment that can develop and polish their English language skills. Interestingly, the medium of instruction was not an issue worth mentioning for the teacher and principal of non-elite English medium school that I visited. They give it a passing reference and thought that it is important for students to have English as medium of instruction as it will help them in their future life.

In contrast, medium of instruction was primarily an important issue for the teachers and principals of public schools that I visited. They were complacent about the policies in this regard. The principal of the public school that I visited was in favour of making English a compulsory subject from grade one as that will help them become acquainted with language. However, while talking about medium of instruction she took an emphatic view and noted:

> *Make English compulsory from grade one as the child will get to know English but having English as medium of instruction does not help. Even if you*

beat them black and blue[38]*, science is very difficult for them and in English children can't pick it*[39]*. They can't utter it. Why? Their parents are illiterate they send them to tuition… English as medium of instruction is unfair*[40]*to them. When General Science is in English not half of the girls pass. It is beyond them*[41].

She argued that "English is an international language so it should be a compulsory subject." The English teacher at GGHS Ghora Gali often used the dictionary in her phone to consult the meanings of difficult words. During the free hours she enjoyed taking online test via some app to see if she can correctly identify the contextual meaning of the words. Interestingly, once she also asked me to tell the meaning of 'flaunted' to see if I knew English well or not. She was masters in Islamiyat but due to non-availability of English teacher she has been teaching English for one year to the students at SSC level along with Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies. Students said that she is strict but they liked her more than their previous English teacher.

Similarly, the GHS for boys also had no qualified teacher to teach English. On rotation basis teachers were asked to teach the subject to students. The teacher currently teaching them had a reputation of being strict and boys feared him. Except Lawrence College none of the three schools that I visited had teachers with Masters in English language teaching. Corporeal punishment isn't seen as a problem. Even some students considered that '*sakhti*' i.e. strictness shown by teachers is good otherwise they would be negligent towards their studies.

[38] maar maar k chamriyan bhi utar dein
[39] bacho se uthti nai hai
[40] *Ziyadati*
[41] *Ink bass ki baat nai hai*

The NGO representative that I spoke to said that right now "it is mixed medium, they say it is English but it is actually Urdu." She added that, "Obviously it should have been English" but for that to happen the "protocols should have developed, the teachers must be adequately trained and school should be well equipped to facilitate learning." She pointed out that "now English is used everywhere and it is like a common language, it is an official language." She argued that best time to learn a language is when children are young so it should be introduced in early years. However, she also noted that the hasty decision made by the government without proper planning will be counterproductive and will not benefit students.

In comparison to her views, the NGO head that I interviewed, stressed the importance of making distinction between the English as subject and English as a medium of instruction. He argued:

> *English as medium of instruction introduced from an early age, can have a detrimental effect on learning as it encourages the propensity to rote-learn because students aren't fluent enough in English to understand the content in a subject like Science when it is taught in English rather than a language the child and the teacher are comfortable with.*

Zubeida Mustafa also argues that mother tongue should be used as medium of instruction.

6.3.7 Method of Preparation for Exam of English as compared to Other Subjects.

When I interviewed students of selected schools using interview schedules, I asked them about the method they used to prepare for exams. Among the students 67% responded that they rote memorize their lesson. During the class observations that I made during my field work in government girls' high school, I noticed that it was mandatory for students to memorize the summary, essay or paragraph given to them

as their homework. The teacher would either listen to the paragraph herself or would assign this task to two or three selected girls. It was observed during the field work that rote memorization is more prevalent than it is reported. Most of the times the spontaneous response of students, when asked about the method of preparation of exam, was they prepare for exam by developing conceptual understanding of the content. However, when I asked them what do they do when teacher is listening to the lesson and they forget the memorized content, then came responses like these: "If I miss a line though it doesn't happen. When we have prepared well then, never. But if it happens then we adjust it." Another respondent who said that she "understands and then learns it" responded: "Then I think about it, if I recall it then I reproduce[42] it, otherwise I get stuck there." Maheen and Neelum argued that they do not cram it because when one has crammed one is more likely to forget. The conversation with Neelum went as follows:

Neelum: When I go home I memorize it, I learn it after understanding/comprehending it

Interviewer: You learn line by line?

Neelum: Yes, I read first line two to three times, then next line in the same manner. Then I write it after learning it. Then I remember it well.

Most of the students, when I probed them about the way they prepare for exam, had similar things to say. The observation made during classes presented a clear picture. I noticed during class observations at government girls' high school that students had to memorize the questions answers, summaries and at times even complete essays. The teacher most of the time took oral test where students had to reproduce the learnt content/material line by line.

[42] Suna daiti hon

Among the boys, Naveed who had scored highest marks in school shared: "At home I give quite a time to English. Math I understand that in class. Maths, Physics, Chemistry are fine. When it comes to English it is not about understanding, one has to cram it." Khizer also opined that, "One has to cram it." When I asked him why you had to cram it he replied: "Do not understand it, it is not our language." Interestingly, when I asked Khizer that as to why most of the students failed he replied: "Those who fail, fail because of themselves. School makes little difference. It is the responsibility of students mainly."

6.3.8 Public Schools are for Poor

The teachers and principals of the public school that I visited, pointed out that only those who cannot afford to go to private schools come to public schools. The principal of government boys' said: "You will only see such students here whose parents never come to inquire about their progress." He also noted that the parents of the students admitted here "do not have resources to send them to some good institution." He said it is a "fact" that those who can afford prefer to send their children to private schools. Everyone that I spoke to during the field work had similar views about the issue. The policymakers that I interviewed also had similar observation.

6.3.9 Socio-linguistic Environment of Students Affects Their Ability to Learn English Language.

While interviewing the heads and teachers from selected schools I also sought their views about the role linguistic environment plays in language acquisition generally. I also asked them to share their experiences and observations related to the learning abilities of their students and the factors that affect them. Except the teacher from Lawrence College, all three teachers interviewed argued that it is easier for students to learn a language which is in their environment. The English teacher from Lawrence

College noted that it is "willingness of student to learn."Interestingly, he gave example of the head boy, who when joined the school in 8th class, could not even speak Urdu properly. According to him, the same boy learned Urdu and then English and scored over 1000 marks in board examination. He argued that environment is one of the factor but not the main factor. He informed that all the teachers are supposed to speak English in school's premises and students are also "made to respond in English." This strategy, he argued, helps the students to overcome their hesitation which is main factor that prevents the students from developing their speaking skills. Later on, during the interview he also talked about the "demand from the authorities in every good school" that required that teachers should not communicate to students in the "local language like Urdu or any other local language."

His assertion about the "willingness" of the student to learn as the main factor, notwithstanding, his example also supports the viewpoint that conducive environment provided at school facilitated the student to develop his language skills. My observation during the field work shows that, in contrast to the students from Lawrence College, the students from the public schools neither had a conducive environment at home nor at school. Unlike the students at Lawrence College the students at public schools were not required to speak English during school hours. The teachers at public schools never delivered the lesson in English. I observed that during classes, teachers at public school stopped students from communicating in Pahari language and asked them to speak Urdu. One of the teachers shared: "You are concerned about English, here we have to remind them time and again to speak in Urdu." Most of the students preferred to talk to their friends in Pahari but they always switched to Urdu when any teacher was around during recesses.

6.3.10cUrban and Rural Backgrounds of Students Affect their Ability to Learn English Language.

The principal of government girls' school while sharing her views about the performance of students in English language noted: "It is not that that city people are mavericks[43]. Children here are intelligent. Lack of facilities and home environment make them dull."

The teacher from government boys' high school pointed out that "communicating[44] in English is far-fetched idea as their grammatical concepts are not clear, the pronunciation is not correct, they cannot spell the words correctly." He added: "There is a huge difference between urban and rural areas. The home environment and language is very different. There are such students here who reach in 7th, 8th class but cannot speak Urdu. They do not have fluency." It was interesting to note that teacher while describing the difficulties faced by the students referred to English language as their "second language."

6.3.11cDifferential Treatment of those who know English from those who do not know English

All the students interviewed mentioned that those who know English are treated differently by people. Almost everyone responded that the people who can speak English well are seen as intelligent and smart people compared to those who cannot. Hamna shared:

> *If someone is speaking English then people say wow he is very intelligent he knows everything. No matter how intelligent the person speaking Urdu may be they say he doesn't know anything. He is no one. He speaks Urdu. The one who speaks English are given more importance.*

[43] Aflatoon
[44] He used bol-chaal.

Maheen expressed similar views and noted that those who speak English are deemed "nice and educated." She said:

> *People think she is very nice, she is very educated (laughs) this kind of thoughts are in their mind. She is more educated than me. She is very good. She is very bad about those who are not educated. If someone does not know English they torture them then (laughs).*

When I asked her how do they torture she replied, "By asking, you do not know this? You do not know this? So I think everyone must learn English."

Saba had similar opinion: "People like those, who know English[45]"

When I asked her that how people think about people who do not know English, she responded: "They think about him that she is uneducated and ignorant (laughs)." She also noted that in their locality people do not speak English but "it is spoken everywhere else but not on our side."

Among boys, Naveed also pointed out that "usually no one speaks English here. Mostly, people speak Urdu or Pahari." He added that only those who are educated can speak few words of English otherwise no one else speaks it. Speaking further about it he said: "If anyone speaks English, here in Ghora Gali, he is considered best." Osman opined: "People talk in a good way with those who can speak English. Few people do so in villages. They do not know what is English. City people are more likely to treat people differently on this basis."

Another aspect that some students talked about is reflected in Rania's reply: "They say he seems to be educated beyond required level and that is why he is speaking English." Similar views were shared by the principal of non-elite English

[45] *Jisey aati hai ussey log achi nazro se dekhtey hain*

medium school, who argued that children are reluctant to speak English because their parents or relatives may taunt them.

6.3.12 Different Attitudes of Parents Affect the Ability of the Students to Learn

Another important theme that emerged during the interviews was related to the views of teachers and heads regarding the attitudes of parents concerning the education of their child. The heads from government schools complained about the lack of interest on part of parents, which they argued is one of the reason behind the bad performance of the students. The principal of government boys' school, who took this charge four months ago, informed me that he had recently arranged the first "parent teacher meeting" after his joining. He shared that the response was not good as only few parents came and those who came were "not showing much interest." He shared they were not interested in discussing the results or performance of their children and instead focused on discussing other unrelated matters with each other and teachers.

The principal of government girls school also informed that majority of the parents do not take personal interest in the performance of their children. She informed that usually parents do not bother to come when they are requested to come for meeting. She added that at times she has to threaten them that they'll not let the student appear for board examination if their child's attendance remained low or she failed in the send-ups. She noted that at times the mothers also feel helpless in front of their daughters and express their inability to pressurise them to study. She noted that,"maximum that the parents do is that they send their daughters for tuition." The English teacher from the same school opined: "I know who provide tuition to them! Usually they are matric failed students themselves or those who have passed with average marks." She pointed that they only charge money and are unable to help the students.

The heads and teachers of the remaining two schools did not mention the attitude of parents as an issue. Coincidently, my first visit to the non-elite school in Tret was on the result day. I could not even get to see the principal because she was engaged with the parents. When I went to the school, I asked the guard about principal's room he asked me to wait in the main office instead and informed me that I might not get to meet her today as she was upstairs and there were many parents already waiting to meet her. I went to the waiting area where a teacher was sitting with report cards piled in front of her. It was a medium sized room, with seating arrangement for ten to twelve people. It was filled with people. I met the teacher, told her my name and asked her that I needed to speak to her but I insisted that I will wait until she is done dealing with parents. I stood in the corner and observed as parents discussed the results with the teachers. The atmosphere was very friendly, whenever someone entered the room he/she greeted those already present. All the parents sitting there seemed to know each other. The teacher complained to the parents of one of the boy about his attendance in last week, who gave explanation that it was owing to a wedding in their family. A father asked the teacher about the relatively low score of his child in Pakistan Studies and requested to see her subject teacher in this regard. In this room majority of the children were accompanied by their fathers. However, I could see many women going upstairs after getting information from the ushers standing at the entrance. It was indeed a busy day. Next day, when I spoke to the principal and the English teacher she informed me that at the end of term each result day was like this.

As far as Lawrence College is concerned, that is a boarding school. My last visit to the school was on December 8, 2016. The students had their last paper and majority of them were to leave for their homes on this day, except those hailing from

far-off places like Baluchistan and those who were to attend a daylong paragliding session. Students were expecting their families or parents to pick them from the school, they had planned things for the vacations that would last for three months. The class 10th students were expected to be back sooner than other students as they were to have winter camp for preparation of board's examination.

6.3.13 Differences in Attitude towards Aim in Life

All the participants were asked in in-depth interview about their aim in life. I asked them what they want to do when they grow up and what professional/educational ambitions do they have. The answers varied; few were certain about the professions they wanted to join others reported that they haven't decided about it yet. The responses of those who had failed in English compulsory were different than those who had passed.

Among the students that I interviewed some of the responses of those who had failed included: "I'll give papers and then I will think about it. I haven't given it a thought yet." Another girl who had failed in English compulsory replied that she hasn't thought about it yet as her only concern right now is to pass all subjects in matriculation and "this is the only tension that I have these days". Similarly, another girl who had failed in three papers including English compulsory informed that she hasn't thought about it yet. However, she added "my mother was saying she'll make me study further[46]."

Boys were relatively more certain about the careers they would like to choose compared to the girls. The topper from the government schools for boys informed that he wanted to become software engineer. Four boys reported that they wanted to join. Another student who had cleared all the subjects said that he hadn't thought about it.

[46] ammi keh rahi thi tumhein parhaongi

When I insisted he had a rather different answer to give. He informed me that he wanted to be a cricketer.

Among the girls from government school that I interviewed, the topper informed me that she wanted to become a pilot. Another girl who had failed in English compulsory only said that she has thought about it and would like to join army. However, none of them had information about what career and educational path they'll have to follow to join the armed forces. When I asked one what she'll have to do in order to join army she replied:"I don't know about it, I'll ask my uncle[47] he is in army." Saba informed she has planned to do computer course after the examination and another informed that she intended to do a beautician course or a basic tailoring course. There was a clear difference between the students of public schools and students from Lawrence College in this regard. The students from Lawrence College had a clear idea about the profession they wanted to join and the course of their academic career.

6.3.14 English Language as a Source of Social Stratification

Almost all the respondents spoke about the role of English in the social stratification in society. Principal of Lawrence College talked pointed out that in our education system it manifests itself in the form of stratification done by using terms like "English medium" and "Urdu medium". The students from these two streams of education are viewed differently. Majority of the students also noted that those who can speak good English are treated differently from those with no or low proficiency in English language.

[47] Chachu

6.3.15 Excluding those from Disadvantaged Background

The overemphasis on English language in our education system unfairly excludes many of our students from having fruitful/productive educational experience. This does not stop at the educational institutes the job marks also unjustly excludes people who are not proficient in English language. Zubeida Mustafa shared her views about the issue and argued:

> *Just look at the situation from the point of view of a boy from a disadvantaged background. He cannot analyze or understand much because his cognitive skills have not been developed much. But he can understand some overly conspicuous features of our society. Who are the ones who enjoy so many privileges and opportunities in society? Those who have gone to school. But he is also going to school then why is he still deprived?*

She rightly pointed out that the boy who goes to school and yet fails to develop the analytical or cognitive skills because of the language barrier remains deprived. Even if some of the students manage to complete education their inability to communicate in English limit the job opportunities available to them. She noted that there are people who have little competency in English but they are brilliant in some other subject. To substantiate her point of view she gave example of software programmers who are "computer geniuses with very poor English but they know sufficient English to understand computer language." She argued that "the exclusion of very intelligent and capable people with little competence in English is a very serious issue."

6.3.16 "English Business Runs Deep"

The discrimination based on English language is deeper than it seems to be. Zubeida Mustafa noted that those who "cannot speak it like the way those privileged ones do" develop the complexes. She noted that it is "segmenting our society in serious ways." Dr. Rahman also highlighted this issue and pointed out:

> *You speak well and speak in a language which is accepted by the people you are wearing a badge which is going to facilitate you. You are wearing clothes which are considered more fashionable, it facilitates you. So off course this is social capital, cultural capital, and sartorial capital it is all a part of that makes it possible to get more returns; tangible and intangible. The English language alone does not give economic returns. The level of proficiency and the accent also matter which is usually determined by ones socio-economic background. It is also influenced the social and cultural capital that one has. The economic returns are greater if one has proficiency in English language coupled with the right social capital.*

Another teacher from the government school expressed similar views. To illustrate her point she gave an example of her class fellow, who in her opinion was an average students but got the job in an elite school immediately after graduation because of her "good spoken English."

6.3.17 Simultaneous Absence and Presence of Language Policy

The language policy in Pakistan does not exist per se. However, the issue of language has been addressed in constitution and also in court rulings. Education policies at different points of time have also tried to assign different roles to languages. According to Zubeida Mustafa, "most policymakers do not understand the importance of language". She noted:

Pakistan does not have a cohesive, cogent and logical language policy. Whatever has been written in the Constitution or in a court judgment has never been implemented. There are sporadic references to language in the education policies here and there. That is why there are so many contradictions. Look up the 2009 education policy. In one place it says the provinces will decide the language of instruction and in another place it says Maths and Science will be taught from Grade 4.

6.3.18 Inconsistency of Policies

Inconsistency in language policy is viewed as a major problem. The governments have long been indecisive about the age/class from which to introduce the child to English language. There is no consistency in policy regarding the medium of instruction either. One teacher pointed it out by saying:

The major drawback that I told you is that for two years government makes English medium of instruction and then for two years it makes it Urdu medium. Now you tell me.. these children they belong neither here nor there[48]. These children neither fishes nor fowls[49] where do they go/what do they do?

The students from the government school also informed me about the change in policies. Most of the students interviewed from public schools had English as medium of instruction during the 7th and 8th class but that was changed and now all the students from public schools had Urdu as medium of instruction.

[48] Dhobi ka kutta na ghar ka na ghaat ka
[49] Adhey teetar adhey batair

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS 2: THEMATIC EXPLICATION OF PRIMARY DATA

The nature of policymaking in Pakistan is"ad-hoc and supply driven" as substantiated by the findings of the study. As far as the consultations are concerned almost all the formulated polices and reports of various commissions were preceded by consultations with stakeholders. But the discussions with the research participants revealed that it is the whims of the rulers that are main drivers behind our educational policies. The findings show that the process of policymaking is not evidence based i.e. policies are not based on research information about various policy options and their possible outcomes.

The policy documents reviewed for this study as well the insights provided by the academicians and policymakers show that the dominant status of English is result of the policies crafted and followed during different regimes. It can be argued based on the findings that the dominant role of English is a consequence of the status conferred on it through various stated and unstated official policies. It is noteworthy that the status planning is done in conjunction with acquisition planning. In the education policy documents while doing acquisition planning i.e. the policies of teaching English as a second language along with the policy of using English as medium of instruction, the state simultaneously does the status planning for English language.

The dominant discourse regarding the English language in Pakistan favors the privileged few who can afford to acquire the linguistic capital.

The study shows that educational policies in Pakistan and the status of language of within it creates a dominant discourse that establishes the importance of English language. The dominant discourse is largely internalized by the students.

Majority of the students who are negatively affected by the gatekeeping role of English language have also internalized the dominant discourses. The hegemonic discourses are mostly accommodated and rarely resisted by thosenegatively affectedor marginalized by the policy of having English as a compulsory subject. The students often said that those who have failed might not have worked hard. Very fewviewed it as a structural issue. The study shows that proliferation of English language stops the development of subaltern consciousness among majority of students negatively affected by the gatekeeping role of English. However, I am not concluding that the proliferation of English is the sole reason that prevents the formation of collective critical counter hegemonic responses by the students who are negatively affected by the gatekeeping.

The data shows that the dominance of English in our educational system privileges those who are already privileged. The study concurs with the finding of Ashraf and Tsegay (2015) and confirms that there exist quality differentials among Pakistani schools and the policies that privilege English language benefits the already privileged people who can afford to go to high quality English medium schools or international schools for their child. Incidentally, in both the public schools that I visited the post of English teacher was vacant. I was informed that for more than a year teachers of other subjects have been assigned the task to teaching English to the students. The non-availability of teachers has been highlighted by Shamim (2011). Another related report titled "Policy & Practice: Teaching and Learning in English in Punjab Schools" produced by SAHE (2013) also documents the issues related to English language teaching in Pakistan and identifies the unavailability of good English teachers as a problem.

The study shows that the nature of gatekeeping experienced by the students is determined not only by the fail/pass status of the students but also by their level of proficiency in the language. For instance, a student may pass in English compulsory and escape the excluding effect of English in terms of avoiding elimination/exclusion from the education system and may continue further education. However, her level of proficiency in the language is also determined by her fluency in the language. If she can communicate in English she is likely to make best of the opportunities that become available to her in her educational and professional career ahead.

The gatekeeping role of English disables those with low or no proficiency and enables the ones with good proficiency in the language. The gatekeeping role of English places the students in educational and professional arenas at the mainstream, on margins or excludes them from having certain experiences depending on the contexts.

The data reveals that students from public schools, who belong to lower social economic background are hugely effected by the gatekeeping role of English as a compulsory subject. The findings confirm that students from low socio-economic backgrounds have limited proficiency in English and have little exposure to English in their environment as observed by Mansoor (2003).

The study is a miniscule representation of the Pakistan's education system. The data and the field observations confirm that there is separate education system for the elites where they are better positioned to acquire the valued linguistic capital i.e. English language. Whereas, the students from low social economic background have a separate educations system where they are not provided with the environment that can facilitate them in learning English. The study shows that the "educational apartheid" as viewed by Rahman (2004) exists and it is consolidated by the "linguistic apartheid" as argued by Shamim (2011).

The data confirms that students from low socio-economic background are more likely to be negatively affected by the gatekeeping role of English as a compulsory subject. Due to their unprivileged socio-economic background they cannot acquire the linguistic capital which is mostly available to those belonging to privileged background. Students from rural areas are also more likely to suffer. Students hailing from rural areas are at disadvantage in terms of lack of opportunities available to them to learn the language. Also, they do not have a facilitating socio-linguistic environment that can help them acquire language. During the interviews, many students expressed the desire to learn English and termed it an important language. However, they also called it a "difficult language" which despite their efforts they are unable to learn and comprehend. Majority of respondents hailed from poor rural background. Their first language was "Pahari" and during the interviews many of them had difficulty in communicating in Urdu. Almost all of them reported that they seldom use Urdu as a language to communicate and feel at ease while communicating in their home language. Majority of the students do not have any exposure to English language in their environment neither in school nor at home or community level. The English language teachers also used Urdu as a medium during the class at public school as well as in low-cost private school. At the elite English medium school, students had an exposure to English language. During the interviews, it was observed that students from elite school were at home with English language and preferred to communicate in English with the interviewer.

The alumni of the selected schools also highlighted the bias for English language in the job market. One of the alumni from public school noted that because of her inability to speak "correct English" she is at disadvantage in the job market. Similarly, another student from public school pointed to the lack of opportunities for

those with limited knowledge of English. This study confirms the finding of the report titled, "Who gets the Good Jobs", produced by SAHE and Alif Ailaan (2016).

The findings show how the schools serves as regulatory and hierarchy creating spaces where some language are more valued than others. Foucault's (1991) concept of governmentality, as used by Skutnabb-Kangas (2009), is at work when teachers admonish students for speaking local language instead of Urdu in school. It is also at work when students at the elite English medium school are made to respond in English. The governmentality function of schools is at display when schools establish a norm regarding what is expected of the students. Even when a student is scolded in class for not speaking the appropriate language, for not learning the content, or taunted for failing in English compulsory it is seen as normal or natural outcome of failing to comply.

Depending on the student's location and role in society the norms are different. The norm for some may be to only pass the exam, for others it may be to do so with good marks. The dominant discourses related to English language normalize the experience of those who have internalized the hegemonic discourses. Likewise, the practices and discourses invalidate the experiences and feelings of those who have failed to internalize the hegemonic discourses and they may develop oppositional world view the world. This study also assumes that the individuals work in more than one and overlapping social spaces and it is this multiplicity of an individual's locations and roles in the society that determines the contextual marginality or centrality of an individual (Sheared & Sissel, 2001). The findings show exclusionary gatekeeping role of English compulsory does not always create the ability to critically reflect on the hegemonic discourses among the disadvantaged students.

The perceptual experiences of an individual is determined by our multiple identities as well as by the type of experiences one has in relation to those identities. The data reveals that perceptual experiences of the students depend not only on the nature of the gatekeeping they have experienced or are likely to experience but also on the designated social identities as well as self-images constructed by them on the basis of their proficiency in English. Gatekeeping role of English places the students at the mainstream/center, at margin, or absolutely excludes them from having certain experiences in the educational and professional arena depending on their proficiency in the language and marks obtained in English compulsory.

7.1 Concluding Remarks

The study identifies the dominant and hegemonic discourses (globalization, English as global language, global knowledge society, global economy, global competitiveness, global citizen, globalized world order, globalized and competitive world etc.) and the subjugated discourses like mother tongue, vernaculars, national language, national cohesion and social exclusion.

The study shows that our policy with respect to English as medium of instruction is contradictory as well as ambiguous. The study concludes that the policy of English as compulsory subject in education system of Pakistan is, thus, partly a product of dominant discourses of globalization. The dominant discourses of English as language of globalization and globalized world order are the discursive elements of social practice of policy formulation in Pakistan.

The perceptual experience of students who are adversely affected by the gatekeeping role of English differs from experience of those positively affected by the gatekeeping role of English compulsory. The differential perpetual experience

produces differential social identities and differential social positioning depending on their performance in English compulsory. The identities and social positioning, thus created, are not static and gets transformed depending on the particular contexts as the interaction between people takes place. Consequently, it depends on the designated social identities as well as on the self-images constructed on the basis of perceived proficiency in English. Depending on the context and the proficiency in English, the identities and social positioning can be exclusionary or inclusionary. It can be empowering for those with good proficiency in English and disempowering for those with no or low proficiency in English.

The gatekeeping role assigned to English as a compulsory subject results in perpetuating the already existing inequalities in society. It negatively affects those from lower socio-economic background. The gatekeeping role excludes those who fail to pass English compulsory by denying them the opportunity to get further education. Simultaneously, it places the students with low proficiency in English at the margins of the society by making them subservient to those who can acquire or afford to utilize the English language proficiency to their benefit in the field of education as well as in job market.

The repercussions of the dominance results in dropping out of a significant number of students from education system of Pakistan due to their failure to pass the exam or acquire a certain level of proficiency in English language.

The study problematizes the compulsory status of English as a compulsory subject and views the gatekeeping role assigned to English language as an unjust. It shows that the socio-linguistic environment with respect to English is stimulus poor for the students from lower socioeconomic background. They have no exposure to

English language in their environment which makes English a foreign language for the students.

7.2Significance of the Study

This study has theoretical as well as applied significance. Absence of scholarship in Pakistan and elsewhere that could question the sagacity of the policy of English as a Compulsory subject in Pakistan makes this study theoretically significant as it claims to be the first research study in Pakistan that intends to problematize this policy. This study aims to document the experiential reality of students affected by the gatekeeping role of the student at SSC level which gives a unique insight into this aspect of English language dominance in Pakistan. It also aims to analyze the discourses used to justify the hegemonic role of English language in Pakistan's education system. This study also problematizes the unquestioned gatekeeping role of English as a compulsory subject in Pakistan's education system. I also hope that the results of the study will provide insightful data and findings to the education policymakers which they will use to make the educational system more equitable and to remove the linguistic discrimination. It will help non-Anglicized students, with little knowledge of English, who have a lot to offer otherwise. This in turn will contribute to the national development of citizenry.

7.3 Limitations

The main limitation of the study is that ideally an elite girl's school should also have been included but there was no such school in the area. Besides, the time and resource constraints have limited the scope of this study; the broader area where the research was conducted was limited to Rawalpindi and Islamabad. I hope to build on this study for my PhD research in future.

APPENDIX A - Interview Guide for UDC 3 (Students)

Date: Time:			Remarks
Place: Institution:			
A. Participant's Profile			
1	Name		Each student was asked to name the locality where he/she resided. I also asked each student about the amount of time he/she took to reach the school and mode of transportation that he/she used. Information about who accompanies him/her to and from school was also obtained and noted. Students were asked about their schooling history. Information was obtained about the class or year (whichever they remembered) in which they joined the school. They were asked about the reason for changing the school. While asking about their result I also asked them about the compartments and overall performance in class.
2	Gender		
3	Age		
	Religion		
	Zaat/Biradari		
4	Address		
5	Contact info		
7	Academic Class		
	Subjects/Group		
8	Year of joining the school		
	Year of Leaving the school/ currently enrolled		
9	Total Marks		
10	Marks obtained in English compulsory		

B. Household Members' Profile
12. Type of family: i. Nuclear Family ii. Joint Family iii. Extended
13. Total number of household members:

Relationship With the interviewee (the student)	Age	Marital Status Single =1 Married=2 Separated=3 Widow/widower=4 Divorced=5	Academic Qualification No education =0 Less than Primary=1 Primary =2 6th to 7th =3 Middle =4 Secondary =5 Intermediate =6 BA/ BSc =7 Engineering =8 Medical =9 MA/MSc =10 MPhil/ PhD =11 Religious education =12	Occupation Salaried Employee (Government) =1 Salaried Employee (Private) =2 Self-employed (Non-agri) =3 Owner cultivator =4 Tenant Cultivator =5 Share Cropper =6 Unpaid Family Helper =7 Agricultural labourer =8 Others ---------- =9	Income	Comments
Father						The students were asked to tell about their siblings and begin with oldest and go on telling about the youngest at last. They were asked to tell about their number in the order among their siblings. They were asked to tell about the academic qualification as well the institution their siblings or family members are attending or have attended. The occupation for each member was noted. They were asked to tell about the average income of the earning members. Most of the students only guessed their family income and were not certain about it.
Mother						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						

14. Linguistic Environment

Answer the following	Languages							Remarks
	Urdu	English	Pahari	Pashto	Potohari	Punjabi	Other	
a. Language (s) spoken at home								
b. Medium of instruction in school								
c. Language(s) used in school outside class								
d. Language(s) used in the community								

Students were asked to name the languages. They were asked in detail about how often they used the language and with whom they usedthe language. For example if a student informed that they used Urdu as well as Pahari at their home. I asked her that with whom he/she speaks Urdu and how often. Similarly, I asked him/her how often she talked in Pahari at home. I also asked them that how oftenhe/she used it "always, mostly, sometimes, or never". The responses were noted in the remarks column. The students could name more than one language for each statement.

15. Levels of Proficiency

Statements	Languages							Comments
	Urdu	English	Pahari	Pashto	Potohari	Punjabi	Other	
a. Languages that you can understand and speak								
b. Languages that you can understand but cannot speak								
c. Languages that you can write in and express your thoughts ideas								
d. Languages that you can read								

The students were asked to name the language for each statement. Then they were asked to rate their proficiency level. Initially I planned to give students show card with proficiency levels written on it but then I realized this will affect the quality of data and they will feel as if they are being examined. So I asked them in detail about the statements. For example, if a student responded she can understand and speak English. I asked her how will she rate it if ask her to tell me about her level of proficiency. If it will be excellent, good, fair or poor. This question was asked for each language that she named. For the statement c) I asked them indirectly that if I ask you to write an essay on 'how I will spend my vacations' in which languages you'll be able to write it. When they had named the languages I asked them to rate their proficiency. In Urdu this conversation went almost as following: *agar mein apko kahon k aj mausam kaisa hai pe mazmoon likho tu ap kis zuban mein asani se likh logi*. If respondent replied, *Urdu mein*, I asked her *tu jo app essay ya mazmoon likho gey wo apkey khayal mein ap kaisa likho ge bohat acha, acha, theek say a bura?*When she had responded to this question I asked her that if I ask you to write the same essay in English will you be able to write it. If she replied yes then I asked her to rate it and tell how well she will be able to write it. Each statement was given ample time and interesting responses were jotted down in remarks column.

16. You understand class lecture/lessons best: 1. Verbally 2. Visually 3. Written 4. Other	Remarks
17. How do you prepare for test/exams 1. Rote memorization 2. Conceptual understanding 3. Other	I asked this question indirectly. I asked them there are certain subjects that you need to cram while there are some subjects that you need to understand. Can you name the subjects where rote memorization works? Also, name subjects for which you need to understand the concept. When they had named it I asked them how they prepare for their exams. While I asked them to tell about all the subjects but I also asked them to specifically tell me how they prepare for English language exam.
18. Why do you use this method to prepare for exam?	
19. Do you read books other than your course books? 1. Yes 2. No 20. In which language do you read these books? 21. What is the type of books that you like to read 22. Who is your favourite author?	**Remarks**
23. Which of the following media do you use?	The nature amount/frequency of

1. TV 2. Radio 3. Print Media (newspapers, magazines etc) 4. Computer 5. Cell phone 24. What do you use the media for? 1. To communicate with my friends and family members via Facebook, WhatsApp, texting, Email etc. 2. News/ current affair programs 3. Drama 4. Songs 5. Films 6. Other	exposure to media was also explored. I asked in detail about the amount of time they spent to watch TV, type of programs they watched and the time slots during which they watched TV or used media. I also asked them to name the programs, dramas and movies that they watched. I also asked them if they had cable or dish antenna installed. Questions related to internet usage were also asked and they were asked that how often they used and for what purposes?

Remarks:

APPENDIX B - Interview Guide for UDC 3 (Students) and UDC 7 (Alumni)

Respondent name:

Respondent's academic class:

Respondent's economic class background:

Personal Profile:

Tell me about your family background?

Essential information

Father's occupation, mother doing remunerated work? Since when you have been living here, if came from somewhere else why your family chose to get settled here? What are the main languages spoken/used in your family?

Extended family education? Their educational level and occupations generally?

Trace your academic history for me?

Tell me about your schooling? When did you start school? Did you change your schools? If yes, why? What was the reason of joining this particular school?

Tell me when was English as a subject was introduced to you? What was the medium of instruction during your school years and later on? If it remained the same or changed? If you had any problem with medium of instruction? If you had no problem then why not?

What is/was the nature of exposure to English language in school? In environment? On average how much time you spend usually studying the subject in school and for school work or paper? What is/was your study routine?

Who was your first teacher of English how she taught? How the examinations were conducted and students were evaluated? Tests, dictation etc. What were the problems that you faced? Where do you see yourself now with respect to other students in your class? Did they just passed? What was/is difficult and why? Who are/were the

students performing well in English and who aren't/weren't? What do you think are/were the reasons for their good/bad performance? Who are/were the children who didn't perform well? They belong to certain class or ethnicity? If it makes/made difference and why?

How the interaction with English is/has been? Trajectory? Your English language skills improved or deteriorated over the years and why? Do/did you take any tuition? For which subjects? What is/was the difference between teacher at tuition and in school? Does/didhe/she taughtyou all the subjects or you took coaching for English only?

If you have/had difficulties with reference to English language then what do/did you do?

Who is/was your favourite teacher and why? Who is/was bad and why?

How do you see you result overall? In which subjects do you think you did not fare well? Did you just passed the exam or are you among high scorers in your class?

What was the opinion of your parents about your result? When you had bad result how your teacher responded and how your parents responded?

What were your feelings? Were you happy/surprised or shocked? What was your parents' and teacher's reaction?

What are/were your academic and professional ambitions? And why you have/had that ambition? Do you think you could still achieve those ambitions without having proficiency in English language or passing the English language exams?

What do you intend to do in order to earn in your life ahead? Or what do you want to become? And why?

English as push or pull factor?

Tell me about your academic journey after matriculation? And why you opted for the particular path? Your performance in English mattered or impacted the course of education that you took after your matriculation?

If it remained the same after result? Or if it changed and why? If there was a change in ambition and how it was influenced by your results and why?

When you gave up your ambition what did it do to you? What did you experience? Who helped you adjust?

In case of change of ambition how it affected the performance in education? Interest levels? Coping strategies? Performance in English effected your choice in subject post matric?

What has English got to do with your choice of route A or route B

Because you had to change your choice how do u feel about the move? What happened to your social relations? How do you compare with your class-fellows who had good/bad marks in English? Do you still meet them? How the dynamics changed? What did it do to your friendships?

How it affected the relations? Do you still enjoy this cadre of friends like you enjoyed with them?

Perception about English language and people who speak English? What do they think are the perceptions of people about individuals who can and cannot speak English?

What sort of academic and professional opportunities are available to individuals with high proficiency in the language? And what sort of opportunities are available for individuals with low proficiency?

Suggestions for Improvement

In your opinion what are the week and strong points of educational system of this country?

In your opinion what should be the role of English in the academic system?

What changes would you suggest? If you are at helm of affairs?

What are your views about English language?If it is important to learn the language?

How useful it is to learn English?Do you think everyone should learn English?

How do you see this policy of English Compulsory? Probe- What do you think should be done for students who fail in English compulsory?

For those who failed in English Compulsory

What do you think are the reasons of your failure in English (teacher's lack of efficiency/interest/capability), course contents, tough papers, tough marking,

Probe - Their views about the role of English language in their failure?How do they see their failure? Is it their own failure or system's failure?

Learning environment conducive? How do you compare learning of English language with other languages (mother tongue or the languages that you are proficient in?

What do you feel are the repercussions and how do you feel about your performance? / How do you see being deprived of opportunity to getfuture education because of failure in English? What are/were professional opportunities available to you?

APPENDIX C - Interview Guide for UDC 4 (Principals and Teachers of Selected Schools)

History of institution

Tell me when the school was established and how it has evolved to its present state?

Origin and evolution of school?

Tell me how the school was and is financed? (Probe)

Tell me something about the multi-tiered school systems?

- Mushrooming of schools
- How education has been influenced
- Small – upper ladder

What is your opinion about English language and English as a compulsory subject?

Should it be English as a medium of instruction in High school in country like Pakistan?

If yes, why?

If no, why?

What are your views about the State's language policy? (if they have knowledge about it?)

Since when English is a compulsory subject?

What is your opinion about the results? Those who teach it what are their problems?

How do you address these problems?

Problematic areas – speaking, comprehension

Ethnicity better performs? If yes, why? Class?

How many children go to academies for children?

What are your views on academies system?

There is a raging debate in the last few years about the grade inflation? What are your views about it? What do you think is the rationale?

What is your perception about the practice of ‘helping’ students in examination centre?

What are the problems that teachers have to face? What are teachers getting out of it?

As an English teacher what do you think are prospects for students who pass on margin numbers?

Those who cannot do higher education how their life and career paths get effected?

APPENDIX D - Interview GUIDE for UDC 5 (Policy makers)

Who are the people involved in policymaking? Who authors the policies?

How government undertakes consultations with stakeholders prior to formulating education policies?

Who are the stakeholders in educational policymaking from government's point of view? How stakeholders are identified and selected? Do you invite proposals from public, academia and teachers etc? Students are consulted?

If the international development agencies, local NGOs and CSOs are consulted? Who finances the consultation process? Share of each? What is the role of INGOs?

Which government functionaries take part in consultation process?

If it is research based? How much input from research is taken?

What are the factors that are considered while formulating education policies? How the policymakers strike a balance between resources, goals and capacity? What are your views about the education policymaking in Pakistan?

We have had eleven education policies so far. Correct me if I am wrong please? The eleventh was due in Jan, 2016, why it isn't revealed yet?

In your view what are the factors that inform the policy regarding English?

What is the need or usefulness of having English as a compulsory subject in our education system? Is there any realization/sensitivity in the circles of policymakers regarding the plight of students who are unable to learn English language (or develop academic level skills) and become the victims of the policy of having English as a compulsory subject?

What do you think are the possible basis of policy/practice of having English as a compulsory subject? There is demand for it, it is needed due to its importance?

Minutes of meeting are available?

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