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MAPPING MISMATCHES: ENGLISH-MEDIUM EDUCATION POLICY, PERCEPTIONS, AND PRACTICES IN THE LOW-FEE PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN QUETTA, PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country whereby English is the official language and Urdu is the national language. It has five different school systems, which operate in parallel and practice different media of instruction. Such different school systems reflect the various socio economic status of the students. Consequently, this study focuses on the low-fee English-medium private schools that cater to children largely from low-income backgrounds. The number of low-fee schools has exponentially proliferated over the last two decades, almost ten-fold as estimates suggest. One out of three school-going children attends private schools. Low-fee schools use an English language curriculum and advertise themselves as English-medium, which motivates parents from low-income families to enrol their children wanting them to learn English because it is the ‘passport to privileges’. This study examines the straight-for-English policy these schools adopt, although, researchers in bi/multilingual education propose a mother-tongue based policy at primary level, a language familiar to children, the one to which they have maximum exposure in their social environment. The study addressed three aspects of the policy: perceptions of stakeholders about straight-for-English policy, English-teaching and learning practices and children’s exposure to English. Employing a mixed methodology involving questionnaires, interviews, observations and field notes, the study surveyed 11 schools in Quetta city, Pakistan. The respondents consisted of 245 students from high-secondary classes, 8 teachers, 11 school principals, and 9 expert observers. The study used mixed methodology with a triangulation research design. Two different perceptions emerge from the data where students, teachers and school principals strongly endorse the current straight-for-English policy presuming that the earlier the child gets exposed to the English language, the better. However, language policy experts express concerns over straight-for-English policy and recommend mother

tongue based multilingual policy. They propose that the formulation of the medium of instruction policy must be contextualized considering theory, research, available human resources, and the sociocultural and socioeconomic realities of children. The current policy can be elusive and ill-informed as it does not take into account any of the above conditions. In practice, English is not used meaningfully and substantively in classroom transactions, which can be helpful in learning the language as purported in policy and presumed by supporters of the policy. In fact, teachers use Urdu language to teach English. On the other hand, reading practice is usually a chorus repetition, while writing is limited to copying from textbooks and examination is rote-learning based. As a result, the writing ability of students stands below average. The children learn a translated bookish English with no communicative potential; their learning of content is imitative, not interpretive and the use of English can be symbolic and pretentious. Belonging predominantly to illiterate and semi-literate parental backgrounds, barring a negligible number, vast majority of children have no exposure to English at home. The study concludes that straight-for-English policy needs to be reviewed as it suffers from mismatches in terms of theory, practice and sociocultural landscapes of students. It might be better if children are taught in their mother tongues at least in the primary level.

ABSTRAKT

Pakistan adalah sebuah negara yang berbilang bahasa dan berbilang kaum di mana Bahasa Inggeris adalah bahasa rasmi dan Bahasa Urdu ialah bahasa kebangsaan. Ia mempunyai lima sistem sekolah yang berlainan, beroperasi selari dan menggunakan media pengantar berbeza. Sistem sekolah berbeza seperti ini mencerminkan pelbagai status sosio-ekonomi para pelajar. Oleh yang demikian, kajian ini memberi tumpuan kepada sekolah swasta medium-Inggeris yuran-rendah yang memenuhi keperluan kanak-kanak yang sebahagian besarnya dari latar belakang berpendapatan rendah. Bilangan sekolah yuran-rendah telah berkembang secara eksponen dalam tempoh dua dekad yang lalu, hampir sepuluh kali ganda mengikut anggaran. Seorang dari tiga kanak-kanak sekolah menghadiri sekolah-sekolah swasta. Sekolah yuran-rendah menggunakan kurikulum Bahasa Inggeris dan mengiklankan diri mereka sebagai medium-Bahasa Inggeris, yang mendorong ibu bapa berpendapatan rendah untuk mendaftar anak-anak mereka dengan cita-cita mempelajari Bahasa Inggeris kerana ia adalah 'passport kepada keistimewaan'. Kajian ini mengkaji dasar terus-ke-Bahasa Inggeris yang diguna pakai oleh sekolah-sekolah ini. Sebaliknya, penyelidik dalam pendidikan dwi/berbilang bahasa mencadangkan dasar berasaskan bahasa ibunda di peringkat sekolah rendah, iaitu bahasa yang biasa kepada kanak-kanak, yang mereka terima pendedahan maksimum dalam persekitaran sosial mereka. Kajian ini menangani tiga aspek dasar tersebut - persepsi pihak berkepentingan mengenai dasar terus-ke-Bahasa Inggeris, amalan pengajaran dan pembelajaran Bahasa Inggeris dan pendedahan kanak-kanak kepada Bahasa Inggeris. Dengan menggunakan kaedah campuran yang melibatkan soal selidik, temu bual, pemerhatian dan nota lapangan, kajian mengkaji 11 sekolah di bandaraya Quetta, Pakistan. Responden terdiri daripada 245 orang pelajar dari kelas menengah-tinggi, 8 orang guru, 11 orang pengetua sekolah, dan 9 pemerhati pakar. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah campuran yang secara khusus mengamalkan reka bentuk penyelidikan penyegitigaan. Dua

persepsi berbeza telah timbul dari data di mana pelajar, guru dan pengetua sekolah menyokong kuat dasar terus-ke-Bahasa Inggeris dengan menganggap bahawa lebih awal kanak-kanak mendapat pendedahan kepada Bahasa Inggeris, lebih baik. Walau bagaimanapun, pakar-pakar dasar bahasa meluahkan kebimbangan mengenai dasar terus-ke-Bahasa Inggeris tersebut dan mengesyorkan dasar berbilang bahasa berasaskan bahasa ibunda. Mereka mencadangkan penggubalan dasar bahasa pengajaran mesti mengikut konteks dengan mempertimbangkan teori, penyelidikan, sumber manusia yang ada, serta realiti sosiobudaya dan sosioekonomi kanak-kanak. Dasar semasa boleh menjadi sukar difahami dan kurang bermaklumat kerana ia tidak mengambilkira mana-mana syarat di atas. Dalam amalan, Bahasa Inggeris tidak digunakan secara bermakna dan substantif di dalam urusan kelas, yang boleh membantu dalam pembelajaran bahasa tersebut sebagai dimaksudkan dalam dasar dan dianggap oleh penyokong dasar tersebut. Malahan, guru-guru menggunakan Bahasa Urdu untuk mengajar Bahasa Inggeris. Sebaliknya, latihan membaca biasanya merupakan pengulangan serentak, menulis adalah terhad kepada menyalin dari buku-buku teks dan peperiksaan adalah berasaskan pembelajaran-hafalan. Akibatnya, kebolehan menulis pelajar berada di bawah purata. Kanak-kanak belajar Bahasa Inggeris buku yang diterjemahkan tanpa potensi komunikasi; pembelajaran mereka terhadap kandungan merupakan peniruan, bukan tafsiran, dan penggunaan Bahasa Inggerisnya boleh menjadi simbolik dan seolah-olah berlagak. Oleh sebab ramai datang dari latar belakang ibu bapa yang buta huruf dan separa buta huruf, selain dari jumlah yang sangat kecil, sebahagian besar kanak-kanak tidak mempunyai pendedahan kepada Bahasa Inggeris di rumah. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahawa dasar terus-ke-Bahasa Inggeris perlu dikaji semula kerana ia mempunyai kecacatan berbentuk ketidakpadanan dari segi teori, amalan dan lanskap sosiobudaya pelajar. Mungkin baik jika kanak-kanak diajar melalui bahasa ibunda sekurang-kurangnya di peringkat sekolah rendah.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my thesis to all those children whose schooling systems rob them of a natural advantage of education in their home languages at a formative age, and, those who receive education in an alien language, which consequently stunts their innate potentialities and cripple their natural instrumentalities to be reflective, creative, analytical, and critical. This also includes my four school-going children—Rizwanah, Muhib, Zoafshah and Rumaan.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the overview of the study and comprises of six sections. Section 1.2 discusses the background setting of the study and section 1.3 states the central problem of the study. Sections 1.5 and 1.6 respectively address the objectives and research questions while section 1.7 delineates significance of the study. Towards the end of the chapter, Section 1.8 outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the study

Pakistan like many other post-colonial countries is faced with the dilemma of language policy and planning in the education sector (Mansoor, 2004a, 2004b; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2004a; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). The medium of instruction policy is still an unresolved issue in Pakistan. According to Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013), there are still ‘tensions between policy and practice’. Government policies about the medium of instruction suffer from several limitations of which, the most important is “the great disconnect between policy and implementation” (Mustafa, 2011, p. 120). As Mustafa (2011) observes,

... Language policies announced from time to time have been patently inconsistent and have not always been implemented either. They may be described as flip-flopping from one extreme to another...Pakistan has failed to formulate a clear cut language policy in education although the official approach has been marked with a lot of rhetoric”(p. 35-36).

The existing policy contains declarations about the medium of instruction at different levels in schools. One of the latest policy documents in this regard is the National Education Policy launched in 2009 (GOP, 2009a). The National Education Policy (2009) stated that any language could be taught in class 1 to 5, but there is no clear statement about which language or languages to be used in secondary classes. Moreover, it states that any language can be

used from grade 1 to 5; however, it also states that English must be taught in grade 4 to 5. The two statements clearly contradict each other. According to the policy, Urdu and regional languages can be used for teaching science and mathematics from 2009 and 2014, but it does not specify whether this applies to both primary and secondary levels. It also contains another vague statement that English must be used for teaching science and mathematics; however, it does not specify whether it will apply to both primary and secondary levels. In addition, the policy declares that “Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to class 5”, but it is partly contradicted by the next condition that “English shall be employed as the medium of instruction in the sciences and mathematics from Class IV onwards” (GOP, 2009, p. 28). These two requirements seem to contradict each other. Therefore, Mustafa (2011) contended that the “education authorities are shirking their responsibility of taking a categorical decision on this issue,” and proposed that the language policy needs to be “formulated clearly and pragmatically” (p. 47). The policy is vague and contradictory on some important points. Critically, the policy also stands silent on the current and future medium of instruction policy within private educational institutions as the majority of private schools currently practice contradictory policies to that of the policies the government declares.

The next vital question is the full and uniform implementation of the recommended language policy in various streams of schools across the country. The conditions on the ground suggest that the policy suffers from a blatant lack of uniformity and cohesion. The contradictions primarily emerge out of the existence of a number of entirely different streams of schooling systems that operate in parallel. All these schooling systems have entirely different medium of instruction policies in practice. The genesis of the dilemma is fundamentally rooted in the class-based and highly polarized education system where each

schooling system caters to children from different socioeconomic and socio-educational backgrounds. The education system in general and the language-in-education policies in particular are acutely cut across social classes and are the major source of the class divide, and a decisive factor in socioeconomic marginalization (Malik, 2012; Rahman, 2004a; Shamim, 2012; Siddiqui, 2012). For instance, Rahman (2004) succinctly summed up the lack of uniform medium of instruction policy and the stratified schooling system characterized by inequitable access as well as benefits to quality English-medium education:

Pakistan's educational system is stratified according to socio-economic class which is expressed roughly in terms of media of instruction or type of educational institution. The madrassas cater for very poor children, mostly from rural and urban working class localities. The Urdu-medium schools cater for lower-middle-class and some middle class children while the elitist English-medium schools cater for the upper-medium and upper classes. There are also non-elitist English-medium schools which cater for lower-middle and middle-class children and cadet colleges (Public Schools) which cater for the middle classes, especially professionals and armed forces employees (Rahman, 2004, p. 24).

Between all 'the rhetorical twists and turns' (Mustafa, 2011) and the 'dilemmas' (Mansoor, 2004b) in the formulation and implementation of a cohesive, uniform and equitable language-in-education policy, the role and teaching of English language stands as one of the recurrently debated issues among scholars. As English language stands at the apex of language hierarchy and is 'the passport to privilege' (Rahman, 2005a), it happens to be the monopoly of a small elite class. Only children of the privileged elites and the affluent have access to quality English-medium education in Pakistan (Khattak, 2014; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2001, 2004a, 2005b; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007; Siddiqui, 2009). Mustafa (2011, p. 37) argued that the stature of English "language continues to grow—albeit for a small elitist minority—without it being officially announced". In addition, Shamim (2012) termed the present language-in-education system in the country as 'linguistic apartheid' while Rahman (2004)

described the system as ‘educational apartheid’ between the English-medium elite schools and the Urdu- medium schools for the masses (p. 74).

In this context, the provision of quality English teaching and learning practices have been systematically confined within the elitist government and private schools which only children of a tiny but powerful and affluent upper-class can attend. The rest of the population as described by Rahman (2005) as the have-nots, have no choice but to attend the low-quality government and the low-fee second-tier private schools. With English positioned at the top of language hierarchy and being the ‘passport to privilege’, parents from the lower middle and even working classes want their children to study in the English-medium education because of their belief that proficiency in the English language can ensure a brighter future. Bari and Sultana (2011) regarded the medium of instruction, type of school, syllabi and curricula as the potential contributory factors towards deepening social disparities and fragmentations in society. They also argue that the rapid growth of private sector has also added to the diversity and inequality of educational opportunities. Referring to the popularity of English-medium education as a global phenomenon, Hornberger and Vaish (2009) asserted that the processes of globalization accelerated the demand and spread of English-medium schools. The “Disadvantaged communities are increasingly demanding access to English so that their children can join a workforce that mandates knowledge of this language” (p. 1). The demand for English-medium education is both a local as well as a worldwide phenomenon. Therefore, in Pakistan too, the intense public demand for the English-medium education gives a dramatic rise to the number of low-fee private schools, which mostly advertise as being English-medium, bearing attractive English names such as Oxford English grammar school, Grand Folks, Spectrum, Cambridge and Wisdom. These schools spread all around the country, especially in the urban and semi-urban localities and are in demand even in the rural areas (Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2008; GOP, 2000, 2012c). These schools teach

textbooks in the English language starting from the nursery level. They are labeled as low-fee English-medium schools that appeal mostly to parents from the low-income families because the parents cannot afford to secure admission for their children in the elitist government and private English-medium schools. The elitist schools do not only charge exorbitantly higher fees, but they also enroll children from the affluent and privileged upper classes (Khattak, 2014; Malik, 2012; Rahman, 2001, 2004a; Siddiqui, 2012). Mostly, parents do not want to risk their children in the Urdu-medium public schools apparently for two reasons: first, the educational quality and academic standards of government school have been in considerable decline, which Warwick and Reimers (2005) termed as poor and ‘dull’, while Siddiqui (2010) aptly described the government schools as the ‘sick units’. Secondly, these schools use Urdu as a medium of instruction which has relatively little instrumental or transactional value vis-à-vis English within and outside Pakistan. As a result of the two available, but simultaneously unfavorable schooling options in the form of expensive, elitist English-medium schools and the low-quality Urdu medium government schools, parents seeking reasonable quality English-medium education have no choice but to resort to the mediocre category of low-fee English-medium private schools. This highly diverse category of schools, which apparently function to fill up the huge quality and expense void left between the elitist and the Urdu-medium government schools.

The number of low-fee English-medium private schools has rapidly increased over the last one and half decades in Pakistan, an exponential increase of about ten-fold (Andrabi et al., 2008). In a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education's National Education Census and Pakistan Education Statistics, respectively suggest that almost one in every three enrolled children is studying in private schools and colleges (GOP, 2006, 2008). These schools, which are labeled variously in the available literature as non-elite, low-cost, low-fee and second-

tier, cater to the educational needs of children from the middle to lower socioeconomic strata of society (Andrabi et al., 2008; Coleman, 2010; Heyneman & Stern, 2013; Mustafa, 2011; Muzaffar, 2010; Muzaffar & Bari, 2010; Muzaffar & Sharma, 2011; Rahman, 2004a).

There are two factors that motivate parents to send their children to those schools—a modest fee and English-medium education (Mustafa, 2011). Parents from the lower strata associate brighter future with an English - medium education; therefore “... they spend their hard-earned money to secure the desired future for their children” (Rahman, 2004, p. 42). Since English is the language of power and prestige in Pakistan, parents, especially from the low-income backgrounds find the low-fee English-medium schools more attractive because these schools promote English-medium and introduce English from the nursery level (Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a; Shamim, 2012).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Pakistan is a multilingual and multiethnic country where English functions as a foreign language to most of the children. As English stands at the apex of language hierarchy, wielding considerably greater powers, privileges, and prestige over the local mother tongues, including Urdu (Mansoor, 2004a; Rahman, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2008; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007; Shamim, 2012), people from all the classes including the lower and lower-middle appear to perceive English-medium education as the best choice for their children. This is evident in the dramatic expansion and popularity of different kinds of English-medium schools, especially the low-fee English-medium private schools (Andrabi et al., 2008; Andrabi, Das, Khwaja, & Zajonc, 2005; GOP, 2012c; Muzaffar & Sharma, 2011). Additionally, there is a widespread perception amongst parents, students, teachers, and school administrators that when children are exposed to English-medium schools from the nursery level, it will enable them to acquire greater degree of proficiency and command of

the English language until they complete their studies in schools. This is termed as ‘straight-for-English’ policy (Obondo, 2007), where children are taught English as a medium from the nursery level in schools.

In light of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural landscape of Pakistan and the status of English as a foreign language, this study examines three main aspects about the straight-for-English policy in the low-fee private schools in Quetta, Pakistan: (1) the perceptions of stakeholders about the straight-for-English policy, (2) English language teaching, and learning practices in the classrooms and, (3) exposure of students towards the English language in their sociocultural ecology. The analysis focuses on how perceptions about English-medium education are translated in the actual English teaching and learning practices in the classrooms. Additionally, the study also addresses the compatibility between straight-for-English school policy and the sociocultural ecology of the children. It is believed that compatibility between a child’s sociocultural ecology and school language policy is critically “important factor that determines the degree of disadvantage faced by children in understanding the school’s standard language is the literacy situation at home and the neighborhood and the extent of exposure to the standard language through print and visual media” (Jhingran, 2009, p. 266). Similarly, learning in a second or a foreign language such as English also requires social interaction and participation (Vygotsky, 1978); needs sufficient ‘comprehensible input’(Krashen, 1982, 1985), and ‘output’ (Swain, 2005; Swain & Lapkin, 1998).

Examining the policy, perceptions, and practices is critical in the context of Pakistan because a huge volume of academic research from numerous post-colonial countries attests to the manifold advantages of early schooling in a child’s mother tongue/home language or the language of the environment. It is normally a language of child’s early socialization to

which s/he has extensive linguistic exposure (input and output) in the sociocultural ecology (home, school, neighborhood, and media). The advocates of mother tongue based education policy propose additive rather than subtractive bi/multilingual education, in which “a language is added to the linguistic repertoire of the students while the first language continues to be developed” (Cenoz, 2009, p. 3). Thus, additive language learning denotes that, “a new language is learned in addition to the mother tongue, which continues to be developed. The learner’s total linguistic repertoire is extended (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008, p. 4). Contradictory to the foregoing conception of additive learning, the current straight-for-English policy in the low-fee schools exercise a subtractive language policy, which excludes children’s mother tongues from the curriculum.

Theorists of additive bi/multilingual education have long been advocating that initial literacy and academic development are better achieved when first or home language of the child is employed as a medium of instruction as compared to the use of a second a foreign language. The advocates of additive bi/multilingual education base their theoretical and implementation related frameworks on extensive empirical research in many contexts in general and in the post-colonial multilingual contexts in particular (Annamalai, 2004; Baker, 2001; Bangbose, 2000; Benson, 2004a; Cummins, 2000; Heugh, 2002; Hornberger, 1988, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Mohanty, 2009a; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2000; UNESCO, 2003a). The proponents thus recommend an additive policy, which means teaching the mother tongues in addition to the national and official/foreign languages.

Scholars in Pakistan also signal towards problems that underlie the teaching of English as a medium from nursery level. Some call it as the dilemma and conundrum (Mansoor, 2004a; Mustafa, 2011, 2012a) while others term straight-for-English policy as illusory (Rahman, 2004a), which is based on several misunderstandings (Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012). Rahman (2004) viewed that most of the so-called English-medium schools are thriving on selling the English-medium brand rather than delivering quality English-medium education. Rahman (2004) also regarded such policy as delusional and illusory. Rassool and Mansoor (2007) on the other hand refer to institutional limitations with regard to the provision of quality English-medium education, and they identify “the mismatches between learner needs and resource provision as well as the under-developed English language ability and pedagogical competencies of teachers” (p. 240). In view of the under-resourced school base, Rassool and Mansoor (2007) suspect “how effectively does the existing language-in-education policy in Pakistan serve the needs of a professed modernizing state and economy in relation to: (a) labour and business competition within the global cultural economy; and (b) serving the needs of maintaining an integrated nationhood?” (p. 240). Furthermore, Mustafa (2011) also alluded to the delusions that parents hold about the English-medium education policy and learning of the English language:

The illiterate parents of children are duped into believing that their children are being educated in English. Their youngsters who pick up a smattering of English are happy because they feel they know a language their parents never learnt. But no one understands that the English they are learning is of such an abysmal quality that it will not take them very far. Nor do they realize that the imposing of this language is impeding their intellectual progress because it actually militates against the proper teaching of various subjects such as science, mathematics, and social studies (p. 48).

1.3 Objectives of the study

The following are the objectives of the study:

1. To analyze the perceptions of stakeholders about English-medium education policy in the low-fee private schools in Quetta, Pakistan;
2. To examine the English teaching and learning practices in the classrooms and students' exposure to the English language in their sociocultural ecology

1.4 Research questions

The following research questions anchor this study:

1. What are the perceptions of different stakeholders about English-medium education policy in the low-fee English-medium schools?
2. How are the perceptions of different stakeholders about English-medium education policy translated into English language teaching and learning practices in the low-fee English-medium schools?
3. How does English-medium education policy in the low-fee English-medium school match the sociocultural ecology of students in terms of exposure to the English language?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is significant in several ways. This could be the first study which conducts a critical analysis of the low-fee English-medium schools with special reference to English-medium education policy. As far as the theoretical and practical implications of the study are concerned, it is expected that the findings of the study would help not only highlight the problematic areas, underlying the policy, perception and practices, but it would also point towards the critical issues of equity, access, marginalization and exploitation that take place without being publicly noticed. The spread of the low-fee English medium schools is seen as

a positive trend in the society and the low-priced provision of English-medium education is perceived to narrow the gap between children of the elites and the children of the others. This study is geared towards showing a number of myths and illusions made in general about the low-fee schools and their language policies. The findings of the study are likely to inform the policy makers about the theoretical soundness, pedagogical and institutional challenges, and the sociocultural discordances that affect the effectiveness of English-medium education policy specifically the early introduction of English. In addition, examining the theoretical soundness of perceptions of stakeholders, actual teaching and learning practices and evidence concerning students' exposure to the English language, the study is likely to help trigger constructive debate and rethinking to bringing about positive change in the formulation and execution of the English-medium education policy in the country.

Rahman (2004) argued that these schools sell dreams and use English as an attractive selling brand. Mustafa (2011) contended that these schools dupe parents into believing that their children are being educated in the English language; therefore, the results of the study might help in assessing the validity of the concerns scholars raise about the limitations of the low-fee English-medium schools. More importantly, from the viewpoint of critical applied linguistics, critical language policy, and critical theory, the medium of instruction assumes critical importance as it “determines which social and linguistic groups have access to political and economic opportunities, and which groups are disenfranchised. It is a key means of power (re) distribution and social (re) construction” (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p. 2). Therefore, the results of the study can help determine what level of English language competencies students of the low-fee English-medium school acquire to utilize English as a means of power for their social well-being and for the well-being of the society.

1.6 Definitions of key terms

To provide an explanation and clarification of some of the terminology used in this study, the following terms are defined operationally.

Low-fee private schools: These are second-tier schools, which are much cheaper than the elitist schools, and they are different from other government schools. Scholars also label those as non-elite and second-tier schools (Coleman, 2010; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004). This is one of the categories of schools in Pakistan, which claims to be English-medium. They are spread all over the country, especially in the urban and suburban localities, catering generally to children of low-income families. Heyneman and Stern (2013) defined low-fee private schools “as one whose tuition was lower than half the minimum wage” of the country concerned (p. 5).

English-medium education policy: English-medium education signifies English as a medium of instruction. Since most of related literature uses English-medium education (Annamalai, 2004, 2013; Mohanty, 2006, 2009a, 2013); therefore, this study also uses the same terminology.

Mother tongue (s): Mother tongue is used in the sense as defined by UNESCO. It is “the language which a person has acquired in the early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication.” It may also be termed as the identity marker of an ethnic group, a marker which one emotionally identifies oneself with (Pattanayak, 1998, p. 129).

Exposure: Exposure refers to the degree of English language input and output students receive, use and produce within the three domains during their day-to-day lives. Input has been defined by Ellis (1985) as “the language that is addressed to the L2 learner either by a

native speaker or by another L2 learner and his interlocutors” (p. 127). Similarly, output is ‘the product of learning’, and it can also demonstrate the amount of language learners have learned (Patten, 2003; Swain, 2005). Precisely, the sum of English language input and output is termed as ‘exposure’.

Sociocultural ecology: Sociocultural ecology refers to a range of social domains, which encapsulates the nature and pattern of language contacts and interactions occurring around respondents’ day-to-day lives. Precisely, it denotes the language students of the low-fee schools come into contact, either passive or active, at home, in the neighborhood, and via the media.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The thesis comprises nine chapters. Chapter one provides an introductory statement of the problem and delineates the aims and research questions of the study. Chapter two reviews the relevant literature and sketches out the sociolinguistic, educational, and language-in-education landscape of Pakistan and discusses the theoretical literature underpinning the research. Chapter three explains the research methodology, research design and the theoretical framework employed in this study. Chapter four delineates the demographic profile of the respondents of this study. Similarly, chapter five, six and seven respectively present data and discuss the perceptions of stakeholders about English-medium education policy, English language teaching and learning practices and exposure to English within the sociocultural ecologies of the students. Chapter eight discusses some broader emerging issues in connection to English-medium education policy. Lastly, chapter nine sums up the findings and conclusions, and put forward recommendations for further policy and research on the medium of instruction.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature. The first part provides the sociolinguistic, educational, and language-in-education landscape of Pakistan to foreground the backdrop of the study. The second part of the chapter reviews the literature on theory and research to locate the theoretical and conceptual underpinning of the study. Drawing on the statement of the problem and research objectives of the study, the review attempts to interweave the research problem with the theory and illuminate the diverse aspects of the issue through multiple, yet overlapping and interrelated theoretical lenses. Two areas constitute the core of the literature review—additive/subtractive bi/multilingual education and critical language policy. It starts with the definition of additive bi/multilingual education and supplemented with a review of empirical research undertaken in a number of post-colonial countries, highlighting the perennial debate of which medium of instruction policy better works in schools—English or any other second/third language) or the mother tongue. Similarly, special reference is made to the work that directly or indirectly relates to the instrumental role that the first language plays in earlier education of the children and the potential advantages or disadvantages that might occur due to earlier education in a foreign language such as English. Towards the end, the inequitable distribution of benefits and unequal access to quality English-medium education is discussed through the lenses of Critical Applied Linguistics and Critical Language Policy to underline the underlying ideologies of class struggle in Pakistan.

2.2 Sociolinguistic profile of Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual and multiethnic country. According to Ethnologue (2014), there are 77 languages in Pakistan, of which 72 are tagged as indigenous while the other 5 languages are labeled as immigrant. However, other scholars have given various numbers of the total languages in Pakistan—five major and 55 other minor languages (Rahman, 2005a, p. 73), 75 languages (Pinnock, 2009) and 71 languages (Coleman, 2010). Urdu is the national language while English is the official language. English is used in the domains of power, such as government, education, law, corporate sector, research and media. The language hierarchy is based on the power in which English stands as the most powerful; Urdu occupies the second position, while the rest of the minor and major indigenous languages stand at the lowest rung in the language hierarchy ladder (Mansoor, 2004a; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1999, 2002). Urdu and English receive substantial institutional support in the domains of power, especially in education; however, the other indigenous languages with the exception of the Sindhi and to negligible degree Pashto language remain excluded from all domains of power, including education (Mansoor, 2004a; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2002, 2005a; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). Table 2.1 displays the major languages of Pakistan and the percentage of speakers of each of these languages:

Table 2.1: Major Languages of Pakistan

Pakistani Languages	
<i>Languages</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Punjabi	44.15
Pashto	15.42
Sindhi	14.10
Siraiki	10.53
Urdu	7.57
Balochi	3.57
Others	4.66

Source: (GOP, 2001)

2.3 Language policy and language planning in Pakistan

In this section, the language policy and language planning in Pakistan are discussed. It includes a review of the constitutional provision about the language policy, the historical developments in language-in-education policy and the status and role of different languages in education.

2.3.1 Constitutional provision regarding language policy

A provision of the 1973 constitution proclaims the official language policy and language planning in the following statements:

- (1) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for it being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day (1973).
- (2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
- (3) Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion, and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.

The constitutional provisions clearly state that English and Urdu have to be used as official and national languages respectively, while stipulating the use of the indigenous languages with the legislative condition of the concerned assembly and without ‘prejudice’ to the national language. Except for Sindh and to some extent in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces, no serious attempt has been made by the provincial assemblies for the introduction or use of the indigenous languages in any form. Despite the promises to replace English with Urdu within fifteen years, English still practically remains the official language of the country. Some scholars argue that the constitutional caveat (“without prejudice”) implies that no such effort should be attempted for the promotion of regional languages at the cost of the national language Urdu (Abbas, 1993; Rahman, 1999). Urdu receives considerably greater state patronage vis-à-vis the rest of the indigenous mother tongues, and the state authorities have regularly dealt with any ethnicity and language-based movement with ‘authoritarian

crackdowns', and such movements have been 'deemed antinational by the center' (Ayres, 2003, p. 79).

2.3.2 The flip-flopping—a history of language-in-education policy

Historically, language policy and language planning in Pakistan is marked by consistent changes and reversals. Scholars regard the inconsistencies as 'dilemma' (Mansoor, 2004a), and 'enigma and conundrum' (Mustafa, 2011) and 'controversy' (Rahman, 1997). Since the independence in 1957, the government of Pakistan has issued at least 22 major reports and policy documents on language-in-education policies (Rahman, 2004a). This all began with the first National Educational Conference in 1947. The first conference proposed that Urdu should be the lingua franca of Pakistan, used as a compulsory subject in schools. The provinces were allowed to introduce Urdu and regional languages at any stage they deemed appropriate. The idea behind such policy was to promote regional languages and multiculturalism. This was followed by an advisory board set up in 1948 to chalk out language policies in schools. The report categorically stated, "it was universally agreed that until a child has learnt one language well enough, he should not be made to learn any other language. That this first language should be the mother tongue, needs no argument" (Rahman, 2004c, p. 266). The mother tongues were to be taught as a medium of instruction until primary levels while Urdu had to be introduced as a compulsory subject. The provinces were to decide about English as a compulsory or optional subject.

The second educational conference held in 1951 recommended that mother tongue should be taught as a medium at the primary levels while Urdu was to be introduced at the secondary levels. The policy failed to determine clearly the state of language policy in the English-medium schools and cadet colleges, which used English-medium education. Subsequently, the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959), which is commonly

known as Sharif Commission had proposed teaching of mother tongue till grade 5 while Urdu should remain as a compulsory subject from Grade 3 onward. Subsequently, Urdu was to become the medium from Grade 6. The Commission did not propose any change in the elitist schools and colleges, which were teaching English as a medium. The commission, however, defended the use of English in elitist institutions, as it would bring about modernization and efficiency (CNE, 1959). The continuation of the English language as a medium of instruction was to serve the elites. General Ayub Khan, the then Martial law administrator had instructed the politicians to “to start good public schools where intelligent young men” could be trained to become officers (Khan, 1967, p. 25). According to Rahman (1997, p. 148) , despite the efforts of the Urdu proto-elite for the use of Urdu in public signs, administration, judiciary and education, English still continued in scientific and technological education, and even “the elitist officer corps of the higher administration, judiciary and the military kept using English”. Another policy twist took place in 1969 after the fall of president Ayub Khan’s regime. Yahya Khan, the new Martial law administrator appointed Nur Khan as the chairperson of a committee to formulate new education policy. The committee proposed that English should no more remain the medium of instruction in the English-medium missionary schools, and Urdu and Bengali were to be introduced as media of instruction from 1975 (GOP, 1969). The policy stated that the missionary schools were perpetuating class divisions, and they were perpetuating the barriers of distinction (GOP, 2005). The subsequent event following the break-up of Bangladesh and the disintegration of the country did not allow the policy to translate this policy into implementation. Subsequently, the language in education policies changed during the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977). The elite schools continued with teaching English, whereas the public schools taught Urdu/regional languages. Mustafa (2011) observes that the policy of nationalization that nationalized the private educational institutions helped little to serve the poor because the government took

over only those modest private institutions while leaving the ‘upscale institutions’—the government formalized the language barrier between the classes.

General Zia Ul Haq’s (1977-1988) era is marked by the rise of Urdu, the language his regime used as the symbol of ideology and Islamic solidarity (Mustafa, 2011), and ‘Urdu and Islam as symbols of Pakistani and Muslim identity’ (Rahman, 1997, p. 149). The government established the Muqtadra Qaumi Zaban (the National Language Authority) in 1979 and decided that Urdu to be the medium of instruction in all schools. According to the policy, indigenous languages were to be taught in schools. The policy proposed that all English medium schools were to switch over to Urdu medium; however, English was allowed to remain as a medium in the elitist English-medium schools (Pakistan Times, 28 October, 1987, cited in Rahman, 1997, p. 149). Another twist occurred in the policy with the changing of the regime. This time, the Nawaz Sharif’s democratic government in 1992 adopted a more flexible policy demonstrating a multilingual approach with the introduction of the indigenous languages alongside English and Urdu. The National Education Policy stated that, ‘The medium of instruction shall be provincial languages, national language or English’ (GOP, 1992, p. 17). The next National Education Policy (GOP, 1998) undertaken under Nawaz Sharif’s second term as prime minister did not bring any major changes to the language policy.

This policy was in ‘disarray’ (Mustafa, 2011) before President Musharraf took another policy stand as he formed a National Education Policy Review Team to review the policy and formulate a new policy in 2005. Javed Hasan Aly, a retired bureaucrat was made the chairperson of the committee. Aly (2007) published “White Paper”, which along with many other educational issues made following propositions regarding language-in-education policy. The medium of instruction for the first three years of the child’s education should be the mother tongue wherever possible. Where Urdu is not the medium of instruction, it should be taught as a subject from Class-I. Similarly, from Class-VI, the medium of instruction

should be Urdu for social sciences and English for mathematics and natural sciences for all institutions, public, or private, leading to Pakistani public examinations. Wherever desired by the provincial governments, the regional languages should be taught as a compulsory subject up to Class-VIII. For higher education, including college education, medium of instruction should be English for physical and natural sciences and technologies—the international language of research, commerce and trade. According to the paper, English and Urdu will be used for social sciences in colleges. Mustafa (2011) argues that as the White Paper was released for debate, “its recommendations pretty rational—upset the then Education minister who instructed the chairperson of the committee ‘to ensure that [he did] not make any recommendation which ran counter to our reforms initiated which are well-known to you’ (Mustafa, 2011, p. 46). On the intervention of the minister, certain points in the original proposal were revoked, and were replaced with a policy provision that English language to be introduced from Grade 1 instead of mother tongues. This led the concerned chairperson of the committee to tender his resignation quitting his job in January 2011. The subsequent policy which is now the National Education Policy (GOP, 2009a) recommends a curriculum having multilingual education policy at the school levels—Urdu, English and ‘one regional language’ till primary level. In addition to English, the national language (Urdu), and regional languages, the policy emphasizes the learning of Arabic (GOP, 2009a). As the policy reads,

The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, and mathematics along with an integrated subject. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V. English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for the sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards. 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 (p. 20).

Despite policy statements, actual policy with regard to teaching mother tongues or one regional language has not been implemented nor has a uniform policy across provinces and urban and rural areas occurred yet. The English-medium education policy in most private schools is also apparently divergent with broad policy outlines in the National policy (Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Shamim, 2012). There are still ‘tensions between policy and practice’ especially the way language and teaching work differently in practice “because of people’s changing attitudes toward the languages, the varying currency of the available languages, and uneven resources for teaching” (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013, p. 263). The following table highlights the policy changes made ever since independence. Most of the time, the policies kept changing; however, they have not been implemented in practice. For instance, the teaching of regional languages have been stated in nearly all the policies; however, none of the regional languages were practically taught than Sindhi and partly Pashto.

Table 2.2 : Changing Medium of Instruction Policies

Policies/ reign	Languages to be taught	Year
National Educational Conference(Rahman, 2004a)	Urdu as lingua franca; provinces to introduce Urdu and regional languages	1947
Second education conference (Rahman, 2004a)	Regional languages at primary level and Urdu at secondary level; no policy for English	1951
Sharif Commission(GOP, 1959)	Regional languages till grade 5; Urdu as compulsory subject from grade 3; elite English-medium schools exempted from policy	1959
Yehya Khan (GOP, 1969)	Urdu and Bengali introduced a medium of instruction; regional languages overlooked	1969
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto(GOP, 2005)	Urdu as a medium & regional languages	1971-77
General Zia Ul Haq (GOP, 1979; Rahman, 1997)	The rise of Urdu; regional languages mentioned, but not taught; all private schools were to switch over from English to Urdu medium except the elite English-medium schools; Arabic as a subject from class 6 th	1977-88
Nawaz Sharif(GOP, 1992)	Multilingual policy introduced in practice— Urdu as a medium, English as subject from grade 6, and regional languages alongside Urdu and English	1992
National Education policy(GOP, 2009a)	Urdu as a medium; regional language; math and science in English or Urdu from grade 5 onward; after five years of the policy, all subjects shall be in English; Arabic also emphasized	2009

2.3.3 The role of Urdu and English in education

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan. According to the Census report, Urdu is the national language of Pakistan which is used by 7.57% of the population as a first language (GOP, 2001). It is used as a medium in the Urdu-medium vernacular schools. Moreover, Urdu has an intra-national role, serving as a link language or a language of wider communication (LWC) in the major cities. Urdu is a widely known language in the urban areas, even illiterate dwellers can speak and understand the language well (Rahman, 2008). Rahman (1997, p. 148) argues that the founders of the country “... felt that only Urdu could

be used to integrate the diverse nationalities of Pakistan. Thus they propounded the uni-national thesis that Pakistanis are one people and chose Urdu as the national language”. Moreover, Mansoor (2004b, p. 335) explains, “It (Urdu) is a symbol of national identity and integration to help avoid regional autonomy and separation”. Urdu forms an integral part of education in Pakistan. It is taught as a medium in the government schools, while in the private schools, it is taught as a subject. Moreover, Urdu is also the medium for Islamic Studies in the private schools. Urdu is disseminated through government colleges and universities, where all except technical and scientific subjects are in Urdu. Urdu is also the most vital language in both print and electronic media as a larger part of newspapers, television and radio use Urdu language (Rahman, 2008).

On the other hand, English language functions as a medium of instruction in the following streams and levels of education in the country: the elitist schools that include schools for the armed forces, public schools, private English-medium schools, and at the university level (Rahman, 1997, p. 146). English remains the first language for a very few highly Anglicized, second language for a large affluent and highly educated, and third and a foreign language for all educated others (Rahman, 2001, p. 242).

English is by far the most powerful language of Pakistan and is used in all-important domains of power. Education and proficiency in the English language are viewed as a passport to social and economic mobility, privileges, and prestige in Pakistan. Rahman (1997, p. 151) states that, “English remains the language of power and high social status in Pakistan. It serves to facilitate the entry of the rich and the powerful into elitist positions, while filtering out those who are educated in Urdu”. English remains the official and most powerful language because it helps the cause of the elite class ‘lucrative employment in the international job market’ (Rahman, 1996, p. 250). In view of the vital functions of English

in socio-economic mobility and social prestige in Pakistan, (Mahboob, 2002) contends that there is no future without the English language in Pakistan.

2.3.4 Indigenous languages in education

The policy with regard to indigenous languages, other than Urdu, is highly exclusionary and is that of deliberate neglect. The predominance of Urdu over other indigenous languages is tantamount to what Rahman (2005a) terms ‘Urdu imperialism’ in the country. Mansoor (2004b) explains that,

Numerical strength does not determine majority or dominant languages in Pakistan. The regional languages, despite a large number of speakers, are minority languages. ‘Urdu’ and ‘English’ enjoy ‘high status’ and are reserved for public and official use and also dominate the regional languages— politically, economically, and culturally (p. 334).

Despite several attempts by language activists from different language groups, their languages are still excluded from the mainstream education. The history of the country has been rather volatile in terms of the demand for the right role and status of indigenous languages by various ethno-nationalist groups (Rahman, 1996). According to (Mansoor, 2004a), the language-in-education policy in Pakistan is fraught with both conceptual as well as practical problems. Rassool & Mansoor (2007) explain that a complex set of circumstances led to the predominance of the English language over the indigenous languages. Those include “the country’s colonial heritage; the importance attached to English in the country’s postcolonial national language policy... the negligible value attached to indigenous languages within public domains; the predominance of English within the interactive global cultural economy”(p. 221). The indigenous languages are yet to be recognized as cultural, educational, or linguistic capital. Many scholars and researchers have pointed out that the current policy serves the interests of the few haves who wield all conceivable powers (Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1996; Shamim, 2012). English also captures public imagination as

a language of power and prestige. Mustafa (2012b) believes that such is the power of myths about language in Pakistan that a public demand has been created for English. People believe that English is the magic wand that can open the door to prosperity.

2.4 Literacy and educational trends in Pakistan

In the following pages, the complex and diverse educational landscape of Pakistan is highlighted and the reader is enlightened about how the schooling system suffers from lack of uniformity and cohesion in terms of the medium of instruction, class, and quality. In Pakistan, children studying in schools are usually categorized into the following levels: pre-primary, primary (class I-V), middle (class VI-VIII), and secondary (class IX-X). Cumulatively, participation in education is considerably low, especially female enrollment. In a UNESCO's report, Lynd (2007) wrote that only 59% of girls and 73% of boys are in primary school. Of those children who do enter primary school, only 60% manage to survive until the final year. The report also suggests that six million children of primary school age are not in school at any one time. It further reveals that 28% boys and 28% girls out of school age children attend schools.

Low literacy of the masses often makes headlines in the educational debates in Pakistan. Looking at the education and literacy rate from a regional and a global perspective, Pakistan fares exceedingly poorly. For instance, according to UNESCO (2010), illiteracy rate for all children aged between 15 years or above is 46%, standing the fifth highest in Asia while seventeenth highest in the world. Similarly, lower score is suggested for the gender disparity standing as lower as almost half of the males with 60% of females are illiterate (UNDP, 2009). Additionally, on the basic literacy statistics, Pakistan Economic Survey (2010-2011:138) reports that according to the Pakistan Social and Living Standard Measurement Survey (GOP, 2012d), "the literacy rate for the population (10 years and above)

is 58 percent during 2010-11, as compared to 57 percent in 2008-09 . Literacy remains much higher in urban areas than in rural areas and much higher for men than for women. Province wise data suggest that Punjab leads with 60 percent literacy, followed by Sindh with 59 percent, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with 50 percent and Balochistan with 41 percent”. Given the grim scenario across educational landscapes, one may wonder why Pakistan fares so poorly on this crucial front. A number of reasons contribute to this pathetic situation. One of the most oft-mentioned reasons are the low spending and low budgetary allocation to the education sector. According to the Human Development Report (UNDP, 2013) only seven developing countries in the world spend less on education than Pakistan, which is grossly low with only 3% of the GDP.

The absence of efficient governance system and lack of political will have potentially deteriorated the educational conditions. Burki (2005) notes that despite two decades of efforts involving the multilateral and bilateral aid agencies, government, civil society organizations and the for-profit private sector, Pakistan is nowhere close to creating an equitable education system. One also senses the politics of class has also plagued the education system of the country. The political elites who are in the forefront of public policy decision making, has historically shown indifference to this crucial sector. Muzaffar and Sharma (2011) contend that although the government has expanded the public education system due to some internal and external pressures; however, the quality of schools that do not serve the interest the children of the elites has remained abysmally low. The lack of political will and elites’ disinterest is clearly substantiated by the fact that approximately 7.3 million children still remain out of schools, and the system is clearly failing in terms of both access and quality (UNESCO, 2011).

2.4.1 School system: an educational apartheid

In Pakistan, the education system in general and the school level education in particular is marked by acute social disparities and class divisions. This, ultimately, as many believe leads towards socioeconomic inequalities and uneven educational and professional opportunities, which critical commentators view as signifying a form of educational apartheid (Khattak, 2014; Khurshid, 2009; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1999, 2004a; Shamim, 2012; Siddiqui, 2010). On the one hand, the difference between low quality public systems of schooling and the high quality elite-based private system of schooling that creates inequalities; on the other hand, the different media of instruction policies in the shape of English versus the vernacular languages further widen the gap between the rich and the poor. A small segment of the children of the affluent and the powerful enjoys the privileges of studying in state-of-the-art public and private English medium schools, whereas the rest of what Rahman (2004) terms as the 'have-nots' have no option, but to attend either low quality Urdu or vernacular medium or Dini Madaris (religious school). Another segment of children from the middle or lower-middle classes, attend ordinary low-fee/cost-for-profit English medium schools. Coleman (2010) and Rahman (2004, 2005) label those schools as ordinary, second-tier and non-elite. Other observers such as (Muzaffar, 2010) and others label them as Low-fee Private Schools (LFPS) (Bari, 2013; Muzaffar & Bari, 2010). Similarly, Khurshid (2009) likens the post-independence language in education policies in Pakistan to that of the policies of the British colonial masters, which creates polarization and perpetuates class divide:

...the assumptions, criteria, and vision that have motivated current/postcolonial language policy decision-making in Pakistan stem from the same colonial mindset that created two unequal, binary educational structures in India...the language policies in Pakistan's education system have replicated the paradigms of colonial education, and have engendered exploitation, economic inequality, and cultural disjunction in the social and political structures of the country (p. 10).

Mustafa (2011) aptly notes that Pakistan admittedly suffers from serious educational problems and shortfalls; however, the stark reality is that those problems are not spread across the board. One witnesses acute discrimination that those problems only affect the poor and the voiceless; the problems are “not spread uniformly across society... the students are virtually prisoners of their socioeconomic class” (p. 11). Siddiqui (2009) explains that how educational opportunities have been minimized for children belonging to the low-income families. .

...like social classes — are stratified in terms of social status. So social exclusion is not only at the access level, but also at the quality level. The widening difference between private and public schools is responsible for the gaping chasm between resources and opportunities given to the poor and the rich. Children from elite schools have enhanced chances of employment and social integration, whereas children from public schools, no matter how bright they are, are disadvantaged in terms of getting exposure to quality education.

2.4.2 The parallel schools: the quality and media of instruction

The school level education in Pakistan is not uniform. The education system broadly operates at two levels: public and private. Under the public schools fall all those schools which are administered, supervised and financed by government through its federal and provincial agencies such as the Federal Public Service Commission, Ministry of Education and the provincial ministries of education and the provincial departments or directorates. In parallel with the public system of education, also operate equally robust schooling system, which is run by a diverse range of private entrepreneurs, franchises, community unions, welfare/philanthropic organizations and religious organizations. The private schools have been around in Indo-Pak for a long time, even prior to the independence in 1947. According to Rahman (2004), there were two streams of private English medium schools in operation under the British colonizers: those of the hereditary aristocracy called the Chiefs colleges; and those of the newly emerging professional classes called European or English schools.

In 1972, the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto nationalized the private institutions as part of a social reform agenda. According to this agenda, a total of 19,432 private schools was nationalized (Niazi & Hameed, 2002). This policy was reversed by Zia-ul-Haq's government, and the private schools were allowed to open and the previously taken over schools were gradually returned to the original owners. This policy was reversed by Zia-ul-Haq's government, and the private schools were allowed to open and the previously taken over schools were gradually returned to the original owners. The major reason behind denationalization was attributed towards the government's incapacity to carry the burden of the entire educational process. The new government blamed the previous government for spending huge amount from national exchequer by nationalizing the private sector. The then National Education Policy justified the liberalization of the private sector in education on the following grounds:

In a country like Pakistan, where the population growth rate is 3% annually and only about 50% of the existing primary group children are in schools, support of the private sector is most needed to share the huge burden. Government alone cannot build and run all the schools required for this purpose. Recognizing the government alone cannot achieve the policy objectives; it is imperative to seek volitional involvement of private sector in the expansion of education (GOP, 1979, p. 23).

Andrabi et al. (2008) note that government's policy towards private schools was and still is one of *laissez faire*—"there are no subsidies in the form of grants to parents or schools (as in Bangladesh, the Philippines, or India) so that private schools arise and survive purely as a market based phenomenon"(p. 6). After the denationalization policy, a number of private schools started to grow drastically. LEAPS study by Andrabi, Das, Khwaja, Vishwanath, and Zajonc (2007) found that private schools of different kinds became widespread in both cities and villages, which included for-profit- private schools secular and co-educational. Their number increased from 32,000 to 47,000 between 2000 and 2005. Andrabi et al. (2008) report that, there are 6.3 million children enrolled in nearly 36,000 such school wherein most

enrollments occur at primary levels accounting for 75 percent of total. The number has sprouted up almost ten-fold in last two decades. According to statistics, 30% of all educational institutions in Pakistan were private in the year 2007-08. Three in every ten educational institutions were private. Out of 1.4 million teachers in Pakistan, 44% were employed in private educational institutions. Enrollment in the private sector accounted for 34% of total enrollment in 2007-08. A number of reports by the Federal Bureau of Statistics' Census of Private Schools, Ministry of Education's National Education, Census, and Pakistan Education Statistics suggest that one in every three enrolled children is studying in the private institutions (GOP, 2000, 2005, 2009b). A recent survey by Annual Status of Education Report (ASER, 2014) suggests that only 58% children of age 3-5 years attend schools out of which 48% are admitted in the private schools (non-state schools). In addition, 59% children of age 6-16 are enrolled in the private schools whereas 35% are enrolled in the government schools. The private education in general is highly diversified in terms of quality clientele and locality. Schools have drastically spread all over the country, even in small towns and in the rural areas (I-SAPS, 2010).

The private schools may be categorized as English medium and Madarssah system (religious seminaries). It is also important to note that the English medium private schools are of different shades and qualities. Scholars identify two broad categories: elite English medium private schools and non-elite English medium private schools. Taken together, scholars generally distinguish four types of schools within both public and private schooling systems. They are distinguished as (a) private elite English medium schools, (b) private, non-elite 'English medium' schools, (c) government Urdu medium schools (vernacular), (d) Dini madaris (madrasas) (Coleman, 2010; Rahman, 1997, 2001, 2004). In order to dwell further

on the diverse and divergent schooling system of Pakistan, each one of the given categories is explained in detail:

2.4.3 The elite English-medium public schools

The number of these schools is comparatively low. These cater to the schooling needs of the privileged children from elite classes who are believed to belong to bureaucracy (civil and military), the rich and the feudal segments of the society. Scholars classify these schools into two further categories: non-elitist public and private schools. The public schools receive patronage and financial assistance exclusively from the government while the private elitist schools operate independently, and run by private entrepreneurs and proprietors. Rahman (2001) labels the public sector elitist English schools as ‘state-influenced’ institutions. These include “the great public schools, the federal government model schools and the armed forces schools... while most of the cadet colleges and public schools are elitist institutions” (Rahman, 2001, p. 35). The Aitcheson College, Lahore had been established for the children of the aristocracy during the British Raj, and it was modeled on the elite public schools in England. Zaidi (1999) notes that after the independence of Pakistan, children of the elites from the English medium schools in India were later admitted in the European Schools in Karachi, the then capital of the country. Subsequently, the Pakistan army steadily expanded its network of cadet colleges predominantly for the children of the Army men. Those prestigious schools and colleges include the Military College at Jhelum, the Cadet Colleges at Pitaro, Kohat, Razmak, Hasanabdal, the Army Burn Hall Colleges (Abbottabad), Public School Sargodha, and Lower Topa, and the Lawrence College at Ghora Gali. In addition, there are various others such as model schools for Pakistan Air Force (PAF), Bahria colleges for the Pakistan navy, Garrison academies within the cantonments, the Fauji Foundations and so on. Rahman (2001) observes that, the “elitist public schools of Pakistan are as much

influenced by the military as their counterparts in England were by the Anglican Church up to the 19th century (p. 55).

2.4.4 The elite English-medium private schools

The private elitist schools are small in number; however, they are very expensive charging exorbitantly high tuition fees and the accompanied expenditures. Coleman (2010) writes, “The number of private elite English medium schools is very small. They are extremely expensive and provide education for the children of a small and powerful elite section of the population” (p. 10). Such schools have long been in function even prior to the independence of the country in 1947. Earlier, those elitist English medium schools were patronized by the Christian missionaries, the convent schools established in all the major cities of Pakistan. These schools include Saint Mary’s (Rawalpindi), Presentation Convent (Murree), and Burn Hall (Abbottabad). The trends from convent schools gradually changed to other streams of private elitist schools such as Beaconhouse, the City School systems and a routine of other highly expensive English medium schools. These schools have an affiliation with the Cambridge system of schooling in England, and follow their examination system, curricula, and O/A levels. The exorbitantly high tuition fee, administration fee and the allied expenditure naturally subtract the chances of the commoners, not to even dream of getting educated there. Only the elites of power and money have the privilege to afford it; the same schools create a social divide and perpetuate the hold of the upper class on the power and privileges in Pakistan, marginalizing the masses from the domains of power (Khattak, 2014; Malik, 2012; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a; Zaidi, 1999).

2.4.5 The non-elite/low-fee English medium private schools

This category of schools, which has invited several labels from experts in the field, is the schools that normally cater to the schooling demands and needs of children from lower-income families. These schools, which are labeled variously in the available literature as non-elite, low-cost, low-fee and second-tier, have expeditiously proliferated all over the country especially the urban and sub-urban areas (Andrabi et al., 2008; Coleman, 2010; Heyneman & Stern, 2013; Mustafa, 2011; Muzaffar, 2010; Muzaffar & Bari, 2010; Muzaffar & Sharma, 2011; Rahman, 2004a; Tooley, 2009; Tooley & Dixon, 2006). The low-fee private schools as Rahman (2004) viewed are varied to the extent that “they defy classification” (p. 42). In a recent study of low-fee private schools in Jamaica, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Indonesia and Pakistan, Heyneman and Stern (2013, p. 5) defined low-fee private schools “as one whose tuition was lower than half the minimum wage” of the country concerned. In view of this definition, the current minimum wage as announced in the annual budget for the fiscal year 2013-14 is PKR 10, 000. Based on this definition, the above 11 schools charge much less tuition fee than half of the minimum wage in Pakistan; therefore, these schools can be categorized as low-fee (See table 8.1 for tuition fee in the low-fee schools). On an average monthly income of the lowest income groups, the Household Integrated Economic Survey (GOP, 2012b) by the Federal Bureau of Statistics suggests that the first quintile which represents the lowest income group has average monthly income per household (PKR 13,845 Urban) while the same is (PKR 13,221 rural). Similarly, the second quintile that represents the next better off segment of the population earns (PKR 17,674 Urban) while (PKR 16,578 Rural). As Andrabi et al. (2008) found, the number of such low fee private schools expanded dramatically across both urban and rural areas. Importantly, the rise of these schools has reconfigured the educational landscape of the country:

The dramatic rise of private schools, a phenomenon that has reshaped the educational landscape of Pakistan since the mid-1990s, can be attributed to the fact that they charge lower fees. A typical private school in a village of Pakistan charges Rs 1,000 (\$18) per year—less than the average daily wage of an unskilled laborer. The only way a school can charge such low fees and stay in business is if it keeps costs low (p. 6).

In a survey conducted by Rahman (2004) found that these schools charge fees ranging

... From Rs 50 Rs 1500 per month, which is far higher than the average state vernacular school, but lower than that of the elitist private English school. In these schools pretense is made of teaching of most subjects in English. In general, teachers write answers of all subjects on the board, which students faithfully copy, memorize, and produce in examination (p. 64).

The products of these schools fail to achieve a modicum of proficiency levels and overall command over the English language, and they are not “as fluent in English as the students of missionary schools used to be and the private elitist schools are even now” (Rahman, 2004, p. 65).

2.4.6 The Urdu medium and vernacular government schools

This stream of education offers education mainly in Urdu language while in some parts of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces, Sindhi and Pashto languages are also taught. These are public schools administered, supervised, and financed by the government. According to Pakistan Education Statistics (GOP, 2012c), the total number of public schools is 161, 102, out of which 134,295 are primary, 15,431 are Middle, 10,217 are High and 1,159 are High secondary. Most of the students from these schools belong to low income families and lower strata of the society. The number of schools may be high; however, the educational quality of those schools has considerably fallen over the years (Bari, 2013; Nasim, 2012; Rahman, 2004a; Siddiqui, 2010; Warwick & Reimers, 2005). A number of factors have been attributed towards the collapse of their educational quality. Rahman (2004) portrays a pathetic picture of the government schools:

Students in Urdu-language schools are taught through rote learning, and given corporal punishment for mistakes. Analysis is not encouraged at any level. Moreover, the schools are very sparsely furnished with no heating in the winter. Some schools in the cities do have fans but none are air-conditioned. Students sit on hard benches and memorize lessons by singing them in a chorus (p. 309).

2.4.7 The deeni madaris (religious schools)

These are generally termed as Deeni Madaris which means religious seminaries. These religious schools function in parallel with other schooling systems in the country. The majority of schools, functions on their own resources receiving financial support from the private donors, philanthropists and others. A vast majority of them are private. The number of these schools has drastically proliferated over the years. Before the independence, the number of such schools was around 137 while the number rose to around 10,000 schools with the number of students jumping to 1.7 million in 2002. According to Pakistan Education Statistics (GOP, 2012c), Deeni Madaris also play important and significant role in adult education and learning in Pakistan. The main emphasis of Madarassah education is Islamic education and teachings. However, a considerable number of schools also teach general subjects such as English and mathematics. Currently, there are 12,910 Deeni Madaris working in Pakistan. Out of which 378 (3%) are in the public sector, whereas 12,532 (97%) are in private sector". The enrollment ratio of the students in such school is noticeably low in a cumulative sense. Andrabi et al. (2005) find that madrassa enrollment in Pakistan is small, accounting for less than one percent of overall enrollment in the country, and that religiosity and other household attributes offer inadequate explanations of madrassa enrollment.

The curriculum and the overall systems of these schools are very diverse for the divisions across sects and sub-sects such as Sunni and Shia. Many link the increase of religious schools to the reign of Pakistan Martial Law administrator and president of the country General Zia-ul-Haq, who sent students from the same schools to fight war in

Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion in the late 70s and the 80s. This later continued during the Taliban movement in Afghanistan in the mid 90's. These schools teach Islamic studies using Arabic, Urdu and a number of other languages. Those schools normally do not charge any tuition fee, or may charge a nominal admission fee. These schools generally cater to, and attract students from the low-income families and working classes. Rahman (2004:312) writes that, "The vast majority of *madrassas* in Pakistan are financed by voluntary charity provided by businessmen and others who believe that they are earning great merit by contributing to them".

2.5 Overview on language policy and planning

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), "Language policies are bodies of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve some planned language change" (p. 122). Spolsky (2004) explicates that language policy encompasses all the "language practices, beliefs and management of a community or polity" (p. 9). In addition, Spolsky (2009) also used the term 'Language Management' for to refer to the "conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices", and "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (p. 1-4). The goals of language policies and planning may be realized through either overt or covert means or both. The overt language policy generally includes "formal (overt) language planning documents and pronouncements (e.g. constitutions, legislation, policy statements, educational directives) which can be either symbolic or substantive in form, in informal statements of intent (i.e. in the discourse of language, politics and society), or may be left unstated (covert)" (Baldauf & Liddicoat, 2008, p. 19) . Both the overt (explicit, planned) and covert (implicit, unplanned) language policy and planning may be one of four types: *status planning*—about society (Van, 2005) , *corpus*

planning—about language (Liddicoat, 2007), *language-in-education (acquisition)* planning—about learning (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2005); and *prestige planning*—about image (Ager, 2005). Language planning may be guided by one or more orientation: (i) language-as-a-problem, in which linguistic diversity is viewed as a problem to be overcome; (ii) language-as-a-right, the negotiation of language rights, often in contested contexts; and (iii) language-as-a-resource, the promotion of linguistic democracy and pluralism (Ruiz, 1984).

Language policy and planning is as complex as a multilayered ‘onion’, a metaphor Ricento and Hornberger (1996) used to argue about the dynamic nature of any language policy. The layers of the onions that constitute the field have been labeled differently by different scholars at different times. For instance, Menken and García (2010, p. 249) sketch a brief history of how the field received labeling: *language planning* (Cooper, 1989; Eastman, 1983; Ferguson, 2006; Haugen, 1959, 1966; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kennedy, 1983); *language policy* (LP) by (Corson, 1999; Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004; Spolsky & Hult, 2008; Tollefson, 2002); *language policy and planning* (LPP) by (Hornberger, 2006; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) and *language policy and language planning* (LPLP) by (Wright, 2004). The following table presents “Language policy and planning goals: an integrative framework” by (Hornberger, 2006, p. 29), which illustrates the types, policy planning approaches ‘on form’ and ‘on functions’:

Table 2.3: Language Policy and Planning Goals: an Integrative Framework
(Hornberger, 2006, p. 29).

Types	Policy planning approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on functions)
Status planning (about uses of language)	Officialization Nationalization Standardization of status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual communication – international, intranational
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School Literary Religious Mass media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Shift Foreign language/second language/literacy
	Selection Language's formal role in society <i>Extra-linguistic aims</i>	Implementation Language's functional role in society <i>Extra-linguistic aims</i>
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization of corpus Standardization of auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization (new functions) Lexical Stylistic Renovation (new forms, old functions) Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification
	Codification Language's form <i>Linguistic aims</i>	Elaboration Languages' functions <i>Semi-linguistic aims</i>

2.5.1 Research approaches towards language policy and planning

Three approaches are identified in research within language policy and planning (Menken & García, 2010). The predominant part of research focuses on macro-level top-down national language planning and the resolution of language problems (Haugen & Dil, 1972). For instance, scholars such as Cooper (1989) analyzed the goals of language planning and policy (LPP) as “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition,

structure, or functional allocations of their language codes” (p. 45). The more critical approaches investigated the methods that language policies marginalized languages and communities, and perpetuated social inequities (Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Tollefson, 1991). The following three characteristics may be traced in most of the critical research in language policy and planning: the work that is critical of the mainstream traditional approaches to language policy research; research that aims at social change; and research that is inspired by critical theory (Tollefson, 2006). According to Tollefson (2006) Critical Language Policy (CLP) research is that it “entails an implicit critique of traditional, mainstream approaches. One of the central criticisms which most of the critical scholars of language policy and planning level against the traditional research is that it “emphasizes apolitical analysis of technical issues such as terminology development rather than underlying social and political forces affecting language policy” (p. 43).

Between the above major approaches, there emerged a new approach towards the study of language policy and planning which Menken and García (2010) describe as “the new wave of language education policy research” (p. 02). Most scholarship traditionally regards language policy and implementation as a linear process, where top-level entities such as governments and ministries dictate educators’ everyday practice. However, contrary to the dominant research approach, Menken and García (2010) take a divergent approach, and providing alternative insights of how teachers from around the globe can enact, adapt, or transform language policies to their own context, beliefs, and constraints. This approach emphasizes the role of teachers and educators in the policies at the micro level, and conceives education as a form of language planning itself, and educators at the heart of the dynamic process of policy-making. This kind of research focuses on “agency in implementation”. The

proponents of the relatively new approach call for dynamism, an approach that addresses the crucial role of human agency in policy making processes.

Little scholarship exists that investigates the roles and experiences of educators as stakeholders within the management of the dynamic processes of policies. However, the dynamic approach highlights the different perspectives, changes, adaptations, and perceptions that may come up whenever those policies are enacted locally by educators. They emphasize that language policies should be understood from the actual practices (Canagarajah, 2005b, 2006; García, 2009a; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ramanathan, 2005b; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Language policy and planning is as complex as a multilayered ‘onion’, a metaphor Ricento and Hornberger (1996) used to argue for the dynamic nature of any language policy. Similarly, Spolsky (2004) defines that language policy encompasses all the “language practices, beliefs, and management of a community or polity” (p. 9).

Language education policy making and implementation are ‘dynamic’ and ‘more multilayered’ as there are “many individuals involved in its creation and implementation”; therefore the language in education policy research should shift focus from top-down government policies to bottom-up policy structures focusing on “local school administrators, teachers, students, parents, and community members” (Menken & Garcia, 2010:1-3). Drawing on the dynamic approach, Canagarajah (2006) also proposes for an ethnography of language policy and planning as it facilitates researcher “by discovering and representing grounded, insider perspectives on linguistic needs and aspirations , and can also help assess the effectiveness of policies by showing their local realizations” (p. 154). Therefore, given the advantages the dynamic researcher affords, it “ behooves LPP scholars to listen to what

ethnography reveals about life at the grass-roots level—the indistinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated” (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 154).

Language-in-education can better be understood not only from the macro-level governmental policies, but they must also be investigated and analyzed from the micro-level school and classroom practices, the genuine sites for the implementation and execution of the top-down policies. As Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) propose that local contexts constitute unique sites of language planning because “it is often local contextual agents which affect how macro-level plans function and the outcomes that they achieve (p. 4). Therefore, Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) propose for an integrated approach towards language planning taking account of macro/national and micro/local level because,

Local contexts are the contexts in which language use and language changes are experienced and understood by people. It is in response to these experiences and understandings that particular language issues come to be perceived as problems requiring solution or that the plans to resolve problems are put into practice (p. 11).

To promote dynamic research, and address the local concerns, Canagarajah (2005) and his colleagues call for a paradigmatic shift, which in their view, aims to celebrate, include and emancipate the local knowledge, languages and pedagogical practices vis-à-vis the sweeping economic and political changes brought about by the forces of globalization. Such reorientation of discipline, which we describe as localization, is an articulation of “globalization from below” (p. xxviii). Canagarajah recognizes the pressing local concerns affected by the growing linguistic and social homogeneity in the representation of literacy and expertise, and highlights the rising issues of power inequality. The author also expresses concerns over the marginalization of local knowledges and the power of the Western linguists to determine and name curriculum and pedagogies. The popular discourse is that globalization is ushering in a new life of border-free, unrestricted relationships between communities; however, Canagarajah (2005b) contends that the local is getting “shortchanged

by the social processes and intellectual discourses of contemporary globalization” (p. xiv) and their motive is “to complicate the dominant discourses on language policies and practices” (p. xi). Canagarajah (2005) aptly proposes that,

As we negotiate the social, educational, and communicative challenges ushered in by the intensified forms of contemporary globalization, we have to remember to treat the local as an equal partner in the new discourses and practices that are developing. The following chapters help us to stand globalization on its head, conducting inquiry from the standpoint of local communities, to develop more inclusive and egalitarian language policies and practices (p. xxviii).

As its proponents propose, the dynamism of this approach lies in the methodological and analytical orientations of this approach as it addresses the crucial role of human agency in the policymaking processes; and they emphasize that language policies should be understood from the actual practices (Canagarajah, 2005b; García, 2009a; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). The present research draws on the theoretical formulations advanced by the proponents of the dynamic approach towards language and planning in education (Canagarajah, 2005b; Hornberger, 1988; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Vaish, 2008). In theoretical terms, this approach guides researchers to delve deep into the micro-level school setting to demystify the complex factors that affect stakeholders’ perceptions about languages, language policies, practices, challenges and limitations. The dynamic approach towards analysis of language policies also call for an ethnography, an approach which this study partly adopts as the researcher goes into the actual field where language policies operate in practices. As Canagarajah (2006) proposed that “ethnography develops grounded theories about language as it is practiced in localized contexts. While LPP is about how things “ought to be,” ethnography is about what “is” (p. 154).

As this study employs mixed methodology with focus predominantly interviews and classroom observations; therefore, this might offer added advantage of classroom observations and close interaction with different stakeholders from within the schools. This can enable researcher to probe closely the various minute actions and activities taking place around policies, perceptions and practices as “ethnographers expect to live for an extensive period of time in the community they are studying in order to capture first-hand its language patterns and attitudes” (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 155). Canagarajah (2006) also adds that, “policies informed by ethnography can counteract the unilateral hold of dominant paradigms and ideologies in LPP” (p.154). Dynamic research enables researchers to reveals about lives at the “grass-roots level”, and capture first-hand insights about “the indistinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated”. Moreover, the dynamic approach undertaken within the micro-level school and classroom setting puts a researcher at a vantage point, which affords him/her to unfold the multilayered agents such as school principals, teachers, students, parents and community contributing roles the effective execution of the macro-level policy and in sharing their perspectives. Thus, this research is likely to bridge the gap between practice and research, and inform different stakeholders that where the policy stands.

2.5.2 Access and equity: critical issues in language-in-education policies

Since the 1990s, critical approaches to the study of language policies and the broader contexts of disciplines have assumed greater importance. The scholars, ever since began to see language policy not as a neutral issue limited merely to the use of one language or the other; instead, an array of scholars took on to launch a critical niche and critical inquiry to see through language policies the covert political, social, economic, cultural or socio-educational agendas the governments were up to achieve through official language policies (Pennycook,

1990, 1998; Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Tollefson, 1991, 2001; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). The approaches prior to the launch of critical scholarship were what May (2008) terms as synchronist and presentist that viewed the use of language policy and planning as restrictively linguistic enterprise. Commenting on the positivist approaches, Tollefson (1991) argues them being ‘neoclassical’. On the other hand, Tollefson (2002) and Tollefson and Tsui (2004) argue that researchers should study language policy in broad social and political contexts as it is not merely an educational issue. It rather decides and determines who will participate in power and wealth”. The same authors also advance that “behind the educational agenda are political, social and economic agendas that serve to protect the interests of political and social groups” (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p. 02).

2.5.3 Critical applied linguistics and critical language policy

Pennycook (1990) in his article titled as ‘Towards a Critical Applied Linguistics for the 1990s’ proposed applied linguist to study language issues from a holistic viewpoint, and asked to broaden the scope and realm of applied linguistics from the bare structuralist and positivist paradigms to more critical research. He argued that applied linguistics operated in detachment from the critical issues and there was “paucity of politics and possibilities in applied linguistics for dealing with major concerns of difference and disparity in relation to language” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 16). Such positivist approaches were dubbed as ‘neoclassical’ by Tollefson (1991). The dominant approaches such as structuralism and positivism had rendered it almost impossible to venture on linking applied linguistics with social and political problems of inequality, discrimination, and differences. Therefore, in order to address and take on the issues of language in relation to social inequalities, signaling applied linguists to “... cease to operate with modes of intellectual inquiry that are asocial, apolitical or ahistorical’ (Pennycook, 1990, p. 25).

Expanding on the project of critical linguistics in a more systematic elaboration, Pennycook's (2001) publication titled as "A Critical Introduction to Critical Linguistics" laboriously sketched out the scope and marked boundary lines of critical linguistics and its range and manner of inquiry. Some of the major areas identified within the purview of applied critical linguistics included critical literacy, critical pedagogy, critical, language policy and planning and so on. According to the author,

A central element of critical applied linguistics, therefore, is a way of exploring language in social contexts that goes beyond mere correlations between language and society and instead raises more critical questions to do with access, power, disparity, desire, difference, and resistance. It also insists on an historical understanding of how social relations came to be the way they are (Pennycook, 2001, p. 6).

Within the critical applied linguistics paradigm, Critical Language Policy (CLP) predominantly focuses on critical social problems that stem from language policy and planning. It is a critical approach to the study of language policy and planning. According to Tollefson (2006), the term 'critical' in language policy context has three interrelated meanings: "(1) it refers to work that is critical of traditional, mainstream approaches to language policy research; (2) it includes research that is aimed at social change; and (3) it refers to research that is influenced by critical theory"(p. 42). Contrary to the 'optimistic traditional research', critical research recognizes that policies generally 'create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups' (Tollefson, 2006, p. 42). The social change implies that the researchers explore the social and economic inequalities and aims at reducing these inequalities. Critical applied linguistics derives inspiration from Marxist and the Neo-Marxist theory. Pennycook (2001) argues that researchers in critical applied linguistics need to "engage with the long legacy of Marxism, neo-Marxism, and its many counterarguments" (p. 6). Critical theory encapsulates work by a number of thinkers (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault,

1982, 1995; Foucault & Sheridan, 1979; Gramsci, 1988; Habermas, 1979). Much of this work involves a rethinking of Marxist theory, as well as critiques of Marxist and neo-Marxist work. Critical work in this sense has to engage in problematizing and posing questions of “inequality, injustice, rights, and wrongs.” While elaborating upon the critical theory and language policy, Tollefson (2006) suggests that,

Critical theory includes a broad range of work examining the processes by which systems of social inequality are created and sustained. Of particular interest is inequality that is largely invisible, due to ideological processes that make inequality seem to be the natural condition of human social systems. Critical theory highlights the concept of power, particularly in institutions, such as schools, involved in reproducing inequality (p. 43).

Critical theory has substantially influenced work in language policy. Especially, two assumptions have formed integral parts of research. One, the structural categories from critical theory such as class, race, and gender has been dealt with as explanatory factors in CLP research. For instance, Tollefson (1991) advanced that language policy should be viewed as a field where different classes and interest group struggle over conflicting interests. Mey (1985) called for critical sociolinguistics to “establish a connection between people's place in the societal hierarchy, and the linguistic and other kinds of oppression” (p. 342). Other critical work that gained substantial currency and wide publicity were by (Phillipson, 1992) whose notion of linguistic imperialism suggested that the spread of English underlie economic and political agendas, and the expansion of English across the world specifically to the post-colonial world is analogous to military and economic imperialism. Linguistic imperialism is even more pervasive and penetrating as its impacts are cultural and ideological too. The linguistic imperialism of English and other colonial languages also posed threats to global linguistic diversity subjecting languages to linguisticism and linguistic genocide (Phillipson, 2009a; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b). In addition, critical scholars also advanced the arguments of minority and linguistic human

rights (May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, & Rannut, 1994; Varennes, 1996). According to G. Williams and Morris (2000), people should have a major role as stakeholders in the policy making and decision process as they ultimately experience and bear the consequences. Donahue (2002) suggested that CLP researcher need to aggressively analyze the underlying ideologies and ulterior motives by linking language policies and social inequalities, and offer alternative policies. Such vigilant position and skeptical eyes could well help give way to the assertive and informed citizenry.

Tollefson (2006) explains that a critical theory of language policy is yet to develop despite rapidly growing body of CLP research across the world. The key areas of research within critical language policy include colonization (Donahue, 2002), hegemony and ideology (Fairclough, 1989; Gramsci, 1988; Ramanathan, 1999, 2005a, 2005b; Tollefson, 1989), and struggle (McCarty, 2002a, 2002b). For instance, (Donahue, 2002) finds that colonization results in destruction of resources of meaning and in loss of culture, identity and socialization, which have enormous consequences. One of the major consequences is a disillusioned and cynical citizenry. In addition, critical language policy research focusses particularly on hegemonic policies and practices, which have become invisible or admitted a common sense level. Ideology is one of the concurrent areas of critical language policy. It refers to unconscious beliefs and assumptions that are “naturalized” and thus contribute to hegemony of the dominant group social, economic, and sometimes linguistic groups (Tollefson, 2006). Similarly, Fairclough (1989) contends that when social institutions are built on hegemonic policies and practices, they tend to reinforce privilege and grant it legitimacy as a “natural” condition. As a result, the structure of social institutions makes cultural and linguistic capital unequal between dominant and non-dominant groups. Therefore, critical language policy research seeks to uncover the explicit and implicit policies

that contribute to hegemonies and reproduction of systemic inequality. For example, Tollefson (1989) examined how “survival English” for refugees and immigrants led to their economic marginalization.

McCarty (2004) reveals apparent contradictions in the medium of instruction policies, and offers a critical analysis of the history of medium-of-instruction policy in the United States. She finds that the contradictions at different times were responses to political and socioeconomic agendas and motivations. An historical account of the languages policies unfolds that linguistic diversity was tolerated and supported when it was nonthreatening or even necessary when indigenous languages were needed for religious conversion and usurpation of lands. Critically, indigenous languages were also utilized for the mission of civilizing children of the Native Americans, and existence of multiple European languages served to help spread the ideals of the new government. However, the policy appears to take a sharp turn when linguistic diversity is perceived carrying dangers such as Germans were deemed as a threat to the country during World War 1, and the Indians were seen as dangerously uncivilized. Similarly, the policy toward linguistic and cultural homogenizations was also driven by the perceived danger coming from the influx of immigrants with diverse racial, religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds such as that of European descent, Latin America, Caribbean, and many from the Southeast Asian origin. Evidence of such subtractive policies and institutionalized homogenization can also be found in a large number of other countries in the world including United States (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a, 2002). (McCarty, 2004) McCarty concludes that such linguistic homogenization underpins the existing power structure, and furthers disadvantages of the non-English speaking children who have been constructed as deficient and underachieving. Previously, McCarty (2002a) also highlighted the ideological constraints and institutional challenges concerning indigenous language

education, planning, and policy in the United States, reporting the revitalization struggle of the Navajo tribal language (McCarty, 2002b).

Another study within the framework of critical language policy was conducted by Ramanathan (1999) in India that explores how institutional practices in education in India keep English out of reach of low-income learners, despite a discourse of English opportunity in Indian schools. Based on an ethnographic study Indian state of Gujrat, Ramanathan (1999) examines ways in which the Indian middle class with its relatively easy access to English, represents an inner circle of power and privilege that for a variety of reasons remains inaccessible to particular groups of people in India. The study suggested that certain institutional and teaching practices kept English out of the reach of lower income and lower caste groups, and pushed them into outer circles. For instance, the data suggested that the Dalit and Other Backward Classes struggled more than others did. Having been educated entirely in Gujarati, they not only enter the college on the fringes of Circle 2 with poor English language skills, but they are also unable to develop their English in the college because they are tracked into streams. She suggests that,

These are the students most in need of English, yet English seems farthest from them. Their economically disadvantaged status does not permit them to enroll in language classes in the city, nor does it afford them access to other realia available to learners in Circle 1: the Internet, newspapers, TV shows in English and English movies (p. 228).

In addition, Ramanathan (1999) students from the our circle realized and desired to be computer literate to get the simplest jobs; however, to get access to the knowledge of computer, they have to gain proficiency in the English language. Ramanathan (1999) concluded that, “For most, however, their worst fears become reality: They never really gain fluency in English or entry into that circle and thus never become qualified for the jobs they desire” (p. 229).

Yet another theoretical framework used in critical language policy is that of governmentality. For instance, Pennycook (2002) , Moore (2002), and recently Manan, David, and Dumanig (2014) deployed the framework of governmentality to examine language policies. Pennycook (2002) proposed a postmodernist stance on the analysis of micro-level language policy enactment methods drawing on the notion of ‘governmentality’ used earlier by (Foucault, 1991) . Governmentality refers to the “indirect acts of governing that shape individual and group language behavior” enacted through “techniques and practices of politicians, bureaucrats, educators, and other state authorities at the micro-level as well as the rationales and strategies these authorities adopt” (Tollefson 2006, p. 49). Governmentality was first introduced by the French philosopher and sociologist Foucault in a series of lectures delivered during 1978 and 1979. Foucault conceived that government was not a sovereign or singular power, but a combination and ensemble of multiple and multilayered practices involving government of oneself, government within social institutions, communities and government of the state. Foucault defined governmentality as the “conduct of conduct” (*conduire des conduites*), addressing the power and governance that takes place from a distance to influence the actions of others. Governmentality “takes the focus off a singular state-driven hegemony” (Johnson 2013, p. 118). Governmentality as a theoretical construct focuses not only on the governing of the state apparatuses, but it also addresses the governing of the individuals:

Government designates the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick . . . to govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others (Foucault, 1982, p. 790).

Drawing from Foucault’s analysis of “governmentality” (Foucault, 1991), CLP researchers such as Moore (2002) and Pennycook (2002a, 2002b) shift attention from domination and exploitation by the state and capitalist market to the indirect acts of governing that shape

individual and group language behavior. These researchers examine the techniques and practices of politicians, bureaucrats, educators, and other state authorities at the micro-level, as well as the rationales and strategies these authorities adopt. These researchers also suggest that critical language policy research should not focus primarily on the historical and structural bases of state policy, but instead address “discourses, educational practices, and language use” – social processes involved in the formation of culture and knowledge (Pennycook, 2002, p. 92). For example, examining medium of instruction policy in Hong Kong, Pennycook (2002) found that the policy on medium of instruction was not merely about selecting the language of education, but rather was part of a broad cultural policy aimed at creating a “docile” local population that would be politically submissive and willing to cooperate in its own exploitation. Likewise, Manan et al. (2014) drew on governmentality framework to examine language management techniques, practices and discourses of the school authorities about indigenous languages and linguistic diversity, and its effects on perceptions of the students in school in Pakistan. The findings suggest that school authorities exercise stringent techniques such as notices, wall paintings, penalties, and occasional punishment to suppress the use of languages other than Urdu or English. Mostly, the students also show compliance to the top-down policies. Most of participants perceive indigenous languages as worthless because of their lesser role in professional development and social mobility. The governance methods displace the indigenous languages both physically as well as perceptually. The prevailing orientations look upon languages as commodities, profoundly downgrading the cultural, literary, aesthetic, and sociolinguistic dynamics of the indigenous languages.

2.5.4 The politics of English language teaching

The proponents of critical applied linguistics and critical language policy propose that language in education policies should be analyzed in conjunction with critical questions addressing “access, power, disparity, desire, difference, and resistance”, an historical analysis “how social relations came to be the way they are” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 6). As critical applied linguistics and critical language policy paradigms are based on critical theory; therefore, a sociopolitical analysis of language and education policies becomes a quest and an essential theme of the research. As Tollefson (2006) explicated, the fundamental tenets of critical theory involve “A broad range of work examining the processes by which systems of social inequality are created and sustained. Of particular interest is inequality that is largely invisible, due to ideological processes that make inequality seem to be the natural condition of human social systems” (p. 43). Critical applied linguistics and critical language policy can be relevant theoretical frameworks through which the language-in-education policy in general and the English-medium education policy in particular can be studied in Pakistan. English is the language of privileges in Pakistan. It empowers those children who have access to quality English-medium education. Intertwined with the those two realities is the critical question of—do all children in Pakistan have got equitable access to quality English-medium education in Pakistan, the language that can help secure privileges and assist in upward social mobility? In this respect, the schooling realities deny equitable distribution of quality English-medium education in Pakistan. Scholars addressed the sociopolitical ideologies and agendas underpinning the inequitable distribution of English in Pakistan. Scholars explain that the current policies would go on to serve the needs of the ruling elite and further strengthen their hold on power as English historically stands the “preserve of the elites” (Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2004a, 2008; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007; Siddiqui, 2012). According to Rahman (1996) “The English-using elite does not only find easy access to

prestigious and powerful positions in Pakistan, but also has access to lucrative employment in the international job market” (p. 250).

Furthermore, a rich body of scholarly work at the global scale touches upon the political orientations and ideological manifestations that underpin language and education policies. As Cooper (1989) argues that status planning is virtually a political matter, manipulated by the powerful elites for certain overt and covert motives: consolidation and perpetuation of their rule, their entry into positions of power, nation building and the creation of an integrated nation-state out of disparate ethnic groups. Moreover, Shohamy (2006) contends that language policies are essentially the manifestation of hidden ideological agendas promoted by various agents such as governments, educational bodies, media, and other guardians of official language hegemony. Tsui and Tollefson (2004) on the other hand attribute medium of instruction policies to ideology, politics and economics of the states as Medium-of-instruction policy determines which social and linguistic groups have access to political and economic opportunities, and which groups are disenfranchised” (p. 2). They further argue that language policies and medium of instruction decisions are “... key means of power (re) distribution and social (re) construction, as well as a key arena in which political conflicts among countries and ethnolinguistic, social and political groups are realized”. May (2008) refers to the politics that discursively plays out in the modern-day language policy and planning of the state. May (2008) observes that processes of language policies are “deeply imbricated with the politics of modern nationalism, and its emphasis on the establishment of national languages and public linguistic homogeneity as central, even essential, tenets of both modernization and Westernization” (p. xiv)

2.6 Additive bi/multilingual education

Should children be taught his/her mother tongue or a second/foreign language in schools? This is a long-standing debate amongst scholars. The proponents of bilingual, multilingual, and Mother tongue based multilingual education propose that initial literacy and academic development are better achieved in the child's mother tongue than in a second/foreign language especially in the early years of schooling. An extensive volume of academic research attests to the above theory in a wide range of contexts in general and in the post-colonial multilingual contexts, in particular (Annamalai, 2005; Baker, 2001; Bangbose, 2000; Benson, 2004a, 2013; Cummins, 2000, 2001; Heugh, 2002; Hornberger, 1988, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Mohanty, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012). As English normally functions either as a second or a foreign language in such contexts; therefore, experts of bilingual and multilingual education contend that English as a medium of instruction poses challenges for children to cope with English in their academic activities. Lack of quality English teachers, quality textbooks and poor pedagogical approaches multiply children's miseries. Additionally, scholars find that gap between the child's home and school languages further worsens the situation (Alidou et al., 2006; Benson, 2002; Brock-Utne, 2007; Coleman, 2010; Dutcher, 1995; Heugh, 2009; Jhingran, 2005; MacKenzie, 2013; Mohanty, 2006; Pinnock, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Panda, & Mohanty, 2009)

2.6.1 Mother tongue versus second/foreign language based education

English, a colonial legacy in many post-colonial countries throws a serious challenge to the policy makers and language-in-education experts to decide between children's mother tongue, the national language, and the English language. The issue of which language to teach, where and at what stage is a debate going on for a long time. Most importantly, the majority of the post-colonial countries are bilingual or multilingual ecologically; therefore,

the choice of medium of instruction becomes even more difficult. The presence of English, the most powerful language, the global lingua franca (Crystal, 2003, 2009), and the most favored language of the elite even further complicates the language policy process, at times triggering serious political and social conflicts and divisions.

Literature is rife with the debates of English/colonial languages versus the vernaculars (Ramanathan, 2005b). This divide holds two prominent dimensions: one, English or other colonial languages as displacers and killers of the indigenous languages; two English or other colonial languages as media of education in schools. According to scholars, English or other languages marginalize the indigenous languages, expanding ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson, 1992, 2009a), causing ‘linguicism and linguistic genocide’ (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b), killing and threatening the global linguistic diversity (Harrison, 2007; Kraus, 2007; Maffi, 2001; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Secondly, the issue remains as whether to use English or the indigenous languages as media of instruction in schools. An array of researchers from around a large part of the post-colonial world covers this contestation (Benson, 2004a; Coleman, 2011; Heugh, 2002; Hornberger, 1988; McIlwraith, 2013; Mohanty, 2006; Phillipson, 2009b; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004).

Pakistan is one such country which suffers from the postcolonial puzzle, dilemma and conundrum of English versus the vernacular languages (Coleman, 2010; Mansoor, 2004a; Mustafa, 2012a; Rahman, 1997, 2005a, 2005b). On the one hand, the relatively greater scope, power, prestige and imagined economic reward of the English language prompt policy makers, parents and society in general to demand for English-medium education; on the other hand lays the unresolved case of over 60 indigenous languages and the question of a multilingual education. Which language to teach, where, when, how and to whom a critical

issue is uncertain ever since the independence. The indecision is patently seen in the seesaw and flip-flopping in the education policy-making.

2.6.2 Threshold level hypothesis and interdependence hypothesis

Does the level of competence achieved by learners in first language benefit or reinforce the learning of an additional second or third language? Two recent hypotheses have gained extensive currency and coverage in debates over the effectiveness of mother tongue based instruction, and its potential academic and linguistic advantages. The two hypotheses are the “threshold level hypothesis” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976), and the “interdependence hypothesis” (Cummins, 1979, 1984). On their threshold level hypothesis, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) theorize that when children have reached a threshold of competence in their mother tongues (first language), then they can effectively learn a second or a third language without losing competence in the first language. Further, when children have crossed over a second threshold of competence in both mother tongue and the second language, the competence achieved in both the languages will positively influence academic and overall intellectual development, a state they termed as additive bilingualism. In a study on Finnish migrants who were to study Swedish from the very beginning of their schooling, the authors found that they demonstrated weaker school performances and lower competence in Finnish as well as Swedish. Their low competence in both Finnish and Swedish was termed as semilingualism. On the other hand, Finnish children who had started learning Swedish after they had archived sufficient competence in their mother tongue, had relatively better school performance and competence in the Swedish language than those who had begun earlier schooling in Swedish language.

Cummins (1984) advanced his interdependence hypothesis, which asserted that learning of a second language depends on the level of command of the mother tongue (first language). Cummins distinguished between two levels of competence: basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency" (CALP). Basic interpersonal communication skills refer to basic level communication skills while cognitive academic language proficiency means the competence to use language in decontextualized ways, including writing, permitting the use of the language as a cognitive tool. Cummins further argues that if students have archived CALP in L1, the competence in L1 can transfer to L2, facilitating the learner to participate effectively in academic activities in L2. Further, Cummins recommends earlier instruction in child's L1 so that the basic literacy achieved in L1 can boost learning of the second or third language. If applied in Pakistani context, Cummins' proposal will potentially help children learn English and any other language easily and fast. Cummins recommends additive bilingual education such that the first language (mother tongue) should not be overlooked in order for second language learners to reach sufficient levels of proficiency. The learners in this study did not receive formal literacy in the form of reading or writing in their mother tongues that could have reinforced learning in the English language. It is suggested that if instruction develops in an additive bilingual education with a L1-L2/3 program, it will not only ease reading and writing, but also develop "deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency that contributes significantly to the development of literacy in the majority language." Cummins (2009) further articulates that:

...although the surface aspects of different languages (e.g. pronunciation, fluency, orthography, etc.) are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency that is common across languages. This 'common underlying proficiency' makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages (p. 25).

The perceptions and practices both at the policy as well as practice levels contradict the above theorists on the value of and the crucial role mother tongue literacy plays in success in learning second or third languages. Mother tongue education, which Mustafa (2011) terms as a vital issue, seldom invoked serious debates amongst educationist, policy designers, or language teaching practitioners. Conversely, perceptions dominate that instruction in mother tongues makes learners backward.

On the issue of earlier or later teaching of English as a foreign language, a study in Spain demonstrated that despite the same amount of instruction, bilingual learners who began to learn English as a second language later performed better than bilingual students who began earlier. Importantly, despite positive attitudes of the younger learners towards the English language, they performed poorly (Cenoz, 2003a; García Mayo & García Lecumberri, 2003). In learning a foreign language, both ages as well as intensity plays their part (Lightbown, 2008).

2.6.3 Medium of instruction—research evidence from postcolonial countries

In this section, a review of relevant literature is presented from several postcolonial countries to show which medium of instruction policies stand successful—mother tongue or any second/foreign language or both. Since Pakistan is also a postcolonial country; therefore, research evidence on the same issue can help illuminate about the challenges and complexities involved in the implementation of a language policy in educational setting. The review reports research from a wide range of settings from the postcolonial regions and countries such as Africa, the ASEAN region, South Asia (Pakistan and India). The review, particularly highlights those studies that involve the challenges and complexities in the negotiation of both mother tongue based policies as well as second/foreign languages.

Research evidence from a number of studies from post-colonial contexts such as Africa, South Asia, particularly India and the ASEAN regions advocate mother tongue based instruction. Research simultaneously problematizes the teaching of English, an ex-colonial language as medium of instruction in schools. In the backdrop of steady pull to English language teaching and learning in schools across those post-colonial contexts, an array of scholars and researchers problematize the introduction of English in education particularly in the earlier schooling. The problematization of English teaching is fundamentally grounded in the argument that whether English-medium education policy conforms to the theoretical, empirical, and real classroom teaching and learning dynamics of those countries. Skutnabb-Kangas et al. (2009) claim that “whenever English is not the mother-tongue, its learning should be promoted through linguistically and culturally appropriate education...and the faith that an early start in English means good education and ensures success in life is a pernicious myth”(p. 327). Ferguson (2013) terms the glamorous pull for English as a ‘fever’, which in his view is based on rational demands though; however,

The ‘fever’ for English is often ill-informed and misguided for a number of reasons. First, the early introduction of English in primary schools is often ineffective and leads to lowered educational performance. Second, high hopes as to what English will deliver for individuals socio-economically are rarely fulfilled. Relatively few will actually go on to enjoy the benefits English promises, or enter the mainly white-collar careers for which English is useful (p. 18).

The medium of instruction and quality of education are interdependent. Ferguson (2013) argues that there was substantial body of academic research asserting, “primary education, particularly early primary education and early literacy, is most effectively conducted in a language familiar to the pupil (p. 17). Extensive research evidence shows rhetorically as well as empirically that instruction in a familiar language at the primary level had numerous advantages, far greater than instruction in any foreign or second language. A study on primary schools in Nigeria concluded that instruction through children’s home language

improves the quality and quantity of interaction between pupil and teacher (Hardman, Abd-Kadir, & Smith, 2008). Other studies on the language factor in the Sub-Saharan Africa, Mozambique and other developing countries concluded that instruction in mother tongue fosters cognitive development and literacy and facilitates the transition between home and school (Alidou et al., 2006; Benson, 2000, 2002). These arguments are increasingly bolstered by empirical evidence on language factor from different countries such as Mozambique (Benson, 2000); Burkina Faso (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006); Zambia (Tambulukani & Bus, 2012); Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2007); Nigeria (Fafunwa, Macauley, & Sokoya, 1989); Botswana (Prophet & Dow, 1994); Zambia (Willaims, 1996). English teaching as a foreign language worldwide misleads many parents into believing that formal education means education in English, which has a pernicious backwash effect (Benson, 2009; Heugh, 2009). In fact, a mother tongue based education policy is advantageous because it lays strong linguistic, cognitive and educational foundations as research indicates that children whose early education is in the language of their home, tend to do better in the later years of their education (Cummins, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2009; Heugh, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002)

Scholars in India working within the bilingual, multilingual, and mother tongue based education frameworks problematize teaching languages other than students' home languages such as English and the state-dominant languages in schools. The emphasis of those scholars has been on theoretical soundness and practicability of English-medium education policy from the viewpoint of schools that cater especially to children of the lower economic strata (Annamalai, 2004, 2013; Jhingran, 2005, 2009; MacKenzie, 2013; Mohanty, 2006, 2013; Nayak, 2007; Sema, 2008). For instance, Annamalai (2004) debunks the argument that English-medium education is suitable to all children of India while undermining their social

and family contexts. It is misleading to regard English-medium education as appropriate for all children regardless of their social and family backgrounds. Annamalai further asserts that,

The highly successful students are most likely to have studied through English medium in well-funded schools. They are also likely to have come from families that have used English as a second language for at least one preceding generation and to have had exposure to English through reading materials and conversations at home. These students already have a solid cultural and linguistic foundation in English; their education merely supplements this advantage (p. 188-189).

Similarly, Mohanty (2013 & 2010) also addresses teaching of English issue in India by conceptualizing it as the ‘myth of English medium superiority’. His findings about low-fee English-medium schools in India show that although all parents believe that English medium schools are better; however, English teaching and learning practices are illusive as when quality of schooling and socioeconomic status are controlled, English does not deliver good results. He calls these as ‘doom’ schools where children are doomed to failure. These schools unlike the elitist English medium schools are doomed to failure because of the so-called cosmetic Anglicization in uniform and in certain behavioral routines, but the classroom activities are overwhelmingly nativised and hybridized, with classroom transactions undertaken in languages other than the English language. The socialization norms within the schools are devoid of any spontaneous or intimate use of the English language. Non-comprehension, disinterested participation, and rote memorization are the norms.

In a study on Multilingual education (MLE) for the tribal children in the Indian state of Orissa, Mohanty and Panda (2009) observed that Multilingual education (MLE) is “much more than just bringing languages into the process of education; it is, in fact, deeply rooted in a philosophy of critical pedagogy that seeks to actively empower the learners and their communities”. Their findings are based on carefully planned activities and processes at schools and community levels that were devised in the first year of the MLE program. The study was part of a project ‘Education in Mother Tongue and Other Tongue’. The project

envisaged that good MLE practices to be holistic, culturally situated and historically informed of culturally embedded social, mathematical, literacy/oracy and science practices. Those included numerous strategies such as “motivating parents to send their children to school and close monitoring of the academic history of these children, developing the reading environment both in the community and in the school through a synergistic ‘Read Together’ approach are discussed in this chapter with a focus on making classroom learning a culturally shared collaborative activity.

The study finds that the involvement of the community MLE workers (CMWs) with the community members yielded unique examples of scaffolding. The activities precisely involved tracking each individual child, meetings with the community members, teachers, and the tribal leaders, running synergistic community reading programs, developing classroom activities on a regular basis from the everyday materials and experiences of tribal children using robust pedagogic principles of cultural psychology, and, finally, using these activities with children in the presence of adults. The study concludes that, “Such practices can make school learning more meaningful and engaging for tribal children. This will definitely not estrange the tribal children from their land, language and culture as often happens in existing classroom practices”. Mohanty and Panda (2009) criticize the language-in-education policies as a whole, which they believe exclude tribal children from crucial mainstreams “social, political, economic, and educational domains, leading to serious language disadvantage of tribal children and large-scale failure and ‘pushout’ in dominant language classrooms, where their mother tongues have little space. In another such study as the above, MacKenzie (2009) outlines the processes used in creating multilingual education programs in an attempt to offer an improved quality of education and examines the challenges to success and sustainability in India. She analyzed the initiatives of mother tongue based

multilingual education amongst the tribal communities with reference to multilingual education (MLE) programs developed in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa in India. The study concludes that the dropout rates were still alarmingly high and achievement levels were comparatively lower amongst tribal children vis-à-vis their non-tribal counterparts. One of the basic reasons for dropout was education in a language children did not understand, the language that was unfamiliar to their cultural context. To address these challenges, the governments of several states in India chose to develop and implement education programs using the local languages, tribal context, and environment in several of their minority-language communities. The study finds that although the MLE programs in India are only just at the initial stages, there has already been positive progress and an improved situation for the tribal children. However, she cautions that long-term commitment is necessary in terms of research and continuous evaluation and research of the programs to improve the learning conditions of tribal children. The study concludes that education which begins in the mother tongue and builds competence in the second language before using it as the medium of instruction helps reduce the linguistic and cultural barriers faced by students when entering school. This can be a key component in increasing the educational attainment of speakers of minority languages and tribal children.

Institutional preparedness, infrastructural soundness, and solid human resource are some crucial ingredients of a successful language policy. Meganathan (2012) analysis of English-medium policy also highlights the above impediments in the effective implementation of English-medium policy in India. For instance, Meganathan (2012) admits that although English is deeply rooted in the social fabric of Indian society, and it has become nearly a local language. The society also perceives English-medium policy positively as English is a potential gateway to socioeconomic mobility and other conceivable goodies;

however, he observes that lack of preparedness still makes English-medium policy challenging and overambitious. As Meganathan (2012) argues that,

Once, deprived sections of the society now perceive the language as an instrument for progress. However, the public's demands are not being met meaningfully. Most schools in the country do not have the facilities and proficient teachers needed to cater to the demand.

Meganathan (2012) aptly observes that the questionable language proficiency and academic credential of the teachers, sub-standard material/textbooks, commercialization of the English language textbooks, poor teacher training mechanism and absence of an enabling English learning environment within and outside the schools problematize English-medium policy. According to him, "Learners need to experience appropriate input so that they can become engaged with the language, but a language teacher who himself or herself does not possess the required proficiency cannot create such an environment". In the end, Meganathan (2012) proposes, "It is better to have English taught as a subject rather than impose a bad English medium education", and "converting schools to become English medium without proper support would be detrimental and counterproductive". He believes that a multilingual strategy would be beneficial. He concludes that the centrality of language in learning must be recognized, and schools can be developed as multimedia schools where both the language and subject contents are taught and learnt well in "a complementary and supplementary manner".

In a study on English and mother-tongue-based multilingual education, Mahboob and Cruz (2013) analyzed the recent changes in language policy in the Philippines. Drawing on an attitudinal survey on language and education, they argued that policies that support local languages needed to be implemented along with widespread initiatives to bring about a change in the perceptions of the Filipino about local languages. The authors extend support for mother-tongue initiatives; however, they warn that it is crucial for all stakeholders to

understand and personally align with the aims of mother-tongue education. That includes policy makers, teachers, parents, students, and especially industry and business sectors. Collaboration and alignment between different stakeholders is critical for the successful formulation and implementation of any language policy because “Language policy and planning is a complex task with a long list of stakeholders and factors that shape it and an even longer one of things that it influences in turn” (Mahboob & Tilakaratna, 2012, p. 17). In a paper on a principles-based approach to language policy and planning, Mahboob and Tilakaratna (2012) proposed that collaboration between all stakeholders is necessary for an effective language policy, and the “stakeholders should be given power to influence the design of policy, curriculum, and textbooks so that these policies are understood, accepted, and translated into appropriate practice” (p. 13). The principle-based approach outlines a set of principles that guide us to pose several critical questions with regard to formulating and implementing “a contextually relevant and socially responsible language policy” (Mahboob & Tilakaratna, 2012, p. 18). The principles suggest that the policymakers must consult and engage experts from a wide range of disciplinary areas such as economists, educationists, linguists, and sociologists to develop a policy that is “robust, responsible, implementable, and sustainable” (p. 18). Thus, the principle-based approach guides us to take into consideration the following six principles for policy development: collaboration, relevance, evidence, alignment, transparency, and empowerment.

In addition, several other studies undertaken in identical contexts such as Pakistan also confirm the regressive effects English-medium education leaves on children, and they recommend an additive multilingual education policy as best alternative (Bruthiaux, 2002; Bui & Nguyen, 2014; Clegg, 2005; Coleman, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2012). For instance, Kirkpatrick (2012) suggested that primary schools should use local languages at the primary

level rather than English as a medium in schools. He observes that English is indisputably an extremely important language for many in the ASEAN region; however, the way English is currently taught is “not only unsuccessful, but also inimical to the welfare and maintenance of other languages”. He categorically states that studies confirm that “the early introduction of English into the primary curriculum – as is the case across the region – far from helping children learn English successfully, may actually militate against this in many cases ” (Kirkpatrick, 2012, p. 41). Kirkpatrick (2012) cites UNESCO’s (2007) report to show that identify low retention rates up to primary 5 in several ASEAN countries, including Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, The Philippines and Vietnam. The report calls for more mother tongue and bilingual education in the local languages. In addition, in an overview of language-in-education policies in Southeast Asia, Kosonen (2009) concludes that, “Most members of ethnolinguistic minorities in Southeast Asia have to start their education in a language they neither understand nor speak” (p. 39). Kirkpatrick (2012) proposes that,

...it is far better for the child to acquire proficiency and literacy in the local languages before being asked to learn English... it is much better if that child is able to learn content subjects through the local languages, as this will help the acquisition of literacy and fluency in these languages (p. 35).

A host of scholars has advanced the potential linguistic, cognitive, intellectual, and overall educational advantages of an additive bilingual/multilingual education system. Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar (2010) additive teaching, that is, teaching in a bilingual or multilingual mother tongue based school system, leads to ‘high-levels of multilingualism’, enhanced creativity, divergent thinking, cognitive flexibility, sensitivity to feedback cues, interpreting non-verbal body language, learning of additional languages(p. 74). According to Benson (2002), mother tongue based schooling enables students to “learn subject disciplines and develop literacy skills upon which competency in the second or foreign language can be built” (p. 303). Advocating additive approaches, Pinnock (2009) observes, “Switching

completely away from teaching in a language understood by a child is likely to distract and confuse students to a great extent. Good practice involves an additive approach, where increasing time is gradually given to one or two second languages, but the first language continues to play an important role in teaching and learning”(p. 14). Describing the advantages of additive education, Cummins (2009) proposes that:

Approximately 200 empirical studies carried out during the past 40 or so years have reported a positive association between additive bilingualism and students’ linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth. The most consistent findings are that bilinguals show more developed awareness of the structure and functions of language itself (metalinguistic abilities) and that they have advantages in learning additional languages (p. 26).

Tsui & Tollefson’s explanation in favor of mother tongue instruction applies to the educational context of Pakistan. According to them, the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction for children who are still struggling with basic expression in that language, hampers not only their academic achievement and cognitive growth, but also their self-perception, self-esteem, emotional security, and their ability to participate meaningfully in the educational process” (2004, p. 17).

In the local context too, scholars have voiced for the implementation additive bi/multilingual education system. For instance, Coleman (2010), in a British Counsel sponsored study on the teaching and learning of English in Pakistan, made recommendations in favor of teaching of mother tongues at the primary levels. That study revealed that only 5 % of Pakistanis have access to education in their first language. The study found mother tongue based instruction beneficial for the reasons such as easy comprehension of the concepts, parents’ involvement in their children’s educational matters and reinforcement through local media and so on. Crucially, it also emphasized that children are likely to achieve greater proficiency in English if they first study in their home language and then study English as a foreign or second language. Mustafa (2011) regards initial schooling in

L1 as beneficial for underprivileged children as it would help develop their cognitive development and critical thinking. In addition, it would considerably help curb rote learning and ensure more meaningful class participation. English should be introduced later as a second language.

2.6.4 English language teaching in Pakistan: concerns and challenges

As pointed out in the introductory chapter, Pakistan like many other post-colonial countries is faced with the dilemma of language policy and planning in the education sector (Manan et al., 2014; Mansoor, 2004a, 2004b; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1999, 2002, 2004a; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). The medium of education policy is still an unresolved issue, and concerns and challenges are both conceptual as well as practical (Coleman, 2010; Mahboob & Talat, 2008; Manan, David, & Dumanig, 2015a, 2015b; Mansoor, 2004a; Rahman, 2004a; Shamim, 2008). According to Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013), there are still ‘tensions between policy and practice’ especially the way language and teaching work differently in practice, and “because of people’s changing attitudes toward the language, the varying currency of the available languages, and uneven resources for teaching” (p, 263). Government policies about the medium of instruction suffer from several limitations of which, the most important is “the great disconnect between policy and implementation” (Mustafa, 2011, p. 120). Khubchandani (2008) also fittingly describes the mismatches and dilemmas that lie between proclaimed language policies and actual classroom practices in South Asia in general and in India in particular. He reflects on the dichotomies between policies and their practical translation in the following words:

In multilingual societies, the ideal claim and the real function of a language might be at variance. One notices a wide gap between the language policies professed and actual practice in a classroom. It is not unusual to find in many institutions anomalous patterns of communication where the teacher and the taught interact in one language,

classes are conducted in another, textbooks are written in a third and answers are given in a fourth language/style.

In Pakistan, one of the major policy challenges lies in the teaching of English language. In the following section, I revisit existing literature on the state of English language teaching and the major concerns and challenges involved. Numerous published and unpublished studies exist on English language learning and teaching policies and practices (Blundell, 1989; British-Council, 1986; Coleman, 2010; Mahboob & Talat, 2008; Manan et al., 2015a; Mansoor, 2005; Rahman, 2002, 2004a; Shamim, 1993; Shamim & Allen, 2000). Shamim's (1993) study focused on the teaching and learning of English in English as a Second Language classes in government and non-elite private secondary schools. The study found that the majority of teachers especially in schools where the students and teachers' proficiency of English was relatively low, dictated a set of essays and letters or wrote them on the blackboard for the students to copy in their notebooks. The students learned these by heart and reproduced them in the examination. Classroom observations suggested that regardless of class size, teachers mostly focused on "doing a lesson" or "doing grammar". For instance, "doing lessons" largely involved an array of predetermined activity types such as reading text (aloud) by teachers or by students, translating the text in Urdu or in mother tongues, and making students to the follow-up exercises in their notebooks. Following is a vignette:

The teacher tells the students to open their textbooks on page 64 and take out their copies [notebooks] to write "words meanings". She writes the title of the lesson (a fairly long reading passage in the textbook followed by comprehension questions and unrelated grammar exercises) on the blackboard. First, a few students are nominated to read parts of the text aloud. Then the teacher reads it out loud, stopping occasionally to explain and/or write the meaning of a "difficult" word on the blackboard in Urdu. This continues till the end of the class hour. During this time the students sit passively, with their heads down, apparently listening to the teacher and copying mechanically from the blackboard (Shamim, 1993, pp. 187-188).

In another study, Shamim and Allen (2000) examined the activity types and patterns of interaction in English and Urdu language classrooms in varied instructional settings (primary/secondary, rural/urban, public/private) in Pakistan using an adapted version of the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT). The data shown that teaching and learning of English was conducted in nearly similar ways in the different instructional settings studied. The prominent feature of all classrooms observations was that whole-class teacher-fronted activities dominated the classes. In addition, teachers focused on formal aspects of the language at both primary and secondary levels. Often, the teachers either selected topics, of their own or based on the textbook. They also used blackboard extensively while the use of visual aids was minimal. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these similarities in teaching and learning practices, a great deal of diversity was noted across different settings in the extent of English, Urdu or local languages used by teachers and students in their classroom discourse. Teachers and the students in elite private English-medium schools were found to use English only. In contrast, Urdu and/or the local language were the dominant classroom language in the government Urdu-medium schools. Varied levels of code switching between English, Urdu, and the local languages were observed in the non-elite private schools. These profiles of teaching and learning of English in Pakistani school classrooms indicate that the practice of teaching English in all school types in Pakistan leaves much to be desired with regard to current principles and practice of English language teaching.

In a recent study, Channa (2014) explored teachers' attitudes towards the governments' proposed policy (GOP, 2009a) for teaching Math and science in English and the subsequent transition towards English-medium policy. Drawing on a mixed methodology, the study concluded that the proposed policy would not be fruitful because teachers believed that the policy could be desirable in pragmatic terms; however, its implementation in practice entailed

several challenges such as students' lack of sound skills base in the English language, and teachers' lack of satisfactory level competencies in the English language. They believed that they needed training to be able to teach in English; and, few believed teaching in English could help them improve their English proficiency and teaching skills. While the teachers believed the English medium policy was beneficial in its rationale, they thought the positive impact would occur only if English subject policy initiated in 2003 was effectively taught. This would require solid institutional measures such as teachers' rigorous training and appointment of proficient teachers. Furthermore, the teachers thought that the success of English medium policy was mainly subject to parents' involvement, teachers' training and commitment, and standardization of the primary education. They also proposed for an additive bi/multilingual approach saying that students' mother tongues would help them in learning English, and that the policy must not subtract students' mother tongues. The study recommended that the English medium policy be postponed and suggested measures must be taken before the policy is implemented.

In an in-depth qualitative study, Halai (2007) studied students' learning mathematics in classrooms in two classrooms in Karachi, Pakistan where the medium of instruction was English, which was the second or third language of most students. The research spread over the course of one academic year during which two small groups of students were observed, one in each class. The focus of the study was on the complex relationship between the language of instruction and the process of learning mathematics. The results show that learning mathematics in multilingual classrooms brings added complexity because students moved back and forth from the language of instruction to their own language. The research establishes that learning mathematics in classrooms where the language of instruction is not the first or the second language of the learners makes the process of learning more complex. This complexity arises because students and teachers moved across languages in the course

of teaching and learning, and students demonstrated a need to understand the linguistic structure of the language of instruction. Moreover, this movement across languages required translation from one language to the other and the process of mathematics learning appeared to be affected by the choice of words and phrases employed in translation from one language to the other. Translation was not according to the discourse of the mathematics classrooms. I maintain that movement between languages in the course of mathematics learning cannot be regarded as a straightforward resource. Rather more research is required into understanding why learners move across languages and, how does the process of translation facilitate or hinder mathematics learning. The paper raises other significant questions and issues which are rooted in the socio-political dynamics of language use in mathematics classrooms.

Against the government's policy which recommended that "English should be the medium of instruction, in addition to its similar use for teaching of science and mathematics in secondary and middle schools" (Aly, 2007, p. 54), Shamim (2008) argues that such policy necessitates a reexamination of the outcomes of the English-medium education for children. This move comes after a well-documented research that reports the negative consequences of English-medium instruction. Shamim (2008) is critical of the policy as such didactic approach toward English teaching does not allow for students to participate and construct knowledge. She observes that inadequate English proficiency leads both teachers and learners to use code switching, and discourages the "use of inquiry-based approaches for teaching and learning" (p. 242). Shamim (2008) concludes that,

The linguistic inadequacy of teachers and learners in English, the "official" language of instruction, may lead them to resist the use of participatory approaches and/or inquiry-based learning, which may eventually have a damaging effect on the teaching and learning of concepts and on critical thinking.⁸ Moreover, it may lead to "illiteracy" in general, as children will not be able to perform well in any language, be it English, Urdu or a regional language (p. 242).

Teacher education is also a critical challenge in the effective implementation of the English-medium education. Mahboob and Talat (2008) examined possible causes of poor performance with special focus on English language teacher education. The authors highlighted a number of issues and shared concerns with the current state of ELT. They advanced a number of recommendations that were to be considered by language teachers, teacher educators, program administrators, and policy makers. The study proposed improvements in the following broad areas such as teacher education, policy and planning, research and development. They proposed minimum qualification criteria for language teacher educators, which included teaching experience in relevant setting, academic/professional qualification in education, and qualification in the pertinent subject matter. On policy and planning, they recommended that the English teachers must hold certain credentials of which the minimum qualification should be raised to a graduate degree in education with addition of academic credentials in subject of specialization. According to the study, there was very limited research and scholarship particularly on primary linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, or educational linguistics; therefore, provisions must be made to encourage and incentivize research. In addition, they also proposed that theories on ELT and material from abroad must be carefully evaluated before adopting, as their relevance to the local and cultural context must be figured out. Such imported material should be piloted and synchronized to the local contexts. Furthermore, experts from abroad must be encouraged to work in collaboration with local experts and conduct primary research in ELT. This is likely to lead to contextually fitting policy development.

A well-known journalist and writer, Zubeida Mustafa's book titled '*Tyranny of Language in Education*' (2011), covers the political, socioeconomic, linguistic and educational dynamics of language policy and planning in Pakistan. Mustafa's analysis categorically supports education in the child's mother tongues, at least until the primary levels. The book contains a critical review and a scrupulous record of the various education policies declared by various commissions formed by successive governments. She regards the attitudes of the policymakers and concerned authorities as ambivalent, who in her views, overlooked the most critical question of medium of instruction issues in education. She observes that, "education authorities are shirking their responsibility of taking a categorical decision on this issue", and proposes that the language policy needs to be "formulated clearly and pragmatically" (p. 47). The policymakers' approach has been termed as flip-flopping. Mustafa (2011) conducted considerable field research to back up her claims in terms of reviewing and rectifying current policies. One of the major criticisms is on the elitist monopoly of the English language. Mustafa (2011) writes that Pakistan suffers from serious educational problems; however, in reality, those problems are not spread homogeneously. One witnesses acute discrimination that those problems only affect the poor and the voiceless; the problems are —not spread uniformly across society...the students are virtually prisoners of their socioeconomic class" (p. 11). Mustafa (2011) draws on the works of educationists, linguists, neuroscientists and psychologists, and various successful language-in-education policies from across different countries. According to her, English-medium policy may not be compatible to the sociocultural and socioeconomic background of all children. Rather, it can be of disadvantage, and may cause barrier to those children who have little or no linguistic and cultural exposure to English in their social lives than their counterparts from the privileged backgrounds:

Compared to those well-to-do children, the average Pakistani children do not have such repertoire in the English language, their actual strength lies in the language they have learned from their home and environment before stepping in school. Therefore, the school policy —push him back and handicap him compared to the children of the affluent classes who have had exposure to English since birth (p. 75).

Aligning her findings with writings of educationist and linguist such as Maria Montessori, and Noam Chomsky, Mustafa puts forward her findings to reinforce the case for teaching children in the mother tongue in the primary years of learning. Mustafa (2011) also writes that most illiterate parents from the low-income backgrounds misperceive English-medium policy, and they,

...are duped into believing that their children are being educated in English. Their youngsters who pick up a smattering of English are happy because they feel they know a language their parents never learnt. But no one understands that the English they are learning is of such an abysmal quality that it will not take them very far (p. 48).

She presents interviews with teachers and personal narratives of from people to argue that there is a natural fluency and expressiveness when one communicates in mother tongue. She sums up with several propositions of which the most dominants are the reformulations of medium of instruction policies, and the equitable distribution of the English language amongst children of all classes.

Gulzar and Qadir (2010) presented a Pakistani perspective on the issues of language (s) choice and use in education. They investigate the role of code switching and L1 in the bilingual classroom discourse with special reference to Pakistani teachers/experts' perceptions. Findings suggest that most of the interviewees identified serious flaws in the education policy, and that confusion about the medium (s) of instruction was main reason for the present undetermined use of language (s) in the EFL classrooms. Experts also claimed that there was no coordination about the medium (s) of instruction amongst policy makers

and English language teachers. In view of the teachers/experts, researchers proposed that strategies to use language (s) in the classroom should be revisited, as it is more advantageous to think of bilingualism in terms of pupils who require extra-support for learning due to linguistic and/or cultural differences. They also argued that code-switching/L1 should be used only at required level particularly while teaching to the bilinguals and not at the teachers' or students' desired level. Thus, they claimed that both learners and teachers were required to be made aware of the limitations and pitfalls of code switching in the classroom as unprincipled use of L1 can have long-lasting negative repercussions on the learners' awareness and production of English as target language.

In a study on the state of education in Punjab, Habib (2013) also observes that the absence of a clear language policy leaves detrimental effect on learning. According to her, government schoolteachers in particular were not prepared to the drastic government policy of switchover to English-medium policy. The policy was challenging as teachers' knowledge of English was limited and textbooks and curricula were not developed for teaching subjects in English. The study concludes that rather than engaging in emotional debates, it is important to take practical steps to develop language training facilities and curricula that incorporate at least two languages (English, Urdu, and a local language) in school instruction to promote meaningful learning.

Raja (2014) studied the possibilities of a bilingual education system in Pakistan. The study concludes that although mother tongue based education system has several advantages such as increased cognitive development; however, the complex linguistic configurations and porous linguistic terrains make the possibility of a mother tongue based bilingual education difficult in Pakistan. Raja (2014) recommends Urdu-medium policy because "Urdu acts as the only lingua franca of the country and most Pakistanis have a certain level of competency

in this language and that the division of the provinces and the districts are not based on linguistic grounds” (p. 85). He excludes English as it is the language of the elites, and does not function as lingua franca as Urdu does. The author also writes that,

Within every area of Pakistan, people of different ethnicities are found. So even if a system of bilingual education at primary schools is set up, there would be many children for whom the language used in the school might not be the first language, which makes it very difficult to pursue the idea of the implementation of bilingual education system in Pakistan” (p. 87).

One may argue that some observations made in the proposal are factually problematic and debatable. For instance, Urdu might act as a lingua franca and as a link language between speakers of different ethnic groups in the urban areas of Pakistan; however, it stands an alien language to most rural and remote areas of the country. The people of rural Balochistan, interior Sindh and the tribal areas, which constitute a significant part of the country, are hardly familiar with the Urdu language nor does it feature in their day-to-day linguistic repertoire. Therefore, Urdu as a medium of instruction invites for serious debate. In addition, the linguistic terrain of Pakistan is hardly as porous as the proposal suggests as geography of the country is clearly drawn across linguistic lines. In rural Balochistan, both Pashtoon as well as Baloch belts are clearly monolingual. The same applies to rural Sindh, South Punjab, Pashtoon-dominated areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, the tribal areas, and even most of rural Punjab. However, one must admit that mostly, the major cosmopolitan cities and other urban centers are linguistically diverse such as Karachi, Quetta, Peshawar, and Islamabad. The rationale for exclusion of English on the ground that is elites’ language is rather deterministic and apolitical.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature. In the earlier part of the chapter, the language policy of Pakistan is highlighted with brief descriptions of constitutional provisions, a historical review of the language policy and the role and status of different languages in education. In the subsequent part, a general overview of the school system and the functioning of different schooling system are highlighted. Towards the end, the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the study are highlighted with a focus on approaches to language policy, critical issues, and a description of debates over mother tongues versus second/foreign languages in education. It also includes a comprehensive review of research evidence from a number of Postcolonial countries as well as Pakistan.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and the research approaches adopted in this study. The chapter explains the rationale for the methodological decisions or ‘strategies of inquiry’(Creswell, 2013), undertaken for the data collection. In the early section of the chapter, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study are discussed whereas the following sections of the chapter comprehensively delineate the research methodology. The chapter provides a detailed description on the following topics: research sites, research community or sampling, research instruments, fieldwork procedures, ethical considerations, data compilation process and data analysis approaches.

3.2 Conceptual framework

Figure 3.1 highlights the conceptual framework of the study. The Conceptual framework of a study highlights the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that underpins and guides one’s research (Miles & Huberman, 1999; Robson, 2011). A conceptual framework is designed to explain “either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied—the key factors, concepts, or variables—and the presumed relationships among them" (Miles & Huberman, 1999, p. 18).

Figure 3.1 portrays early English-medium education policy (EMEP) as a central issue, focusing on its three key components within the context of the low-fee English-medium schools in Quetta. The three components are the three research questions, which this study sets out to address: (1) perceptions of stakeholders about English-medium education policy (EMEP), (2) the implementation/provision of EMEP in actual classroom teaching and learning practices, (3) and the compatibility of EMEP with students’ sociocultural ecology. To analyze stakeholders’ perceptions about EMEP, implementation/provision of EMEP, and

compatibility between sociocultural ecology and EMEP, the study draws on theory of additive bi/multilingual education, and on research conducted within the same framework from around several Pakistan-like sociolinguistic contexts specifically the postcolonial countries. Additive bi/multilingual education signifies that a second or a third “language is added to the linguistic repertoire of the students while the first language continues to be developed” (Cenoz, 2009, p. 3). Thus, additive language learning means that, “a new language is learned in addition to the mother tongue, which continues to be developed. The learner’s total linguistic repertoire is extended (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008, p. 4). The justification for using additive bi/multilingual framework is that unlike the current English-medium education policy in the low-fee English-medium schools in Pakistan, additive bi/multilingual education tends to add rather than subtract a child’s mother tongues from education. Adding a child’s mother tongue can be critical because research evidence from diverse contexts suggests that a mother tongue based education has potential linguistic, cognitive and educational advantages than education in a second or foreign language such as as the current policy in the low-fee schools this study surveys (Annamalai, 2005; Baker, 2001; Benson, 2009; Cummins, 2009; García, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzmán, 2006; Heugh, 2009; Hornberger, 1988, 2003; McCarty, 2009; Mohanty, 2013; Mohanty & Panda, 2009; Phillipson, 2009b; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Towards the end, based on results and findings, the study draws on critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001), and critical language policy (Pennycook, 2001; Tollefson, 2002, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004) to critique the language policy and planning mechanism in Pakistan as to examine how government addresses the issue of equitable access and just distribution of quality language-in-education. In addition, given the quality of English-medium education in the low-fee schools, an analysis of the government policies will be made as to whether such policies create a level-playing field for children of all socioeconomic classes, or create

class divisions. The rationale for such analysis arises because critical scholars believe that medium of instruction policies usually “create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups” (Tollefson, 2006, p. 42). Scholars of critical language policy seek to determine that which social and political groups have access to, and benefit from quality education in the socially and economically powerful languages, and which groups are enfranchised as language is a “key means of power (re) distribution and social (re) construction (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p. 2).

As figure 3.1 shows, the study focuses on three aspects of the English-medium education policy—perceptions, practices and the correlation between policy and students’ social lives. Having gathered data on the three key aspects of the policy, the implications of the policy will be discussed through the frameworks that underpin this study. For instance, the linguistic, cognitive and educational aspects are analyzed through theory and research in additive bilingual education whereas the socioeconomic implications are explained through critical applied linguistics and critical language policy.

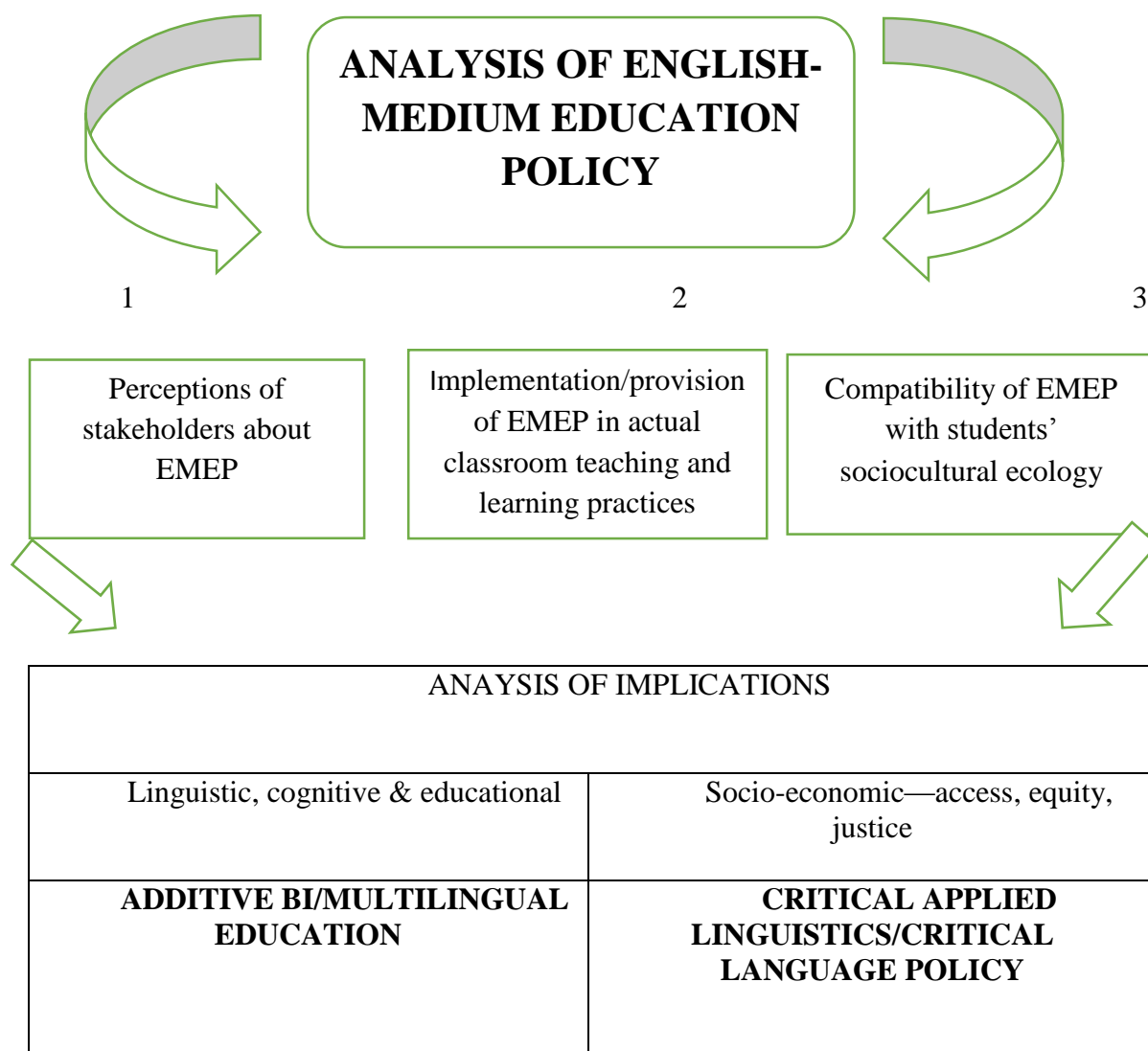


Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework

3.3 Research site

The study takes place in 11 low-fee English-medium schools in Quetta, the capital city of the Balochistan province. The reason the city of Quetta was selected for research was due researchers' convenience to get easy and frequent access to the research sites or the schools under survey. In addition, since the researcher belongs to the same city, and has wider network of colleagues working in the education sector in general and in some low-fee schools in particular; therefore, Quetta was deemed appropriate for research. Like any other urban

setting particularly the bigger cities of Pakistan where the low-fee schools can be found in relatively much larger number than the typical rural areas, Quetta also offers a larger number of research sites in the form of low-fee schools.

One of the challenges in the conduct of the study was the selection of the schools for survey as how many of the low-schools to access, and which ones to select. The researcher approached the concerned office in the Directorate of Education regarding the total number of the private English-medium schools, but the concerned office did not provide any official figures as it did not maintain any such record. The researcher then surveyed and identified 30 high secondary English-medium low-fee schools in different neighborhoods of the city. Subsequently, applications were submitted to all 30 school principals for entry to their schools, out of those, 11 granted permission for research. The consent was communicated through formal requests through letters, phone calls, and face-to-face meeting. Prior to data collection and classroom observation, the school principals were given detailed briefings about the nature and objectives of the study. They were also informed about the three major steps in data collection and information gathering process: questionnaire distribution, conduct of interviews, classroom observation, and informal interaction with students and teachers.

To benchmark whether all the 11 school genuinely fulfilled the criteria of the low-fee schools, the researcher took account of several components: range of tuition fee, medium of instruction, locality, and information about majority of students' socioeconomic backgrounds. This information was elicited through school principals, teachers, and students. Specifically, benchmarking with regard to tuition fee range was based on definition as proposed by Heyneman and Stern (2013) who defined low-fee school "as one whose tuition fee was lower than half the minimum wage". Thus, based on the minimum wage limit announced by the governments of Pakistan for the fiscal year 2015-16, the minimum wage

for an unskilled worker per month is ¹PKR 13,000 (Newspaper, 2014), the 11 schools can be described as low-fee. The monthly tuition fee for all the schools ranges from PKR 350 minimum to PKR 1,800 maximum per, much lower than half of the minimum wage (See range of tuition fee in table 8.1); therefore, all the schools are categorized as low-fee. Following is a brief information about the demographics of the city of Quetta.

3.3.1 Demographics of Quetta

Quetta the capital and the largest city of the Balochistan province. Located in the south west part of the country, Quetta is close to the borders of Iran and Afghanistan. It is a trade and communication centre between the three countries. In addition, the city lies on the Bolan Pass route, which was once the only gateway from Central Asia to South Asia (See the following image mapping the location of Quetta city). According to the Census 1998, population of District Quetta was 759,941 and the designated annual growth rate was calculated to be 4.13%. Quetta district is highly multilingual and multicultural area that hosts a large number of tribes, ethnic and linguistic groups. The principal ethnic groups in the district are Pashtoon, Baloch, Brahvi, Hazara and Punjabi. Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Balochi, Brahvi, Sindhi, Siraki, Hindko and Persian are the languages spoken in the city and its surrounding. Urdu is commonly spoken by all ethnic groups (UNICEF, 2011).

¹ PKR stands for Pakistani currency Rupee



Image: Quetta city on the political map of Pakistan

(<http://www.mapsofworld.com/pakistan/pakistan-political-map.html>)

3.4 Research design

The study employs mixed research design which integrates quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in a single study or a program of enquiry (Creswell, 2009). As this study aims to investigate three different dimensions of the English-medium education policy involving multiple pools of respondents; therefore, a mixed methodology is deemed appropriate to obtain multiple perspectives and a well-rounded picture of the issue. It is believed that interviewing the respondents helps obtain elaborate descriptions while a survey questionnaire supports in validating and cross validating the information gathered from the interviews. This study principally draws on qualitative data; therefore, the weightage of the data is more qualitative-dominant than quantitative (R. B. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). In addition, selection of mixed method is motivated partly by the nature of research

objectives and partly by the epistemological positioning, which is technically termed as ‘Advocacy or Liberatory’ (R. B. Johnson, 2006) or ‘Advocacy or Participatory’ (Creswell, 2009).

One of the striking characteristics of a mixed method is that it concurrently incorporates and integrates not only statistical information, but it also grasps a contextualized understanding of individual voices and feelings (Bryman, 2011). Mixed methodology is used because variation in data collection tools may lead to greater validity. Besides, it can afford some other advantages and it offers multiple perspectives; it fills up gaps between the information collected and can compensate for the limitations of either of the methodologies. Therefore, the fundamental rationale behind combining qualitative and quantitative data was to enhance the validity of the results (Creswell, 2013) and to develop an in-depth understanding of the research issue and that,

...we can learn more about our research topic if we can combine the strengths of qualitative research with the strengths of quantitative research while compensating at the same time for the weaknesses of each method. This has been called the fundamental principle of mixed methods research (R. B. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Additionally, observation further enriches and bolsters the results of the research as the researcher gets ‘the opportunity to record information as it occurs in a setting, to study actual behavior’ of the participants (Creswell, 2008, p. 213).

3.5 Data gathering tools and data collection procedures

As the study employs mixed method; therefore, multiple tools are used for data collection. These include questionnaires, interviews and library research. To further reinforce the results, field notes, observations and informal interactive sessions were also used as supplementary data gathering tools during the fieldwork. The following sections delineate each one of the above data tools:

3.5.1 Questionnaires

A self-made questionnaire was used to gather information from students (Refer to Appendix C). At the preliminary stages, the items within the questionnaire were designed keeping in view of the the research objectives of the study. The preparation of questionnaire underwent several stages of validation and cross-validation. To achieve face validity, a total of five experts were consulted to seek their advice on “whether the questions asked look as if they are measuring what they claim to measure” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2003, p. 151). Face validity is defined as “a judgment by the scientific community that the indicator really measures the construct (Neuman, 2007, p. 118). A similar strategy was adopted for ensuring contents validity, which is that the “ the instrument must show that it fairly and comprehensively covers the domain or items that it purports to cover” (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 137). Prior to administering final copy of questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted to “determine that the individuals in the sample are capable of completing the survey and that they can understand the questions” (Creswell, 2008, p. 390) . The pilot study was conducted in 2 schools out of a total of 11 schools surveyed for this involving 45 students. Feedback from the student during pilot study helped identify several minor problems particularly in the design of the questionnaire. For example, earlier version contained open-ended questions inviting students to elaborate their view. Following are two examples:

- *Do you use English to communicate in classroom? Briefly explain.*
.....

- *Do you get opportunity to do creative writing? Creative writing is something outside your textbooks.*
.....

After the pilot study, it was realized that there were several problems with open-ended questionnaires. One of the problems was that it took relatively more time for students to answer questions, for which most school administrators were not prepared. Secondly,

students faced problem to elaborate their answer in the English language. Thirdly, proper coding and computation of open-ended question was likely to cause problems for analysis. Therefore, in light of piloting questionnaire, earlier open-ended questions were modified into multiple-choice answers in the form of likert scales to handle all the above-stated problems that might arise during administration and analysis stages. The pilot study served several functions primarily to increase not only readability of the questionnaire items, but also to enhance the reliability, validity, and practicability of the questionnaire (Morrison, 1993; Oppenheim, 1992; Wilson & McClean, 1994). The following items enlist the main sections of questionnaire, which is comprised of 6 sections:

- I. Personal background of the participants such as gender, age, district/home town, mother tongue, number of years in the English medium schooling, parents' educational background and parents' occupational background
- II. A descriptive question asking the participants to elaborate on the importance of English language
- III. The use of English or exposure to English in classroom with colleagues, teachers, the teachers' use of English, home, media, social environment, opportunity for creative writing, opportunity for listening and pleasure reading
- IV. The level of ease and difficulty the participants experience in English across skills such as speaking, listening(understanding), reading and writing
- V. A short essay for writing
- VI. Favourite language policy for schools

The administration of questionnaires was undertaken in the classrooms with the help of two research assistants. Certain precautionary measures were taken to ensure smooth and effective administration. Prior to the questionnaire distribution, the respondents were introduced to the scope and purpose of the research. To familiarize them with objectives of the research, brainstorming session was carried out to prepare them mentally to respond earnestly to the questionnaire items, and to develop a rapport with them. The brainstorming involved asking them about their interest in the English language, the motivation for studying in the private schools, the career prospects they attached to the English language proficiency,

and their future goals and dreams. The questionnaires were originally written in the English language; however, the participants were provided with verbal translation and explanation about every item in the Urdu language in advance. The participants were given every kind of explanation and time they needed to fill up the questionnaire. Since the questionnaire contained some sections such as writing a short essay and a short reading comprehension passage (see Appendix C) which demanded their individual writing and cognitive abilities; therefore, sitting arrangements (see Appendix C) were carefully made in to ensure they did not cheat or chat with one another.

3.5.2 Interviews

In addition to questionnaires, interviews were also conducted to get an in-depth insight of the research questions under investigation and further validated the questionnaire information (See interview protocol in Appendix B). took place at two levels: within the schools and with the expert observers. The school level interviews were used to gather information from the students, teachers and the school principals whereas interviews with expert observers sought the views, observations and concerns over the issues surrounding English-medium education policy and its various aspects. The selected experts and observers have long-standing affiliation with education sector in different capacities.

The topics addressed during interviews varied according to the relevance and the intended information from each pool of participants. Four different sets of questions were pre-designed to elicit the required information. Designing different sets of questions were deemed necessary for the different status, role and domains the four pools of participants held. The students in each school were interviewed in groups within classrooms and principals' offices The design of questions was mixed: structured, semi-structured and open-ended. The purpose behind keeping open-ended questions was to allow participants the

freedom to elaborate and express their views as they wished. The medium of communication was English; however, the respondents were given option to use any language in which they were comfortable.

3.5.3 Observation

In addition to the survey questionnaires and interviews, observations were also made to take note the English language teaching and learning activities in the classrooms. One of the core research objectives of the research is to investigate the English language teaching and learning in those schools; therefore, observation of the classrooms was taken into account of how perceptions about the English-medium education policy are practiced in the classroom. During observation, the teaching methodology, use of language for transacting classroom activities, reading exercises, writing exercise, listening, use of English in formal and informal interaction and class participation were taken into consideration. In addition, the observation also helped to observe the language ecologies outside the classrooms, language management strategies by school authorities and the amount of English as a whole featuring in the school environment. The focus of the observations was also to observe as to what extent the English language genuinely functions within the schools, a language most of such schools ostensibly advertise as the medium of instruction, allegedly for commercial purposes (Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a). The nature of the observation was that of non-participant. The observation was limited only to 10 classes in 9 different schools, which makes up 400 minutes in total. Each class was observed for 40 minutes.

3.6 Participants and sampling procedure

The population of the study comprises of two groups or pools of respondents. They are termed as stakeholders because they have their stakes in the education in general and in the low-fee schools in particular. For the sake of clarity, they are further divided into two groups:

‘non-expert respondents’ and ‘expert observers’. The non-expert respondents are drawn from the 11 schools who are comprised of students, teachers and school principals. Likewise, the second category of respondents consists of nine expert observers who have been affiliated with education and language policy in different capacities such as researchers, writers and administrators.

Table 3.1 Participants of the Study

Group/category of participants	Number	Research tools used
Students	245	Survey questionnaire: 245 Interviews : 30
Teachers	8	Interviews
School principals	11	Interviews
Experts/independent observers	9	Interviews

3.6.1 Sample for survey questionnaire

Only students participated in the survey questionnaire. A probability sampling technique was used for the survey questionnaire. Probability sampling involves “selecting a relatively large number of units from a population, or from specific subgroups (strata) of a population, in a random manner where the probability of inclusion for every member of the population is determinable” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010, p. 713). Within the probability sampling, random sampling was used for the quantitative data collection. This sampling technique was used because it seeks to achieve representativeness, which is the degree to which the sample accurately represents the entire population (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Based on random sampling, respondents were selected from higher secondary classes, which are locally termed as grade 9 and 10. A total of 245 students from grade 9th and 10 responded to questionnaire. Out of 245, 110 were from class 9 while others 135 were from class 10. The section of the

respondents was done randomly from the above classes. From each 9th and 10th class to be surveyed, the representative proportion of the respondents ranged from 50% to 90% subject to total class strength.

The rationale behind selecting students from the higher secondary level was due to their seniority and the level of maturity in providing informed and valid input to this research. These students are in their final years of schooling and they have spent a maximum time in the schools. Additionally, the selection criterion from each school was uniform throughout. Quantitative part was composed of questionnaire for which students were randomly picked from grade 9 and 10. The number of respondents from each class was based on the total population of the class. The selected respondents represented nearly 50% of their respective classes. In terms of gender, boys formed the majority while the number of female respondents featured in noticeably lower number because of low enrollment trends.

3.6.2 Sample for interviews

Samples for interviews included 30 students, 8 teachers, and 11 school principals. In addition, nine expert observers were also interviewed. A purposive sampling technique was used which involved selecting individuals and group of individuals based on specific purposes linked with research questions of the study. Purposive sampling was used as it represents a broader group of cases as closely as possible (Teddlie & Yu, 2007).

3.6.2.1 Students

30 students were picked up for the qualitative data from the 11 schools surveyed. Purposive sampling technique was adopted for interview, which were both semi-structured and open-ended. The respondents were purposively selected from amongst the targeted classes so that they could give informed views and share purposeful information about the issue that the research questions in this study seeks to answer. All of them also responded to the

questionnaire survey. The school principals and individual teachers were instrumental in selecting the students for interviews. The respondents were individually interviewed. Moreover, additional group sessions were also arranged to seek collective view from the respondents.

Like the questionnaires, the number of interviewees across the schools varied as per the total number of available students. Importantly, interviews targeted the same students who participated in the questionnaire survey. Interview questions were structured to supplement and support information sought earlier in the survey questionnaires. The purpose behind interviewing students were numerous (See interview transcripts in Appendix) Firstly, it was to validate and reconfirm the information provided in the questionnaires. Secondly, the interviews were thought to give students the opportunity to elaborate some information included in the questionnaires particularly the motivations to study in the English medium schools, exposure to English language at home, social environment and media. Moreover, thier input over the academic as well as pedagogic issues was crucial such as the use of English in class with teachers, teacher's use of English, teaching methodologies, class participation, creative writing and examinaiton. Above all, the participants were intently engaged in slightly lengthy discussion so that thier speaking skills and the command of the oral use of English language may be indirectly ascertained for analysis.

3.6.2.2 Teachers

A total of eight teachers from different schools were interviewed. A purposive sampling technique was adopted for the selection of teachers. Out of the 11 schools surveyed, only eight teacher made agreed to respond to interviews. All those teachers were teaching English as a subject at the higher secondary level. They were individually interviewed after seeking their consent. The interviews were semi-structured. The purpose of interviewing teachers was

to gather information about their qualification/credentials, their teaching methodologies, and instructional approaches. Each interview ranged from 15 to 25 minutes. Originally, questions were framed in the English language, they were nonetheless facilitated to choose the language in which they felt comfortable. Two of the teachers gave interviews in the English language while the others preferred Urdu for thier interviews. The reason they gave was their comparative level of comfort, spontaneity and ease with which they could express themselves in the Urdu language. Interviews with teachers mostly took place in the principals' offices and classrooms. The interviews were both semi-structured and open-ended. However, the other necessary questions were also added in case they identified issues not addressed in the interview questions (see interview questions in Appendix). The content of interviews was designed to allow the teachers to articulate on questions that were pertinent to biographical information, motivation for job in the private school, background knoweldge and credentials in the ELT, instructional methodologies classroom and learning outcomes of students. Most importantly, an attempt was made to get to the issues which most of the critical observers raise about the private school teachers such as thier low educational qualifications, lack of motivation and thier inability to find jobs in sectors other than the private schools (Mustafa, 2011, 2012b; Rahman, 2004a; Siddiqui, 2010).

3.6.2.3 School principals

The selection of school principal was an automatic choice. As 11 principals permitted access to their schools; therefore, one in every school was automatically selected for interviews. This pool of respondents comprised of the school principals who are mostly administrators and owners of the same schools. Their job is generally to look after the administrative, academic, financial and other matters of the schools. Their job is also to manage school language policies termed as language managers by Spolsky (2009). Interviews were semi-

structured and open-ended. The contents of interview ranged from administrative issues to language policy, teacher induction, monitoring mechanism and socio-cultural issues that would presumably help answer the research questions of the study. Moreover, their views on favorite medium of instruction policy and the suitability of straight-for-English policy were also sought in the given sociocultural environment.

3.6.2.4 Expert observers

The term expert observer is used in this study because most of the experts are engaged in language and education issues in different capacities. Their expertise remains acknowledged at the international, national, and provincial levels, and their long-standing affiliation, experience, research, and observation of the language and education matters were expected to contribute substantively in understanding the different facades of the language-in-education policy in general and English-medium policy in particular. The researcher believes that experts' input on the issue of language and education is likely to shed thorough light and help illuminate our understanding about the complexity of the issue. Four of the expert observers who lived outside city of the Quetta, were interviewed online. Interview questions were emailed to which they subsequently replied. For the sake of confidentiality, they are referred to as experts in the text. The mode of interviews varied depending upon access and convenience of the respondents. Online interviews and direct face-to-face conversations were conducted. The selection of expert observers was purposive; however, the researcher adopted a maximum variation sampling strategy. The selection of expert observers was purposive; however, the researcher adopted a maximum variation sampling strategy. Hatch (2002). Maximum variation sampling is the opposite of homogenous sampling which aims to include individuals with different perspectives on the same phenomenon. Participants are selected based on differences in characteristics. Maximum sampling technique was employed to

achieve multiple perspectives and to neutralize the element of subjectivity and bias. A larger number of experts were identified initially and they were contacted for interview to this study; however, only 9 responded positively and agreed to participate in the interviews. Furthermore, the experts were purposively identified from different parts of the country and diverse academic, scholarly, and professional backgrounds so that multiple perspectives may be established, and the degree of confidence may be enhanced in results. For instance, the experts observers' sphere of expertise fundamentally resides in language and education issues; however, their field and work experiences are diverse and complex. To illustrate briefly, EXPERT1 is one of the pioneers of linguistics in Pakistan, and is arguably the most prolific writer with 18 books and 99 research journals under his belt on language policy/planning, language and politics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics and so on. In recognition of his valuable research and scholarly work, he has been awarded several national and international awards. Similarly, EXPERT2 is a distinguished scholar of sociolinguistics whose expertise and extensive writings in the areas of language policy, sociolinguistics, and primary education are well received. Likewise, EXPERT3 is an acclaimed author, intellectual, newspaper editor and columnist whose range of experience and expertise is vast and her critical views on existing language and education policies are well received across the academic circles. The same applies to all other EXPERTS who have vast experience, and are engaged actively in education, administration, language activism/revival, multilingual education and private education. Therefore, in view of the diverse expertise of the expert observers, the results are likely to guard against any bias, and lend sufficient credibility and validity to the findings. To control the element of subjectivity and bias further, experts' views are compared and contrasted with the actual perceptions, classroom teaching and learning practices, and the sociocultural dynamics of English-medium policy in the low-fee schools. Furthermore, their theoretical positions are also analyzed from the viewpoint of theory and

available research conducted within the context of the tension between mother-tongue based policy and English-medium education policy in Pakistan-like sociolinguistic contexts specifically from several postcolonial countries. Finally, the research evidence gathered from several other sources such as research journals by other scholars, newspaper reports, documentaries, survey reports, and statistics from other institutions such as NGOs have been utilized to counterbalance the subjectivity of the expert observers and the researcher. Thus, the research design and the triangulation of data sets with a wide range of informants and diverse “individual viewpoints and experiences “were used against each other to verify the results, and ultimately achieve, “a rich picture of the attitudes” (Shenton, p. 65). The following is a brief description of their biographic profiles:

Table 3.2: Biographical Information of Key Expert Observers

1. EXPERT 1 is a distinguished professor of linguistics. He is also HEC Distinguished National Professor and Professor Emeritus at the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for life. He is a highly published scholar with over 99 articles in scholarly journals; 18 books; 22 entries in encyclopedias and reference books; 33 contributions to books and several book reviews.

2. EXPERT 2 is a PhD in linguistics. He is presently the Managing Director of Baacha Khan Trust Educational Foundation (BKTEF) Peshawar. He has some 20 international research publications and scores of media articles on education, human security, social transformation, culture, linguistics, extremism and terrorism and regional cooperation to his credit besides participation in more than 12 international conferences over the last 15 years. His new book '*Rethinking Education: Critical Discourse and Society*' provides an insight to readers on critical discourses in Pakistani society and its links with education system in the country.

3. EXPERT 3 is a writer and journalist who worked with the English language daily, Dawn, as Assistant Editor since 1975. She has written editorials and articles on the social sector after extensive research on education, health, women, children, and population. Earlier, she worked as a Research Officer in the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi in 1962-69. In her recent book, '*Tyranny of Language in Education: The Problem and its Solution*', the author attempts to look at the issue from a young child's perspective. She makes recommendations based on biological, social, historical, political and, above all, pragmatic imperatives that could give a boost to

education in Pakistan. She sheds light on the roles to be assigned to the mother tongue, the national language, and English, the international language of the day.

4. EXPERT 4 is PhD in Political Economy. He is currently Assistant Professor in the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. He is teaching political economy and sociology. His areas of research are on identity formation, social movements, and informal economy. He contributes to the daily Dawn. He has extensively published research journals and co-authored books. He is an activist-academic and is closely affiliated with working-class movements.

5. EXPERT 5 is a writer, educationist, language activist, and freelance journalist. He regularly contributes towards renowned dailies. In addition, he is the Executive Director at IBT-Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (Institute for Education & Development). The institute is a joint venture of the educated youth of Swat-Kohistan (upper Swat) established in January 2007 with the goal to be an effective and representative organization in the remote, ethno-linguistic minority and marginalized areas of the Swat valley for the sustainable and integrated development with the tools of research, advocacy and community involvement and participation.

6. EXPERT 6 is an educationist. He is the former Regional chief of UNICEF, and served as the Managing Director of Balochistan Education Foundation.

7. EXPERT 7 is a prolific writer, thinker, education expert, and novelist. He has served as a Secretary in the Education Department of Balochistan.

8. EXPERT 8 is a regional representative of the UNESCO Balochistan chapter. He has been covering the developments surrounding language and education issues in the country.

9. EXPERT 9 is an experienced teacher who has served in various private and government sectors schools for over 12 years.

3.7 Triangulation research design

Denzin (2009) defines triangulation design as “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” (p. 291). Triangulation is one of the mixed method designs, which is “to simultaneously collect both quantitative and qualitative data, merge the data and use the results to understand a research problem” (Creswell, 2008, p. 257). Triangulation refers to what Bryman (2003) explains as the use of more than one approaches to the investigation of a research question to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings. The triangulation design was adopted because this design is useful as it allows researchers to be more confident about

their results (Jick, 1979). Another justification for the employment of this design is that a multiple data sets can be used to confirm, disconfirm, cross-validate or corroborate results (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Morgan, 2007; Steckler, McLeroy, Goodman, Bird, & McCormick, 1992). While suggesting strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research, Shenton (2004) also considers triangulation of data sources as one of the effective strategies to enhance credibility of the results. With wide range of informants, “ individual viewpoints and experiences can be verified against others and, ultimately, a rich picture of the attitudes, needs or behaviour of those under scrutiny may be constructed based on the contributions of a range of people” (Shenton , p. 65). The basic rationale for the use of triangulation design is “to offset the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other (or conversely, the strength of one adds to the strength of the other”(Creswell, 2008, p. 196). Triangulation takes place at different levels. Denzin (2009) identified four types of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation and methodological triangulation. This study used three of the above four types of triangulation except investigator triangulation. For instance, the study used data triangulation as it gathers “data through several sampling strategies so that slices of data at different times and in different social situations, as well as on a variety of people”. Likewise, the study utilized methodological triangulation as the data has been gathered with the help of multiple research tools. Moreover, the study draws on more than one theoretical positions and frameworks for interpretation of data; therefore, methodological triangulation also occurs. Importantly, given the nature of the study, and the multiple aspects this study sets to examine, the use triangulation is deemed appropriate as corroborating one data set against the other. For instance, the researcher believes that input from the students’ questionnaires will initially be cross-validated with their input from the interviews. Similarly, the views from school principals and schoolteachers may further be cross-validated and corroborated

with insights from the macro-level respondents (expert observers). Likewise, allows that perceptions of one pool of stakeholder may be validated or invalidated by perceptions from the other pool. In addition, the written essay and reading passage attempted by students can support significantly in delving deep into confirming or disconfirming the information from all respondents within the schools—students, teachers and school principals. On the other hand, classroom observations provide sufficient first-hand evidence as to discover how valid, accurate, and justified the perceptions of different pools of respondents stand vis-à-vis the actual classroom teaching and learning practices. Thus, gathering data from different layers is believed to assist in in-depth understanding and it can lend credibility and trustworthiness to the results of the study.

3.8 Data analysis

The data analysis may be described in three steps: data analysis procedures, data presentation, and data interpretation. The data analysis stage involved analysis of the different data sets into themes (interviews and observation) and tables/figures (questionnaire survey). The data analysis process began even within the data collection stages as the themes started to emerge from interaction with various pools of respondents during interviews, classroom observations, field notes, and research journals during classroom observations. Importantly, field notes significantly supported in taking note of the naturally occurring events within the schools, reinforcing the main data gathering tools. For instance, the process of collecting and analyzing the qualitative data, for example through interviews, is an interactive process in which the analysis usually begins during the data collection stage (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). For the identification and analysis of major themes, a systematic guide for thematic analysis was followed, a coding framework as advanced by Braun and Clarke (2006). This

process is done in 6 phases: familiarizing with data; generating initial codes; searching for themes, reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; and producing the report.

One of the first steps in the analysis of the interviews is that of transcription which also helps in familiarizing with the data. The audio and video tapes were transcribed. The transcription phase may be time-consuming and tedious; however, it can be a useful way to familiarize with the data and to locate major or minor themes (Riessman, 1993). The transcription was used as a valuable preliminary tool to recognize it as an ‘interpretive act’ (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999), and as many researchers believe, transcription can be “a key phase of data analysis within interpretative qualitative methodology” (Bird, 2005, p. 227). Before assigning codes for undertaking analysis, the transcripts were carefully revisited and reviewed line by line to ensure that the data has been accurately transcribed. The next stage involved the assigning of codes to the data which is also termed as the data reduction process (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). According to Creswell (2008), coding is a process of segmenting and labeling text to make descriptions and form broad themes in the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest researchers should code for as many potential themes/patterns as possible; and code individual extracts of data in as many different “themes as they fit into” (p. 89). In addition, Creswell’s (2008) visual model of coding was used for the coding process, which guides about the stages of coding. The visual model suggests that researcher should initially read the data, and divide the text into segment of information. Subsequently, label the segments of information with codes, and reduce overlap and redundancy of codes. Finally, the model asks for collapsing codes into themes. Likewise, codes were assigned themes.

To link the data with the research question, a framework was followed as advanced by Rubin and Rubin (1995) and Braun and Clarke (2006). They suggested that analysis should be underpinned by the research questions and objectives. Braun and Clarke (2006) propose that it would be a major pitfall if there were a mismatch between the data and the analytic claims made, therefore, “a good thematic analysis needs to make sure that the interpretations of the data are consistent with the theoretical framework” (p. 95). Furthermore, as the emerging themes were numerous and varied across groups of respondents; therefore, to illustrate data in a clear and vivid fashion, I also used an approach called data transformation ‘quantifying or quantizing qualitative data’—a statistical representation of the major emergent themes derived from qualitative data (Leech, Onwuegbuzie, & Combs, 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). This involves enumerating the frequency of themes within a sample, the percentage of themes linked with a given group of respondents, or the percentage of people selecting particular themes (Leech et al., 2011; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). In line with these guidelines, the qualitative data was quantified by enumerating the number of times the respondents used a certain ‘code’ or ‘theme’ and derived frequency and percentages. Thus, after adopting the required protocols for the data analysis, the themes were broken into discrete categories and sub-categories.

The next stage involved data presentation. Having derived both theme and statistics from qualitative and quantitative data sets, the data was arranged in the form of tables, graphs, and thematic headings in the data analysis chapters of the thesis. Subsequently, the two data sets were organized as per the research questions of the study. The analysis of the emerging statistics and themes were described based on data triangulation design. The triangulation involved merging of multiple data in the form of description of the statistics and incorporation of the relevant quotations from interviews. In addition, classroom observations

were also embedded within the analysis of statistics and interviews. The final component of analysis involved an analytical description and critical interpretation of the data. The interpretation of the data was based on the theoretical underpinning of the study. The data was discussed through the theoretical lenses of additive bi/multilingual education, critical language policy and sociocultural theory. References to previous studies were particularly used to discuss the emerging data. Drawing on the data, the final chapter of the study provides an integrative summary of the main findings, conclusions, and recommendations for further research. The final write-up is structured in terms of main emerging themes emanating from interviews. Following is graphic presentation of the steps in data analysis:

Table 3.3: Steps of Data Analysis

Data analysis procedures	Analysis of data during interviews, observation, and survey questionnaire distribution
	Computation and tabulation of survey questionnaire with the help of SPSS; transcription of video/audio-taped interviews and coding & drawing major themes
Data presentation	Triangulation of data—presentation of tables/figures from questionnaire and description/analysis of the emerging
Data interpretation	Discussion and interpretation of the emerging themes
	An integrative summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations for future research and policy

3.9 Data presentation

The qualitative data is presented in thematic categories whereas the survey questionnaire data is presented in the form of simple descriptive quantitative analysis that include tables and graphs showing the frequency counts and percentages. For instance, the results from questionnaires have been statistically arranged in tables, graphs, and illustrations using Microsoft Office and SPSS software. The tables, graphs, and illustration show the data numbers, ratios, frequencies, trends, correlations and so on. In addition to this, the qualitative data, which constitutes a substantial proportion of the data as a whole, has been qualitatively analyzed applying procedures generally applied in the analysis of qualitative data. Precisely, this involved organizing the data across material types such as all interviews, all observations, all related documents, and the field notes. This followed transcription of the data that had been originally recorded either in the form of video or audio recordings. In the next step, “a preliminary exploratory analysis of the data was conducted to obtain a general sense of the data, memoing ideas, and thinking about the organization of the data” (Creswell, 2009:250). Subsequently, as standard practices go for qualitative data analysis, coding of the data was performed. This included what Creswell describes as the “segmenting and labeling text to form description and broad themes in the data” (p. 251). The codes were thus further reduced to major themes eliminating all redundant information. Having assigned codes and identified labels, the emerging themes were rendered to description in line with the aims of the study. The questionnaire survey also contained a short written essay aiming to assess the writing ability of the students in the English language. For the assessment of the writing of the essay, an assessment framework was used which is normally used for rating writing as introduced by (Jacobs, Zinkgraf, Wormuth, Hartfiel, & Hughey, 1981).

3.10 Ethical considerations

During data collection, all the ethical issues were scrupulously taken into account. In the beginning, formal requests were made to the school principals as well as the expert observers for support in data collection. The consent of the school principal was communicated through a letter seeking their permission for entry to the schools (Refer to Appendix). They were also informed about the study by sharing the objectives and scope of the research. Assurance was made that the research would not harm the reputation of their schools by using their original names or making direct references either to any person in the school. In view of above stated standards and pledges to protect their integrity and confidentiality, the study uses their coded names. Similarly, teachers were requested to spare their students for a certain amount of time. The teachers were also guided about the scope and purpose of the research. The respondents' views were politely received and accepted. They were given sufficient time to articulate their viewpoints. Before doing either video or audio recording, every participant's consent was sought. Knowing the problems, many respondents might face in the use of English language; therefore, prior consent was sought for their desired language of communication to ensure originality and spontaneity of the views expressed. The same ethical considerations were observed during interviews with the expert observers. Their names are also coded in the data presentation to ensure confidentiality.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter presented the research methodology of the study. The study employs mixed methodology with triangulation research design. The basic rationale behind adoption of mixed methodology was to enhance the validity of the results and combining both qualitative and quantitative data provides a better understanding of research problem than either research problem alone (Creswell, 2009). Additionally, as Creswell (2013) suggests, mixed method

design is a good method to use if you seek to build on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative data. The site of the study is the 11 low-fee English-medium private schools. The sampling of the research comprises of 245 students of high secondary classes, 8 schoolteachers, and school principals from each of the 11 schools surveyed. Besides this, 9 independent experts also contribute their input to the findings of the research. The research instruments include interviews, survey questionnaire, classroom observation, and library/desk research. Interviews are conducted with all the four pools of participants; however, questionnaire survey includes only students.

CHAPTER 4: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the participants' demographic profile. The data are presented to provide information on respondents' gender, age, language background, educational background, and occupational background of parents. In addition, the demographic profile of the non-student respondents such as teachers, school principals, and expert observers is also presented. The demographic details of the respondents set to provide a background illustrating specifically the socio-educational and socio-economic conditions of the students. The background information can be significant because it can show and help to analyze the compatibility between English-medium education policy and the home background of the students. It is critical because scholars attach immense importance to exposure to the school language such as English in the present context, and they propose that English-medium education policy can generally be effective for those children whose parents are educated in the English language and those who can get maximum exposure to the English language within their sociocultural ecology (Annamalai, 2013; Benson, 2013; Jhingran, 2005, 2009, 2012; Mohanty, 2013; Mustafa, 2011; Phillipson, 2009b; Rahman, 2004a).

4.2 Students' socio-demographic profile

This section provides information about respondents' socio-demographic profiles. It includes both students and non-student respondents. The early part presents the preliminary socio-demographic profile of the students, which precisely includes gender, age, linguistic background, locality, and parents' educational and occupational information. A total of 245 students responded to questionnaires while a total of 30 students were purposively selected for interviews. The following section illustrates gender representation.

4.2.1 Gender

Out of 245 students, only 26 of them were females. The male respondents clearly form the majority who consist of 219 (89%). The noticeable difference of gender representation in the present case is reflective of the fact that alarming gender disparities prevail across educational landscape in Pakistan. Although, the situation concerning gender representation has considerably improved in the last few years; however, a greater amount of disparity in representation between male and female still prevails in education. Several surveys and reports have revealed the overall literacy situation in Pakistan. In UNESCO's report, Lynd (2007) estimated that only 59% of girls and 73% of boys attended the primary schools. Similarly, UNDP (2009) suggested that basic female literacy stands almost half that of males. Segregation is also an important dimension of schools where girls are separated from boys or vice versa. Most schools have separate campuses for either boys or girls or with separate sections in one campus. This is a regular feature of the private schools too. The present study found that 9 out of 11 schools had arranged separate classes for males and females. A number of factors would have motivated this policy; however, religion and social values and norms within the culture appear to be the basic reasons.

4.2.2 Students' age

The following figure illustrates the age range of the students. In Pakistan, students of higher secondary levels (grade 9 and 10) generally spend 10 to 12 years to matriculate from the school. Children are generally enrolled at the age of around 4 to 6 years in schools. The data show that students' age ranges from 13 to 20 years of which the largest number of them falls in 15-17 (69%) years old while a small number of them stand in the range of 18-20 (11%) years. The remaining respondents' age stands in between 13-14(20%) years. The age range of students may vary for different reasons. Some are enrolled in schools late while some

others might spend a couple of years in one class due to failure. The age of students may be varied; however, the number of years most of them are approximately the same; generally 10 to 12 years until matriculation. The following figure presents three major categories of age range:

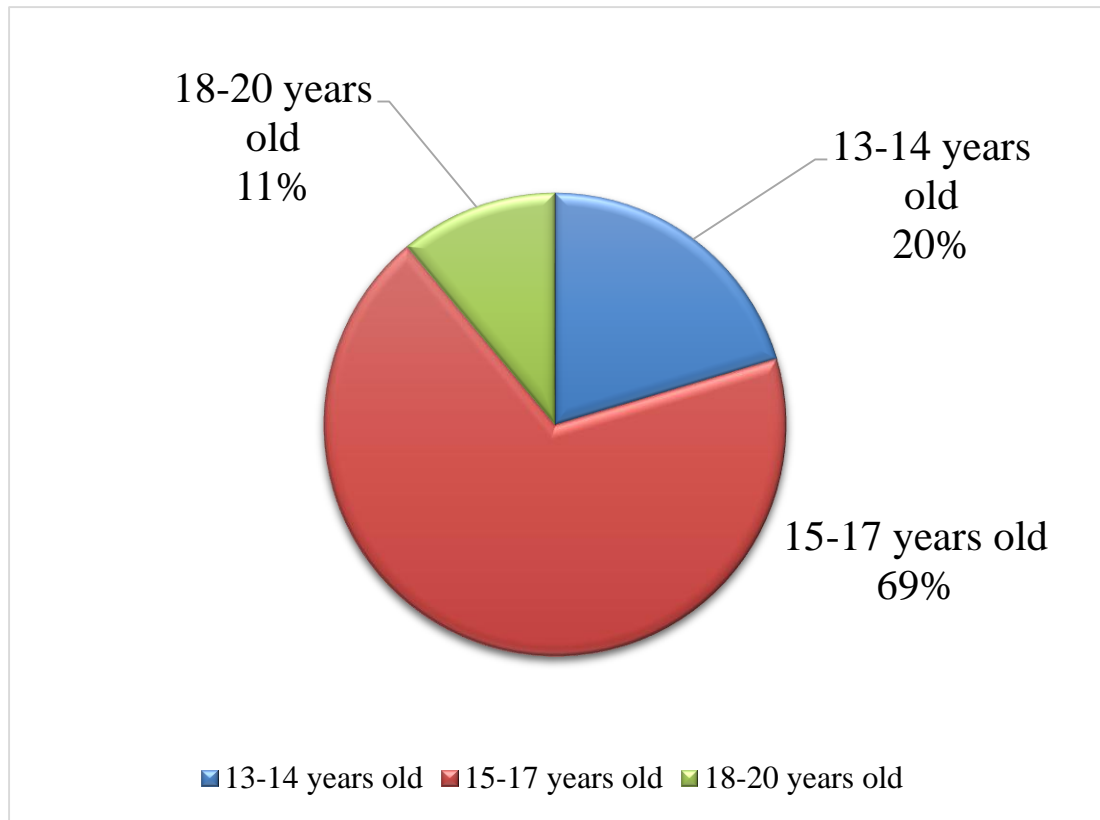


Figure 4.1: Age Range of Students

4.2.3 Students' linguistic background

The respondents of this study represent diverse linguistic backgrounds, a feature that marks the sociolinguistic landscape of Pakistan. The statistics show that Pashto speakers form the majority because Pashto speaking ethnic group is one of the largest in the capital city of Quetta. Furthermore, most of the schools surveyed for this study are situated in the neighborhoods that are predominantly inhabited by the Pashto speakers. Other students

belong to 10 different ethnic groups who speak languages such as Urdu, Balochi, Burahvi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Persian and Kohistani. Students' linguistic background may not necessarily account for a central analytical unit in the context of the study; however, it does point to the typical linguistic diversity most schools in Pakistan inhabit. The linguistic diversity within the schools also suggests that most of the students find their mother tongues excluded from the mainstreams schooling particularly the English-medium schools. Figure 4.2 below illustrates the linguistic background of the students:

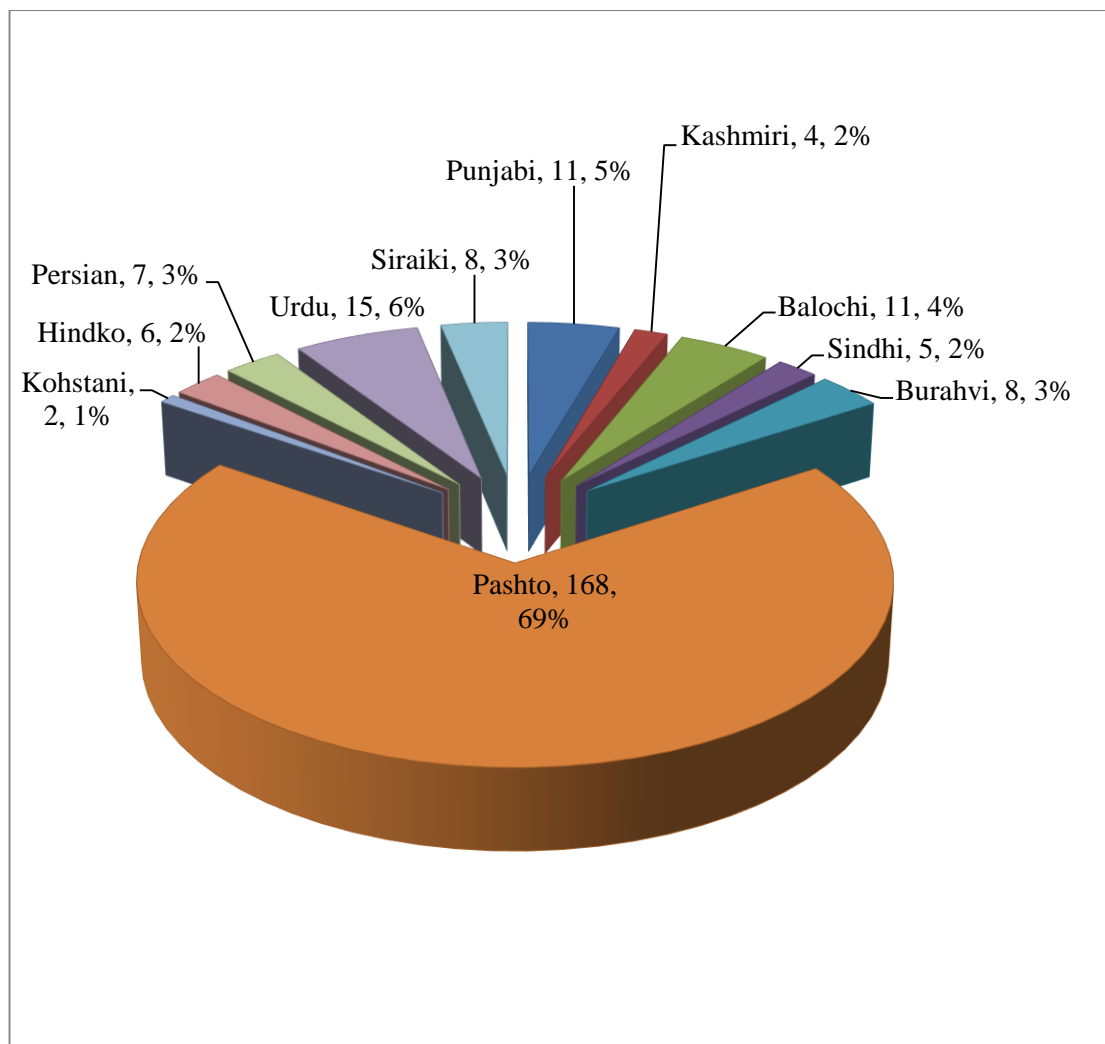


Figure 4.2: Linguistic Background of Students

4.2.4 Students' locality

Table 4.1 provides information about the localities of the students. The figures show that they are predominantly from Quetta city; however, there is a noticeable representation from other districts of Balochistan province as well as outside the province. A significant number of students belong to Pishin, Loralai, Zhob, Killasaifullah and Killabdullah. Students from other districts of Balochistan have settled in Quetta city to get admission in the English-medium schools because their native districts either do not have schools or suffer from poor quality of schools. This also suggests that parents from the remote districts of Balochistan also realize the importance of English-medium education.

Table 4.1: Locality of Respondents

District name	Number	District name	Number
Quetta	169	Kohlu	1
Sibi	3	Mansehra	1
Chaghi	3	Mastung	1
Loralai	10	Killasaifullah	10
Karachi	1	Jacobabad	1
Kalat	2	D.G. Khan	3
Zhob	7	Muzaffarabad	2
Ziarat	8	Abotabad	2
Pishin	13	Lahore	1
Killabdullah	5	Peshawar	1
Dera Murad Jamali	1	--	--

4.2.5 Parents' educational level

The educational background of parents was included in the questionnaire as it served two main purposes in the context of English-medium education policy. Firstly, the information could show the educational backgrounds of parents; secondly, it could also illustrate the level of parental support and exposure to English students might enjoy at homes. Parental support and children's educational development are proportional. An array of scholars on medium of

instruction policy emphasize on compatibility between school language and children's homes. Scholars associate the success of English as a medium of education partly with students' family backgrounds specifically parents' educational background. English-medium policy can largely favor those children whose parents are either educated in the English language or those receive extensive naturalistic cultural and linguistic exposure within their homes (Annamalai, 2004; Benson, 2009; Jhingran, 2005, 2009; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a). As Table 2.4 shows, 33.46% of their fathers and 71.84 of their mothers do not hold any formal education at all. Therefore, they may be described as illiterate. Figures also indicate that fathers are more educated than mothers are. Additionally, the ratio of parents with postgraduate education is considerably low. For instance, 38% of the fathers and 5% of the mothers hold Master's Degree while only 7.6% of the fathers and 4.9% of the mothers hold Bachelor's Degree. The overall figures indicate that majority of children belong to families whose parents have either no education or less education. In light of the low education rates, most of parents may not be expected to give support to their children in their school work especially with reference to English language as some scholars propose (Annamalai, 2013; Jhingran, 2005, 2009; Mustafa, 2011, 2012a; Phillipson, 2009b).

Table 4.2: Parents' Educational Background

Education level	Father	%	Mother	%
No education	82	33.46	176	71.84
Primary	19	7.76	10	4.08
Middle	17	6.94	5	2.04
High secondary	43	17.54	23	9.38
Intermediate	22	8.98	14	5.72
Bachelor	19	7.76	12	4.9
Masters	38	15.52	5	2.04
M.Phil.	2	0.82	--	--
CSS	2	0.82	--	--
Madarasah education	1	0.4	--	--
Total	245	100	245	100

4.2.6 Parents' occupational information

Parents' occupation can be an important signifier of students' socio-economic background. As figures indicate, the occupational background of parents is rather varied. The vast majority of their mothers are housewives. Business stands out as the most prominent profession of the fathers, which is 40%, however a number of fathers hold government jobs across various sectors. As a whole, the socio-economic status of parents is varied and it seems that most of them belong to lower middle and lower-working classes. Even businesses can include small, medium, and big; however, the socioeconomic background of the respondents may represent largely middle and lower-middle classes, but not necessarily an educated class. As Table 4.2 illustrates, a larger segment of students comes from less educated families. Majority of respondents are the first-generation of English language learners with apparently little exposure to the English language at home.

Table 4.3: Parents' Occupational Background

Occupation	Father	%	Mother	%
No	16	6.52	233	95.08
Government job	69	28.16	--	--
Business	102	41.62	--	--
Engineer	5	2.04	1	0.4
Doctor	5	2.04	3	1.24
Farmer	6	2.46	--	--
Driver	1	0.4	--	--
Teaching	14	5.72	8	3.28
Sports coach	1	0.4	--	--
Private job	16	6.54	--	--
Actor	2	0.82	--	--
Contractor	4	1.66	--	--
Salesman	2	0.82	--	--
Mechanic	1	0.4	--	--
Cleaner	1	0.4	--	--
Total	245	100	245	100

4.3 Non-student respondents—teachers, school principals and expert observers

Following is a brief description of biographical information of the non-student respondents.

These respondents included teachers, school principals and the expert observers.

4.3.1 Teachers

A total of eight teachers were available for interviews. All of them were teaching English courses. In terms of gender, six were females while the rest were males. The focus of interview was to seek information about their academic qualification, the reason for doing job in a private school, teaching methodologies in the class, the level of English language ability that students attain at the matriculation stages, and their perceptions about straight-

for-English medium policy versus mother tongue based education policy. The following questions were asked during interviews:

1. What is your academic qualification?
2. What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?
3. How do you teach English in class?
4. What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?
5. How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?
6. How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools?

Following are the details of their academic qualification. Their academic qualification fell in the following range: MA/MSc (n=3), BA/BSc/B.Ed. (n=4), FA/FSc (n=1). In terms of academic disciplines, 2 of them were MA degree holders in English literature whereas others had different backgrounds—MSc Chemistry (n=1), BA (n=2), BSc (n=1), B.Ed. (n=1), and FSc (n=1). Teaching experiences also are varied considerably which ranged from 5 months to 10 years. The majority of them had been in teaching from 1 to 3 years. Except for the two with B.Ed. and MA in English degrees, none of them underwent any professional teacher training or a refresher course. One of them attended a training workshop conducted by the Association for Academic Quality (AFAQ) and the other attended a workshop organized by the British Council for English teachers.

4.3.2 School principals

A total of 11 school principals made themselves available for interviews. The questions addressed to the principals were principally focused on the way they perceived the English-medium policy in schools. The role of school principals is critical as the principals administer all activities and critically mobilize language management and policy within the schools. In terms of academic qualification, 8 of them held Master degrees, and one of them was a retired civil engineer. Two of them held degrees in education while the others studied other subjects

such as Zoology, Economics, International Relations, English literature, Chemistry and Engineering. Three of them held degrees in Education—Bachelor of education. Similarly, their experience in the field varied considerably ranging from 3 years to 13 years. Their linguistic background suggested that 5 of them spoke Pashto, 1 Balochi, 1 Burahvi, 1 Punjabi and 3 Urdu.

4.4 Summary of socio-demographic profiles of respondents

The preceding sections provided respondent' socio-demographic information. This section summarizes the socio-demographic profile of respondents to highlight its significance from the viewpoint of English-medium policy in the low-fee private schools. It is believed that some of the socio-demographic indicators foreground useful setting to the overall theme of the thesis as a number of scholars propose that the success and effectiveness of English-medium policy is proportional to the socio-educational, socio-cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds of the students (Annamalai, 2004, 2013; Jhingran, 2005, 2009; Mohanty, 2006, 2013). Scholars from Pakistan also propose that unless children have English-rich acquisition environment and extensive social exposure at homes, in the community or in schools, children are likely to encounter difficulties to handle their textbooks in the English language (Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a). In addition, an array of scholars from Pakistan and other post-colonial countries also suspect the success of English-medium education policy where children are forced to learn through a language, which not only differs from their home language, but also stands alien to their sociocultural ecology because of the limited naturalistic exposure (Annamalai, 2013; Dutcher, 1995; Ferguson, 2013; Jhingran, 2009, 2012; Mohanty & Panda, 2009; Phillipson, 2009b; Pinnock, 2009; Rahman, 2004a). Furthermore, experts from constructionist school of thought also consider social interaction, scaffolding, input and output through socially mediated activities as critical in the learning

of a second or a foreign language (Ellis, 1985, 2006, 2008; Izumi, 2002; Krashen, 1982, 1985, 2004a; Nunan, 2005; Nunan, Ellis, Nation, & Robertson, 2005; Patten, 2003; Swain, 2005; Vygotsky, 1978). In view of the significant role social exposure plays in the learning of a second/foreign language such as English in Pakistan, the socio-educational background of the students can serve as a visible indicator of how matched the English-medium policy stands in the contexts of those children. Figures indicated in table 4.2 that students' parents are predominantly uneducated—fathers (33.46%) and mothers (71.84%). Overall figures indicate that majority of students belong to families whose parents have either no education or considerably less education. Dutcher (1995) concluded that, “Parental and community support and involvement are essential to all successful programs” (p. viii). Therefore, it can be argued that English-medium education policy minimizes the role of parents in the educational activities of their children because most of them are not only uneducated or less educated, but are also unfamiliar with the language taught in the school.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented an account of the socio-demographic profile of respondents that included both students and non-student. It illustrated variables such as students' gender, age, linguistic background, and parents' socio-educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. In terms of gender, the vast majority of students were males. The age of students ranged mainly between 15 to 17 years. Linguistically, they belonged to 11 different ethnolinguistic groups with Pashto speakers making the majority. The educational background of their parents suggests that respondents largely belong to uneducated and less educated families. A vast majority of parents have no formal education. Majority of the mothers are housewives. Similarly, the socio-economic status of their parent shows considerable variation with the

highest number of doing own business. The next chapter aims to delineate a detailed account of stakeholders' perceptions about English-medium policy in schools.

CHAPTER 5: STAKEHOLDERS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ENGLISH-MEDIUM POLICY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the perceptions of stakeholders about English-medium education policy in schools. The data is drawn mainly from the interviews and partially from the survey questionnaires. During data analysis, a six-phase thematic analysis procedure was adopted as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), which entails familiarizing with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and producing the report. A thematic analysis of the data demonstrates two emerging trends—support for straight-for-English policy versus mother tongue based multilingual policy. Students, teachers, and principals overwhelmingly favor a straight-for-English policy, which signifies the importance of teaching English as a medium of instruction from the beginning of the schooling or from the nursery classes—a term extensively used in literature on language in education policy in Africa and other parts (Heugh, 2000; Obondo, 2007). All the 11 schools surveyed in this study also use straight-for-English policy. On the other hand, expert observers overwhelmingly recommended a mother tongue based rather than English-medium policy at the primary stages of schooling. Although, none of the expert observers expressed any outright opposition to English-medium policy per se; however, all of them showed reservations over practical viability and real execution of such policy. Their reservations were about three main aspects of English-medium policy—timing of introducing English language, institutional unpreparedness and limitations in teaching and learning practices, and the socio-cultural factors accompanied with the English-medium policy. In light of the divergence in policy propositions between the supporters and the dissenters of the English-medium policy, the analysis of the two is presented in sequential order under the

main headings of students, teachers, and principals and expert observers. The major themes are subsequently discussed under the afore-mentioned headings.

5.2 Students, teachers and principals

A vast majority of students, teachers, and principals show positive attitudes towards English-medium policy and pursue the current policy enthusiastically. Three major themes may be categorized under their perceptions about the English-medium policy, which are organized under the following sub-headings: motivational factors, resistance to mother tongue based policy, and perceptions/misperceptions about English language learning as a foreign language.

5.2.1 Straight-for-English policy

Students, teachers and school principals propose for straight-for-English policy. Straight-for-English policy signifies that English should be taught starting from the nursery level in schools. The term straight-for-English policy has been extensively used in literature on language-in-education policy in Africa and other parts (Heugh, 2000; Obondo, 2007). Such proposition naturally stands opposed to mother tongue based education policy, the proposition of the expert observers put forward in their interviews. The low-fee schools currently apply straight-for-English policy where children are taught English from the kindergarten level. In their advocacy for the straight-for-English policy, the respondents who are students, teachers and principals lay down a number of motivational factors. The following section highlights the motivational factors that drive students, teachers and school principals for straight-for-English policy.

5.2.2 Motivational factors

The data show that students, teachers and school principals overwhelmingly aspire for straight-for-English policy. The question on why the above pool of stakeholders aspires for straight-for-English medium policy. A number of motivations drive them for this choice. As Hornberger and Vaish (2009) argued that, “disadvantaged communities are increasingly demanding access to English so that their children can join a workforce that mandates knowledge of this language” (p. 1). Nearly the same motivational factors make the supporters of the English-only policy in the present study as described above. The supporters perceives English as a ‘Passports to Privilege’ (Rahman, 2005); therefore, they favor English-medium policy, and simultaneously resist the introduction of mother based tongue education in schools. The data in table 5.1 has been drawn from the interviews of students, teachers, and school principals. It gives numerical presentation of the motivations and illustrates why students, teachers, and school principals put their premium on the English-medium policy.

Table 5.1: Motivational Factors behind English-medium Policy

Motivational factors behind English-medium policy	Frequency	Number of respondents	Percentage
English-an international language	40	49	81.6%
English-key for higher studies	16	49	32.64%
English-key for medical studies	14	49	28.56%
English-key for engineering	8	49	16.32%
English-key for entry to Pak Army	13	49	26.52%
English-key for entering bureaucracy	23	49	46.92%
English-gateway to banking/finance	6	49	12.24%
Use in Private/NGOs sector	15	49	30.06%
Use in foreign travel	26	49	53.04%
Contact with people abroad	23	49	46.92%
A modern/advanced language	6	49	12.24%
Language of high status	12	49	24.48%
Language of job/opportunities	14	49	28.56%
Language of internet	13	49	26.52%
Medium of modern technology	15	49	30.06%
Key for entry to Civil Services	29	49	59.16%

Table 5.1 illustrates the numerous factors, which motivate the stakeholders to support English-medium policy in schools. Education through English-medium is viewed as a gateway to many socioeconomic opportunities, the sum of which Lin and Martin (2005) termed as ‘goodies’. Goodies signify benefits, which the stakeholders appear to attach to English-medium education. The largest number of them n=40(81.6 %) believes that because English is an international language; therefore, English-medium policy must continue in schools. The other factors include the instrumental role and institutional dominance of the English language within both Pakistan and outside. English is indisputably the unrivalled dominant language across all domains of power and prestige; therefore, the stakeholders also see English-medium education as a passport to those domains. In their view, education in any other indigenous or Urdu language is likely to push them backward. The domains of

powers in particular include bureaucracy, Pakistan Army, higher education, corporate sector, law and nearly all the professional fields such as medical, engineering and information technology. Importantly, a considerably larger segment of the stakeholders perceives English as instrumental to contact and interaction with the people in abroad—n=23 (46.92%). Thus, the stakeholders understand and realize the potential role and function of the English language. An important facet of the stakeholders' view is their exclusive support for English-only policy at the cost of eliminating the indigenous languages from the mainstream institutions in general and education in particular. In addition, there is a need to examine carefully as to how much their exclusive support for English-only and straight-for-English policy stands coordinated with the theory and ground realities in schools and social environment. The supporters clearly articulated their stance on their support for straight-for-English policy. Following are the voices of some of the advocates of English-medium policy.

The students justified English-medium policy for different motivations. For instance, a student explained that, "*Mei doctor banana chahta hu. Aagei sarei books English mei hei* (I want to become a doctor. All the books are in English as we go ahead)" (STDT1). Another student argued that he liked English-medium policy because "*English eik international language hai* (English is international language)" (STDT2). According to another student, "*Aagei sare courses English language mei hungei* (every course of higher studies is in the English language)" (STDT4). English is inevitable, argued another student, "*English important hai. English ke baghair kuch mumkin nahi* (English is important. Without English, nothing is possible)" (STDT7). In view of yet another student, "*Dusre languages important hungei, lekin English sab se ahem hai. Mother tongue job to nahi deti* (Other languages may be important, but English is the most important. Mother tongue does not help in job)" (STDT13).

Few other students referred to the important role English was likely to play in access to certain vital domains such as bureaucracy, technology, and professional sciences. For instance, a student said that his father wanted him to become a bureaucrat and join the Civil Services; therefore, command and proficiency in the English was deemed instrumental for qualifying examination for the cherished future career. He explained that, “My dream is CSS and CSS is not possible without English” (STDT8). CSS stands for Central Superior Services in Pakistan. According to another student, “*English technology ka zaban hai, computer aur internet ka, aur dusre digital cheezoo ka* (English is the medium of technology, computer, internet, and all digital gadgets)” (STDT6). There were students who argued in favor of the English language because of the market demands: “*Meri future mei Pakistan Army mei jana chahta hu, jis kelye muje English seekhna hoga* (it is my future plan to join Pakistan Army. For that, I have to learn English)” (STDT21). Moreover, another student highlighted the importance of English thus, “*Har jagah English use hoti hai medical mei, engineering mei, business mei har jagah* (English is used everywhere...in medical, in engineering, in business...everywhere)” (STDT24). Several other students were ambitious to travel abroad; therefore, they believed English learning was critical. They argued that, “*Meri plan hai keh study karne bahir chala jawoo, is liye English zaroori hai*” (My plan is to go for study abroad that is why English is important) (STDT10). Another student argued that, “*English foreign mei boli jati hai*” (English is used in foreign) (STDT16). In view of another student, “*English ki wajah sei hum world kei dusre logo sei mil saktei hei*” (We can get to know and interact with people around the world through English) (STDT27). In addition to students, teachers exclusively supported English-medium policy. 8 out of 8 teachers supported straight-for-English medium policy. Various reasons were cited for the use of English in education. A teacher argued that, “We need to promote and teach English because it is the need of time” (TCHR1). Another teacher cited English as the best tool for employability. She said that,

“Agar hum chahte hei keh bacho ko achi job mil jaye, to English bahot zaroori hai” (If we want our children to get good jobs, then learning English is a compulsory) (TCHR3). In a teacher’s view, English language was inevitable as it was a vehicle, which would enable students to utilize the advantages of information technology. She asserted that,

Mei English medium policy ko strongly support karti hu. App ko pata hai computer English mei hai, internet English mei hai, aur sara international media bhi English mei hai, is liye English bahot zaroori hai (I strongly support English medium policy. You know computer is in English, internet is in English, and the entire international media is in English too. Therefore, English is essential) (TCHR4).

In view of another teacher, English and development were intertwined. No progress was possible without learning the English language; therefore, it was urgent to expose children to English-medium education from their earlier schooling years. He articulated that,

Mera khyal hai keh English ke baghair hum taraqi ka tasawur bhi nahi kar saktei , chahe zati level pe ho ya mulki level pe (I think we cannot imagine progress without English—be that individual level or country level) (TCHR7).

Like students and teachers, the school principals also stressed the need for English-medium policy. Simultaneously, they objected any change in policy in favor of indigenous languages. However, only two of the school principals admitted the critical role of mother tongue based education policy. One of the principals laid down the importance of English-medium in the following words:

Mera nahi khyal keh aaj kal ke zamanei mei hum English ke ilawah koi aur zabaan parha saktei hei. English kei bahot faidei hei jaise advanced knowledge, job aur behtar future (I don’t think in this age and time, we can risk teaching other language than English. English is a key to opening every gateway to knowledge, job, and better future prospects (PRPL11).

Highlighting the importance of English-medium policy, a school principal contended that,

Aap yaqeen kare hamei bachoo ki English medium per ziyadah kharch karna chahiyei qunkeh is kei agei bahot faideh hungei (Believe me we should invest a lot on English-medium education of our children because it has definite economic rewards)” (PRPL1).

In addition, another principal referred to the strong instrumental role of the English language in the job market saying that,

Hum ko English par bhi tawajah deeni chahiye. Ache jobs English kei baghair na mumkin hei. Sarei professions aur sarkari jobs kelye English zaroori hoti hai. Hum jantie hei yeh ek international zabaan bhi hai. Jaha bhi aap jatie ho, waha English chal jati hai (But we also have to pay attention to English because good jobs are not possible without English. All professional fields and civil services demand English. We know it is international language too. Wherever you go, English can help you) (PRPL4).

According to a principal, quality education and English-medium education were analogous.

Education in a language other than English holds little economic value. He elaborated that,

Jaha tak mei janta hoo, agar kisi ko quality education chahyei, bachoo ko English medium mei parhana chahiyei. Mera ek aur mashora bhi hai keh bachoo ko primary sei English parhaw, who ziyadah se ziyadah English seekh lingei. Mujhe local languages ka koi faidah nazar nahi aata. Yeh qadam peeche le jayegi (If you give quality education to your children, give them good education in English-medium school. Teach children English from the beginning, they will learn more and more English. I see no scope of local languages. It will be a step backward) (PRPL5).

Questionnaire survey about students’ favorite language policy in schools also confirms identical positions as described above. As a whole, the vast majority of students marked English as their favorite language policy in schools while mother tongue based multilingual policy received negligible support. Many students also suggested the use of Urdu as a subject in schools. Following is a numerical representation of the students’ views about their preferred medium of instruction policy in schools. This data is derived from survey questionnaire. It suggests that the largest number of them opts for *English-only*: n=115(47%) while second largest number prefers a bilingual English and Urdu policy with English as

medium and Urdu as a subject: $n=85(35\%)$. The remainder suggests Urdu: $n=5(2\%)$, a multilingual English, Urdu and Mother tongue policy: $n=16(6\%)$, Urdu and Mother tongue: $n=9(4\%)$, and English and Mother tongue: $n=15(6\%)$. The following figure illustrates frequency count and percentage ratio:

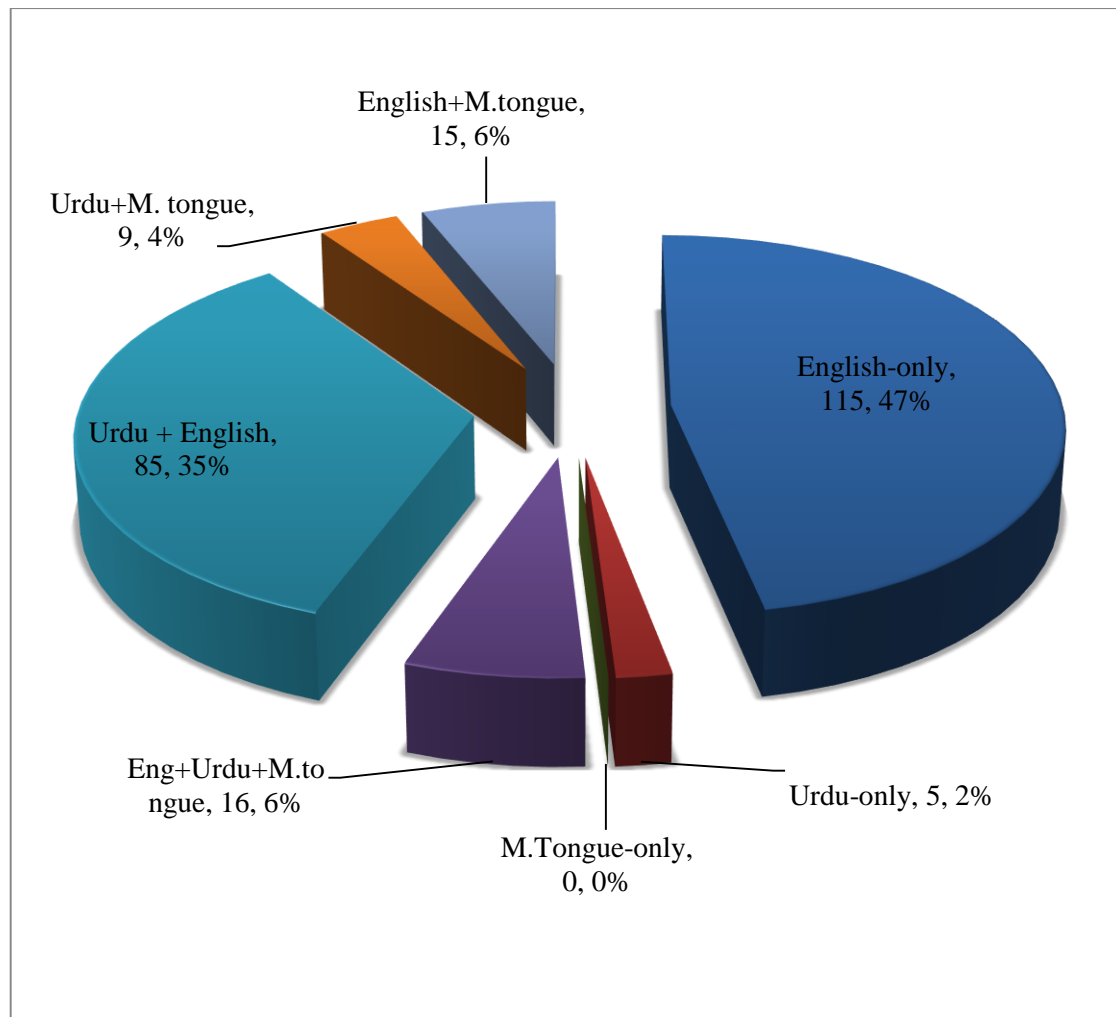


Figure 5.1: Students' Desired Language-in-education Policy

Figures above highlight an important aspect, which is that no student desires the mother tongue based policy. Collectively, English stands the most desired language as a medium in schools whereas Urdu also interests a larger segment of participants. Mother tongue based education policy does not receive any favor nor does Urdu medium excite their interest. The language policy preferences are close to previous studies on medium of instruction choices

of undergraduates and school students in Pakistan (Manan & David, 2013; Manan, David, & Dumanig, 2015c). In a country-wide survey on language preferences and language attitudes, Mansoor (2004b) also found that the respondents demonstrated low competency and use of the mother tongues, and shown “negative attitudes to their own languages as seen in their preference to study in English and Urdu medium at all levels of schooling” (p. 333).

5.2.3 Resistance to mother tongue based education

The majority of students, teachers, and principals abandon mother tongue based policy in schools. The analysis suggests that barring a negligible portion of students and only two school principals, the vast majority of them plainly reject the idea of introducing mother tongues in schools. Noticeably, this majority carries negative attitudes towards the value of indigenous mother tongues as well as mother-tongue based education policy. As presented in preceding figure, the overwhelming support goes to English-only medium education policy. According to this pool of stakeholders, mother tongues are not suited in schools because they believe that, “*They are used only at home/community*”; “*they are not used in domains of power*”; “*they don’t help in upward mobility*”; “*we already know our mother tongues*”, and “*their scope is little in technology, computer, internet, global/international communication*”. The following table illustrates a numerical representation of the causes that drive the students, teachers and school principals to abandon mother tongue based education. The frequency counts and percentages are drawn from interviews.

The perceptions of this bunch of stakeholders may be described as resistance to mother tongue based policy because except for only two school principals, the rest of students, teachers, and school principals fondly advocate for early English-medium policy. Simultaneously, they reject the idea of introducing mother-tongue based education in schools. A wide range of factors drives such resistance. The table below illustrates the factors,

of which the highest number of them (75.48%) suggests that the mother tongue are not modern and sophisticated enough to be taught in schools. Other factor includes that the mother tongues are already known (42.84) to students; therefore, they need to utilize schooling as opportunity for learning a new language such as English (65.28%). The other significant reasons include that due to lack of economic/transactional value, mother tongue education is likely to close opportunities for employment and minimize prospects for upward social mobility (53.4%). Other reasons overlap though; however, stakeholders highlight them to justify their resistance to mother tongue based education. Those factors include that mother tongues hold little scope outside home, outside the country, the province, in science, media, and other job opportunities.

Table 5.2: Resistance to Mother Tongue Based Education

Causes/causes of abandonment	Frequency	Number of respondent	%
No scope outside home/community	24	49	48.96%
No scope outside country	19	49	38.76%
No scope outside province	9	49	18.36%
Already known to me	21	49	42.84%
No use in science	5	49	10.2%
No use in media	5	49	10.2%
No use in internet/IT	17	49	34.68%
No use in job/employment	37	49	75.48%
Not modern/sophisticated enough	9	49	18.36%
Leave backward	26	49	53.4%
Closure of opportunities	32	49	65.28%
Need to learn new languages	29	49	59.16%

In their view, there are various reasons that make such policy unfavorable as indicated in Table 5.2. Mother tongue based education does not merit their consideration because those languages have no value and function in the domains outside communities and homes. For instance, a student argued that,

“Mujhe English aur urdu pasand hei. Mujhe school mei mother tongue pasand nahi qunkeh yeh foreign mei nahi boli jati. Mujhe ye aati hai, school mei parhne ki kia zaroorat hai (I like Urdu and English to learn. I do not want mother tongue in school because it is not used in foreign. There is no need in school I know it)” (STDT3).

Another student abandons the use of mother tongues in schools because in his view, *“Mera khyal hai, English ke baghair hum peeche chalei jayingei (We will be backward if we don’t learn English)”*. The same student further contends that,

Mei English chahta hu qhunkeh yeh hamari majboori hai. Mei kabhi bhi local languages ko nahi chahunga. Local languages sirf yaha bole jatei hei (I want only English in schools because it is a necessity. I will never support local languages. Local languages are spoken only in local places) (STDT9).

Since mother tongues are not used in any of the powerful domains that would promise better career opportunities; therefore, there was no need to opt for a mother tongue based education policy. They were meant for homes and intra-community use; therefore, they should remain restricted within the homes and local communities. For instance, a teacher disapproves mother tongue based education arguing that,

School mei mei mother tongue ko support nahi karta. Is ki koi importance nahi hai. Bache har waqt ghar mei Pashto hi boltei hei, is ki koi zaroorat nahi hai. Humei ziadah se ziadah Englidh parhana chahiye (I do not support mother tongue in school; it is not important; children always talk in Pashto at home, there is no need in school. We need to teach more and more English)” (TCHR4).

The respondents tend to assign informal domains to the indigenous languages and propose a position, which according to Rahman (2005a) relegates those languages into social ghettos. Their views also render literacy as valueless in their mother tongues. As a respondent believes,

Mujhe mother tongue achei lagtie hei, lekin humei English seekhni chahiye qunkeh hum English medium school me hei. Mei apni zaban mei likh aur parh nahi sakta, I think yeh itna important nahi hai (I like mother tongue, but we should speak English because we are in English medium school. I don't know how to write and read in mother tongue, but I think it is not important)(STDT11).

Another student also undermines the value of reading and writing in his mother tongue because they have no market value. In his views,

Local languages important hungei, lekin English sab se ahem hai. Mother tongue mei reading aur writng job to nahi deti (Local languages may have importance but as compared to English, they are not. Reading or writing in my mother tongue does not give me job)" (STDT13).

A number of other students put forward identical views about the use and value of literacy in their mother tongues:

Mei English ko mother tongue per prefer karta hu. Hamare apne mulk mei agar hum Sindh mei ya Punjab mei chalei jaye, to udher koi Pashto nahi hai. Is ke muqabile mei English bahot se foreign countries mei boli jati hai (I prefer English over mother tongue. I think in mother tongue, reading and writing is not so important. In our own country, if we go to Sindh or Punjab, there will be no Pashto. As compared, English is used in many foreign countries) (STDT22).

Another student argued that,

I am like English and Urdu in schools. Mother tongue is for home. Pakistan mei mother tongue ki koi value nahi hai (There is no value of mother tongue in Pakistan). *Mei doctor banana chahta hu. Doctori banane kelye English zaroori hai, mother tongue nahi* (I want to be a doctor for that English is compulsory). (STDT25).

As far as the school principals are concerned, 9 out of 11 strongly rejected the introduction of mother tongues in schools. Two of them acknowledged the advantages of early education in children's mother tongue; however, they also accentuated the dominance of the English language. For instance, a school principal argued that,

Mei sochta hoo keh English ko primary sei parhane me koi nuqsaaan nahi hai. Yeh wahid aur best tariqah hoga bachoo ko ziaadah English seekhnei kelye. Woh pehle sei apni zabane jantei hei. Koi zaroorat nahi un par kisi aisa bojh dalnie ki jo woh already ghar mei use kartie hei (In my view, there is no harm in teaching English from beginning. It is the only and the best way to make children proficient. I do not favor mother tongue at all because it has no value outside a child's home. They already know their mother tongues; there is no need to burden them with something they already use at home (PRPL6).

Other school principal calls for a pragmatic rather than emotional approach towards language issue in schools, which is the teaching of English-only in schools. She observes that,

Dekhei, practically, ghar aur community ke ilawah local languages ka koi scope nahi hai. Isi tarah, books mei, taaleem mei, sciences aur computer mei in ka koi scope nahi hai...kahi nahi. Mei janti hoo keh yeh hamrei apnei languages hei lekin hum jazbati faisalie kar ke apnei bachoo ka future madari zabano keleye qurbaan nahi kar saktie. Jo mei janti hu, English ke siwa hamara koi choice nahi hai. Jinta ziaadah ho English parhaaw. Humei chahiye English ko nursery sei parhayei takeh unke pass seekhnei kelye ziaadah time ho. Mother tongue ka proposal ghalat hai. Hum pasmandah hojayegei, aur woh opportunities lose karingei jo English dei sakti hei (Look, practically, local languages have no scope outside home and community. Likewise, they also have no scope in books, academia, sciences, computer...nowhere. I know they are our own languages, but we cannot sacrifice future of children by making sentimental decisions in favor of mother tongue. What I understand is that we have no choice without English. Teach English as much as you can. We need to teach English from nursery so they have more time to learn well. Proposal for mother tongue is flawed. We will be backward and lose opportunities English can offer (PRPL7).

As a whole, the above pool of respondents that represents students, teachers, and school principals perceive English-medium policy positively while rendering the indigenous languages less value. The basis of their argument is their lack of economic and instrumental function within Pakistan and outside the country. Additionally, the stakeholders also assume that since they already know their mother tongues; therefore there is no need to study them

in schools. By learning, most of them referred to the oral use of mother tongues in day-to-day informal interaction within the social networks. Academic literacy in the shape of learning to read and write in mother tongues did not capture their imagination. In their views, schooling will benefit them substantially if they used English rather than spent time on their own languages. It presumably suggests that the prime purpose of schooling in their view is the learning of a new language while the subject material/course contents held secondary value. Learning English is being considered synonymous with knowledge while they presumably indicate that knowledge acquired in languages others than English is worthless, and immaterial. Patricia Ryan (2011) observed that the global dominance of English has resulted in a culture of equating “intelligence with a knowledge of English, which is quite arbitrary”. The perceptions of the supporters of English-only echo the same voices.

It is worth-noting that resistance towards mother tongue based education does not come as a surprise as a number of studies from some other countries also replicate almost identical perceptions of the stakeholders (Benson, 2004a; Hornberger, 1987; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2007; Schroeder, 2004). Contextualizing the emerging perceptions about the English and the mother tongues, one is tempted to endorse the positions held by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) who argued that the economic value attached with English has pushed it to the top of learning agenda for a large number of stakeholders while sacrificing the indigenous languages. In line with Ricento and Hornberger (1996), one would also like to argue that unless and until social attitudes change, “resistance to bi/multilingual education will continue regardless of official national policy or research demonstrating its effectiveness in educating language minority and majority children (p. 416-417).

5.2.4 Perceptions about the early introduction of English and language learning

In the interviews, the supporters of English-medium policy that comprised of three pools of respondents such as students, teachers and school principals put forward an array of perceptions and presumptions about English language, language learning and specifically about the early introduction of English or ‘straight-for-English’ policy. Early introduction of English is a favorite policy in some other countries too. According to Cenoz (2009), the increasing role of English has developed growing demand in Europe for more English learning and improved quality English instruction in schools. Consequently, the need to acquire higher levels of proficiency in the English language has given rise to the introduction of English in primary or kindergarten level in several European countries. Citing the example of Basque Country, Cenoz (2009) noted that 90% of schools teach English “from the age of four although it is not compulsory until the age of six”. Importantly, one of the major reasons for the “early introduction of English is the pressure from parents who want their children to learn English and think that an early introduction necessarily results in a higher level of competence” (p. 193). Jhingran (2009) also discussed the same trends where demand for early introduction of English is rife in India, and “The argument provided in favour of this early introduction of English is that this would help children learn English better” (p. 276). As the trend for early introduction of English is prevalent around other countries, identical perceptions have given rise to the proliferation of a large number of English medium schools, which mostly practice straight-for-English policy.

The perceptions of stakeholders are highlighted and analyzed in this section. Perceptions in this context signify the understanding and beliefs students, teachers and school principals hold about English language and language learning which they justify for using straight-for-English policy in schools. The following is a numerical presentation of the major

perceptions of the supporters regarding straight-for-English policy in schools. These figures are drawn from interviews of the supporters of the English-medium policy comprising of 30 students, 8 teacher and 11 school principals. As the table given below illustrates, the supporters of the English-medium policy advance several reasons to advocate for the policy, and they simultaneously put forward numerous assumptions. A significant number of them argue that children can learn English language better and faster when they are young (51%). Some propose that a multilingual policy may not be helpful because teaching multiple languages can cause confusion (34.68%). Others are optimistic that when children are exposed to early English-medium, they are likely to achieve greater proficiency in the language (59.16%). Similarly, few others are also positive about early English-medium policy because they presume that greater proficiency in the English language will enhance opportunity for upward social mobility (34.68%). Some favor English-medium policy because English is the language that merits quality education while education in languages other than English does not merit quality because children will not be able to move forward with mother tongue based education (38.76%). Some also that argued that multilingualism and language diversity in schools can cause problems (55.08%). Many other respondents are not positive about early mother tongue based education and late transition to English-medium policy (51%). Few others regard language as unimportant issue in education (18.36%). This group of respondents is of the view that language is immaterial. They emphasize that if the system provides quality teachers and better schooling opportunities, the challenges associated with the teaching of English language can be overcome.

Table 5.3: Straight-for-English-medium Policy—Assumptions about Language Learning

Perceptions/presumptions	Frequency	Number of respondents	%
Young-Age and English Learning	25	49	51%
Multiple Languages Apprehension	17	49	34.68%
Early-English Exposure and Maximum Proficiency	29	49	59.16
Earlier English and Social Mobility	17	49	34.68%
English-Medium as the only Quality Education	19	49	38.76
Language Diversity as a Problem	27	49	55.08
Concerns about Late Transition to English	25	49	51%
Language is a Non-Issue in Education	9	49	18.36

The perceptions given in support of the straight-for-English medium policy are discussed in detail. The analysis is particularly critical because most of perceptions can be described as conflicting to the fundamental tenets of additive bi/multilingual education and threshold hypothesis (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988), and interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979, 2000). One of the fundamental tenets of additive bi/multilingual education includes teaching children in their mother tongue at the beginning of their schooling; therefore, this perspective does not accord with straight-for-English policy most supporters espouse. As the supporters extend their full support and want the current policy to continue without any change; therefore, it is crucial to contextualize and put their positions vis-à-vis the theoretical paradigms of the bi/multilingual education. Theorists in the bilingual, multilingual, and mother tongue based multilingual education have been advocating the advantages of earlier schooling in a child's mother tongue or a familiar language to which she/he has sufficient linguistic input and exposure in classrooms, schools and in social environment. Scholars have proposed that initial literacy and academic development are

better achieved in the child's first or home language as a medium of education, rather than through a second or a foreign language (Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1979, 2000; Hornberger, 1988; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Mohanty, 2006, 2010, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2009). In the following sections, each one of the perceptions regarding support for English-only and straight-for-English policy is described and analyzed.

5.2.4.1 Young-age and English language learning

Both teachers as well as school principals confidently assert that English-medium is the right choice at the beginning in schools because children can learn additional language best when they are young. They presume that tender age is ideal for learning a language such as English. The quintessential thrust of their proposition remains that the earlier the English teaching, the greater the language learning. In their view, the minds of the children are sharper than that of the adults, and there is relatively greater potential for faster and better learning of the English language when it is introduced at the nursery level. A teacher observes that,

Mother tongue app nahi parha saktie. Is tarah woh English kab seekhingei, English ek important language hai. Yeh international zaban hai. Future mei inn ka guzara kaisei hoga? Mere khyal mei hamarei pass koi chara nahi hai. Agar app chahtie hei keh bachei bare level par muqbilah karie, to English parhaw. Hum apnei school mei yahi kara rahei hei. Hum bachoo ko mustaqbil ki tayari kelye ek acha bunyaad de rahei hei (You cannot teach mother tongue. How will they learn English then, as English is compulsory language? It is international language. How will they survive in the future? I do not think we have any other choice. If you want children to compete at high level, teach them English well. Our school is doing the same. We give children good platform to prepare for the future) (TCHR6).

Another teacher equates language learning with learning of any new subject. She presumes that learning new language is not different from that of learning new subjects such as sciences or humanities. In her view, when a child spends more time in studying the language with the help of books and other text material, they will become more familiar with the language. Similarly, more instruction in schools can enhance their proficiency in different aspects of English language. She contends that,

Sharoo se agar hum English nahi parhayenge, to bacho ki reading writing aur speaking samajh mei nahi ayega. Jab hum kisi cheez ko ziadah waqt dingei, to hum ziadah seekh ligei. Yahi English kesath bhi hai. Jintne woh chotei hungei, utni hi unke language seekhne ke chances barhinge (If we don't teach English from the beginning, children will not properly understand to read, write or speak. When you give something more time, you will learn it well. The same is true with English. The younger they are, the greater the chances for language learning) (TCHR8).

School principals also hold identical views as expressed by the teachers. Their emphasis is on early introduction of English-medium policy while children are young. They presume that English-medium policy must be implemented from the initial stages of schooling because a child can grasp and absorb new things quickly. They try to suggest that the older the child, the lesser the chances for learning the English language. Once children are grown up, the language learning possibilities may gradually diminish. As one school principal explicates that,

Bachei jitney chotie hotie hei, utni hi unkei dimagh tez hotie hei. Is liye humie English bilkul sharoo sei hi parhani chahiyei. Is tarah bachei ziadah sei ziadah English samajh jayingei (The more the children are young, the greater the sharpness of minds. In this way, children will be able to learn more and more about English (PRPL5).

In line with the behaviorist approach, another principal argues that English language learning is a matter of habit formation; the more they practice the language, the greater they will grasp it. He further proposes that,

Mere khyal mei English theek hi hai. I think, students jab ziadah English ke sath deal karingei to yeh used to hojayingei aur English unn kelye assan hojayigi. Hamei mother tongues par waqt waste nahi karna chahiye. Is tarah woh English teezi ke sath improve kar lingei (I think English is ok. I think when students deal with English more; they will get used to it and feel easy about it. When we expose children to English in schools, they will find it natural and will adopt it easily. We should not waste time in teaching mother tongues. I think they will learn the language faster in this way) (PRPL9).

Collectively, most teachers and school principals perceive that there is no harm in teaching children English from the nursery level; rather they presume it will enhance their chances to learn the language. They stress on earlier introduction of the English language as

advantageous which they believe will yield positive results, as children's brains are sharper when they are young. Similarly, most of them regard the teaching of mother tongues as a waste of time and energy and do not see the role of the mother tongues in the learning of additional languages unlike most theorists and experts of additive bi/multilingual education espouse (Baker, 2001; Benson, 2002; Cummins, 1979, 1984, 2009; Krashen, 2004a; Pinnock, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976; UNESCO, 1953, 2006).

Age and critical period are crucial subjects in the learning of a second or a foreign language that have captured the attention of researchers and amounted to scholarly debates. In this sense, age also poses challenges to educationists and language policymakers to decide in the right manner as how and when to introduce a second or a foreign language in schools. The effect of age on second language acquisition is a controversial subject that has drawn much attention in SLA research (Cenoz, 2003b, 2009; DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005; Genesee, 2004; Harley & Wang, 1997; Krashen, 2004a; Singleton & Ryan, 2004a, 2004b). Contrary to popular opinion of most of supporters of 'the early, the better' policy of English teaching, Krashen (2003) categorically stated that younger acquirers are not faster at language acquisition. Rather, older children are faster than younger children are, and adults are faster than children are. According to Cenoz (2009), the notion that children pick up languages more easily than adults is very popular. In this context, one of the crucial factors to which many researchers refer, is the context of learning. Whether the learning of a second or a foreign language takes place in a naturalistic context such as social exposure or a formal school-like context, is critical to discuss. Cenoz (2009) explains that the notion of sensitive age or critical period may influence the learning of a second language positively; however, there is a need to distinguish between "natural and formal contexts of language acquisition".

Cenoz argues that most research that supports sensitive period and stresses the young age, has been conducted in natural settings where “extensive natural exposure to the language is combined with formal learning” (p. 193). While this situation is in sharp contrast to “acquiring a second or foreign language in situations in which exposure to the language is limited to the school context and usually to a very limited number of hours per week” (p. 193). In a relevant subject, Genesee (2004) compares young and old students finds that older students can benefit from more developed knowledge of the first language especially literacy skills and self-selection because those who go for later immersion are relatively more motivated and well-informed about their goals than young students are. Natural exposure to the target language is a sure advantage. For instance, Singleton and Ryan (2004a) conclude that, “those who are naturalistically exposed to an L2 and whose exposure to the L2 in question begins in childhood eventually surpass those whose exposure begins in adulthood, even though the latter usually show some initial advantage over the former” (p. 227).

Numerous other studies that focused on age and the learning of a second or a third language do not support the notions, which the supporters of the early introduction of English in the present study recommend. Having examined a wide amount of evidence, Singleton (2003) concluded that age must be viewed to involve numerous other issues, amongst many, the most notable are the knowledge of previous languages such the first language. Cenoz (2003b) studied the influence of age on the acquisition of English, general proficiency, motivation and code switching. She found that although younger learners demonstrated better attitudes and motivation towards language learning; however, older learners progressed more quickly in FL acquisition that may be due to cognitive maturity and different input types at different ages. In another study, Mayo (2003) studied the early introduction of English as a third language in the institutional setting. The focus of the study was on age, length of

exposure and grammaticality judgments in the acquisition of English as a Foreign Language amongst the bilingual (Basque/Spanish) learners of different age groups in an EFL setting. The findings suggested that an earlier start did not produce significantly better results in a situation of foreign language acquisition. In another study, Victori and Tragant (2003) examined language learning strategies and age. Their results indicated that in spite of significant variation, older students displayed a larger number of strategies that were cognitively demanded ones. In their longitudinal study, they found that as the students grew in age, so did the variety of their strategies expanded. In the context of Pakistan, no specific research is conducted on age as factor in the acquisition of English as a second/foreign language. However, Coleman and Capstick (2012), in response to the supporters of early English policy in school, suggested that there was a “widespread misunderstanding about how children learn languages and about the role of language in education” (p. 8). Coleman and Capstick (2012) termed this as invalid simplistic overgeneralization. They further explain that,

Adults have their own language learning strengths which children lack. For example, they develop grammatical understanding and they learn to read and write in new languages much more rapidly than do children. On the other hand, because children tend to be less inhibited in their use of language than adults, it may well be true that in a supportive environment - such as the family where they are exposed to languages in a natural and unthreatening manner children will acquire oral skills more rapidly than do adults(p. 38).

In view of the numerous studies, extensive research evidence about the role of age in second/foreign language acquisition, the perceptions of the stakeholders supporting the early introduction of English can be based on what Coleman and Capstick (2012) termed as uninformed , grounded on invalid overgeneralization. In addition, English, a foreign language to most students of the low-fee English-medium schools, seldom features in the social contexts of most of the students; therefore, they do not have naturalistic exposure.

5.2.4.2 Multiple language apprehension

This assumption holds prominent amongst many respondents who believe that it is difficult for children to get hold of multiple languages in schools. They stand opposed to a multilingual or trilingual policy, as it would cause potential linguistic confusion amongst learners. Learning two or more languages will overload children; thus instead of subject material and course contents, their energies will largely consume in learning two or three languages. Importantly, while this pool of stakeholders perceives multilingualism as an impediment to learning and monolingualism as an ideal, but experts of bilingualism see it as a resource and an advantage. Cummins (2000) proposes that, “bilingualism is associated with enhanced linguistic, cognitive and academic development when both languages are encouraged to develop” (p. 4). Similarly, Mohanty (2009b) advocates multilingual education as a resourceful bridge,

...a bridge between home and school, between languages and between cultures. A bridge from the home language, the mother tongue, to the regional language and to the national language as well as world languages like English; an empowering bridge that leads to meaningful participation in the wider democratic and global setup without homogenising the beauty of diversity; a bridge that liberates but does not displace(p. 6).

In contrast to the above benefits of a multilingual education policy, the stakeholders perceive that English-only policy is more productive, easy, and practicable because as such, children will not have to deal with additional languages such as mother tongues and Urdu. As a school principal argues that,

Humum ziyadah languages nahi parha saktie. Bachoo kei dimagh ziyadah languages ka bojh nahi lei saktei. Sirf English sahih hai. Ziyadah languages kei ziyadah mushkilaat hungei. Bachie pehle se apni madari zabane jantei hei, unko Urdu aur English ki ziyadah zaroorat hai jo hum unko parha rahei. Ploicy isi tarah rehni chahiyie hei (We cannot teach many languages. Children’s minds cannot absorb burden of many languages. Only English is ok. More languages means more challenges. Children already know their mother tongues; they need English and Urdu more, which we are teaching them. Policy should remain as it is now) (PRPL1).

Another school principal puts forward his idea that,

Ab English kei barei mei, mei aap ko batawoo agar aap English parhana chahtie ho to aap ko primary classes se parhana hoga. Hum ziyadah languages nahi parha saktei. Mere khyal mei ziyadah languages parhane se bachoo per bojh parega aur unka confusion barh jayega (About straight-for-English, I tell you if you want to teach English, you have to teach from the primary level. We cannot teach many languages. I think teaching many languages will increase burden and cause more confusion for children) (PRPL2).

With a multilingual policy, children will be bogged down by linguistic confusion; the bulk of their time will be wasted in learning languages, not learning other academic subjects. For instance, another school principal rejects the idea of a multilingual education policy apprehending that it is likely to take students' focus off the basic academic subjects such as sciences, mathematics, etc. He argues that,

We are already teaching English and Urdu, if we add third language to our syllabus, it will be extra burden on students. Language is not that much important. I think, important is how you teach in class. If too much attention is given to languages, purpose of education will go into background. I tell you very few parents are willing to teach their children in local languages (PRPL3).

The majority of the stakeholders prefer English-only monolingual policy. The crux of their argument remains that there is no possibility of a language policy than the current one, and that the more the languages in schools, the greater the negative effects on academic growth of the learners. While the supporters of only-English policy perceive the multiplicity of languages as a problem especially in the schooling context; however, their understanding sharply contrasts with the concept of additive bi/multilingual education. Their perceptions are, theoretically speaking, largely influenced what Benson described as the 'monolingual habitus', a perspective derived from Bourdieu's theory of a set of unquestioned dispositions towards languages in society. Benson (2013) explains that "educational approaches in low-income multilingual countries are pervaded by a monolingual habitus, or set of assumptions built on the fundamental myth of uniformity of language and culture" (p. 284). Monolingual

habitus is the result of a linguistic self-conception that can make us blind to multilingual, multicultural lifeways, and in educational context, it causes us to view learners deficient who do not use the dominant language used for instruction (Gogolin, 2002). One may add that a Monolingual habitus is not only bent upon elimination of indigenous knowledge, languages and cultures; instead, it also becomes relationalized, legitimated, and normalized in the discourses as in the case of the stakeholders of English-only policy.

The perception that multiple languages can cause confusion is theoretically inconsistent and less informed by research evidence. It might be based on anecdotal and adhoc thinking. We find that around several countries, the concept of a multilingual curriculum is a common educational practice such as Basque Country. As Bialystok, Luk, and Kwan (2005) argue that non-dominant languages may be promoted through integrated plurilingual language planning, teaching competencies in three or four languages with appropriate teaching methodologies to maximize potential for cross-linguistic transfer. Cenoz (2013) also endorses such plurilingual planning as it represents true multilingual thinking and is thoroughly consistent with current research on cross-linguistic transfer and on the role of identity in cognition (p. 287). More generally, one may also object to stakeholders' assumption about linguistic confusion that trilingual policies in schools are a rather common phenomenon across so many multilingual countries. The three-language formula is being practiced with success in India; so do many other countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Philippines and so on.

5.2.4.3 Early-English exposure and maximum proficiency

The students, teachers, and school principals are enthusiastic about English-medium policy as they mostly reassert their support for the teaching of the English language at the earlier phases of schooling. Their core argument stands that the earlier the children get opportunity

to learn the English language, the maximum their proficiency levels will be. They do not subscribe to the idea of any transitional policy where English language may be introduced from later stages of schooling. Their logic for the early instruction of English is based on assumption that when children receive maximum time to study the language, it will lay a strong foundation for post-matriculation stages in colleges and universities. In order to prepare children for English-related challenges, there is a need to begin teaching from the nursery or kindergarten level. For instance, s student suggests,

Private school mei English class one se parhai jati hai, is liye mei is mei parh raha hu. English seekhnei kelye private school mei ap ko government school se ziyadah time miltaha hai. Ye sach hai in schooloo ki quality itni achi nahai hoti jis tarah beaconhouse ya city school, lekin yaha phir bhi kuch English sekhne ko milta hai (I like private school because there is English from class one. They give more time for becoming familiar with the language than in government school. Even though the quality is not that good, but we still have some chance to improve English) (STDT23).

Another student thinks that spending more time in the English medium school has presumably helped him become strong in the English language:

I like English medium. English medium ne mujhe faidah phunchatya hai. Mei ne English par ziyadah time lagaya hai, is liye mei reading aur writing kar sakta hu. Agar mei yaha na hota, to meri English bahot weak hoti (I like English medium. English medium has benefited me. I have spent more time; therefore, I can read, can write . If I had not been here, my English would have been much weaker (STDT15).

A teacher also views earlier introduction of English positively when she articulated that,

Jo mei dekh rahi hu, sharo mei English parhane ke positive results hei. Woh reading, writing aur kuch speaking se bhi waqif hojatei hei. Aap ke paas English parhane ke ilawah koi aur choice nahi hai. Ziyadah waqt se faida bahot hoga (I can see, early introduction of the English language is producing positive effects. They become a lot more familiar with reading, writing, and some speaking. You have no choice, but to teach only English. Spending more time will give better results (TCHR5).

Relating early introduction of the English language to more learning of the language, a school principal explains,

Mere khyal mei English theek hi hai. I think, students jab ziyadah English ka samna karingei to yeh used to hojayingei aur English in kelye assan hojayigi. Hamei mother tongues par waqt waste nahi karni chahiye. Is tarah se woh English teezi ke sath improve kar lingei (I think English is ok. I think when students experience English more; they will get used to it and feel easy about it. When we expose children to English in school, they will find it natural and will adopt it easily. We should not waste time in teaching other languages. I think they will learn the language faster in this way) (PRPL9).

The respondents also refer to the challenges mostly children from Urdu-medium government schools face in the English language when they join colleges and universities. Since English is introduced as a subject from grade 6th onward in the government schools; therefore, the stakeholders believe that it becomes a setback for them to negotiate with their English textbooks in the later stage of their studies. Children from the English-medium schools do not face such challenges in their academic studies at the intermediate or higher education levels because by the time they enter higher education, they have acquired a reasonable amount of proficiency in the English language, an advantage conferred on them by the earlier teaching of the English language. In their support for English, they reject the possibility of introducing a child's mother tongue because as they assume, mother tongue is the waste of time. The school principals commented:

Mei aap se arz karo, log English medium chahteie hei. Private schooloo ki demand hai. Sab sei pehli wajah yeh hai keh yeh phle din sei English medium parhatie hei, jo meri nazar mei bahot achi baat hai. Jab bache school sei farigh hungei, inhu nei English 10 saal tak parha hoga. Aap tawaqa kar saktie hei keh yeh bache un bachoo sei ziyadaha behtar hungei jo dusre government schooloo mei parhtie hei. Yahi private school ka faidah hai (Let me tell you that people want English medium. Private schools are in demand. The most basic reason is that they teach English from day one, which in my opinion is very good. When they pass out from school, they will have studied English for more than ten years—you can expect them to be more proficient in the English language than students of other government schools. This is the advantage of private schools) (PRPL1).

Another principal also refers to the advantages associated with early English in schools:

You see children of private schools do a lot better in their studies later because they have the advantage of studying English from their nursery level. You know poor conditions of students from government schools. They are weak because they do not study English from early schooling (PRPL3).

Referring to the comparatively poor English teaching and learning situations in the government schools, most of the students show positive attitudes towards the English-medium schools in which they are enrolled. In their view, early exposure to English puts them on advantageous position vis-à-vis the students of Urdu-medium government schools:

Private school is English medium, is liye mei yaha hu. yaha English class one se parhayi jati hai. Hamri English government school ke students se achi hoti hai. Qunkeh hum English nursery se parthei hei, is liye hamari English strong hoti hai. Mei computer engineer banana chahta hu, is liye English zaroori hai (here English is taught from class one. It is good. Here English is better than students from the government schools. Since we are taught English from nursery, therefore, we are better than they are. I want to become computer engineer, therefore, English is compulsory) (STDT30).

The stakeholders' perceptions that the more the children study the language in schools, the greater their proficiency may sound logical; however, it can raise several questions. As discussed in the previous section on age and English language learning, the same may apply to the maximum proficiency argument. One needs to distinguish between a mere length of time in schools and quality result-oriented exposure. Surely, students will grasp better command of the English language if they receive quality exposure in classroom and outside. As readers will find out in the next chapter 6 on 'English Teaching and Learning Practices', the teaching styles and strategies of the teachers provide rather little exposure to meaningful use of the English language. Teaching a child's mother tongue is not a waste of time; rather it can be utilized in the accelerated learning of a second/foreign language as Krashen (2003) postulates that the "Younger is not faster". Rather, acquisition of second/foreign language may be enhanced and optimized when academic literacy achieved in the child's first language

because “education in the first language supplies background knowledge, which can help make input in the second language more comprehensible. Second, providing literacy in the first language is a short cut to second language literacy” (Krashen, 2003, p. 5). Therefore, the perceptions of the stakeholders may be termed as fallacious, a belief which Phillipson (1992, 2009a) termed as ‘maximum exposure fallacy’ which held that the more English is taught, the better the results.

5.2.4.4 Earlier English and social mobility

Another assumption the advocates of earlier English-medium education forward is that children studying English as a medium from the beginning have greater chances to secure better spots in the higher education and ensure entry into lucrative jobs. Better employment and English language proficiency are interrelated. In their views, better English proficiency can be achieved only when English is taught as a medium of instruction. Thus, English-education policy is strongly recommended as it paves the way for better English proficiency, which in turn translates into potential chances for competitive positions. For instance, one of the teachers interviewed contends that only English language proficiency promises better job prospects:

Agar bachai local languages school mei parhainge, tu unko woh opportunities nahi milingei jo English deti hai (If children study local languages in schools, they will miss on all opportunities English can normally bring). *Agar madari zabano ko medium banana hai, to bacho ko school mei dakhile ki zaroorat nahi hogi qunkeh unke parents bhi parha saktie hei* (If mother tongue is to be made the medium, there will be no need for children to enroll in schools because their parents can also teach them at home) (TCHR6).

According to another school principal, since “*Everything is in English (har cheez English mei hai)*”; therefore, children must be taught English as medium in schools. He strongly asserts that,

Dekhei , English to bahot aham hai. Mei to kehta hu sab sei achi policy yahi hai keh English ko class one sei parhayei. Sirf is tarah bachei English par command hasil kar lingei. English international language hai. Har cheez English mei hai. Computer sei leikar har technology tak har cheez English mei hoti hai. Apni zabanei to bachei jantie hei (Look, English is very important. I say teaching English from class one is the best policy. Only this way, children will get command over the English language. English is international language. Everything is in English. From computer to every technology, everything is in English. Mother tongues, children already know) (PRPL11).

Analyzing the relationship between English-medium education policy and social mobility, one may argue that the relationship is not absolute; rather it is relative. It may be argued that a nominal English-medium education system wherein quality of English instruction stands below par, cannot promise social mobility. Theoretically, if the early introduction of a foreign language such as English is seen as a fallacy and contradictory to the fundamental tenets of mother tongue based instruction as proposed by advocates of bi/multilingual education. Similarly, the social mobility belief may also be described as a fallacy. It is so because Cummins claims, around 200 studies in a variety of international contexts over the past 40 years confirm the positive correlation between additive bi/multilingualism and students' linguistic, cognitive and academic growth (Cummins, 2009).

In relation to English and social mobility, the teaching and learning processes and needs have to be taken into account. Crucially, unless children properly comprehend the content of science, social studies and mathematics which require them not to only understand at the surface level, but essentially need to deal with academically demanded skills particularly “cognitive process of adding, listing, showing time sequence, showing cause and effect, comparing, contrasting, classifying, defining and hypothesizing (Clegg, 2005). In addition, the process of learning also entails relatively advanced “English language skills of predicting, skimming and scanning in reading; of planning, drafting and editing in writing; of predicting and evaluating when listening; and of setting goals, expressing opinions, evaluating outcomes and reporting back in speaking” (Clegg, 2005, p. 80). Unfortunately, rather few

teachers at the primary level are likely to have awareness about the above components of language and education at the primary level. Therefore, the perceptions such as ‘the earlier, the better’ and earlier English and maximum proficiency may be based on preconceived notions, but they are barely grounded on solid theorization and practical evidence. Social mobility is better guaranteed when children have obtained optimal linguistic, cognitive, and academic growth, which is better obtained through mother tongue based additive policy than English-only policy, a language that is functionally a foreign language to most children in Pakistan.

5.2.4.5 English-medium as the only quality education

A larger segment of students, teachers, and principals goes to the extent of arguing that real education means education in the English language. Their views signify that education in languages other than the English language is inconsequential and meaningless because that would not turn into concrete rewards such as jobs, position, and other economic benefits. For instance, a school principal articulates the supremacy of the English-medium education in the following words:

English bahot important hai. Is ki wajah sei bachoo kelye civil services mei, higher education mei, army mei aur bureaucracy mei rastie khul jayingei. English se bachoo ki market value barhegi (English is very important. It enables children to get access to civil services, higher education, army and bureaucracy. Due to English proficiency, children will add to their market value) (PRPL9).

The indigenous mother tongues considered inferior to English in terms of power, scope and prestige; therefore, the energies should be channeled optimally towards English education than any of the indigenous languages. A teacher emphasizes the scope of English-only saying that, “Of course, the real productive schooling is schooling in the English medium. You cannot equate other Urdu-medium schools with English medium” (TCHR2). In their view,

English and quality education are synonymous. A teacher equates English-only education with some potential purpose and marketability:

I think its fine. English is important. I am in favor of the same policy. We need to promote and teach English because it is the need of time. Only English medium has some promise as well as quality. Children become familiar with a language that has multiple scope. Scope is the most important aspect. It is also international language (TCHR1).

School principals also regard the institutional power, multiple scope, and scientific sophistication of the English language as the basis for their argument. In their view, since parents appreciate the value of English-medium education; therefore, the demand for English medium schools has also increased. One of the principals argues that,

Agar aap mujh se poochei, mei sirf English ko support karta hu. Har shoabe mei English use hoti hai. Yeh simple hai. Humei poori koshish karni chahiye keh apne bachoo ko English parhana chahiye. Dusri zabanein bhi important ho saktie hei, lekin woh English ki tarah nahi hei (If you ask my opinion, I support only English. All professions use English. It is simple. We have to try best to educate our children in English. Other languages may be good, but they are not like English) (PRPL2).

Another school principal explains why parents invest in the English-medium education:

App dekhei itnei parents private schooloo mei is liye kharch kartie qunkeh unke books English me hotie hei. Qunkeh unko English ki qadar ka andaza hai, is liye woh is par kharch kartie hei. Mera khyal hai keh parents bahot hoshyar hei. Unke bachei akhir mei English kei lajawab phal khayengei (You see why so many parents spend in private schools because they offer curricula in the English language. Because they see the value and quality English can bring; therefore, they invest in it. I think parents are thinking smartly. Their children will reap wonderful fruits with English at the end (PRPL5).

As the perceptions of the above respondents unfold, they tend to commodify education as well as languages in material terms. As proficiency in the English language can potentially turn into better selling commodity in the market; therefore, it must be acquired at any cost. The remainder of languages has no such tangible value; therefore, they should be eliminated from the education policy equations. According to some teachers, if parents have to invest money in education, they must do it in English-medium education because it is the best form

of investment that will result in manifold rewards. The view that English-medium education is the only quality education has been discussed by various scholars (2006, 2009b, 2013). Mohanty terms this as the ‘myth of English-medium superiority’. Mohanty (2009) argues that the success stories of the children from upper classes in India are quoted for justification of English-medium education. The case of children of the elites is different from the common children of India who do not enjoy cultural and linguistic capital at their homes as their counterparts do. Not do all children in India get access to state-of-the-art expensive private English-medium schools. At the same time, the superiority myth of English also spreads negative perceptions about mother tongue education; it also fosters negative perceptions about the value of mother tongues. Thus, the

...myth of English-medium superiority is propagated to the detriment of the poor and the marginalised. English and other ‘killer languages’ set in motion a hierarchical pecking order of languages that severely disadvantages the other languages, those of the Indigenous peoples and minorities, in particular Mohanty (2009b, p. 5)

5.2.4.6 Language diversity as a problem

How do respondents view linguistic diversity in schools? The data shows that the majority of students, teachers, and principals perceive the presence of many languages in Pakistan as a major problem. They assume that linguistic diversity poses problems for the policy makers to decide on which language to teach, and which one to leave out. Schools especially in major cities are flocked by children from different linguistic backgrounds; therefore, it is difficult to formulate a policy, which would embrace all the languages. They largely stand for a monolingual language policy—that is English-only. For instance, a student abandons the teaching of mother tongue, and believes that, “*Nahi because hum mei se kuch Pashtoon hei, kuch Baloch hei aur kuch Punjabi hei. Itne sarei languages se problems peida hungie* (No, because some of us are Pashtoons, some are Baloch and some are Punjabis. There will be problems due to presence of so many languages) (STDT3). Another student underestimates

the government schools because, in his view, students are using Urdu and many indigenous languages. As he argues,

Mujhe government schools iss wajah se ache nahi lagtei. Students aur teachers har waqt local languages mei baat kartie hei. Mei Urdu aur English chahta hoo. Yeh ziadah important hei (I don't like government schools because students and teachers often speak local languages. I want Urdu and English. They are more important) (STDT6).

Several students and teachers propose that indigenous languages must be used only at home and at the community level because they do not fit in any formal domain such as school. They tend to ghettoize the indigenous languages, delimiting their scope to homes and community only:

I want English and Urdu in school. Hamara problem yeh hai keh hum different languages boltie hei. If I speak my language Balochi, dusre dislike karengei. Mei sochta hu, humei ek language bolni chahiye. I want to be doctor; to yeh possible nahi hai keh mei English ke baghair doctor ban jawoo (problem is that we speak different languages. If I speak my language Balochi, others dislike it. I think we all should speak one language. I want to be a doctor. So it is not possible that I will become doctor without English) (STDT15).

The supporters of English-only policy show their concerns which linguistic diversity might cause. They believe that linguistic diversity is a practical impediment to the development of a peaceful school environment in the complex ethnolinguistic environment of Pakistan. Few of them feared that encouragement of indigenous languages within the boundary walls were to cause potential problems in the form of conflicts arising out of different ethnic, linguistic and identity related questions. Therefore, as the best strategy to manage this problem, it was essential to limit the use of mother tongues. English and Urdu were the best languages not only to guard against any unpleasant issue; but these two languages were also pragmatically suitable for any kind of social interaction in school. To this very issues, scholar also make reference as they argue that language policy and planning is fraught with many conceptual and challenges in Pakistan (Mansoor, 2004a; Mustafa, 2012a; Rahman, 1997; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007).

To negotiate this problem, the supporters of English-medium policy believe that it is the best option to guard against any controversy and minimize the dilemma. A language such as English will find favor with all students. For instance, a teacher shows concerns that “*Those many languages cannot be taught in schools. Whose mother tongue will you teach when there are so many students speaking different languages*”? He further proposes that,

Hamei woh language prhana chahye jis ki hamei zaroorat ho. Kisi had tak Urdu aur English hamari zaroorat hei (We need to teach a language, which is our need. English and Urdu to some extent are our need). *Local zabanein ghar hi mei bolna acha hai ya gawoo mei ya soobe mei, lekin hamei wa languages parhanein chahiye jo policy mei bataya gaya ho* (It may be good to use local languages at home, village or may be in the province; however, we need to implement the language which the national policy suggests) (TCHR4).

Encouraging the indigenous languages may cause split and result in disintegration of the country, argues one of the school principals. He calls for linguistic uniformity than diversity.

As he explains that,

Bachein agar apni zabanein ghar mei boltein, to mere khyal mei unko school mei nahi parhana chahiye (When a children already use mother tongues at home, I do not think they should also be taught in the school) (PRPL5).

Importantly, two out of 11 school principals realized the importance of the indigenous languages, and recognized their value in education. They showed positive attitudes towards the value of mother tongues and endorsed the manifold advantages associated with its teaching. For instance, a principal explained that, “*Gee ha, mei agree karta hu. In reality, bachoon ke concepts mother tongue mei asani se clear hojatein hei. Is liye mei kam az kam primary level tak mother tongue kei haq mei hu. Yeh is liye keh is mei baat aur concept asani se bachoon ko samjhayi ja sakti hai* (I favor teaching in mother tongue at least until primary level. It is so because it is the easiest medium to communicate through, and clarify concepts of the child) (PRPL4). Similarly, the two principals expressed their support for a mother

tongue based multilingual policy. However, they also highlighted the vital role English would play in children's future. Literacy in the mother tongue is critical as it helps in understanding the subject contents and assists in conceptual clarity. Teaching mother tongues would also develop their creativity, and motivate them to study the classical poetry, other literary genres, history, and culture. The two principals also admitted that the English-dominant curriculum caused the speakers of indigenous languages to become ignorant about their historical and cultural roots. It also resulted in cultural alienation. One of the principals said that,

Yes. Many people debate this issue. Politicians also raise this issue a lot. I admit, this is a problem here. As I understand, learning is much easier in mother tongue than in a foreign language like English. Students will not have to go for rote learning. Their creative abilities will grow much quicker than it is now. My proposal will certainly be education in mother tongue and English language. But, unfortunately, such thing has not happened in our country (PRPL10).

As a whole, the perceptions of English-only policy are characterized by subtractive orientations. They tend to rationalize and legitimize the current exclusivist and monolingual policies while at the same time undermining the indigenous linguistic diversity. The supporters of English-only education policy tend to endorse the current policy, which if seen theoretically, is subtractive and exclusive in nature as it subtracts the rest of the indigenous languages from the school curricula. The mother tongues of the children stand entirely excluded from the formal curricula, and their speakers remain deprived of developing academic literacy in the form of reading and writing in their mother tongues. The system forces them to study in a second and in a foreign language while their mother tongues being subtracted; therefore, such a language-in-education policy is also termed as subtractive policy. Technically, subtractive language learning occurs when,

A new, dominant/majority language is learned at the cost of the mother tongue, which is replaced or displaced, with a resulting diglossic situation. The individual's total linguistic repertoire does not grow" (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008, p. 9).

This definition may be looked at slightly differently as in the context of the present study; students do not learn the dominant language at the total cost of losing their mother tongues. They do retain and use mother tongues in oral forms; however, the exclusionary school policies keep them from developing their academic proficiency in their mother tongues. They can neither read nor learn to write in their mother tongues. One could argue that the dominant language such as English tends to replace as well as displace their mother tongues in terms of academic literacy. Students become literate in the English language, but they are left illiterate in their mother tongues—a phenomenon conceptualized as subtractive bi/multilingualism. Schools do not enable them to develop their full repertoire in their mother tongues, a condition attached to additive learning.

Considering how those, whose mother tongues are replaced and displaced by English academically, view this subtraction. The data suggests that the supporters of English-only and Urdu as a subject policy appear to justify and rationalize the subtraction of their own languages, a sign that does not bode well for the vitality and sustenance of the indigenous languages. Their attitude is marked by indifference and neglect, which arises out of a narrow vision of the significance of languages, cultural artifacts, linguistic diversity, and manifold literary, cultural or aesthetic treasure embedded in languages. They tend to perceive languages narrowly in terms of their instrumental and economic terms, a view that commodifies languages. When languages are viewed as commodities to be marketed and cashed in markets, is called the commodification of languages (Heller, 2010; Tan & Rubdy, 2008). The conclusion remains that the prevailing orientations of the students, teachers and school principals, who look down upon languages as mere commodities, profoundly downgrade the linguistic, literary, cultural, aesthetic, or other sociolinguistic dynamics of the mother tongues. In addition, they take a narrow view of the rather complex sociolinguistic

and sociocultural realities. In other words, the advocates of English-only put forward a simple solution to a complex issues—a monolingual solution to a multilingual society (Agnihotri, 2007) . In contrast to the subtractive orientations, the expert observers call for a broad-based multilingual framework where most of the children could study, learn and develop their own language alongside Urdu and English languages, an opposite view of ‘Either-Or Paradigm’ (McCarty, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010).

5.2.4.7 Concerns about late transition to English

The advocates of additive bi/multilingual education recommend introduction of mother tongues and later transition towards a second or a foreign language such English in the context of Pakistan. The proponents also believe that early literacy in reading and writing in ones’ mother tongue is advantageous in the learning of an additional language. Thus, when transition from mother tongue to English takes place, children would have acquired sufficient proficiency in their mother tongues, which in turn would be transferred to the learning of another language. Cummins’ (1979, 2000) Interdependence Hypothesis is based on the same hypothesis. Contrary to the above hypothesis, the students, teachers, and principals express their disagreement with late transition policy—transition from mother tongue to English. They do not subscribe to the concept of any exit policy and transition from one language to the other during schooling. For instance, one students opposes a transitional policy saying,

I think, English hi rehni chahiye. Agar mother tongue primary mei hogi to hum English kab parhingei? I think ek hi language se start karna chahiye aur ek hi se khatam. Mother tongue se English mei jana problem hoga (I think English should remain the medium. If we begin with English, when will we read English? I think we should start with one language and finish with the same. From mother tongue to English will be a problem) (STDT8).

In addition to students, teachers also hesitated over the transition policy apprehending it would upset students' development:

Nahi, bajayei late parhane ke hamei English sharoo se parhana chahiye. Mera nahi khyala is ka koi faidah hoga Is tarah se bacho ko English parhne kelye kam waqt melega (It is better to begin with English than make late transition. I do not think it can work that way. Children will also have little time for learning English) (TCHR7).

The school principals also do not see any linguistic advantage of late exit policy. Their argument remains that it is better to begin with English and continue with the same English language until the end rather than making a transition. Their assumptions stand diametrically opposed to what research in additive bi/multilingual education policy suggests. Here are excerpts from interviews with a school principal:

No, yeh phir bahot late hojayehga. Mother tongue sei English mei jana teachers aur government kelye bara challenge hoga. English seekhne kelye hum ko bacho ko ziadah waqt dena hoga. Primary kei baad English ka parhana maani nahi rakhta (No, it will be too late for them. Such transition from mother tongue to English can be challenging for teachers as well as government) (PRPL6).

5.2.4.8 Language is a non-issue in education

Some teachers and principals termed language as unimportant, and believed that language was a non-issue. In their understanding, language was a minor segment in the larger educational picture. If the overall education system and infrastructure improves, the language issue will itself be managed. The teacher argued that,

Hamie ek aur cheez sochna chaheye woh yah keh language itni important issue nahi hai. Hamai jis cheez ki sab se ziadah zaroorat hai wa hai parhane ka tareeqa improve karna chahiye. Agar teacher qabil ho, to kisi bhi language ko seekha jaskta hai (We need to keep in mind that language is not that important issue. What we need to improve, is the quality of instruction and teaching. If teachers are capable, any language can be learned well) (TCHR4).

In view of a school principal, there was a need for a holistic approach towards addressing the language issue. The fundamental problems lied not only in the teaching of English or any other language, but also in the poor educational system, inflicted by several issues. He proposed that,

Mere khyal mei language ke ilawah hamei education kei standard ko bhi behtar karna chahiye. Hum ko education per ziyadah kharch karnei ki zaroorat hai. Yeh bahot ziyadah teacher, students aur parents ki motivation per bhi depend kartia hai. Language eik secondary issue hai. Language kei problem ko teacher kuch had tak translation aur explanation sei kum kar saktei hei. Language ek siasi masala bhi hai (I think apart from language policy, we need to improve general educational standards. We need to spend much on education. A lot depends on motivation of teacher, students, and parents. Language is a secondary issue. Teachers can make up for language barrier by translating and giving extra explanation. Language is also a political topic (PRPL2).

5.3 Expert observers

In this part, the perceptions of the expert observers are discussed. The major themes and the reasons they propose are analyzed here.

5.3.1 Advocacy for mother tongue based multilingual policy

This pool of respondents consists of the key experts and independent observers. They propose the current language policy is inappropriate, they propose for a review of the policy concerning early introduction of the English language and the only English-only policy. Extracts from the interviews will be presented to analyze their propositions. They show reservations over the appropriateness of early English-medium education in the context of most of the children. Experts do not propose any outright rejection of the English language per se; they propose an additive language policy where children are first introduced to their mother tongues followed by late transition towards English-medium policy. Most of those experts base their policy proposals on theory, practices of bi/multilingual education, and their own research. They ask for a review of the current policy on following grounds: theoretical concerns, classroom practices, institutional preparedness, environmental exposure, socio-

cultural concerns, and the socio-economic issues attached to the English-medium education policy. In the following sections, the views of the expert observers are discussed thematically.

5.3.2 English-medium policy through theory

The expert observers who simultaneously call for a review of English-medium policy point towards the theoretical missing links the current policy suffers from. In their view, Pakistan is a multilingual country. English is a foreign language in Pakistan, and its teaching as medium does not seem to match with the fundamental tenets of bi/multilingual education. Theorists of bi/multilingual education ask for additive rather than subtractive learning, which means that children begin education with their mother tongues, and add up another language to their linguistic repertoire. In additive bi/multilingual education, “A language is added to the linguistic repertoire of the students while the first language continues to be developed” (Cenoz, 2009, p. 3). In such a case, children use literacy in their mother tongues as a foundation for learning a second or a foreign language. Given this definition, the English-medium education policy is not compatible to the theory because the mother tongues of the learners are subtracted rather than added to the linguistic as well academic repertoire of the learners. On the other hand, Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008) explain subtractive language learning which is when “A new, dominant/majority language is learned at the cost of the mother tongue, which is replaced or displaced with a resulting diglossic situation. The individual’s total linguistic repertoire does not grow” (p. 9). For instance, EXPERT 1 endorses the impression that English is a barrier to genuine learning in the context of those schools where majority of students come from uneducated or less educated family backgrounds, and whose exposure to English language in the surrounding/family is minimal. He argues that the policy makers have always turned a blind eye towards the fact that despite extensive solid research evidence about the benefits of mother tongue based instruction at

the earlier stages of schooling, mother tongue based schooling is yet to impress the policy designers and educationists. He argues that, *“Decision-makers do not believe in academic research. They have a feeling that the more English you give the better it is. Thus, they want English from day 1 of their own children and those from the elite”*.

Similarly, EXPERT 4 also recommends additive multilingual policy and shows support for the teaching of mother tongue at the early stages; however, he cautions that this does not imply that *“English cannot also be taught, these are not mutually exclusive possibilities.”* Alongside reformulating medium of instruction policy, EXPERT 4 emphasizes the schools to disseminate critical literacy and encourage critical thinking among students. He further points to the failure of the overall education system to foster critical thinking and egalitarian ethos that, *“I perceive success/effectiveness to be a function of how well developed critical faculties are and the extent to which human values are inculcated in students. In this regard most schooling experiments in Pakistan have failed, regardless of the language of instruction”*.

EXPERT 2 pointed towards the myths that were prevailing about the English-medium policy. In his view, the education system of the country suffered from chaos and lack of direction. The state and its affiliated agencies did not engage in serious policymaking. Similarly, the people had not learned about language and education issues. Mother tongue based education policy was the best in his views because such policy was in consonance with the multilingual environment and indigenous culture of Pakistan. Based on false assumptions about linguistic diversity and ethnolinguistic groups, state ideologies did not allow the mother tongues and diverse cultural ethos to flourish. In his view, the one-nation one-language discourses prevented the policy makers from recognizing the linguistic diversity of the country. A multilingual policy will *“integrate rather than disintegrate the country”*, the

imagined fears and apprehensions the policymakers harbor. According to him, teaching in a child's mother tongues was of immense benefit, as *"it not only leads to smooth educational and academic development, the literacy achieved in one' mother tongue can assist in learning Urdu and English languages."* In his view, "the actual policy makers are not linguists or language experts; therefore, they cannot formulate better language policies". He concluded, *"The current language policy must be reviewed because it is exclusionary in spirit. The policy must be based on mother tongue education"*. Bi/multilingual education is also based on the same principals as the above expert postulates.

Two other experts from the Balochistan province also recommend a mother tongue based multilingual policy. EXPERT 6 explained that we should begin teaching our children mother tongues from the nursery level because on the one hand, we are confronted with acute shortage of quality English teachers; on the other hand, mother tongue is the easiest medium for learning as children have greater amount of familiarity with their mother tongues. English is entirely alien language to those children. He argued that despite UNESCO's recommendations for mother tongue based education system, *"the policy makers in this country have always hesitated from introducing regional languages"*. Governments' inaction and lack of seriousness on medium of instruction issues have left this critical issue lingering ever since the country came into being. He recalled his experiences as a teacher that, *"when I used to explain a concept or used an easy version of Urdu or English words in the Pashto language, I could see a sign of glitter on children's faces and a shine in their eyes"*. According to him, mother tongue was much easier for both teachers as well as students to teach and to make understand concepts. He proposed that,

We have tried Urdu and English ever since independence, but they have not resulted in great deal of success, now it is high time for the authorities and education ministries to try mother tongues. UNESCO has long been calling for that, but our policy makers pay no heed. Save the Children recommends mother tongue too

Another expert from Balochistan province who meticulously monitors the schooling system in the province also concludes that we need to teach children in their mother tongues because a “*child’s learning can increase manifold. Let us say if we teach a child in Balochi language at the primary level properly, he will feel at much ease and will become sharper than he/she is now*”(EXPERT 7). He emphasized that despite extensive research by educationist and psychologists highlighting the benefits of mother tongue based education, the policy makers in Pakistan did not consider relevant theory and research. He argued, “*There was lack of seriousness at the top*”. He further argued that the Pakistani nation was suffering from “*acute psychological problems and inferiority complexes*” as the people were not taking “*pride in their own languages*”. He pointed towards many top government officers and bureaucrats from a certain linguistic background who, according used to “*shy away from speaking their own languages*” because they perceived those languages were “*signs of backward rural life and being rustic*” while English and Urdu were “*symbol of class, power, and social prestige*”. In his view, if such was the state of affinity towards the indigenous languages by the elites, one could then easily grasp the reasons of why mother tongue education has not been on the agenda. EXPERT 5, who is, a writer, columnist, and language activist, also put forward his proposal for a mother tongue based medium of instruction policy. Taking his argument forward, the above expert substantiates his argument with some empirical evidence. He suggests that several institutions were engaged in mother tongue policy on global scale, and the institutions such as UNESCO, Save the Children, World Bank, SIL, the British Council, and Aga Khan Foundation had found mother tongue education as the best policy at the earlier stages of schooling. He later referred to one such program run by the Institute for Education and Development in the Torwali speaking community in Bahrain Swat. Established in 2008, the program is called mother tongue based multilingual education. Until April 2012, 150

students were enrolled from the Torwali community. The respondent referred to one of his articles giving details of the program:

Here the students start their education in their native language exclusively for a year. After getting literacy in the mother tongue, the learners are transitioned to Urdu. At a specific stage in the second year, the learner is further bridged to English first orally and later on its literacy begins. Besides the languages, other subjects such as Maths, Science, and Ethics are also taught in the mother tongue. A two track pedagogical system is applied with emphasis both on ‘accuracy’ and ‘meaning’, in other words on skills and critical thinking. In the planning stage a ‘Language Progression Plan’ is designed clearly indicating which language is to be started when, how, how much and at what stage.

(<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2012/04/18/comment/columns/my-education-my-language/>).

The above expert further describes that the program has made significant achievements. At the earlier stages, parents were hesitant to send their children to school, but their feelings of reluctance have subsided now. The program has achieved many positive results. The positives include parents gaining a sense of dignity about their language and culture, connecting children with elderly engendering a sense of affection, and children learning words, proverbs, and riddles from their elders. Elders have been actively involved with their children educational affairs. Parents’ involvement appears to reinforce children’s school learning. Other significant achievements transpire in the positive effects in terms teacher-student interaction, students asking curious questions and asking more questions, rote learning considerably gets discouraged, higher confidence and pleasure level in mother tongues. The expert further explains that there are perceptible socio-cultural changes as more people proudly identify themselves with their native language and native community Torwali. In addition, the endangered language was preserved, documented, promoted, and used as an effective tool to learn other languages. Finally, the students in program perform better than the ones at the government schools.

In brief, the expert observers' views of the issue corroborate the fact that the current English-medium policy especially of straight-for-English is replete with problems and challenges. The root of the problems lies in the theoretical and empirical foundations, which underpin this policy. Theoretically, scholars from around the world come up with clear conclusions that children learn best in the language, which they are familiar with, and which is used in their social environment such as their mother tongue. Straight-to-English policy, which the bulk of respondents of the present study presumably consider as the best, does not correspond with both theory as well as research in additive bi/multilingual education frameworks.

5.3.3 English-Medium policy and institutional readiness

Another area which experts find problematic is the institutional preparedness and classroom practices with regard to English teaching and learning. There is neither sufficient human resource nor reasonably resourced infrastructure that would make English-medium policy a success. As a whole, the country suffers from an acute shortage of qualified, trained, and capable English language teachers. Teacher and school facilities are instrumental to the success of English-medium policy. The situation even becomes worse in case of the low-fee schools that largely hire less qualified teachers because highly qualified teachers normally do not stay in low-fee schools. Surveys have clearly suggested that teachers draw much higher salary in government schools, almost half double than teachers in the ordinary private schools (Andrabi et al., 2008; Andrabi et al., 2005).

According to expert observers, English teaching is not a bad policy per se; however, there needs to be a thorough analysis and rethinking of the level of preparedness our schools and classroom practices show. Most of the schools especially the low-fee English medium schools are not institutionally prepared to teach good English. The range of limitations is

varied—human resource, teachers, textbooks, methodologies and so on. Although these schools portray themselves as English medium; however, there is a great deal of deception and illusion in reality (Rahman, 2004a).

EXPERT 3, who is a renowned advocate of mother tongue based policy in schools, criticizes the low-fee English medium schools because those schools promote rote learning rather than meaningfully inculcating the concepts. Children resort to rote learning because they do not know the language well enough to express themselves. The expert tags such schools as ‘*pseudo English medium*’ because the child “*never learns to speak English or expresses himself in English. The answers he writes in English are copied or memorized from the book*”. She further proposes that,

Apart from a very tiny minority where parents speak with their children in English and English is spoken at home, English medium education even in the elite schools should not be encouraged. Education should be participatory which means the students should take part in discussions and express their own ideas about things. Even in the so-called elite schools the students are not comfortable with English and for them to think and speak in English can be quite a challenge.

With reference to underdeveloped institutional system, EXPERT 6 argued that, one of the very fundamental and equally serious hurdles in the effective implementation of English-medium policy was the lack of qualified, trained and committed English teachers, “*There are no serious teachers at all, none*”. According to him, a well-qualified teacher will never teach in low-fee ordinary schools because these schools do not pay a fair amount of salary. Business rather than education was the main motto behind running private schools. English-medium policy was not equitable too because it could not be equitably and effectively applied across the length and breadth of the country. He added, “*Most children in villages will be deprived of its advantages because no one goes to teach in villages*”. He proposed that, “*English must be taught, but taught well*”. The current system produces only “*poor learners who always do rote learning and rely on cheating during examination*”. Education policy in

general and medium of instruction policy in particular needed complete overhaul and a fresh reorientation. EXPERT 9 who has served in over five private schools and colleges in Quetta city and outside also highlights weaknesses in the academic and governance system of the private schools. One of the basic weaknesses of the system lies in the governance. Since the schools are not effectively accountable to the government; therefore, the owners tend to compromise on quality. The less they spend, the more they save. He explains that,

Here is no systematic monitoring and regulatory mechanism to watch over the private schools. Here is nothing. What you expect from the entrepreneurs, who right from the beginning, makes money and business as their main motives. Their maximum energies will consume in moneymaking and money saving; not the noble aims like public service and social welfare. In addition, if their aim or belief had been to educate people, then they would certainly have hire teachers of reasonably good level and pay them fair salary. The system needs reorganization. Qualified teachers would come if the private schools give them necessary safeguards in form of first good salary and a system of service structure.

While sharing his 4 to 5 years teaching experiences and observations in private schools and colleges, EXPERT 9 singles out two policy defects, which in his views, have led to the destruction of education. The first limitation as pointed by several other experts is related to teachers' exploitation and a sense of job insecurity. He believes that unless "*the private schooling system provides proper service structure, no sensible person will stay there for long*".

Other experts subscribed to the marketization and commercialization of the private schooling system in the country. EXPERT 4 agreed that education had become a selling commodity and the private entrepreneurs had taken full advantage of what appears to be the neoliberal economic policies of the government. In addition, EXPERT 3 also contended that the low-fee schools were oblivious to the provision of quality education including teacher training, decent salaries, and favorable working environment and so on. These obviously indicated their urge for more saving. In addition, "*The low fee schools do not address these*

issues, which are related to the teachers and the quality of their employment. This obviously affects the quality of education they impart”. According to EXPERT 2, the ‘unorganized and quasi market’ had pushed for the expansion of the private schools, and education had turned into a commodity. EXPERT 7 held the same stance that “*To be very frank and candid, it is true. Education has become business*”. In summary, the expert observers express concerns over the current policy because the country is not yet prepared for a proper delivery and provision of English-medium education. Teachers are the key to the success of the policy, but there no good teachers around. The situation is even alarmingly worse in the low-fee schools. As EXPERT 3 observes, ‘the decrepit’ education system does not produce proficient English teachers; therefore, the expectations of the English-medium policy are based on myth and misunderstanding.

5.3.4 Stakeholders’ perceptions: a comparative perspective

In the tables that follows, the perceptions of the stakeholders are compared taking into account the responses the two pools of respondents shown—supporters of straight-for-English policy versus the advocates of mother tongue based multilingual education policy:

Table 5.4: Comparative Analysis of Respondents’ Views

Stakeholders’ perceptions	
Students, teachers and school principals	Key experts/observers
English should be taught from the nursery level.	Mother tongues should be taught from the nursery level.
One learns better and faster when one studies English from the nursery level.	One learns a second or a foreign language better when one achieves early literacy (reading and writing) in the mother tongue.
Proposes subtractive language policy.	Proposes additive language policy.
Earlier introduction of English language has no disadvantage for children.	Earlier English has a number of disadvantages—barrier to

	comprehension, ;obstacle to concept formulation; it is not interesting for child; it is not easy for a child; parents cannot support them in their studies; promotes rote-learning and memorization
Attaches no value to literacy in mother tongues.	Attaches value to literacy in mother tongues.
It confines the scope of mother tongues to homes and intra-community domains.	It broadens the scope of mother tongues to domains more than homes and community.
Earlier literacy in mother tongues is not supportive in learning other languages.	Earlier literacy in mother tongues is reinforces learning more languages.
Children can learn English only at young age.	Children can learn more better when they grow.
Perceptions are linguistically and culturally exclusive.	Perceptions are linguistically and culturally inclusive.
Perceptions do not draw attention to real English teaching and learning practices.	Perceptions do problematize real teaching and learning practices in classrooms.
Perceptions do not draw attention to environmental exposure factor.	Consider exposure important factor.
Contented with the current policy.	Proposal for a review in policy.
Teaching and learning more languages cause linguistic confusion. It is practically difficult to implement.	Teaching and learning more languages is theoretically supportive. A multilingual country needs a multilingual policy.
Perceptions are characterized by uniformity and homogeneity.	Perceptions are characterized by diversity and pluralism.
Perceptions are incompatible with theory of bi/multilingual education.	Perceptions are compatible with theory of bi/multilingual education.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the data was analyzed about the perceptions of stakeholders on English-medium education policy. The findings suggest that the respondents have two divergent positions about the English-medium policy. Respondents from within the school consider the current policy suitable and want it to continue while the expert observers from outside the schools ask for a review of the policy, and regard a mother tongue based education policy as more suitable in the multilingual context of Pakistan. On the other hand, the supporters of the straight-for-English policy assume that since English is an important language; therefore

it must be taught in schools from the earlier level. They believe that teaching at the young age is better because learners can easily learn another language at this age; however, the expert observers take a diametrically divergent stance. Expert observers contradict that teaching a foreign language such as English to those children whose exposure to the language is minimal in their sociocultural environment is counter-productive as it results in a number of disadvantages. English could be taught, but only after children become fully literate in their mother tongues, thus they will use literacy in their own languages as foundation for learning a second or a third language. Looking at the perceptions of supporters of the straight-for-English policy from the viewpoint of the expert observers and numerous other scholars within the additive multilingual education paradigms, they appear to be based on what scholars term as ‘myths’, ‘misunderstandings’, ‘illusions’ and ‘disinformation’ (Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2013; Mohanty, 2010; Rahman, 2004).

CHAPTER 6: ENGLISH TEACHING AND LEARNING PRACTICES

6.1 Introduction

The second major question this study poses is that whether the perceptions and assumptions most stakeholders hold about English-medium education policy are practically translated into real classroom practices especially in terms of English teaching and learning outcomes. This is a critical dimension of the English-medium education policy because on the one hand, stakeholders particularly parents pin high hopes of the low-fee English medium school because the schools claim to be English medium; on the other hand, observations reflect nearly contrasting picture with regard to delivery of the English language in classrooms. Some scholars who have been engaged in research in the relevant area raise doubts over the truthfulness of their claims, and they even dub the English-medium policy in such schools as ‘illusive chimera of English’ (Rahman, 2004a). The intense public demand for English-medium education has been contributing largely to the expansion of such schools all around the country. However, the vital question remains as to whether the English-medium policy claimed in advertisement is reflected in classrooms and whether the students are exposed to the English language to become proficient in the language they study as a medium, and the language for which their parents spend their hard-earned money. Thus, the data, which is presented in this chapter aims to unfold this critical question and attempts to unpack whether there is a *match* or *mismatch* between the purported policy and the actual practices within classrooms. In brief, the crux of the analysis is focused on how much English is being taught and how much of the English that students would potentially learn from the teaching and learning practices that the schools offer.

The data for this chapter is drawn from multiple sources that include questionnaires, interviews, classroom observations, and field notes. Supplementary input also comes from different pools of respondents of this research. However, classroom observation constitutes one of the pivotal components of this chapter. The analysis focuses on several emerging features of English language teaching and learning. Parents anticipate their children to acquire a good command of the English language, which is a major attractive brand those schools try to sell in their advertisements. The chapter specifically reports and analyses the teaching methodology such as the medium/language used in classroom transactions, approach towards teaching reading, writing, grammar and vocabulary. In addition, towards the end of the chapter, other aspects are also discussed that include the assessment of students' writing ability, students' approach towards examination, employment of language-related tasks and the overall pedagogical approach of whether methodologies are student-centered or teacher-centered.

6.2 Teaching methodologies

This section reports and discusses the methodologies teachers in the low-fee English-medium schools execute in classrooms. Classroom observations are drawn from English classrooms while the general state of teaching methodologies particularly the use of English has been reported from interviews and survey questionnaires. In most of the low-fee private English-medium schools, textbooks for subjects such as general sciences, Pakistan Studies, Social Studies, and Compute Science are in the English language. In addition, the schools also teach English as a subject, which contains lessons and exercises at the end. Following is an analysis of some of the significant features of English teaching and learning practices:

6.2.1 Medium of classroom transactions

Medium refers to the language that teachers mostly use as a tool of communication in the classroom or the language, which is used for all classroom transactions such as lectures, questions and answers, and other activities that involve communication between teachers and students or between peers. This section aims to show the language that teachers and students use in the classroom to transact their teaching and learning practices. More importantly, the focus remains as to how often and how frequent the teachers and students use English in their classroom transactions. Since the schools advertise English as a medium; therefore, it is critical to investigate the use of English in the actual classroom practices. The teaching and learning practices may also be linked to the perceptions and assumptions of the majority of supporters of straight-for-English policy. Such practices may lead to questions such as do the actual classroom practices and approaches towards the teaching of English match with the perceptions of students, teachers and school principals? Do students receive sufficient and meaningful exposure to the target language to achieve the desired amount of proficiency? Specifically, the following issues are investigated here:

- *How often do students ask questions in the English language?*
- *How often do teachers and students discuss subject material in the English language?*
- *How often do students use English during their social interaction with their friends?*

6.4.1.1 The use of English in asking questions

Table 6.1 illustrates how often the students ask questions using the English language. The figures illustrate that 105 (42.9%) students never while 55 (22.4%) of them seldom use English language when they ask questions from their teachers. Another 45 (18.4%) of them suggest that they sometimes use English to ask questions. On the other hand, 18 (7.3%) of students suggest that they often use English and 22 (9.0%) of them always use English while

they ask questions. As a whole, figures show that the vast majority of respondents either do not use or sometimes use English during their questions. Overall, the frequency of English use is significantly low. The statistics does not necessarily suggest that they never ask questions; they may be asking questions but they generally use Urdu rather than English.

Table 6.1: The Use of English in Asking Questions

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	105	42.9	42.9
Seldom	55	22.4	65.3
Sometimes	45	18.4	83.7
Often	18	7.3	91.0
Always	22	9.0	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

6.4.1.2 The use of English in Discussion

Table 6.2 shows that the vast majority of students who demonstrate little use of the English language in their discussion with teachers. It is found that 157 (64.1%) of the students never and 36(14.7%) seldom use English in their discussions within the classrooms 36(14.7%) seldom. In addition, a small segment of them shows that 17 (6.9%) sometimes use English when they discuss matters with teachers. Moreover, 16 (6.5%) of students reports that they often discuss subject related issues in the English language and 19 (7.8%) of them said that they always use. The ratio of those who either often or always use English in their discussions with teachers is considerably lower than those who do not use other languages such as Urdu. On the other hand, classroom observations suggest that English is seldom used as a tool for

communication in the oral form. Urdu remains the de facto medium for nearly all classroom transactions.

Table 6.2: The Use of English in Discussion

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	157	64.1	64.1
Seldom	36	14.7	78.8
Some times	17	6.9	85.7
Often	16	6.5	92.2
Always	19	7.8	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

6.4.1.3 The use of English in interaction

The following table shows the frequency with which students perform social interaction in the English language. Table 6.3 indicates low scores on the use of English language in informal classroom interactions. A large number of respondents report that 164 (66.9%) of them do not interact with friends in the English language and 36 (14.7%) of them seldom use English for the same. However, collectively only 45 (18.3%) of them sometimes, *often* or *always* use the English language with friends. English as a medium of communication nearly seldom takes place in the classrooms, a fact that runs counter to the perceptions and expectations of the stakeholders. Similarly, classroom observations also confirm that other than formal reading and writing activities, there is nearly no use of the English language for communicative purposes. Except for few routine behavioral exchanges of English and what Rahman (2013) termed as clichéd words between teachers and students, there is virtually no substantive and spontaneous use of The English language. Only expressions such as below

are routinely heard across the linguistic landscapes of the schools: ‘*May I come in teacher*’, ‘*Madam/sir may I go outside*’ ‘*Yes come in*’, ‘*Yes go*’.

Table 6.3: The Use of English in Informal Interaction

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	164	66.9	66.9
Seldom	36	14.7	81.6
Some times	15	6.1	87.8
Often	18	7.3	95.1
Always	12	4.9	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

6.4.1.4 The teacher’ use of English in classroom

In the previous, three tables (6.1, 6.2, & 6.3), we found about which language students were using during their classroom transactions. Table 6.4 shows how often teachers make use of English language to conduct day-to-day teaching exercises. Figures reveal that teachers usually make infrequent use of the English language in classrooms. The findings show that n=111(45.3%) of students suggest that teachers never communicate in the English language whereas n=63(25.7%) of the students say that their teachers seldom use English in the classroom. Combining the students’ responses for never (45.3%) and seldom (25.7%), a total of 71.0% students report that their teachers do not communicate in the English language. However, a tiny amount of 7.8% suggests that their teachers sometimes use the English language. Moreover, a smaller number of students say that their teachers often (14%) and always (6.9%) communicate in the English language. Based on those figures, it can be

concluded that Urdu stands as the default medium of classroom transactions, and majority of teachers instead of English, use Urdu to conduct their routine classroom practices. Classrooms observations also confirm the use of Urdu rather than English as communication tool. English language is generally confined to the textbooks and formal reading and writing practices.

Table 6. 4: Teachers’ Use of English for Communication in the Classroom

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	111	45.3	45.3
Seldom	63	25.7	71.0
Sometimes	19	7.8	78.8
Often	35	14.3	93.1
Always	17	6.9	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

As the trends unfold from Tables 6.1 to 6.4, Urdu stands as the medium of classroom transactions and everyday activities that involve communication, be that upward, downward or horizontal. Evidence based on observation shows that although English is the medium of textbooks; however, the actual use of the English language seldom features in classroom transactions, lectures, explanations, mutual talks, and other forms of communications. There is no direct use of the English language and it is evident that teachers use Urdu in the classroom. Urdu is in fact the de facto medium for communication rather than not English, which is the purported medium of instruction in the low-fee schools. A vast majority of students shows that they seldom ask questions; seldom discuss subject matter or perform any informal social chat in the English language. The little use of the English language that traditionally takes place, is in the form of one-sentence expressions or one-word verbal expressions inserted in Urdu conversations. One may comment that this form of occasional

code switching or a short sentence can hardly be termed as English language. For instance, typically teachers and students were observed using the following expressions and sentences for command, instruction, or permission. The following expression and short sentences were regularly used, but all were habitually used without genuine communication intent:

TEACHER:

- Be quiet please.
- Come on time.
- Come in to the class.
- Do your homework.
- Take out books.
- Listen to me.
- Behave yourself.
- Attention please
- No noise please

STUDENTS:

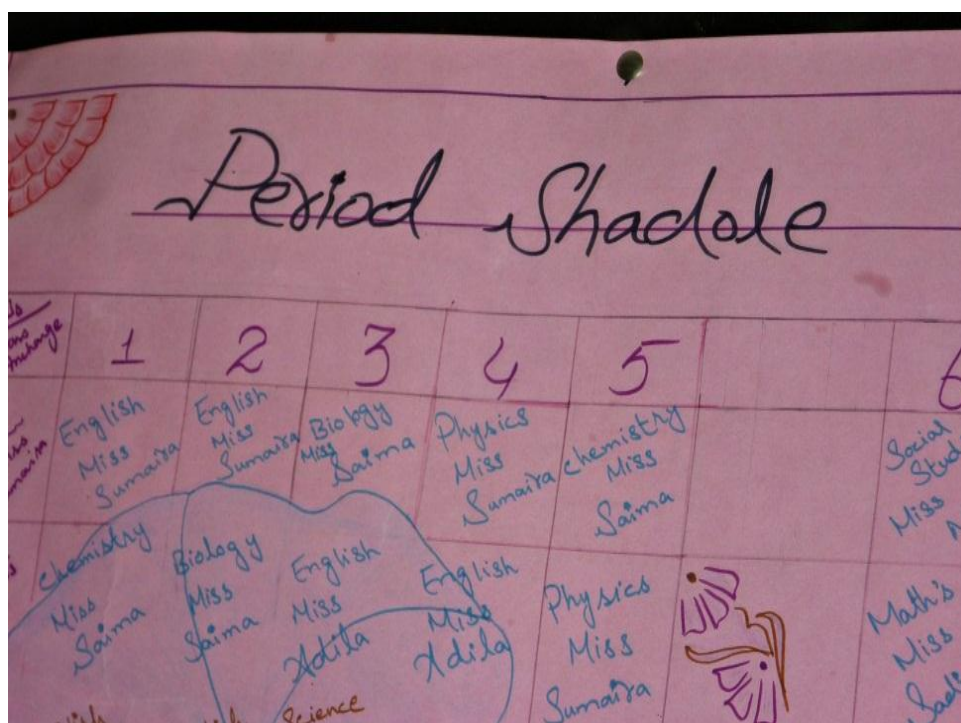
- May I enter sir/madam?
- May I go outside?
- Good morning sir/madam
- Goodbye madam
- Thank you madam.
- Thank you, sir.

This trend which Mohanty (2013) aptly labels as cosmetic Anglicization of the low-fee schools can also be observed in other parts of the country. Referring to a study by PEELI (2013) report, Rahman (2013) observed that the report shown teachers' poor knowledge of English that it seemed probable that even those who think they are using English are only using some clichés or short commands and formulaic utterances. Pointing to the illusive and cosmetic nature of English-medium instruction in government schools in Punjab, Rahman (2013) commented, "...that the claim that English is the medium of instruction is merely for

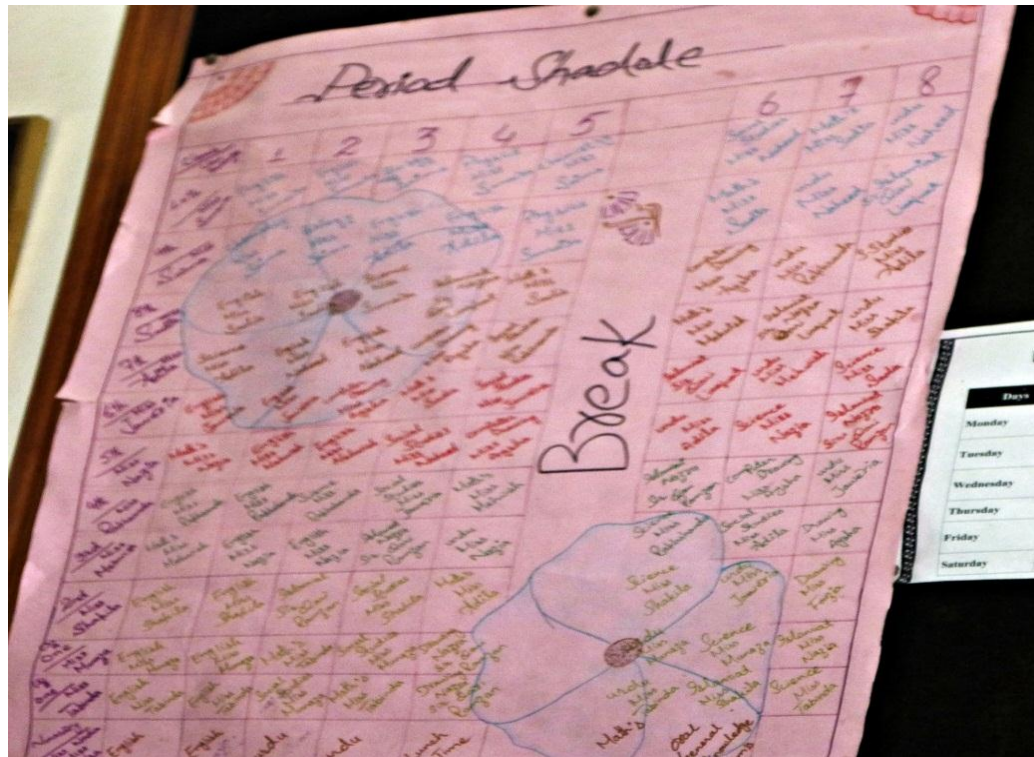
parental consumption but in reality, nothing has changed”. Mohanty (2013) also referred to the same cosmetic form of English in the low-fee private English-medium schools in parts of India. He explained that teachers and students used such expressions mainly to show off their use of the English language, which was a useful tool to impress the visitors and parents; however, Mohanty also added that their actual use of the English ended with one-word or one-sentence expressions because they could not communicate in the English language fluently. Mohanty (2013) termed these as superficial behavioral norms. During observation, the researcher noticed teachers and students using the above expressions to show that they were making some use of the English language. It was also observed that at times, the use of such words occurred as a habitual exercise rather than intentional communicative tool. In reality, that kind of exercise appeared only symbolic and pretentious rather than substantive and meaning making. During observation, one of the prominent examples of the habitual use of the English language was noticed in the word ‘*may*’, a word that they habitually used to seek permission for entering the class; however, a significant number of students could not decipher the literal meaning of the word ‘*may*’. Moreover, they could not explicate the pragmatic purpose behind the use of ‘*may*’. Their explanation was simplistic that they were using that expression because they had been instructed to do so, and that they actually emulated their other peers doing the same. Thus, contrary to the perceptions of most of the stakeholders, and to the official English-medium policy, the real language policy on ground lacked the depth and naturalistic use of the English language, which one would associate with genuine English-medium schools. Even the use of English within the linguistic landscape on walls and noticeboard was marked by peculiar trends, and spelling errors (See Example 1 and 2 of English error). For instance, a noticeboard in one of schools showed a noticeable error in the spelling of a chart displaying the day-to-day schedule. As indicated in (See Example 1 and 2 of English error), the timetable of the classroom has been highlighted as a

‘*shadole*’ instead of schedule. One assumes that teachers who normally look at their classroom schedule also did not take notice of this observable error nor did school authorities pay attention to it. Those errors in the general use of English language points towards the superficial nature of languages policies in such schools, which an EXPERT 3 described as ‘*pseudo English-medium school*’ where the use of English characterizes superficiality rather than substantive use of the English language in communication and other academic practices.

Example 1: English error



Example 2: English error



With reference to the use English language for communication in class, some practical challenges may have constrained teachers from the use of English language in classrooms. As students belong to diverse socio-educational and socioeconomic family backgrounds with large number of them belong to the low educated or completely uneducated families; therefore, the teacher had to take account of the problems that students might face in picking up lecture in the English language (see Table 5.2) for educational background of respondents.

A school principal said,

Mei aksar teachers ko batata hu keh language use kartie waqt bachoo ke level ko dekhei quknkeh aksar students uneducated families se belong kartie hei . Teachers aksar Urdu mei concepts explain kartie hei (I often instruct teachers to keep children' level while using medium in class because most of them belong to uneducated families. Teachers usually explain concepts in Urdu) (PRPL9).

Another school principal argued that instead of language, we should focus on easy transfer of concepts and meanings. Teachers' use of only English can be a barrier to learning in case of many students. He described that,

Bachei abhi English mei kamzor hei. Woh abhi tak angrez nahi bane. Mei teachers ko batata hu English lesson parhatei huwei bachoo ko meaning pehle Urdu mei zaroor explain karei (Children are still poor in English. Children have not become 'Angrez' (English-speakers) yet. I tell teachers while teaching English lessons, they must explain meanings in Urdu) (PRPL11),

Given the rationale that some school principals give for the exclusive use of Urdu rather than English in classroom transactions, the situation points to a crucial contradiction and critical missing link between perceptions, policies and practices. Supposedly, if Urdu works effectively as a medium for explanation and classroom transactions, then what is the need to use English textbooks and publicize schools as English-medium? Further, if the lecture is supposed to be delivered in Urdu rather than in English, then why not use Urdu or any familiar language as media of instruction. The rationale that the use of English-only policy might cause learning barrier, is self-explanatory of the pitfalls underlying the English-medium policy. Further, the students' socio-educational and socioeconomic backgrounds and poor cultural and linguistic base also raise doubts about the suitability of the English medium policy. Another related argument remains that how students will comprehend and negotiate the meanings of the textbook if the use of spoken English poses challenges to them. It also proves the point that neither schools nor students are yet prepared to cope with the English-medium education policy. The argument that students are not 'Angrez' (PRPL11) yet substantiates the pitfalls that underlie the earlier introduction of English-medium. Additionally, the fact not only unravels the inappropriateness of early English-medium policy, it also lends credence to the institutional unpreparedness as argued by the expert observers. The arguments for the use of Urdu as a medium of classroom transaction also

suggests that since English is an alien language to most of children of the low-fee schools; therefore, they cannot cope with it in their academic activities. Importantly, the argument and practices of the use of Urdu instead of English also makes one to argue that the claims for the delivery of the English-medium education are hollow and empty of any substance; therefore, the situation prompted EXPERT 3 to call such schools as ‘pseudo English-medium’ schools (See Appendix B 4). The schools tend to delude parents, students, and society, duping them to believe that they have English-medium policy in place.

Teachers’ own command and competence is also a factor for not using English in the classrooms. One of the teachers interviewed said that she was more comfortable with Urdu because she could articulate her ideas more expressively. Students have also signaled towards teachers’ lack of oral proficiency in the English behind not employing English as a medium in classrooms. According to EXPERT 3, we have not been able to produce quality English language teachers because mostly teachers are “*product of the same decrepit education system that you see at present. Education has been on the slide for several decades.*” EXPERT 9 said that we do not get quality teachers in the low-fee schools because no sensible person wants to teach in these low-paid schools. Those who are recruited are largely under-qualified, and their command on the English language in particular is so low that “*I guarantee they are unable to construct four correct written sentences in the English language,*” argued by EXPERT 9 who has worked in several private educational institutions for a number of years. Mostly, those joining private schools are jobless youngsters who are desperate for employment due to rising unemployment and limited job opportunities. The teachers’ qualification is also suggestive in this regard where only two of the teachers interviewed had MA degrees in English literature while the rest of them did not hold any specialized degree in either ELT or general English language courses. Their education ranged from Intermediate

to Masters. Majority of them have neither in-service teacher training nor have they obtained any specialized degrees in education or related subjects. Some recent surveys on teachers' English qualification and competence in government and private schools show pathetic conditions. Testing a total of 1008 teachers from primary and secondary schools in the Punjab province, a survey found that,

62% of private school teachers and 56% of government school teachers registered scores in the lowest possible band in the Aptis test, meaning they lack even basic knowledge of English, including the ability to understand and use familiar everyday expressions and simple phrases...Most of the remaining teachers received scores that placed them at beginners' level in English" (PEELI, 2013, p. 01).

In addition, in another report published by the Balochistan's government's Education Sector plan concluded that teachers were largely deficient in terms of English language teaching, a factor, which according to the report, seriously constrained the quality of education (GOP, 2012a).

6.2.2 Translanguaging—an alternative approach to monolingual instruction

There is nothing inherently bad about translation from English to Urdu; in fact, the major flaw in the instructional approach is that it teaches words in isolated manner, without contextualizing or connecting words to real-life situations or making them visualize the meanings. Resultantly, the students are forced to cram the words rather cognitively internalize the meaning. One must also bear in mind that the translation is given in children's L2 than in their L1—this might also make the meaningful internalization and full comprehension of the words difficult for those who speak languages other than Urdu, and whose Urdu proficiency is low. Theoretically, in view of the emerging Urdu-dominated monolingual classroom environment in a linguistically diverse classrooms, the most appropriate pedagogical response would have been that of translanguaging that would utilize all the linguistic resources available such as students mother tongues, Urdu and English

(Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009b; Garcia & Wei, 2013).

According to Garcia and Wei (2013), Translanguaging ,

...is an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the bilingual practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous languages systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two spate languages (p. 2).

Translanguaging can be utilized as a valuable communicative tool in the increasingly diverse multilingual and multiethnic educational settings (García, 2009b). In Canagarajah's view (2013), translanguaging or "translingual practices [which] are widely practiced in communities and everyday community contexts... [but are] ignored or suppressed in classrooms" (p. 4). Canagarajah (2013) also emphasizes on the deployment translanguaging strategies in the classroom, especially on writers' "ability to merge different language resources in situated interactions for new meaning construction" (pp. 1–2).

In the context of optimal utilization of children' linguistic resources, one would also subscribe Cummins' criticism of two assumptions—direct method, and no translation and two solitudes. Cummins problematizes the above assumptions which he believes are "unsupported by empirical data and inconsistent with current understandings of the workings of the bi- and multilingual mind" (Cummins, 2007, p. 10.12). Cummins recommends bi/multilingual instructional strategies in the classroom, and propose that they "can promote identities of competence among language learners from socially marginalized groups, thereby enabling them to engage more confidently with literacy and other academic work in both languages". Direct exposure to the English language is desirable; however, one must also emphasize that that a monolingual instruction only in English can also cause incomprehension and blankness as most of the students do not understand English. Therefore, teachers may be required to adopt a multilingual policy within the classrooms facilitating

meaningful and contextualized use of English, but also encouraging the use of students' mother tongues and Urdu for greater understanding. The use of visual aids particularly that of real objects and photos may also be brought to the classroom as part of translanguaging strategy. Agnihotri (2007) also recommends the same instructional approach, which he terms as multilinguality. It means that all languages, which children bring to the class, must be utilized and improvised in the classroom to foster learning of more than one language, and also to foster positive attitudes about the value of the marginalized languages. It can also boost confidence of the speakers of the marginalized languages about their languages and identities.

6.3 Reading exercises

A vignette from classroom is presented to demonstrate the reading styles and strategies teachers execute during their English teaching. It is believed that reading is an important aspect of language learning as well as academic life. Admittedly, its role is also significant in the acquisition of second/foreign language learning. The Natural Approach that Krashen and Terrell (1983) proposed is also premised on developing competence through exposure to comprehensible input, confirms the scope of reading especially learners' confidence and competence:

Reading may contribute significantly to competence in a second language. There is good reason, in fact, to hypothesize that reading makes a contribution to overall competence, to all four skills (Dutcher, 2004, p. 131).

Elsewhere (Krashen, 2004b) explained that reading is a powerful means of developing reading comprehension ability, writing style, vocabulary, grammar, and spelling. Moreover, Krashen (2004) argued that evidence suggests that reading can be a pleasant activity. Reading also promotes cognitive development and reduces writing apprehension (Krashen, 2004). In the context of English-medium education policy, this vignette is set to show how

effectively teachers conduct reading activities to enable students to develop reading habits and cultivate understanding of the contents. More importantly, the vignette can also depict the extent to which this exercise contributes to the learning of contents, grammar, writing, vocabulary and other aspects of the English language. Here is a portrayal of how teachers approach reading practices in the classrooms.

A lesson usually begins with reading of the lesson. The reading exercise is usually characterized by translation methods in which teachers first read a certain part of the text, which the students either listen to carefully or read after him/her in the chorus form. Having read out part of the text, which normally covers one page of the particular lesson, teacher subsequently revisits the same part of the text, and provides translation in the Urdu language. During translation, the students silently follow the teacher. The teacher often gives translation sentence by sentence. In this fashion, the teacher goes through the whole text assigned for the day. The mode of translation is nearly literal in form whereby he/she might translate the meaning of each single word. Having completed translation in verbal form, the teacher subsequently asks students to take out notes. At this stage, the teacher performs an exercise, which is called ‘word-meaning’ in the local context. This exercise involves teacher writing meanings of some of what they think are difficult words, usually given at the top of the page by the textbook designers. The students copy the same words and their Urdu meanings in their notebooks. The next day, the teacher may either begin the new paragraph or ask few students to read out the remaining part of the lesson. In some cases, the teacher also makes students write sentences using those difficult words. When the whole lesson completes, the teacher later assigns students homework that involves writing answers to the questions given at the end of the lesson. It is important to note that the teaching of reading skills is usually limited to the textbook and translation. No material or exposure to any reading material other

than the prescribed textbook is provided for exercise. During the process, the students keep silent following anything their teacher may be doing—reading text or writing anything from the whiteboards. Teacher may occasionally ask a student or two about the meanings of certain words or parts of the exercise, but mostly, classes are teacher-fronted. Following is a description from a student the way her teacher conducted reading exercises in the English class:

English ke class mei sab se pehle teacher attendance leti hai. Phir woh humei books nikalnei kelye keh deti hai. Phir jab naya lesson ho to woh pehle khud reading kar leti hai. Hum sab suntie hei aur kabhi hum unke peeche parhetei hei. Rozana hum taqriban ek page read kartie hei. Woh jab reading kar liti hai phir woh dobara prhti hai aur words meaning bata deti hai. Hum chup ke suntei hei. Phir woh board par mushkil alfaz likh deti hai aur sath sath meanings bhi likhwa deti hai. Yahi tariqah woh agli subah bhi duhra deti hai. Akhir mei hum word meaning exercises ko notebooks me likh lete hei aur phir exam kelye yaad kar letie hei (In our English class, our teacher enters the class, she first takes attendance. After that, she asks students to take out books. When it is the beginning of a new lesson/chapter, she starts reading. We all listen carefully and sometimes we do reading after her. We daily read nearly one page. When she completes, then she reads out lesson again and tells the meaning in Urdu. We keep quiet. Then she writes vocabulary words, she gives Urdu translation—words meaning. In this way, she resumes the same lesson the next day. In the end, we write all parts of exercises in our notebooks to memorize for examination) (STDT4).

In view of the vignette as portrayed about reading exercises, a crucial question remains that to what extent, this kind of exercise would help students understand the meaning of the text as well as contribute to the overall learning of the different aspects of the English language as perceived by many supporters of the English-medium policy. R. Williams (1986) suggested teachers to use some strategies to cultivate positive reading habits in their students. The strategies included that teachers should select text, which might excite students to read on their own. Students should not only listen to teachers during reading exercises; rather teachers should keep quiet in the process and allow students to engage in the reading process (p. 42). In the context of the present study, teacher-centered methodologies seldom allow students to engage in the reading process at all. One crucial factor that can be a serious

impediment to the development of cultivating reading habits is the medium of textbooks. Even if teacher allows students to read the text, students will be confronted with dual challenges—firstly, they will need to learn to read the text, and secondly, having learnt to read, they will have to comprehend the contents. It was found during classroom observation that most students found it difficult to read the text only, let alone reading for comprehension or for enjoyment or cognitive engagement with the text. Therefore, when they are unable to read and understand the language of the text, how would they be able to enjoy and interpret the text?

The classroom vignette confirms that reading exercises and activities are mere recitation rituals. The exercise apparently means that teachers want to make children to know reading texts at the surface level without inculcating the meaning through meaningful strategies. Classroom observation also shows that students read the texts with blankness and incomprehension just producing utterances rather than immersing themselves into the semantics, syntax, pragmatics, lexicon, orthography, or other attributes of the language as embedded in the text. They follow their teachers in the chorus forms. It can be argued that the disconnected and literal translation of the text is usually not sufficient for students' full understanding. Students are also not trained for comprehension exercises. They are not tested with exercises to interpret and manipulate the meanings on their own. Students often rely on readily available guidebooks and notes in the market providing literal translation of the textbooks. Because such repetition does not engage or make students think about meanings; therefore, Jhingran (2009) states that such reading is only a 'chorus repetition' rather than meaningful and engaged reading.

Although, teachers translate certain selected words, and occasionally the overall sense of the whole essay or story; however, there is rather little attention to engage them meaningfully not only in comprehension, but also in thoughtful interpretation of the meaning of the text. They should also have the opportunity to guess the meanings on their own. It is a socially prevailing wisdom that if the child is able to translate text from English into Urdu, he/she is viewed as a successful language learner. Highlighting the principals of Grammar-Translation method, Larsen-Freeman (2000) writes that “An important goal is for students to be able to translate each language into the other. If students can translate from one language to another, they are considered successful language learners” (p. 15). The reading exercises do not engage learners to comprehend meanings and think beyond the text. Teachers do not attempt to provide or suggest any extra reading material, which can be interesting, easy, and enjoyable such as stories, fiction and so on. Day and Bamford (2002) offer ten strategies for developing good learning habits and training of the extensive reading. According to Day and Bamford propose the following reading strategies to foster positive reading habits in the students:

...material should be ‘easy’; material should be about ‘variety and wide range of topics; learners should have autonomy to ‘choose what they want to read’; readers must be encouraged and motivated to ‘read as much as possible’; reading aims should be related to ‘pleasure, information and general understanding; reading should have ‘its own rewards’; it should be ‘individual and silent’; teachers ‘guide students’; teachers should be ‘a role model reader’ (<http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/rfl/october2002/day/day.html#1>).

The reading exercises as portrayed from classroom vignette do not depict any of the above guidelines. The basic problem lies in two major factors: incompetent English teachers and the students’ inability to understand the meaning of the content. In order reading and comprehension to take place, reader should understand the language, the ‘comprehensible input’ which Krashen (1982) proposed . Comprehension is also a vital component as Hu and

Nation (2009) suggested that learners must know at least 98% of the words in a fiction text for understanding. It may be argued that when language itself becomes the problem, then the fitness of the medium of instruction policy becomes questionable. When students are not provided with comprehensible reading, how are they likely to cope with the meanings of difficult words? Similarly, without knowing the meaning of the text, students' knowledge about the subject matter is likely to remain poor and underdeveloped. One must pose these critical questions before the language policymakers at the top and teachers on the ground. It also brings an important question about literacy—does this form of reading exercises and overall reading culture in schools make these students literate? From classroom observations, the picture does not appear promising with regard to development of a sound proficiency levels in the English language.

6.4 Writing exercises

How often the students are exposed to writing exercises. Students' response was sought with the help of survey questionnaire. The writing exercises in this context means the basic form of creative writing in the form of paragraph , essay or a story writing in which students express their ideas as well as apply their basic knowledge of the English language. Basic knowledge of the language signifies grammatical structures, vocabulary, and other linguistic components they have internalized during their academic studies. This kind of writing has been labeled as creative writing. It does not include writing which students copy from their books or memorize from their notebooks. Before questionnaire distribution, students were told the meaning of creative writing. Figures as shown in Table 6.5 indicate that a significant number of the students, which makes up 48.6% never or seldom undergo creative writing exercise. Another 24.1% sometimes, 13.1% often, and 14.3% always get the opportunity to undergo some exercise of creative writing.

Table 6.5: Creative/reflective Task (Essay, Story, Personal Reflection)

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	91	37.1	37.1
Seldom	28	11.4	48.6
Some times	59	24.1	72.7
Often	32	13.1	85.7
Always	35	14.3	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

More than 80% of students during the interviews suggested that their teachers usually do not expose them to exercise creative paragraphs, essays, or story writing. Generally, most of the writing practices involve copying of words and text-related answers from the whiteboards, books, and notebooks. Those answers are later memorized for examinations. For instance, a student told that,

Hum whiteboard, books aur notebooks sei note kartie hei. Rozana teen sei chaar ghantei hum homework per lagatie hei. Homework mei hum questions ko apne books ya rough copy sei apne asli copy mei likh letei hei. Phir jab exam mei isi ko hum paper kelye yaad kartie hei (We write from whiteboard, our books, and notebooks. We spend three to four hours on our homework daily. Homework is all about copying questions from rough notebooks to neat notebooks. Often teacher underline part of the textbook and ask us to write down on neat notebooks. During examination, we memorize this for our papers) (STDT12).

Another student explained, “*Class mei is tarah ki reading nahi hoti jis mei hum apnie taraf sei kuch likei. Hamei itni English nahi ata keh essay likhei. Yeh mushkil hai* (In routine, there is no practice of writing on our own. We do not know English to write essay on our own. It is tough) (STDT22). According to another student, “*Hum yaad kiye baghair nahi likh saktie* (We cannot write without memorization) (STDT5). One of the teachers explained the reasons

of why he did not manage to give his students any writing exercises. He said that, *“Usually, we have time constraint. We have to complete their syllabus within specific time. Exercise like creative writing is necessary, but frankly, we have no time for this. There is pressure on us from the principal to complete the course. No one asks about creative writing; all are concerned about course completion, both principal and parents”* (TCHR2). Another teacher said that, *“A large number of our students are from uneducated family backgrounds. They have no background of English. Even if I assign them a paragraph or essay to write on their own, they will not be able to do it. Their level is low. If you want to write without the help of books and notebooks, you need to know grammar, have vocabulary and its use. This exercise is not here”* (TCHR1). During classroom observation, students were found doing the writing tasks; however, their writing was only copying from the whiteboards, books and notebooks. The nature of writing was copying and reproduction from their textbooks and notebooks. Students did not have to think about the meaning of the contents. The evidence from questionnaires, interviews, and observation suggests that classrooms are devoid of meaningful teaching and learning of writing. The kind of writing students are mainly engaged in is apparently not the product of their understanding of the grammar, vocabulary, or other linguistic features that may be internalized through meaningful and natural knowledge of the language. Their writing is generally imitative and rote learned, rarely evolved through the acquisition of the language.

The fundamental question remains as to whether students are sufficiently exposed to the kind of writing-centered activities, drills and exercises that would mentally and intellectually engage them in creativity and reflection using their understanding of the structural, grammatical, semantic or lexical knowledge of the English language. By creative or reflective writing, I mean the kind of writing that involves students to compose a piece of

writing such as essay, story, or personal experience, assigned spontaneously without prior memorization. If given, this would be an important exercise, which would serve dual purposes: train students in the art of composition and importantly motivate them to deploy items that would boost their linguistic development in the English language—lexical, syntactic, and semantic. The more they would be exposed, the more they would become acquainted with the use of different skills of the language. Otherwise, the likelihood of their writing as well as overall linguistic level of development will be less. The students do get chance to write; however, the nature of their writing is limited towards copying from the whiteboards and textbooks. Students spend bulk of their time in school and at home writing, but this writing is all about assigned homework by teachers, copied from textbooks. Such copying is blind reproduction, which they are supposed to commit to memory for passing examination. A question was specifically posed to students in both formal interviews and informal interaction during the field research that how much time they spent on homework doing writing. The majority of them responded that they were spending 3 to 4 hours daily on completing their assigned homework. They explained that during this exercise, they write answers from the textbooks. Later on, they would be memorizing the same for examinations. A student explained that, “*Hum har din shaam ko 4 sei 5 ghantie homework kartie hei* (Daily we spend from 4 to 5 hours on homework)” (STDT4). Another student said that, “*Mei rozana 3 aur 4 hours ke darmian homework karta hu. Hamarei teacher book me sei answers per nishan lagata hai* (I spend from 3 to 4 hours during homework. Our teachers underline answers from books) (STDT9).

While copying answers from textbooks, they normally do not pay attention to their meanings. It is not their concern because ultimately they have to reproduce the same answers during examinations. It was distinctly noticed that a good number of respondents could not decipher the meaning of creative writing, which I had to explain later. It is not to suggest that all students were unable to do creative writing; however, the majority of them appeared to lack the quality to write on their own using their knowledge of the English language rather than blind reproduction. As evidence, the poor written ability of most of respondents confirm their lack of guidance and exercise in writing. The actual classroom practices about writing are marked by mismatches with the English-medium promises, which those schools make in their advertisements. On the other hand, the kind of writing exercises one observes would barely develop their competence in the language in general and in writing in particular. This aspect of teaching and learning makes one to suspect the effectiveness and preparedness of English-medium policy particularly at the earlier stages of schooling.

6.4.1 Assessment of students' writing ability

To assess the writing ability of the students, they were asked to attempt a small essay on a topic titled as “*What do you want to become in the future and why?*”. This study used analytic scoring procedure for assessing writing. In this, written scripts are rated on several aspects of writing. According to Weigle (2002), this scoring scheme can potentially provide detailed information about test takers' performance and cover different aspects. It is a scoring rubric that rates “several aspects of writing or criteria rather than given a single score”(Weigle, 2002). Therefore, many researchers prefer analytic procedure of scoring rubric over others such as holistic scheme of assessment. One of the best known and widely used analytic scales in English as a Second Language was introduced by Jacobs et al. (1981). Therefore, this study also used this particular analytic scale for the assessment of students' writing ability as it

addresses a range of aspects. Figure 6.6 presents the assessment of their writing ability using analytic scoring procedure by (Jacobs et al., 1981). Scripts are rated on five qualitative variables such as contents, organization, vocabulary, language use and mechanics assessed as quality indicators against four rating scales: *excellent to very good*, *good to average*, *fair to poor* and *very poor*. The following table illustrates the assessment criteria for the language use.

Table 6.6 : Criteria for Assessment—Language Use (Jacobs et al., 1981)

	Language use
	Criteria
Excellent to very good	*Effective complex constructions *few errors of agreement, tense, number, word order/function, articles, pronouns, prepositions
Good to average	*Effective but simple constructions*minor problems in complex constructions*several errors of agreement, tense , number, word order/function, articles, pronouns, prepositions but <u>meaning seldom obscured</u>
Fair to poor	*Major problems in simple/complex constructions*frequent errors of negation, agreement, tense, number, word order/function, articles, pronouns, prepositions, and/or fragments, run-ons, deletions*Meaning obscured or confused
Very poor	*Virtually no mastery of sentence construction rules*dominated by errors*does not communicate or not enough to evaluate

The following table 6.7 illustrates the assessment criteria for vocabulary of the students:

Table 6.7 : Criteria for Assessment—Vocabulary (Jacobs et al., 1981)

	Vocabulary
	Criteria
Excellent to very good	Sophisticated Range * effective word/idiom choice and usage* word form mastery*appropriate register
Good to average	Adequate range*occasional errors of word/idiom form, choice, usage <i>but meaning not obscured</i>
Fair to poor	Limited range*frequent errors of word/idiom form, choice, usage* <i>meaning confused or obscured</i>
Very poor	Essentially translation*little knowledge of English vocabulary, idioms, word form* OR not enough to evaluate

The following table 6.8 illustrates the assessment criteria of the mechanics of the students' writing:

Table 6.8: Criteria for Assessment—Mechanics (Jacobs et al., 1981)

	Mechanics
	Criteria
Excellent to very good	*Demonstrates mastery of conventions* few errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing
Good to average	Occasional errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing* <i>but meaning not obscured</i>
Fair to poor	Frequent errors of spelling*punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing*poor handwriting* <i>meaning confused or obscured</i>
Very poor	No mastery of conventions*dominated by errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing*handwriting illegible * OR <i>not enough to evaluate</i>

Based on the assessment criteria by (Jacobs et al., 1981), Figure 6.1 illustrates the writing ability of the students in the suggested three areas—language use, mechanics and vocabulary. Four levels have been identified. The first from left to right indicates *excellent to very good* while the other rows respectively show *good to average*, *fair to poor* and *very poor*.

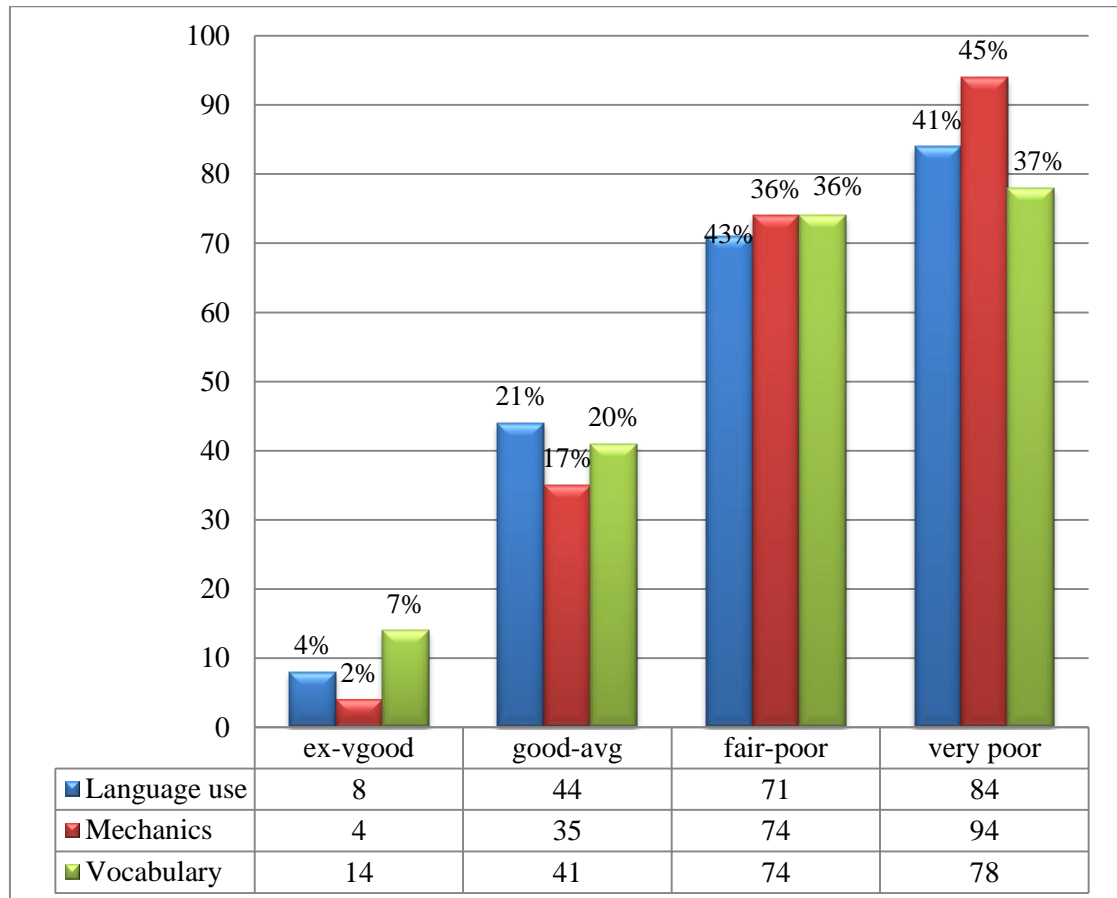
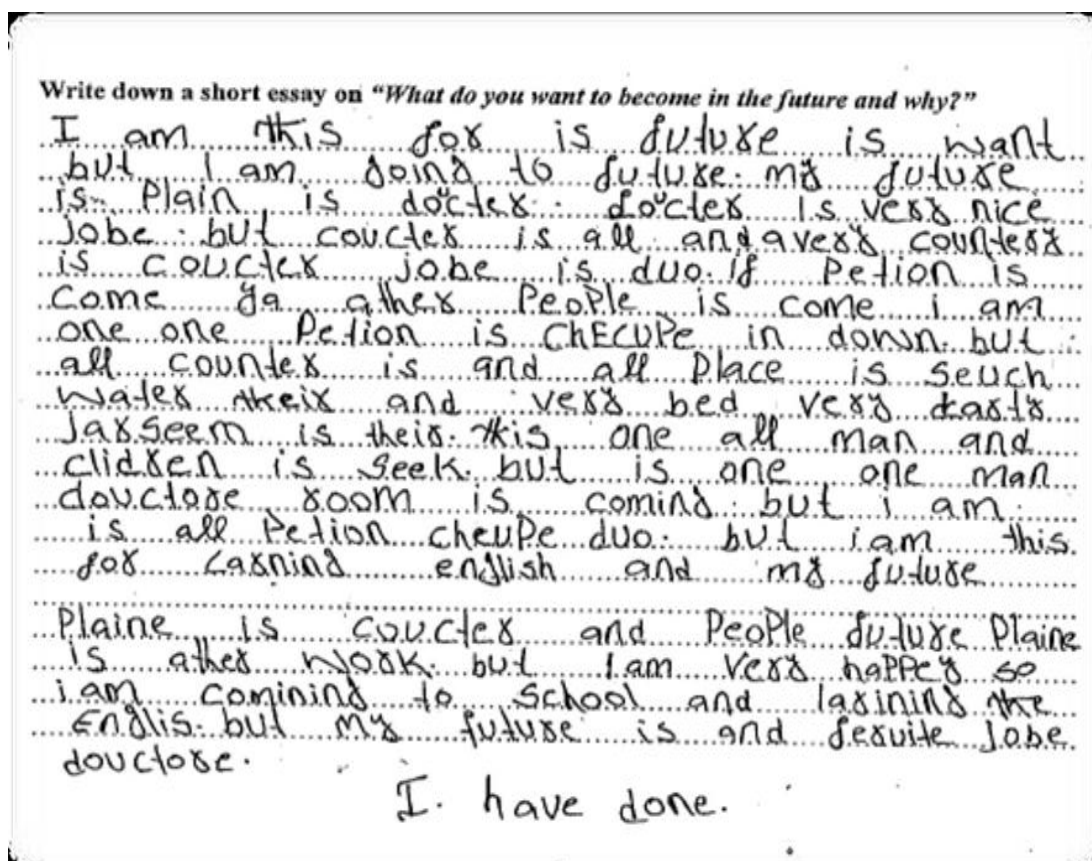


Figure 6.1: Assessment of Students' Writing Ability

Based on assessment of students' essays, results as a whole against the above factors indicate that a considerably smaller number of students fall in the *excellent to very good* and *good to average* rating while the vast majority falls in *fair to poor* and *very poor*. A total of 31 (12.65%) students were found saying that they could not write in the English language; therefore, they wrote their essays in the Urdu language. Over 30 (12.24%) students were such whose writing did not make any sense because their spellings, word order, and overall

composition were unreadable. Most of those who were categorized *very poor* and *fair-poor* had little sense of tense, verb-subject agreement, spelling, punctuation and so on. Based on classroom observations and interviews with students and teachers, the basic reason behind their lack of writing ability can be their lack of practice, and the neglect of the teachers. It is so because they are seldom exposed to any kind of training in creative or reflective writing exercises. Besides, since English stands as a foreign language to most of the children; therefore, their general understanding about the grammar, word order, vocabulary, and writing mechanics show serious signs of weaknesses. More importantly, limited exposure to English in their schools and homes might also have added to their unfamiliarity with the writing of the English language (see Chapter 7). In the following page, some excerpts from their original essays are provided to illustrate their writing ability:

Excerpt 1 (students' essay)



Excerpt 1 shows a number of issues that can be observed in the writing particularly on grammatical accuracy and word order. As a whole, it is difficult to decipher the message. For instance, the given sentence does not follow the correct word order—*I am This for is future is want but I am going to future*. The essay also shows a number of other weaknesses such as incorrect use of tense, inaccurate auxiliary and main verb, and incorrect use of capital letter. The participant has been enrolled in English medium system for six years. His father as he suggest is a 'bizneizman'; mother and father both have no education. He wants English to be taught as a medium of instruction and Urdu as a subject.

Excerpt 2 (students' essay)

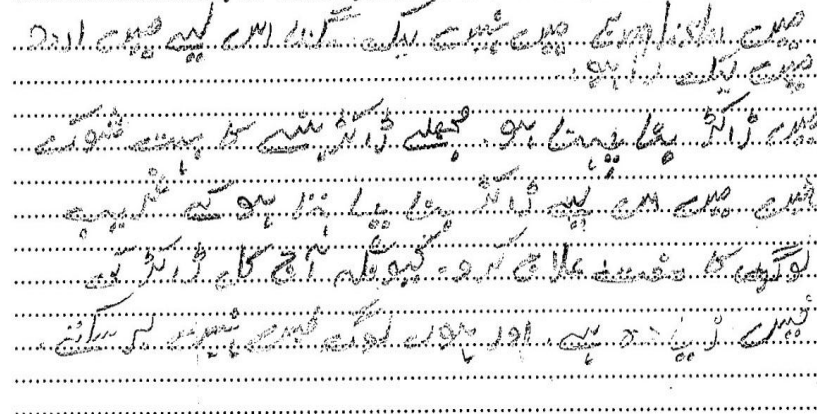
Write down a short essay on "What do you want to become in the future and why?"

I want to be a doctor in the future
because in their doctor in the
dustry in very job in her
very poor people are present
and he did not give his of
free in future of help the poor
people

Excerpt 2 shows the writing of an 18-year-old student who has been studying in the English medium system for the last seven years. His both parents are uneducated. His mother is a housewife and father is a driver. His writing also shows similar weaknesses as in the case of the previous excerpt (Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 4 (students' essay)

Write down a short essay on "What do you want to become in the future and why?"



In the beginning, the respondent explains that since he cannot write in the English language, therefore he attempts this task in the Urdu language. He is a 17 years old boy whose both parents are uneducated. His father is a businessperson. He has been in the English medium system for the last five years. When he was asked as to why he did not write in English, he had replied that due to lack of practice and lack of vocabulary and grammar, he was unable to construct sentence in the English language.

6.4.2 Writing ability and family Background

In all the above cases, one theme may clearly be drawn that parental education and support can contribute towards performance of their children to a certain degree. Exposure to reading and other visual material such as media and educated home environment appear to leave some effects on writing proficiency levels of the students. One can see the connection between English proficiency and family background. For instance, in the extract given below, the writer is a 16-year old female student. The quality of her composition is significantly better than the previous examples. The sentence construction maintains proper structure. The message is clear and confident. She also has a clear vision about her future aspirations. Her mother is uneducated while her father is an engineer by profession who serves as DSO

(Divisional Sub Officer). The student reveals that her father always pays attention to her progress and facilitates her with every kind of material and moral support. She likes to read short stories and English magazine on the weekend. The favorable family environment has played considerably important role in improving her writing in the English language. However, in case of the previous students, there appeared to be lack of favorable environment as the parents mostly were uneducated.

Excerpt 5 (students' essay)

Write down a short essay on "What do you want to become in the future and why?"

As everyone wants to become a greatman and Doctors, Engineers and in other fields. It is my wish that I also become an Engineer. If by chance I don't select then I will go for CSS. I will do it because I love education and I also want that I spread it. In future Inshallah I will open a school "English medium", there I will give the students all the facilities. I will not give them a normal education but also give them Islamic Education. so that they become a great person. I will spread the Education in all parts of Pakistan specially in villages where is no importance for women education. It will be my effort that I will serve my dear country Pakistan. I will give free education to the needy people and do every thing to spread the education. because education is very important for everyone specially for womens because they get the chance to get out of their homes and show their talent that they are better than the mans.

6.5 Decontextualized methods of grammar and vocabulary teaching

Grammar teaching is thought of as an important basic step towards learning of a second/foreign language. Grammar teaching in this context includes making students to memorize the basic rules such as tenses, active/passive, direct/indirect narration and several others. Teachers usually employ traditional grammar translation methods by teaching grammatical rules through overt explanation and elaborate definition. As observed, their approach towards grammar teaching did not demonstrate any sign of contextualized teaching, an approach the proponents of inductive approach advocate for grammar teaching. Moreover exponents of communicative approaches and interactionists propose that the isolated use of grammatical rules from the real-life context help little in communicating in the target language (Brown, 2007; Krashen, 1982; Nasaji & Fortos, 2011; Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

The respondents suggest that their teachers usually teach in the traditional way. In the preliminary stages of grammar teaching, teacher introduces them the parts of speech. Parts of speech are taught by simple definition and examples. For instance, a student described the way his teachers taught grammar in class:

Phle teacher humai parts of speech ke barei mei batata hai. Phir woh unka definition likhwata hai jaise noun kia hai? Misaal ke tawar per 'noun is the name of place, thing or person jaise Quetta, bat, Ali' (First of all, teacher gives how many parts of speech there are. Then he gives definition like what is noun? For examples, 'noun is the name of place, thing or person like Quetta, bat, Ali') (STDT9).

The teacher teaches them all the nine parts of speech and their sub kinds. Students then write down definition in their notebooks and memorize by heart for exams. When they were asked the purpose of teaching and learning of parts of speech, the respondents mostly said that the purpose was to study for the examinations. For instance, a student explained that, *"Hum parts of speech, tense, active aur paasive aur direct/indirect ko exam kelye yaad kartie hei. Mujhe yah pata nahi yah kaha istimaal hotie hei* (We memorize parts of speech, tenses,

passive/active and direct and indirect for our examination. I do not know about their use in language use) (STDT14). Few others said that it was important for understanding structure of sentences. In addition to parts of speech, teacher lays emphasis on grammar and allocates considerable time to the teaching of tenses, voice, and direct/indirect quotation marks. When they were asked as how they were learning the above grammatical items, most of them revealed that they were learning it by learning the rules and translation. They said that they were learning the rules with the help of a formula. Teaching with the help of a formula is a traditional method used by teachers especially for teaching tenses. It is when a teachers breaks up a simple sentence into its grammatical units such ‘subject’, ‘verb’, ‘object’, helping verb’ and so on. To illustrate how teachers traditionally teach grammar with the help of a formula, an example is presented here. The teacher explicitly explains how to construct a simple, negative, or interrogative sentence of a certain verb. For instance, a student (STDT6) explained the way his teacher taught grammar. According to him, teacher taught them Present Perfect Tense in the following method is used:

Formula for simple sentence: subject+helping verb+main verb (3rd form) + object

Formula for interrogative sentence: helping verb (has/have)+subject+main verb(3rd form)+ object

Example of simple sentence:

کیا علی خط لکھ چکا ہے

Ali	has	written	a	letter.
↓		↓	↓	↓
Subject	Helping verb	main verb (3 rd form)	article	object

Example of interrogative sentence:

کیا علی خط لکھ چکا ہے ؟

Has	Ali	written	a	letter?
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Helping verb	subject	main verb	article	object

Using the above method of formula, the teachers teach students all the tenses and assign them the same during examination. Some respondents from three schools said that their teachers do not teach grammar at all. A student describes how grammar is taught in his class:

Hamara teacher hum ko sab se pehle tense aur iski qismen parhata hai. Phir woh sari tense alag alag batata hai. Us ke baad woh humen jumla banana ka formula parhata hai. Pehle woh Urdu mein aur baad mein English mein tarjuma batata hai. For example, “me school jata hu” Urdu tarjuma “I go to school”. Teacher is tarah formula parhata hai aur hum yaad kartie hai—subject+ verb 1st form +object (Our teacher tells us tenses and their types. Then he teaches us all tenses one by one. After that he is giving us rule and formulae. For example, we study subject, object, verbs and these things. First he gives Urdu sentence and then translates it into Urdu. For example, “me school jata hu” Urdu translation “I go to school”. Teacher gives a formula like this and we memorize it—subject+ verb 1st form +object) (STDT5).

Teachers also indicated identical methods of teaching grammar as explained by the above student. Importantly, they said that they were teaching in the same manner they had been taught by their teachers during school and college days. For instance, a teacher explains her method of grammar teaching in the following words:

When I teach tenses, for example, I first identify name of the tense. Then I draw a graph where all the tenses are lined up. Then I teach them the formula and use of every tense, their identification, forms of verb used, and all things. First, we provide them Urdu sentences, and when they identified tense, they can translate it easily from Urdu to English. In this way I teach grammar (TCHR2).

Notwithstanding the fact that a context-based communicative approach towards teaching grammar has many advantages in language learning; however, teachers in the low-fee schools have not been able to apply such approaches in classrooms. In fact, teachers are mostly not trained, specialized, and well versed in the field of ELT; therefore, they did not know about any theory, principles or the modern-day approaches towards language teaching. They perceive that students will learn the language by teaching English textbooks like any other subject. As observed in the classrooms, in addition to teaching rules through translation method, the teachers also use a formula devised for the teaching of the rules. For instance,

teachers were observed using traditional methods that involved explicit descriptions of the rules. In doing so, they made students learn the formula of all the tenses. To illustrate further, teacher teaching Present Indefinite tense taught the following aspects of the concerned tense explicitly without contextualizing the structures within the real-life situation. Rules were taught in isolation from the real-life context.

- Form of the verb used in the tense (Write, wrote, written)
- Helping or auxiliary verbs—does/does, is/am/are
- Tense identification in Urdu language
- Formula for sentence construction—subject + verb + object (simple sentence)
- Identification of the tense in Urdu (تہے، تی ہے، تے ہے وغیرہ)

Having explicitly taught the above segments, the teacher writes Urdu sentence and later translates it into the Urdu language. Following is an example:

English: Akram goes to school—Urdu translation : اکرم سکول جاتا ہے

English: Mother washes cloth—Urdu translation: امی کپڑے دھوتی ہے

In this way, teacher proceeds to other tenses. Teachers make them translate from Urdu to English. They give a list of Urdu sentences from any local grammar book and provide them with English translation, which students memorize and reproduce during their exam papers. Additionally, teaching basic grammar also includes definition of parts of speech, learning active/passive voice, direct and indirect and some other common language structures. This particular exercise is also called ‘doing grammar’. While referring to her classroom research, Shamim (2008) reports one of the teachers’ method of grammar teaching, which clearly suggests similarity with what this study finds. Shamim reports the way a teacher explained how she taught grammar:

If we want to teach articles, I make a table to explain different kinds of articles. I also use a table to teach tenses. In this way they understand better. It's like maths. For example, I teach present tense through brackets. I make them [students] draw these even in their copies . . . Then they do exercises –10 to 12 sentences in class; then more sentences are given to do at home (Shamim, 1993, p. 193).

In contrast to the way grammar teaching methodologies are conducted, Krashen (2004a) theorized that we do not acquire language by learning about language by study of the rules and by memorizing vocabulary. Instead, we acquire language when we receive comprehensible input in a low anxiety situation. It means when we understand what people say to us and when we understand what we read. Moreover, Ellis (2006) has also written extensively on grammar teaching. She defines grammar teaching as,

...any instructional technique that draws learners' attention to some specific grammatical form in such a way that it helps them either to understand it metalinguistically and/or process it in comprehension and/or production so that they can internalize it"(p. 84).

However, contrary to what Ellis suggests, observation in this study shows that teachers neither involve students metalinguistically in the learning process nor help them internalize grammar in the form of comprehension or production of the real language. Teachers view grammar as essential starting point to the learning of the language. The data in the present case transpires that most teachers in the schools surveyed employ deductive methods of grammar teaching. Deductive method of teaching grammar is also one of the main trademarks of the Grammar-Translation method. While teaching grammar deductively, teachers teach grammar rules and examples and make students to memorization of the rules. Subsequently, students are asked to apply the rules to other examples. Students also have to learn grammatical paradigms such as verb conjugations. They memorize native-language equivalents for target-language vocabulary words (Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011). To the opposite of deductive grammar stands inductive grammar teaching. In inductive

approach, teachers try to expose learners to examples of language use or immerse learners in the use of the items of the target language, prompting them to generalize the pattern of the language (Thornbury, 1999). The inductive approach towards grammar teaching is context-based instruction. Hadley (1993) explains that context-based teaching of grammar uses logical contexts that may include “authentic discourse-length input or through language learning materials that stimulate authentic input using sentences that follow in logical sequence”(p. 152). Context-based grammar teaching is useful approach because it can provide a meaningful framework that connects to reality in the targeted language (Anderson, 2005).

The issue of whether to teach deductively or inductively has been around for a long time among researchers which implies that “the controversy has always been whether grammar should be taught explicitly through a formal presentation of grammatical rules or implicitly through natural exposure to meaningful language use” (Nasaji & Fortos, 2011, p. 4). Some believe that rather than having simple exposure and meaning-driven communication, adopting explicit teaching approach can have significant results on the acquisition of second language (Ellis, 2008, 2009; Erlam, 2003; Norris & Ortega, 2000). However, many researchers also argue that both approaches have strengths and weaknesses (Thornbury, 1999). Similarly, Richards and Rodgers (2001) also highlight the advantages and disadvantages of Grammar-Translation method, which as discussed, emphasize on deductive approach. The disadvantages include absence of communicative practice, heavy reliance on translation, and focus on reading and translating text. Translation can cause a practical problem because a class may have many students from different language background at times. On the other hand, the advantage may be that explicit teaching familiarizes learners with rules and pay attention to forms. It stresses accuracy than fluency. Given the advantages and disadvantages, the disadvantages are more than the advantages. In

the context of India, Patil (2008) narrates the way his teachers had erroneously laid undue emphasis on overt grammar. His explanation is quite revealing in this regard, as he shares the fallouts of learning English through deductive methods in India. He narrates that:

When I was a school and college student, my English teachers would correct my grammar and spelling errors indefatigably. They would constantly bring home the point that accuracy was of top importance. Accordingly, I labored hard to perfect my spelling and grammar. Happily, my hard work paid dividends. Finally, I could spell words correctly, use punctuation adeptly, and produce sentences accurately. My teachers rewarded me with excellent grades and certificates, which I have preserved with great pride till date. Honestly, I am indebted to my teachers for my lexical, phonological and grammatical competence. However, later I realized that grammaticality alone was not sufficient. The moment I started using English in real life situations, I found my grammatical competence embarrassingly inadequate to communicate effectively and efficiently. To my dismay, my bookish English occasionally made me a butt of ridicule (p. 229).

Researchers' personal experiences from school to language academy and to university life suggest that the more we expose learners to the naturalistic use of the English language, the more the language awareness. The more teachers make language teaching interesting, the greater it excites students' interest. The biggest disadvantage of emphasizing grammatical rules robs off students of the opportunities to communicate and participate in the target language. Explicit methods are taxing and tedious because learners have to undergo torturous experience of memorizing flat definitions of grammatical components and study about the rules, which they cannot relate to their real lives and practical application. Explicit methods are time-consuming too. The worse part of it is, the rules remain on the surface rather become internalized in a naturalistic manner. Teachers spend plenty of time teaching grammar rules while students waste ample time and energy memorizing the definitions of parts of speech and their sub kinds. This researcher can personally recall that once, one of the grammar teachers in a language academy taught even types of conjunction, their names and definitions, but unfortunately, he could not justify the link between language learning and learning types of conjunction. In their ignorance of the theory and principals of language acquisition and

language and education, there is an unnecessary emphasis on grammar learning, which not only overburdens students, but also proves demoralizing for the learners. In addition, it plays a minor role in making learners fluent and articulate in the language, which certainly backfires in their practical lives as job seekers and job doers. More critically, this segment of teaching and learning English points to the dichotomies that lies between the aspiration for English-medium policy and poor practices in classrooms.

In the following paragraphs, methodology of vocabulary teaching is discussed. Observation undertaken in 8 classrooms and the input gathered from teachers and students about the instructional practices suggests, teachers' methodologies are characterized by decontextualized and conventional ways. Following is a snapshot from classroom. Teaching a lesson no 6 Louis Braille on page 37 of the textbook for class X by Balochistan Textbook Board, the concerned English teacher underlined the following words as difficult words, and later translated them into Urdu:

English	Urdu
• Observed	[مشاهده کیا]
• Struck	[لگا]
• Infection	[بیماری لگنا]
• Spread	[پھیلا ہوا]
• Shapes	[اشکال]
• Pitied	[رحم کھایا]
• Sympathized	[ہمدردی دکھایا]

While teaching lessons, teacher highlights a number of words as difficult words, and then goes on to provide students with literal translation in the Urdu language. Teacher writes them on the white/blackboards with Urdu translation, which students copy in their notebooks. Those words are taught as isolated items what could be termed as decontextualized teaching. As a student explains, “*Hamare har lesson mei words meaning hotie hei. Hum iske maani*

likhe ke exam kelye yaad kartei hei (In every lesson we have words meaning. We write down their Urdu meaning and memorize them for exam) (ST5). Some teachers also teach vocabulary by using them in sentences; however, their number is low. During examination, teacher may test students' knowledge of the same words and award grades based on their answers.

Input from students suggests that they mostly learn those words by heart—which means they cram/rote learn words and their meanings as written by teachers. Apart from the literal meaning of the words in the Urdu language, teachers did not use any context-based activity either oral or written to internalize their practical use. Students also told that they did not use those words in any form in their language because they never use the language directly. It is only during examination that they learn those words. When they were asked if those words remained permanently in their memory, to which most of the students replied that they usually forgot those words as their examination ended. Students usually cram those vocabulary items to answer their exam papers. Scholars emphasize on context-based inductive approaches towards teaching grammatical forms because this approach help internalize the meanings. Inductive approach is useful because learners receive exposure to examples and immerse them in the context (Anderson, 2005; Ellis, 2006; Thornbury, 1999). Ellis (2006) proposed contextualized teaching of grammar and vocabulary items as that helped internalize them metalinguistically, and led to potential processing and production. Based on evidence, teachers usually deploy traditional translation methods. Translation methods are deductive in nature, which stand opposite to inductive method. In view of the decontextualized instructional approach in the classrooms, it appears that the students might not build their vocabulary and its use in the real oral and written forms than they would have done in contextualized form of learning.

6.6 Students' preparation for examination

The low-fee English-medium private schools conduct examinations in the English language in all subjects except Islamic studies and Urdu as a subject, for which the medium is Urdu. The core purpose behind seeking students' input on their examination was to figure out whether examination systems test students' languages skills. Four points were raised in the survey questionnaire against which the students had to choose their response:

1. I memorize the text when I prepare for examination.
2. I try to understand the concept and then write in my own words.
3. I reproduce the same material as given in the books/notebooks.

Following is a numerical presentation of students' answers in the form of frequency counts and percentages. It shows that significant number of the students tend to memorize their descriptive questions. Memorization signifies cramming of the text without knowing the meaning of the contents. The figures suggest that as a whole, examination system usually tests students' ability to reproduce than encourage conceptualization of the subject matter. A large number of students also suggest that their examiners usually encourage reproduction than creativity and self-reflection. Students were given different situations asking them to give feedback on their experience concerning exam preparation. As their response suggests, (14.7%) and (63.3%) said that they *strongly agreed* and *agreed* that they usually memorize course contents while they sit for examination. Other (5.3%) were *undecided* while (11.4%) and (5.3%) respectively *disagreed* and *strongly disagreed*. Similarly, students were asked if they understood concepts when they prepared for examination, to which a larger number of students reports that do not understand concepts when they sit for examination (42.0%), another (9.4%) are *undecided* while another (21.2%) and (18.4%) respectively *agreed* and *strongly agreed*. In addition, students were asked if they reproduced the same material during exam as given in the textbooks/notebooks, to which a large number of them *agreed* (51.8%)

while another (17.1%) *strongly agreed*. Some of them were *undecided* (13.5%) whereas some disagreed (11.0) and few strongly disagreed (6.5%). As a whole, the statics signify that a significantly larger number of students memorize and reproduce the same material as given in the textbooks and notebooks while a relatively small number of students suggest that they understand concept while they sit for examination.

Table 6.9: Students' Mode of Preparation for Exams

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)
We only memorize	13(5.3)	28(11.4)	13(5.3)	155(63.3)	36(14.7)
We understand concepts	22(9.0)	103(42.0)	23(9.4)	52(21.2)	45(18.4)
We reproduce the same as in books/notebooks	16(6.5)	27(11.0)	33(13.5)	127(51.8)	42(17.1)

Many students showed concerns over the rigidity their teachers shown in the evaluation of their papers. Students are made to reproduce exactly the same subject matter as given in the textbook and book, indicated in advance by the teachers. A student complained that,

Ek baar mere bare bhai ne mere leiye apne alfaz me bare questions mukhtasar kiye, lekin meaning wahi rahi. Phir jab mei ne wahi answer mere paper mei likha to meri teacher naraz hogayi. Us ne mujhe kam marks diyei (Once, my elder brother shortened longer questions for me using his own words, but retaining the same meaning. When I wrote that answers in the answer paper, my teacher became angry. She cut my marks in the same paper) (STDT10).

Based on input from students, the bottom line remains that a significant segment of them relies on memorization strategies. Memorization involves rote learning and reproduction of the exact textual material being highlighted in the textbook or written in the notebooks by the teacher. This applies mostly to almost all descriptive subjects such as English, social studies, and general sciences. Students are made to reproduce textual material from the books

and notebooks. Teachers usually discourage creativity and self-expression. Students are bound to present the same as underlined by the teacher. If a student fails to follow blindly his/her teacher, she/he will have to face anger and punishment.

Rote learning and memorization is a widely reported phenomenon in the education in Pakistan. According to a number of scholars, rote learning, and memorization is one of the perennial problems the education system of Pakistan suffers from, and English is not an exception (Hoodbhoy, 1998; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a; Siddiqui, 2010). With reference to the examination culture in schools including the low-fee schools, Khattak (2014) describes how the system of education promotes memorization and reproduction:

The teachers generally act as authority in the classroom, dictate commands, and assign work and work-related activities. Similarly, to encourage a complete reliance on memory, it appears that the developers of the board exams have intentionally maintained a content-heavy pattern, where the students are graded mainly on exact reproduction of the textbook content (p, 103).

Following are extracts from examination papers by the High Secondary Board to illustrate the manner the English paper is arranged for Annual Examination by the Balochistan Board, 2013.

انگریزی - ۱ - ۲۰۱۳ء سائنس ۹TH

BALUCHISTAN BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE & SECONDARY EDUCATION QUETTA.

9TH (ANNUAL) EXAMINATION 2013.

TIME: - 3 HOURS



SUBJECT: - ENGLISH - 9TH

GROUP: - I

MARKS: - 75

PASS MARKS: 25

SECTION "A" (COMPULSORY)

- Q. 01. (a) Complete the following sentences by using correct form of the verbs given in brackets. (05)
- Madina _____ the centre of Islam. (become)
 - Allah has _____ man with success in his effort. (bless)
 - Flies sit on _____ food. (uncover).
 - Her brothers _____ her to solve an easy problem. (challenge)
 - I promised to _____ his desire. (carry out)
- (b) Choose the correct word from the bracket given against each sentence. (05)
- Success in life cannot be found _____. (ease, easy, easily)
 - "Saracen" means _____. (Hindu, Muslim, Jew)
 - The poet saw _____ daffodils. (a few, a large number of, white)
 - Mehar Garh is situated in _____. (Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab)
 - _____ planets are revolving round the Sun. (Eight, Nine, Ten)
- (c) Match the Columns. (05)
- | <u>COLUMN "A"</u> | <u>COLUMN "B"</u> |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Famous | To pose trouble |
| Surprised | Sensible |
| Proud | Well known |
| Threaten | Taken aback |
| Wise | Honoured |

The above extract exemplifies the exact paper students at 9th grade attempt in their annual examination. This is English paper. In the objective type questions, the respondents are asked to fill in the blanks. The questions are drawn from the textbook. The following example shows their question number two, three, and four. Question 02 asks them to translate the given sentence in to Urdu. In addition, question number 03 asks them to supply short answers while question number 04 instructs them to write a summary of the poem "The Daffodils" by William Wordsworth.

- Q. 02. Translate any ten of the following sentences into Urdu.
- (i) He started preaching the message of Allah. (ii) He had purchased the dress in great haste.
 - (iii) This smoke gets mixed up in the air. (iv) He kept turning sides on his bed in anxiety.
 - (v) It is not certain how the earth came into being. (vi) Nobody was willing to give them free food.
 - (vii) Another important discovery was a copper statue, which dated back to 6000 years B.C.
 - (viii) One day she became very angry with her brothers. (ix) Jamila became very fond of it.
 - (x) He had never felt so pleased before. (xi) He greatly valued her work and help.
 - (xii) Prefer friendship to money and gold. (10)
- Q. 03. Write short answer of any ten of the following questions.
- (i) What did Islam teach to the mankind? (ii) Was Nasir's father a rich man?
 - (iii) What is meant by air pollution? (iv) Where in the house had Noor kept his money?
 - (v) How do the flies carry the germs? (vi) Where is Mehar Garh situated?
 - (vii) Where is Gibraltar? (viii) What did she prove about the ability of girls?
 - (ix) What are the blessings of sight? (x) How can a nation achieve greatness?
 - (xi) When were the Indian women given the right to vote? (xii) Why are trees important for us? (08)
- Q. 04. Write the summary of the poem "The Daffodils" (OR) Paraphrase the following stanza.
- Good thoughts his only friends,
His wealth a well spend age,
The earth his sober inn,
And quiet pilgrimage.

As the above questions read, the nature of questions is such that they do not ask students for any creative writing, analytical reasoning, or interpretive tasks. All the above questions are part of the syllabus notified in advance, which most of the students either memorize or manage through some malpractices such as cheating and outside assistance. The students know in advance what questions to memorize for their exams. During examination day, they only reproduce the memorized material, which leave virtually no space for brainstorming, conceptual engagement, and reflection. In addition, the students barely internalize the grammatical rules, vocabulary, and other linguistic elements of the English language. The following is an illustration of the other questions, which are written in advance. Those questions ask students to write a letter, an application, a story, Urdu sentences into English translation, and an essay.

- SECTION - V
- Q. 05. Write an application to your principal / Headmaster for the grant of stipend (OR) (07)
Write a letter to your uncle thanking him for his gift of a watch. (05)
- Q. 06. Write a story on any one of the following. (05)
(i) A Farmer and His Sons (ii) A Thirsty Crow.
- Q. 07. Change any five of the following sentences into passive voice. (05)
(i) Fatima feeds the white cat. (ii) He wrote a wonderful story. (iii) My parents guide me.
(iv) We respect our elders. (v) Ali played hockey. (vi) Farida cooked rice. (vii) Who deceived me?
- Q. 08. Translate into English (Do any Five). (05)

۱۔ سورج مشرق سے نکلتا ہے۔ ۲۔ دلت گزرتا رہتا ہے۔ ۳۔ اے کیوں سزا دی گئی؟ ۴۔ ہم اپنی کتابیں پڑھ رہے تھے۔
۵۔ جب میس دہاں پہنچا وہ جاچکا تھا۔ ۶۔ وہ کب پہنچے ہیں؟ ۷۔ تعطیلات کے بعد سکول کھل چکے ہوں گے۔

- NOTE:- Alternate to Q.No. 2 and Q.No. 8 for English medium students only. (10)
- Q. 02. Write a paragraph on any one of the following: (05)
(i) Allama Iqbal (ii) A Police Man
- Q. 08. Make Nouns from the following verbs and use the nouns in your own sentences. (any Five) (05)
Decide, Direct, Explain, Fail, Move, Prove, Object
- THE END

The data shows that the schools seldom kindle children's minds with fire as envisioned by the renowned Greek scholar Plutarch. It is meant to suggest that schools encourage students to memorize rather than enlighten them about the subject material. Plutarch (46-120), the known Greek historian and scholar said: "*The mind is not a vessel to be filled but a fire to be kindled*". The opposite of rote learning is meaningful learning. In meaningful learning is characterized by two qualities: to promote retention and to promote transfer of information (Mayer, 2002). In other words, meaningful learning is a concept which signifies any knowledge which the seeker fully understands where rote-learning is when the learner merely memorizes the knowledge without being able to fully understand and relate knowledge to his/her previous knowledge. Mayer further explains that, "Retention is the ability to

remember material at some later time in much the same way it was presented during instruction. Transfer is the ability to use what was learned to solve new problems, answer new questions, or facilitate learning new subject matter”(p. 228). Mayor (2002) also identifies three learning outcomes of any educational activity or exercise: no learning, rote learning, and meaningful learning. No learning occurs when learner neither possesses nor is able to use the relevant knowledge, and he/she neither sufficiently attends to nor is able to encode the material during learning. In case of rote learning, the learner may possess the relevant knowledge, but is unable to use that knowledge to solve problems. In addition, learner cannot transfer the same knowledge to new situations. He/she can attend to the relevant knowledge, but has not understood it, and therefore, cannot use it. On the other hand, in meaningful learning, the learner possess the relevant knowledge, and he/she can use that knowledge to solve problems and understand new concepts, and can transfer knowledge to new learning situations.

Now sifting through the data concerning the examination system and the way tests are conducted in schools as surveyed, we find that there are more of ‘no learning’, ‘rote learning’ and less of ‘meaningful learning’. Mostly, students tend to reproduce exactly what has been dictated from the books or notebooks. The students also point to the fact that teachers usually become angry and respond in retribution when they attempt to give answers slightly different from what teachers have exactly taught them before. Most of them memorize without knowing the meanings; this is how they have been forced to practice even since their schooling experiences. According to EXPERT 3, teachers are mainly responsible for this menace as she observes that since,

...teachers are a product of the same decrepit education system that you see at present. Education has been on the slide for several decades. You cannot bring highly trained English speaking teachers from elsewhere and induct them in our system.

Child is made to rote learning for two reasons: “*he doesn’t know the language well enough to express him in that language*”; secondly, “*he is not clear about concepts*”. EXPERT 7 observes that the government schools are admittedly poor when we talk about language area; they are not delivering too. However, the private schools have weaknesses either. They do have serious limitations in terms of English language instruction and teaching approaches. They put up rather fancy and far-fetched English names such as ‘Oxford grammar, Grand Folk, Spectrum, Wisdom and St. Joseph grammar schools’ to sell out their brands high in the public; however, these nominal and so-called English medium schools “*don’t teach English as a language, but English as a subject. The mode of education is still rote learning. Students are neither taught the language nor do they learn the English language*”. Rahman (2004) also refers to the same problem majority of the students are faced with. In brief, one can sum up that evidence confirms that there are limitations in the examination system. Since the examination system itself encourages memorization; therefore, the students fail to conceptualize the language as well as contents. As a result, they fail to develop their proficiency in the language they study as medium. More critically, English as an alien language also contributes substantially towards forced memorization as the learners find the language unfamiliar to their early language socialization.

The dismal situation with respect to prevalent memorization culture leads one to pose another relevant question—does reading or writing without conceptualizing and internalizing count as literacy? In order to delve deep, one needs to recall the definition of literacy as proposed by (UNESCO, 2006). Literacy is,

Literacy is the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve their goals, to develop their knowledge and potential, and to participate fully in their community and wider society (p. 13).

As the above definition reads, one may argue that since most of the students in the schools surveyed are faced with rote learning, memorization, and incomprehension of most textual material in their English textbooks; therefore, the potential for ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, and communicate appear minimal. Data also support the same conclusion. Fundamentally, the major barrier appears largely to be the foreign language and partially the low-quality instruction. In line with similar argument, Pinnock (2009) problematizes the notion of literacy when children are faced with issues of incomprehension in the second or foreign languages in schools. According to her, children may be regarded as literate when they can link the idea behind a word they read or write. Conversely “If a child does not understand the meaning of a word because it is in an unfamiliar language, learning to ‘read and write’ that word does not constitute literacy: it is simply repetition” (p. 13). Conceptualizing the meaning of a word, phrase, sentence, or a paragraph in the second or foreign language is what may be termed as genuine literacy. Students should be able to identify, interpret, and communicate meaningfully in the school language. Otherwise, one can suspect the literacy of so many such students who undergo the menace of rote-learning and imitative repetition. Pinnock (2009) alarms that due to school policies in unfamiliar languages, “There is a danger that millions of children are learning to copy and recite set texts from blackboards and books, without developing the ability to decode or produce new writing for themselves”(p. 13). The alarming situation exactly applies to hundreds and thousands of children undergoing the torturous process of memorization that has been imposed on them in the shape of an unfamiliar language such as English in the low-fee school in Pakistan.

6.7 Language-oriented task, drills/activities

The students were asked whether their teachers executed any language-related task, activity, or drills in their classes. Such activities are normally the hallmark of the direct methods characterized by participatory and collaborative involvement of the students aimed at the internalization of certain language skills. Several scholars have laid down the crucial importance of tasks in language teaching (Alderman, Orazem, & Paterno, 2001; Cohen et al., 2003; Genesee, 2004; Oppenheim, 1992). A pedagogical task is defined as,

... a piece of classroom work that involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language while their attention is focused on mobilizing their grammatical knowledge in order to express meaning, and in which the intention is to convey meaning rather than to manipulate form. (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 4)

The above definition of a task puts learner on the center stage envisioning an active and direct use of the target language manipulating the meanings. Similarly, Plews and Zhao (2010) provides an outline of the major principals of task-based language teaching drawing on main research work of scholars (Genesee, 2004; Oppenheim, 1992). Following is a synopsis of the main principals:

- Learners require exposure to the real (authentic) and varied language of speakers of the target language (often modified; always comprehensible).
- Learners must be exposed to and use the kind of language that they want and need for their own interests or purposes.
- Learners must be provided with opportunities for unrehearsed and meaningful language use in purposeful interaction, where they take informed risks, make choices, and negotiate meaning while seeking solutions to genuine queries.
- Teachers ensure that activities are interconnected and organized with clearly specified objectives and promote the desire to learn.
- Teachers should elicit self-correction, enable personalized feedback, and consider learners' individual developing language systems (interlanguage).
- Teachers must set learners activities that help them notice language forms; induction/discovery is preferable to deduction/presentation; teachers should (explicitly) instruct form in the context of activities where meaning is primary.
- The whole language (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) should be integrated.

- Teachers evaluate learners in a formative manner and in terms of the process of achieving a goal; learners need to evaluate their own performance and progress.

Now, viewing the classroom through the lenses of the above principles, we find that none of the principles is applied in the classrooms. The learners neither get exposure to the direct use of the English language nor do they engage in any form of active and meaningful manipulation of the language. It was found that 24 out of 30 students reported that there were no activities marking task-based language teaching whereas the remaining students did indicate the use of such activities.

The students show that the focus of the teachers often stays on the completion of the lesson and completion of syllabus. Other than the traditional reading of textbooks and some sort of writing, they had never been involved in activities such as drills, tasks or activities that might help in practicing the language as a tool. The exercises are textbook-driven that are dominated by question-answer, fill-in-the-blank, or matching of words. In this exercise, the teacher usually explains answers to the students. According to the majority of the students, and observation of the classes, the use of activities that might engage students in the language cognitively or creatively, are rare. Exposure to direct use of the English language is rare. In view of the textbook-driven, less direct and less language-oriented activities in classrooms, the potential for English language learning appears to be little. Briefly, the classroom practices on ground fail to translate the genuine English-medium policy as portrayed and rigorously advertised in the official policies of the school. English as a language remains only rhetoric than reality.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented different aspects of English teaching and learning practices in the schools surveyed to analyze how teachers and learners approached English learning. Capturing English teaching and learning exercises are critical in the context of the present study because from the real teaching sites, one is able to analyze carefully the authenticity of claims the low-fee school make about delivery of English-medium instruction, and in turn, the people cultivate positive perceptions about them. The data on various aspects of teaching English suggest that there seems to be a yawning gap between the advertisement and the delivery. In addition, the assumption held by a large number of respondents about English teaching and learning does not seem to match with real practices. There is an abundance of evidence that the practices are not only illusive in terms of English teaching; they are also of little help in the learning of the language. The illusions are held in the following aspects:

Schools claim that English is the medium of instruction, but there is almost no use of the English language except for certain superficial and cosmetic behavioral norms such as ‘hello’, ‘good morning’, ‘may I come in madam?’, ‘no noise please’, ‘come in’, ‘go out’, ‘shut up’ and so on. On the other hand, people assume that the way these schools approach teaching and learning practices are good enough for learning English language are not only eyewash, but also an ill-informed assumption. The practices barely underpin on a particular theory of language teaching/learning principles. The methodologies may be described as a typical ‘Pakistani way’ of language instruction. Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural theory emphasizes on social interaction and extensive participation; however, rarely does English appear in any form of interaction in schools. English is strictly confined within the textbooks only. Krashen (1982) stipulates the learning of a foreign language with enough ‘comprehensible input’; however, the classroom barely provides a rich input either. The

practices are also illusive when viewed with what (Swain, 2005) termed as ‘output hypothesis’ considers essential for any second or foreign language learning.

The bottom line remains that apparently none of the aspects of English teaching and learning practices replicates any serious promise for English learning. The methodologies can be termed as flawed, so can be the expectations. Precisely, on following grounds, the teaching and learning practices may be described as faulty: English, the aspired language does not feature in classroom transaction or social interaction. Reading is based on chorus repetition, a parroting exercise and conventional ritual rather any mental processing or ‘noticing’, a condition Swain (2005) considers necessary for language learning. No writing and listening exercises and language-oriented drills or activities take place. Vocabulary teaching is detached from the context. Grammar is deductive rather than inductive to be applied in real communication or writing. Classrooms are teacher-centered leaving little room for participation or collaboration. Evidently, the writing ability of majority of respondents makes poor reading. More critically, teachers possess little knowledge about the theory and principles of second/foreign language teaching and learning language instruction is all about; they are as EXPERT 2 observes ‘the products of a decrepit education system’; their knowledge and command on the English language is what Rahman (2004) aptly described as ‘intolerably poor’.

CHAPTER 7: SOCIOCULTURAL ECOLOGIES AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

EXPOSURE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data and analyzes the extent of exposure in English language that students receive in various domains of communication such as home, neighborhood, and the media. To determine the extent of exposure in the form of input and output is critical as it indicates how familiar and widespread the English language is in students' sociocultural ecology. Exposure makes up one of the vital external factors in the learning of a second or a foreign language (Brown, 2007; Cenoz, 2009; Krashen, 1982; Spolsky, 1989; Swain, 2005). According to Brown (2007), the learning of a second or a foreign language needs to go beyond the classroom. Learners should have extensive opportunities to use the target language meaningfully in order to learn other languages. Brown (2007) proposes that in order to get command on any second or a foreign language, the process of learning is required "to move significantly beyond the teaching of rules, patterns, definitions, and other knowledge "about" language to the point that students are taught to communicate genuinely, spontaneously, and meaningfully in the second language" (p. 28).

7.2 English-Medium policy and exposure

Rahman (2013) proposed that for English acquisition to occur smoothly and naturally, mere classroom teaching is insufficient. The child's sociocultural ecology should be given due importance in deciding the medium of instruction policy which could be utilized in the acquisition of the language process. Therefore, extensive natural exposure to the English language must be given emphasis as a prerequisite condition that "English is learned from one's peers, parents, siblings, relatives, and entertainment at home. It cannot be taught by

teachers who do not know it nor can it function as a medium of instruction for small children who are actually taught in Urdu while taking examinations in English”.

Exposure in this context refers to the degree of English language input and output that students receive, use and produce within the three domains during their day-to-day lives. In the context of medium of education policy, exposure is associated with English language learning. The success of English-medium policy can hypothetically rely on the extent of opportunities that students receive from using English outside their schools. The more they receive meaningful exposure, the higher possibility that they become more familiar with the English language. In turn, exposure to English will enhance and affect their level of comprehension particularly in subjects that are taught in the English language. Students are not expected to learn subject contents of their curriculum without knowing the language of the textbook, which is English. Therefore, in order to learn the language of the textbooks, students must have sufficient exposure (input and output) to the English language in their sociocultural ecology particularly at home and neighborhood to develop their level of acquaintance with the language. An unfamiliar school language can potentially multiply students' problems. If students have less exposure to English, they will possibly feel alienated from the English language as well as the subject knowledge. Experts of additive bi/multilingual education consider familiarity with the school language as one of the prerequisites of quality learning; therefore, they recommend the use of a child's home language or the language of his/her community rather than using any foreign language at the earlier phases of education (Annamalai, 2005, 2013; Benson, 2009; Cummins, 2009; Heugh, 2006; Jhingran, 2005; Mohanty, 2006, 2013; Mohanty & Panda, 2009; Phillipson, 2009b). According to Jhingran (2009), teaching children through an unfamiliar language such as English in Pakistan can cause numerous disadvantages. Jhingran (2009) postulated that:

When children are forced to study through a language they cannot fully understand in the early primary grades, they face a serious learning disadvantage that can stunt their cognitive development and adversely affect their self-esteem and self-confidence for life. This is especially severe in deprived socioeconomic situations where there is little exposure to the school language, outside the school. This is further exacerbated when the children's culture, along with their language, is completely excluded from the classrooms (p. 263).

Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory emphasizes on social interaction and social construction of knowledge that also applies to the learning of language. In the context of Pakistan, several scholars raise doubts over the suitability of English-medium education in the primary school since English is an unfamiliar language to most of children especially in the low-fee schools which largely belong to low-income families where English is an alien language (Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a). Scholars argued that earlier English-medium education policy in schools could cause problems for children because they do not understand the language they are using as the medium. Their parents are mostly uneducated while their active and passive exposure to the English language is rather limited; therefore, they recommend mother tongue or a familiar language as a medium of instruction rather than English language at the primary level. Several scholars from India use exposure and contact with the English language as primary signifiers of a language policy and its profound effects on the cognitive and overall academic development of children. The same may apply to the role of English teaching in Pakistan. Effective learning and strong linguistic development in school largely depends on the degree of exposure and familiarity to the languages used in schools such as English (Annamalai, 2005, 2013; Jhingran, 2009; Mohanty, 2006, 2010, 2013). They proposed that prior to adopting English-medium education policy in schools; the policy makers should take into account the challenges that most students are likely to confront particularly those who consider English as a foreign language in their sociocultural ecology. Parental support is also

crucial in children's educational development. This support can best be rendered when parents can understand the language used as a medium such as English in the schools. In a review of language education policy of seven countries, Dutcher (1995) concluded that "parental and community support and involvement are essential to all successful programs"(p. viii); therefore in view of the limited use and restricted function of English as a foreign language does not seem to allow parents and communities to play their role in the school activities of children. An array of scholars in cognitive psychology, bilingualism, multilingualism, and language in education policy suspect the effectiveness of a foreign language such as English in Pakistani as the medium of education at the primary levels of schooling.

In view of the language exposure as a significant factor in foreign language learning and its connection to English-medium education policy, following data sets are presented to demonstrate the amount of exposure and the degree of contact, both active and passive, that students receive across three domains outside schools. The students' input on their exposure can theoretically explain the suitability or unsuitability of English as a medium of education and its compatibility to the sociocultural ecology of the students.

7.3 Exposure to English in the sociocultural ecology

In the context of the present study, 'sociocultural ecology' has been operationalized, which signifies the extent of contact that students have with the English language at home, neighborhood and media. Both input and output are framed as exposure. Therefore, this section presents the responses of students regarding their exposure to the English language. The data is drawn from the survey questionnaire and interviews.

7.3.1 Exposure to reading materials in English

This refers to reading materials which students might read at home such as stories, fiction, science books, narratives, etc. In addition, reading materials also encompass newspaper reading. Reading material specifically for pleasure such as stories and fiction are important for language learning (Krashen, 1993). According to Krashen (1993), a vocal advocate of the value of reading for pleasure argued that:

When children read for pleasure, when they get “hooked on books”, they acquire, involuntarily and without conscious effort, nearly all of the so-called “language skills” many people are so concerned about: they will become adequate readers, acquire a large vocabulary, develop the ability to understand and use complex grammatical constructions, develop a good writing style, and become good (but not necessarily perfect) spellers. Although free voluntary reading alone will not ensure attainment of the highest levels of literacy, it will at least ensure an acceptable level. Without it, I suspect that children simply do not have a chance (p. 85).

As Krashen argues, reading for pleasure in the target language can help build knowledge of the language skills without consciously putting any mechanical effort. Therefore, in this study, the students were asked to suggest how often they went through reading material in the English language. Table 7.1 illustrates the students’ input in this regard:

Table 7.1: Material for Reading—Fiction, Magazines, Science Books

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	128	52.2	52.2
Seldom	47	19.2	71.4
Some times	26	10.6	82.0
Often	22	9.0	91.0
Always	22	9.0	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

The frequency and percentage in Table 7.1 indicate that a high number of students *never* or *seldom* read any reading material in the English language at home. Figures show that 128(52.2%) of the students never read any reading material, 47(19.2%) seldom while 26(10.2%) sometimes use read material in the English language. Furthermore, 22(9.0%) of students suggests that they often get exposure to reading materials in English whereas 22(9.0%) always gets exposure to reading material a homes. As a whole, a significant portion of the students either never (52.2%) or seldom (19.2%) reads material in the English language. Interviews with students also indicate that the highest number of the students seldom read material in the English language. The students suggest various reasons for not doing so. For instance, one student says that, “*Mujhe English samajh nahi ataa. Vocabulary bahot mushkil hai* (I don’t understand English. The vocabulary is very tough” (STDT15). Another student suggests that he has no time to do so because of the extensive homework load—“*Mere paas is kelye wqt nahi kunkehe hum ko bahot homework bhi milta hai* (I have no time for this because there is too much workload of homework) (STDT11). According to a student, “*Mei Urdu mei story books aur risalie parhta hu, but English mere liye mushkil hai. Mere pass vocabulary nahi hai. Aksar mujhe maani nahi ata* (I read Urdu magazine and storybooks, but English is difficult for me. I do not have vocabulary. Often I don’t understand meaning when I read) (STDT22). Parents’ education and awareness play an important role in the provision of material as well as encouragement. For instance, one of the students whose father is an engineer by profession, and who belongs to a well-off and educated family, happens to get access to some reading materials in the English language. She says that, “*Yes, I do read stories and fiction books. My father brings for me storybooks. I enjoy*” (STDT8). For some others, “*Mujhe stories aur books pasand hei, English ko samajhna mushkil hai*” (I like to read stories and books, but English is difficult to understand) (STDT2).

As the responses show, a number of factors contribute to their lack of exposure to reading materials. Most of them do not read because they find English text tough to comprehend. Unfavorable home environment is one of the disadvantages, which are mostly due to socioeconomic conditions and parents' lack of education. Teachers also do not cultivate reading habits in their students. As discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.9, students are seldom exposed to meaningful task-based language learning activities nor are they given opportunities to communicate directly in the English language. Extra workload like extensive homework does not give them sufficient breathing space to do reading for pleasure. There is sufficient evidence that the majority of students do not read English materials frequently, which shows a mismatch with the language policy in schools. It can be concluded that the lack of exposure might also slow down their development in both the English language learning as well as course contents.

7.3.1.1 Newspaper in the English language

This point was raised to determine students' practice of reading newspapers in the English language in their daily or weekly routine. As the following table illustrates, a significant portion of the students say that they either never or seldom read newspaper in English. Taken together, 71% either never or seldom finds English newspapers at home or in the social surrounding. As compared, a relatively smaller number of the students suggests that they often $n=23(9.4\%)$ and always $n=20(8.2\%)$ read English newspapers.

Table 7.2: Exposure to English Newspapers

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	155	63.3	63.3	63.3
Seldom	34	13.9	13.9	77.1
Some times	13	5.3	5.3	82.4
Often	23	9.4	9.4	91.8
Always	20	8.2	8.2	100.0
Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Interviews show that reading Urdu rather than English newspapers is more frequent amongst the students. Importantly, around 50% students could not name any English newspaper during the interviews. The others were able to name some of the local newspapers, not necessarily reading them. Those newspapers included Dawn, The News, and Balochistan Times. The students put forward different reasons for not reading the English newspaper. The reasons were lack of access, lack of reading culture in the family, and their inability to understand the language. Some also suggested that since their teachers had not instructed them to read newspapers; therefore, they did not consider it important. For instance, a student describes that, *“Mei newspaper parh kar apne vocabulary behtar karna chahta hu, lekin mujhe vocabulary mushkil lagta hai (I like to improve my English by reading newspaper, but I find its vocabulary tough) (STDT28)*. Another student also found vocabulary as the major obstacle to newspaper reading—*“Newspaper ki vocabulary bahot advance hoti hai. Mujhe ziadah words samajh me nai aatei (It has advanced vocabulary. I don’t understand most of words”) (STDT17)*. On the other hand, a female student said that since her father brought home English newspaper; therefore, she was also motivated towards reading. According to her, *“I read it only on Sunday. Sunday’s volume is enough to read all the week. My father reads Dawn newspaper daily” (STDT8)*.

There are twenty English newspapers and periodicals published in Pakistan. The most prominent and widely circulated newspapers include Dawn, The News International, Daily Times, Express Tribune, The Nation, Frontier Post, The Friday Times, Herald etc.). English newspapers make up nearly 10 % of the total newspapers printed in Pakistan (Rahman, 2007). However, the findings suggest that a literate English culture is not widespread especially amongst children from the lower strata of society such in the present case. English appears to be a foreign language. Even teachers were not regular readers of the English newspapers. According to some scholars, English newspapers are not within the access of the commoners; it is specifically a trademark of tiny elite and highly educated urbanite families (Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 1997, 2004a).

7.3.2 English for social interaction at home

The following table illustrates students' responses to the above item. Statistics indicate that a considerably small number of students use English for the purpose of communication or interaction at home. As figures show that n=164 (66.9%) report no use of English at all while a tiny number n=20(8.2%) suggests they always use English at home. Parents and siblings' education has been the main factor behind the regular use of the English language. For instance, those 20 and 22 respondents who used English always or often respectively, their parents' were holding higher educational qualification.

Table 7.3: The of English for Interaction at Home

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	164	66.9	66.9
Seldom	23	9.4	76.3
Some times	16	6.5	82.9
Often	22	9.0	91.8
Always	20	8.2	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

English is a foreign language to most of the Pakistanis except as what Rahman (2004) terms as small Anglicized elite class, which uses it as a first language. Those students who suggest some use of the English language, also report that they occasionally engage either with parents or with educated siblings in the English conversation. When they were questioned as to whether it was a routine affair or occasional short-time chat, they suggested that the communication in the English language occurred in the form of few sentences or occasional discussions on a study-related topics rather than a natural conversation continued for longer times or general communication needs. For instance, a student said that his elder brother was a university graduate; therefore, he motivates him to exchange occasional sentences in the English language—“*I use English with my elder brother. He is doing MA from University of Balochistan. We sometimes speak in English*” (STDT18). Another student said that, “*Meri mother mujhe English parhati hai. Unki koshish hoti hai mere sath English use karei jab who parhati hai (My mother is teaching me English. She tries to speak English with me when she is teaching)*”(STDT 26). However, the use of English as medium for social interaction is rather rare. Collectively, majority of students receive either no or rather little exposure to the English language at homes, which is suggestive of the fact that English is an alien language to their home, and there stands a visible gap between the school language and home environment.

7.3.3 Use of English in neighborhood

Do students get exposure to English in their surrounding and in the marketplaces? The figure below exemplifies that the majority of the students never $n=160(65.3\%)$ or sometimes $n=17(6.9\%)$ do not get exposure to the English language in any form. A considerably smaller segment does indicate use of the English language often $n=23(9.4\%)$ and always $n=45(18.4\%)$.

Table 7.4: The Use of English in Neighborhood

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	160	65.3	65.3
Some times	17	6.9	72.2
Often	23	9.4	81.6
Always	45	18.4	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

Importantly, the only venue or outlet where the respondents find some opportunity for interaction and exposure to the use of English language is the mushrooming English language academies in the city of Quetta where students especially from the lower-middle class or working classes attend to learn the English language. The number of such students is low among respondents of the present study. Students shown enthusiasm towards the English language academies because they believed that, “English *kelye centre acha hai. Teacher sirf English mei parhata hai* (Centre is good for English. Teacher is teaching in English only)”(STDT16). Another student pointed towards the difference he found between school and language center that, “*Centre mei teacher English bol saktie hei. Students ko bhi bolne pa majboor jia jata hai. Waha bandah English ziadah seekh sakta hai qunkeh banda har waqt English bolta hai* (In center, teacher can speak English. Students are made to speak English. There you can learn English because you are using English) (STDT9). Given the sociocultural ecology, and the domain specificity of the English language, English is mainly restricted towards the formal domains such as administration and formal government machinery. There too, English is used mainly for official correspondent and routine file work rather than as a medium for oral communication. Similarly, the use of English in the sociocultural ecology is confined within a certain amount of visibility in the linguistic landscape such as billboards, or selected media outlets. It is not a functional language for

social interaction and communication; therefore, most of the students find it nowhere around them in their sociocultural ecologies. Indigenous languages and Urdu are the dominant languages in the sociocultural ecology of the majority of the children.

7.4 Exposure to the use of English via Media

This part of the survey questionnaire sought to gather students' exposure to different forms of media in students' day-to-day lives. Those included internet, radio, television, movies, and sports commentaries. Following are their responses:

7.4.1 Exposure to English via internet

The following table highlights the frequency with which respondents receive exposure to English via internet. The numbers indicate that a negligible portion of respondents gets use of the English language via internet. One finds that find only n=35 (15.9%) and n=39(15.9%) often or always gets exposure to English whereas only n=33(13.5%) sometimes gets the same. Importantly, 56% of the respondents do not get exposure of any sort to the English language. Even those who sometimes or often use internet happen to use it for purposes other than academia related or language-learning objectives. However, some use of the internet as they maintain, helps them get in touch with the English language either chatting with friends or reading some material shared on social media such as facebook, etc. A student said that, *“Mere pas internet hai. Yeh ach hai. Har cheez English mei hoti hai. Mei rozana apne dostoo sei facebook per chat karta hu (I have internet connection. It is good. Everything is in English. I usually chat with my friends on facebook)”*(STDT14). A majority of them do not use internet because they do not have access to it. Some said that their parents were indifferent towards internet. In some cases, fathers even did not allow them to use internet because it was thought detrimental for their behavioral and emotional well-being. Parents thought internet would spoil their children. For instance, a student said that, *“Mere walid ek*

mazhabi admi hai. Who sochta hai internet ek buri cheez hai. My father is a religious person. Who sochta hai internet se koi kharab hojata hai (He thinks internet is bad for children. He always says that it can spoil children) STDT12).

Table 7.5: Exposure to English via Internet

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	124	50.6	50.6
Seldom	14	5.7	56.3
Some times	33	13.5	69.8
Often	35	14.3	84.1
Always	39	15.9	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

7.4.2 Exposure to English via TV

Almost identical trends emanate as previously shown. One finds that 52.2% respondents largely either never or seldom watch TV programs in the English language. Majority of them do have access to TV; however, more than half of them rarely opts to watch anything in the English language. A larger segment of the respondents has access to cable networks; however, they mostly watch programs in the Urdu or partially in their own languages.

Table 7.6: Exposure to English via TV

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	65	26.5	26.5
Seldom	63	25.7	52.2
Some times	61	24.9	77.1
Often	24	9.8	86.9
Always	32	13.1	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

Given the huge population size of Pakistan, English as the colonial history, English as official language and English as the language of power and prestige, ironically, there is no full-fledged English TV channel in Pakistan, which would air programs for 24 hours. On the eve of private channel influx after 2003-04, two private English channels were launched by the Dawn News and Express 24/7, but both the channels had to be shut down after sometime. The CEO of Express 24/7 was quoted as saying that revenue drop as one of the fundamental reasons for its closure. Due to lack of advertisement support and the limited number of watchers, both the channels had to be closed down in despair. The national television network of the PTV airs only one-time bulletin in the English language; the rest of the time, it airs programs in Urdu and partly in the regional languages. There is also no tradition of local television airing plays, movies or other programs in the English language

7.4.3 Exposure to English via live sports commentary

Contrary to the limited amount of exposure to several media sources as stated in the above headings, the number of those watching live sports commentary is much higher. Figures show that a considerable number of the students often watch sports commentary. For instance, 16.3% always, 30.6% often, while 33.5% sometimes gets opportunity to watch such matches. It is due to cricket. Cricket is one of the most popular games not only in the country, but also in the entire sub-continent region; therefore, youngsters fanatically follow the game, and thus get passive exposure to the cricket commentary on television screens, which is traditionally in the English language.

Table 7.7: Exposure to English via Sports Commentary

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	25	10.2	10.2
Seldom	23	9.4	19.6
Some times	82	33.5	53.1
Often	75	30.6	83.7
Always	40	16.3	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

Some of them shared their views about how listening to cricket commentary helped them become acquainted with the English language. They said that repeated listening to commentary helped boost their listening power, their understanding of different accents of commentators, grasping English vocabulary and so on. Since they are emotionally engrossed in every moment of the game; therefore, they tend to pay close attention to all the developments that takes place in the game as well in the live commentary of the commentators. A student enthusiastically expressed his excitement for English commentary that “*Mei hamesha commentary suntan hu. Mei bahot se naye alfaz seekhta hu. Yeh English seekne mei help karti hai (I always listen to commentary with attention. It is good for learning English)*” (STDT17). According to another enthusiast, many find it the only media outlet through which they get some degree of exposure to the English language, although indirect. The respondents even pointed out some of their favorite cricket commentators saying they love listening to their commentary. They mentioned names such as Tony Grieg (England), Ravi Shastri and Harsha Bhogle (India), Mike Haysman (South Africa), Ian Chappell (Australia) and Rameez Raja and Waqar Yunis (Pakistan). In light of the increased number of students getting exposure and the gusto shown toward cricket commentary, one may suggest that the same videos and highlights may be used in the classes for the teaching and learning purposes.

7.4.4 Exposure to English via movies

The following table illustrates the students' exposure to English via movies. Figures suggest that 75% of them reports that they either never, seldom or sometimes watch English movies whereas the remainder says they often or always watch English movies.

Table 7.8: Exposure to English via Movies

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	91	37.1	37.1
Seldom	73	29.8	66.9
Some times	21	8.6	75.5
Often	15	6.1	81.6
Always	45	18.4	100.0
Total	245	100.0	

Given the previous trends, a significant number of about 25% still has exposure to the English movies, a factor that can be of help, and may positively affect their knowledge of the English language. This can also help build up their general listening and understanding of the language. Those watching movies were ardent followers of the Hollywood movies. Others did not watch English movies for various reasons—lack of interest, lack of facility at homes, lack of linguistic skills to grasp meanings and so on. The Bollywood Hindi movies from India stood the most favorite amongst the vast majority of respondents because they found the language familiar. A significant number of respondents remarked that they found it difficult to understand the language.

7.5 Exposure and second/foreign language learning in theory

In connection with the emergent data in the foregoing pages, this section examines exposure with reference to theory and previous research to show how fit the current English-medium policy stands in the given context. In the outset, it is deemed necessary to recapitulate the operationalized definition of sociocultural ecology and exposure, the two terms, which will

recurrently feature throughout discussion in this part. ‘Sociocultural ecology’ refers to the nature and pattern of linguistic contacts and interactions occurring around respondents’ social lives. Similarly, the sum of English language input and output is termed as ‘exposure’. The emerging data with respect to sociocultural ecology is seen through the prism of theoretical frameworks from the ESL/EFL research specifically from the sociocultural theory of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) , the input hypothesis (Krashen, 1982, 1985) and the ‘output’ factors (Swain, 1985, 1993, 2005) , and a of review relevant literature.

Before initiating discussion, one would foreground and locate the current topic with a reference to a language policy statement the Federal Education minister of Ghana Professor Naana Jane Opoku-Agyemang (2014) recently made about English-medium policy in her country. The minister remarked that the policy to replace children’s mother tongues with English for the first three years had backfired, as there were worrying signs about the policy. Even teachers could not express in the language; therefore, she asked for re-look at the policy. Further, she referred to the dilemma and challenges the English language policy were to pose socio-culturally and educationally (emphasis added).

...if you speak to a child in a language *he doesn't understand*, the language the *parents don't speak*, the *community does not communicate in*, a language the *teachers sometimes even have serious challenges in*, you set the whole learning process back”. Don’t worry that somebody’s child is speaking English before yours that is not what matters. What matters is that the child is taught in a language the child knows... there is nothing wrong with our languages. There’s everything good in them(Opoku-Agyemang, 2014).

The socio-cultural compatibility issue with reference to the English-medium policy in the low-fee schools that this study surveys survey, one can also see exactly similar problems about the policy as Ghana, a post-colonial country is confronted with. The disadvantageous aspect in the context of this study is that teachers even cannot speak to children in the English language because they mostly do not know how to communicate. Similarly, a vast majority

of parents except a handful of those educated in English, do not know English, the formal language of the textbooks. English is also alien to the communities the vast majority of children belong to. The minister from Ghana judiciously remarks that such manifold points of alienation will put the whole teaching and learning processes on the back foot. UNESCO is also vocal about additive multilingual education that begins with a child's mother language. It can result in a number of advantages such as fostering inclusion in learning processes and enhanced literacy (UNESCO, 1953, 2003a, 2006, 2008). Linguistic mismatches between school and child's sociocultural ecology can exclude children and parents from active involvement and optimal participation in the school services. Kosonen (2005) explains about the disadvantages for children of minority languages who study in other languages that,

...not all speakers of these languages have sufficient knowledge of the languages used in education. Therefore, they are underprivileged in terms of educational access, retention and achievement. In some cases, speakers of local languages are marginalized and threatened by being completely excluded from education due to prevailing language policies (p. 3).

7.5.1 Input and output from a sociocultural perspective

Underpinned by Vygotsky's theory, researchers in SLA and EFL developed a perspective, which is termed as the sociocultural perspective (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007; Swain, 2000) . The major tenet of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory describes learning as a social process, and traces the origination of human intelligence in a society or a culture. The theory addresses development of human cognitive and higher mental function. The theory purports that the development of the above two human domains comes from social interactions and with the help of participation in social activities that require cognitive and communicative functions in ways that cultivate and 'scaffold' them. Social interaction plays central role in cognition and learning. The theory implies that learners should be facilitated with rich environments in

which they could find optimal interaction opportunities with peers, teachers, and fellows in the outside environment. Lantolf and Thorne (2007) contend that the sociocultural theory aptly applies to language learning as they argue, “Learning is embedded within social events and occurring as an individual interacts with people, objects, and events in the environment”. Sociocultural theory offers a new perspective on the processes of SLA and TEFL that learners must be motivated to think as well as produce the target language so that language and thought could be connected closely. To achieve these goals, the learners should be exposed to as rich interactional environment and activities as possible. Pedagogically, the theory provides clear guidelines that social interaction and cooperative learning must be held paramount as Vygotsky (1978) posits that children's thinking and meaning-making is socially constructed and emerges out of their social interactions with their environment. K. E. Johnson (2009) articulates the scope of sociocultural theory that,

A sociocultural perspective assumes that human cognition is formed through engagement in social activities, and that it is the social relationships and the culturally constructed materials, signs, and symbols, referred to as *semiotic artifacts*, that mediate those relationships that create uniquely human forms of higher-level thinking (p. 1).

7.5.2 Language input

Sociocultural theorists and the constructivists posit that language learning takes place through input from social interaction. The constructivists are of two schools of thought. The first one views language acquisition because of our innate ability and social interaction while the second one lays stress on only social interaction (Brown, 2007). Ellis (1985) defines input as “the language that is addressed to the L2 learner either by a native speaker or by another L2 learner and his interlocutors” (p. 127). The receptive skills such as listening and reading may be closely linked to input in the present context. While mapping the importance of input, we find that all theories of SLA such as behaviorism, nativism, and constructivism focus

upon it; however, they interpret and recognize input differently. Input for behaviorist includes stimuli and feedback (Ellis, 2008). Input also received wide currency and significance in Krashens' (1983) Input Hypothesis. Krashen argued that the learning of a second language required access to comprehensible input in the target language, and the input should extend beyond learners' current competence. Krashen (1985) postulated that "humans acquire language in only one way—by understanding message, or by receiving 'comprehensible input'...that contains structures at our next 'stage'—structures that are a bit beyond our current level of competence" (p. 20). Mapping the complexity of factors involving L2 or foreign language learning, Brown (2007) explains that:

Learning a second language is a long and complex undertaking. Your whole person is affected as you struggle to reach beyond the confines of your first language and into a new language, a new culture, a new way of thinking, feeling, and acting. Many variables are involved in the acquisition process—learner characteristics, linguistic factors, learning processes, age and acquisition, instructional variables, context and purpose (p. 12).

7.5.3 Language output

Theorists in SLA and EFL find that comprehensible input alone is not sufficient for a second or a foreign language learning, and the learners need sufficient output also, especially learners using syntax and morphology in particular (Izumi, 2002; Nunan, 2005; Swain, 2005). Traditionally, output has been defined as 'the product of learning' (Swain, 2005); output can also demonstrate the amount of language learners have learned (Patten, 2003; Swain, 2005). Output applies to productive skills such as speaking and writing. Studies suggest that producing or output is crucial for English language learners (Swain, 2005; Swain & Lapkin, 1998). Output performs three key functions in second/foreign language learning: noticing/triggering, hypothesis testing and metalinguistic/reflective function (Swain, 2005). Noticing signifies that when learners make attempt to produce the target language, they may

notice that they do not know how to write or say the desired message well; this causes a trigger motivating learners to noticing and further exploring the nuances of the target language. Secondly, learners may test the soundness of the produced message in writing and speaking and let the teachers or other observers give feedback about the produced message. The feedback in turn leads to corrective measures. Thirdly, metalinguistic aspect arouses in learners to reflect on their and others' produced messages, and this may come in the form of a dialogue or a conversation exchange between interlocutors. In her review of the French immersion programs in Canada, Swain (2005) concluded that in spite of “an abundance of comprehensible input”, the speaking and writing abilities of the learners of the second language stood different from their native counterparts. Scholars are convinced that the importance of output has remained comparatively unexplored (Izumi, 2002; Swain, 2005; Swain & Lapkin, 1998).

7.6 Exposure (input & output) to English—a sociocultural perspective

The data in the foregoing section addressed three major aspects to determine the degree of English exposure (input and output) the respondents received within the family, in the sociocultural environment outside in the neighborhood and via media. In this section, the emerging data regarding the amount of students' exposure to English across the domains is discussed and analyzed. The data is viewed through the lenses of theoretical literature and observations of other researchers on such policy matters in Pakistan and outside. The discussion fundamentally aims to analyze the appropriateness and fitness of the English-medium policy while contextualizing students' exposure to the English language in their sociocultural ecology. The crucial question is that what does the data signify? Since the amount of exposure across sociocultural ecology is noticeably limited; therefore, the current

policy might result in multiple disadvantages. The major challenges and loopholes regarding English-medium policy are discussed here.

7.6.1 Gap between students' home and school language

Studying a foreign language such as English at the earlier stages of schooling could hypothetically cause barrier in genuine learning of the contents and meaningful formulation of the concepts. Experts of additive bi/multilingual education consider familiarity with the school language one of the prerequisite conditions of quality schooling; therefore, they recommend the use of child's home language or the language of his/her environment rather than any foreign language at the earlier phases of education (Annamalai, 2005, 2013; Cenoz, 2009; Cummins, 2000; Jhingran, 2009, 2012; Mohanty, 2006, 2013; Mohanty & Panda, 2009; Phillipson, 2009b). According to Jhingran (2009), exposure to the school language is a necessary condition in a child's social environment for easy and effective learning of the textbooks. Teaching in a second or a foreign language can leave numerous disadvantages at the early stages of schooling as Jhingran (2009) postulates that:

When children are forced to study through a language they cannot fully understand in the early primary grades, they face a serious learning disadvantage that can stunt their cognitive development and adversely affect their self-esteem and self-confidence for life. This is especially severe in deprived socioeconomic situations where there is little exposure to the school language, outside the school. This is further exacerbated when the children's culture, along with their language, is completely excluded from the classrooms (p. 263).

7.6.2 Poor educational development

In the context where children do not understand the language of the textbooks, negotiating with textbooks and examination could be a serious challenge, which potentially leads to rote learning and memorization rather than internalization of the meanings or essence of the contents. Brock-Utne (2007) investigated the difference students experienced in studying

through a familiar language Kiswahil versus English, an unfamiliar language in secondary schools in Tanzania. Drawing on 30 hours of observation, the researcher found that qualifications obtained through a foreign language, a language they do not master as “acceptability adaptations”—which is that the students only “learn to obey, be quiet, to become indifferent and pathetic”. A foreign language retards creativity and critical thinking. Brock-Utne (2007) terms the policy as ‘stupidification’,

...if the aim is the stupidification of the Tanzanian labour force, the use of English, a foreign language to the students and a language poorly mastered by the teachers, seems to be an excellent strategy. If the aim is to create a labour force with critical abilities and creative qualifications, the language of instruction policy is unlikely to have such an outcome (p. 487).

Pinnock (2009) problematizes the notion of literacy when children are faced with issues of incomprehension in the second or foreign languages in schools. According to her, “If a child does not understand the meaning of a word because it is in an unfamiliar language, learning to ‘read and write’ that word does not constitute literacy: it is simply repetition” (p. 13). Genuine literacy entails students to conceptualize words, create phrases and sentences, rather than do repetition or rote learning. Students should be able to identify, interpret, and communicate meaningfully in the school language. Pinnock (2009) alarms that due to school policies in unfamiliar languages, “There is a danger that millions of children are learning to copy and recite set texts from blackboards and books, without developing the ability to decode or produce new writing for themselves” (p. 13). The alarming situation exactly applies to hundreds and thousands of children undergoing the torturous process of memorization that has been imposed on them in the shape of an unfamiliar language such as English in the low-fee school in Pakistan.

7.6.3 Disjunction between theory and the current policy/practices

The policy, practices, and overall exposure to English appear discordant with the basic theoretical tenets of second/foreign language learning. The trends also stand in disagreement with the input, and output hypothesis, and observations of an array of researchers from Pakistan and Pakistan-like sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts. Therefore, based on the evidence, the current English-medium policy suffers from both theoretical as well as practical limitations. For instance, sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978) and input/output hypothesis (Krashen, 1982, 2004a) emphasize on social interaction, scaffolding and meaningful engagement in the direct use of the target language rather than using only translation. Learning is socially and culturally mediated process. Learning a second or a foreign language should go far beyond classrooms and formal instruction as learner should interact with the environment and “move significantly beyond the teaching of rules, patterns, definitions, and other knowledge "about" language to the point that we are teaching our students to communicate genuinely, spontaneously, and meaningfully in the second language (Brown, 2007, p. 28). In Rahman’s view (2013) ,

English is learned from one’s peers, parents, siblings, relatives, and entertainment at home. It cannot be taught by teachers who do not know it nor can it function as a medium of instruction for small children who are actually taught in Urdu while taking examinations in English.

Consistent with the sociocultural theory of language learning in the context of Pakistan, several scholars raise doubts over the suitability of English-medium education at the primary stages as English stands an unfamiliar language to most of children especially for children of low-fee schools who largely belong to low-income families for whom English is an alien language (Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Mustafa, 2011; Rahman, 2004a). Those scholars argue that earlier English-medium education policy in schools can cause problems for children because they do not understand the language they are studying as a

medium. Effective learning and strong linguistic development in the school language largely depends on the degree of exposure to and familiarity with the school language. They propose that prior to adopting English-medium education policy in schools, the policy makers should take account of the challenges most students are likely to confront due to English being a foreign language to their sociocultural ecology (Annamalai, 2005, 2013; Jhingran, 2009; Mohanty, 2006, 2010, 2013).

7.6.4 Parents' exclusion from teaching/learning practices

Parental support is crucial in children's educational development, and this support depends on the level of education and competence which parent have acquired in the school language. The link between home and schools and the role of parents is "an important issue with regard to fostering meaningful home-school support links—parents need to be able to understand the main teaching languages—at least at primary school level" (Rassool, 2004, p. 11). In order to achieve this goal, it is critical to ground policies on local languages and local linguistic habitus. Rassool (2004) recommends that "the importance of maintaining local languages as the major teaching and learning medium should remain the baseline approach pedagogically and culturally" (p. 11). In a review of language education policy of seven countries, Dutcher (1995) concluded that "Parental and community support and involvement are essential to all successful programs"(p. viii) ; therefore in view of the limited use and restricted functioning of English as a foreign language does not seem to allow parents and communities to play their role in the school activities of children. In Pakistan, Coleman (2010) rejected the English-medium education policy citing lack of parental support as one of the major reasons. Based on a large-scale survey and interviews with various stakeholders on English teaching and learning in Pakistani schools, Coleman concluded that English-medium policy was not matched with the parents' socio-educational and overall social

environment. In his survey, Coleman (2010) cited few teachers from different government schools who signaled towards problems of children who had the disadvantage of uneducated family backgrounds. Coleman wrote that,

One teacher said that the ‘intellectual level’ of poor children who speak Punjabi at home is lower than that of (middle class) children who speak English at home and this makes teaching the Punjabi speakers difficult for her. Another teacher suggested that parents should speak English at home so that studying in school would be easier for their children (p. 17).

Linking socio-educational factor with English-medium policy is critical because educated parents especially having some education in the English language can lend substantial support to their children to cope with their studies specifically with the English textbooks. Contextualizing policy, exposure, and socio-educational backgrounds in India, Annamalai (2004) debunks the argument that English as a medium of education suits all children. In his view, it is misleading to regard English-medium education as appropriate for all children regardless of their social and family backgrounds:

The highly successful students are most likely to have studied through English medium in well-funded schools. They are also likely to have come from families that have used English as a second language for at least one preceding generation and to have had exposure to English through reading materials and conversations at home. These students already have a solid cultural and linguistic foundation in English; their education merely supplements this advantage (Annamalai, 2004, pp. 188-189).

Coleman (2010) proposed a mother tongue based education policy with later transition to the English language because doing so will enable “Parents to monitor and contribute to children’s education. Parents are more likely to become involved in the school” (p. 21). While analyzing the relevance of English-medium policy in Pakistan, Mustafa (2011) emphasizes that the parental background of children must be given due consideration. Children of the elites in the upscale English-medium schools do not have to face as serious challenges as children from amongst the masses because when children from the elite “class go to schools

their brains already have a repertoire of words from two languages which expands as schooling progresses”. Compared to those well-to-do children, the average Pakistani children do not have such repertoire in the English language, their actual strength lies in the language they have learned from their home and environment before stepping in school. Therefore, the school policy “push him back and handicap him compared to the children of the affluent classes who have had exposure to English since birth” (Mustafa, 2011, p. 75). Similarly, Dutcher (1995) concluded that “Parental and community involvement is essential. One of the benefits of education in the first language is that parents can be directly involved with the education of their children. They can, and do, provide vital resources for the process” (p. 37). A number of other studies outside Pakistan also corroborate the fact that contrary to instruction in second or foreign languages, mother tongue schooling maximizes the involvement of parents in their child’s school related activities. Such involvement in turn bolsters their self-esteem for their parents and pride in their language (Benson, 2002, 2005; Dutcher, 1995, 2004; Klaus, 2003; Malone, 2003).

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the amount of exposure, which the respondents received in their sociocultural ecology across several domains. The statistics in this context suggest that the amount of exposure and contact received at home, via media and in the market places is negligible as cumulatively counting, a small number of respondents (11.0%), (9.0%) and (11.0%) respectively report exposure and contact with the English language sometimes, often and always. On the other hand, the rest of respondents, which constitute (69%) collectively either never or seldom, get exposure to the English language. Importantly, (55%) of the students never gets exposure of any form in their social environment. A significant number apparently does not have exposure either active or passive from their home and social

environment to be benefited in relation to English as a medium in schools. English is a foreign language to most of them, a concern experts have shown in the context of overall language policy. The sociocultural realities and day-to-day interactional patterns are visibly removed from the use of English language.

CHAPTER 8: ENGLISH-MEDIUM POLICY: MAPPING BROADER IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a holistic picture of the language in education policy in Pakistan and maps some critical issues that surround the current English-medium policy. Along with perceptions, English teaching/learning practices and exposure, the core research questions addressed, this chapter highlights some equally critical issues with regard to equitable/inequitable opportunities to quality English-medium education. The current English-medium policy is likely to impact not only in the educational landscape; its implications are deep and wide-ranging. An attempt is made to map the socio-psychological, sociolinguistic, ecological and socioeconomic (access, equity, class divide) dimensions. It is necessary to discuss those issues because no language policy could be better understood in isolation from the broader institutional decision making mechanisms. It requires adopting a critical approach to study how the system has shaped the way it stands (Pennycook, 2001; Tollefson, 1991, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004).

8.2 Status maintenance syndrome and ethnolinguistic dilemma

In this section, the perceptions of the supporters of the English-only and English-Urdu policies and their attitudes towards their mother tongues are discussed by explicating the factors that influence most students, teachers and school principals to perceive their mother tongues in the negative light vis-à-vis English and Urdu, the two powerful languages in Pakistan. As the data shown in chapter five, the stakeholders such as students, teachers and school principals overwhelmingly resisted the introduction of mother tongue based education policy, and they clearly devalued those languages for the formal domains such as education.

The perceptions of the supporters of English-only policy and other languages at the micro-level are being linked to the macro-level government policies.

Language policies are being viewed as one of the major macro-level contributors towards the weakening of many languages and ethno-linguistic communities (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Language policies are in turn driven by attitudes that manifest at multiple levels: National/governmental level; among the majority population (if there is one); and finally, at a local/community level (Grenoble and Whaley (2006). The government's attitudinal orientations represent certain political ideology of the nation states as in many instances, many multilingual states tend to "...see the value of a language in state building; the underlying idea is that a single language has a unifying effect and has great symbolic value. This stance has an impact on national policy, as it gives priority to only the national language"(Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 11). In addition, language planning may also be guided by one or more orientations: (i) language-as-a-problem, in which linguistic diversity is viewed as a problem to be overcome; (ii) language-as-a-right, the negotiation of language rights, often in contested contexts; and (iii) language-as-a-resource, the promotion of linguistic democracy and pluralism (Ruiz, 1984). Orientations as Ruiz (1984) defined, refers to,

...a complex of dispositions towards language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society. Orientations are related to language attitudes in that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate (p. 16).

Several critical scholars on language policy and planning problematize the top-down policies, and politicize the governments' institutionalized mechanisms and apparatuses that influence people's language beliefs and engineer their attitudes in favor of state-favorite languages (May, 2003, 2005, 2006; Pennycook, 1998, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a). These scholars posit that behind the institutionalized engineering of attitudes, there are larger political and

ideological motives which May (2005) termed as the ‘politics of state-making’. To achieve their ideological aim of unifying a diverse multilingual and multiethnic population, governments employ discursive strategies for legitimization of their policies through mechanical ‘hierarchization’ of languages (May, 2006); which may leave many languages ‘invisibilized’ (Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Várady, 2000), and many other languages dialectalized and minoritized (May, 2005). According to Bourdieu (1991), ‘it is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language’ (p. 45). Policies at the top shape a certain linguistic habitus where the most dominant languages are linked to greater social and cultural capital than many others do (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). Similarly, McCarty (2009) believed that in the inculcation of negative attitudes, the broader debates of weak and strong, important and unimportant, powerful and powerless languages play some vital role. Further, McCarty (2009) observes that linguistic shame is not a function of any language per se, but rather of wider societal discourses that marginalize and demonize languages such as the indigenous or minority languages and their speakers. Such discourses associate them with poverty, traditionalism and ‘backwardness’, while standard (ising) English or other dominant languages. Language policies can be direct agents of linguicism and linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b). Language policies in general and medium of instruction policies in particular are embedded in the larger sociopolitical agendas driven by ideologies and stakes of the powerful social groups. Therefore, Tsui and Tollefson (2004) argue that,

All too often, policy makers put forward an educational agenda that justifies policy decisions regarding the use and/or the prohibition of a particular language or languages. Yet, behind the educational agenda are political, social, and economic agendas that serve to protect the interests of particular political and social groups (p. 2).

As a result of the macro-level governmental language policies, the influence on attitudes about languages can manifest at multiple levels : National/governmental level; among the

majority population (if there is one); and finally, at a local/community level (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). With reference to language vitality and language endangerment, UNESCO's document (UNESCO, 2003b) included the local community's language attitudes as one of the factors that can either vitalize or weaken the language. On the other hand, the attitudinal orientations of the governments represent political ideology of the nation-states as in many instances, many multilingual states tend to "...see the value of a language in state building; the underlying idea is that a single language has a unifying effect and has great symbolic value. This stance has an impact on national policy, as it gives priority to only the national language" (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 11). In addition, language planning may also be guided by one or more orientations: (i) language-as-a-problem, in which linguistic diversity is viewed as a problem to be overcome; (ii) language-as-a-right, the negotiation of language rights, often in contested contexts; and (iii) language-as-a-resource, the promotion of linguistic democracy and pluralism (Ruiz, 1984). With reference to language vitality and language endangerment, UNESCO's document (UNESCO, 2003b) included the local community's language attitudes as one of the factors that can either vitalize or weaken the language.

In light of the data especially the way the supporters of English-only and English-Urdu medium of instruction policy perceive the value of their mother tongues (see Chapter 5), the orientations of the majority of respondents are characterized by an ethnolinguistic dilemma and what Alexander (2002) termed as static maintenance syndrome. By this, Alexander (2002) means that,

...the people begin to accept as "natural" the supposed inferiority of their own languages and adopt an approach that is determined by considerations that are related only to the market and social status value of the set of languages in their multilingual societies (p. 119).

Although respondents consider the use and maintenance of their mother tongues essential as identity marker and cultural signifiers, they tend to undervalue their mother tongues for schools and literacy purposes. They hesitate to provide any such alternative policy that would emancipate their mother tongues at the formal institutional levels. Simultaneously, their stance indicates their ethnolinguistic dilemma. With complete endorsement to the current language policy configuration, most of the respondents opt to rationalize the exclusion of their own languages from the mainstream domains specifically the schools. Their overwhelming support for *English-only* and *English-Urdu* languages as desired policy, lends testimony to their negative perceptions. Apparently, they are contented with marginalization of their own languages and complain to their resultant ghettoization within the informal private domains restricted to oral roles. Simultaneously, the supporters of English-only policy naturalize the top-down exclusionary language policies—an attitude that aptly fits in the theoretical frameworks of ‘Governmentality’ (Foucault, 1991) and the ‘Symbolic Power of Language’ (Bourdieu, 1991). On the individual level, their attitudes can be described as positivist, apolitical and deterministic towards the reduction of indigenous languages as determined in the top-down policies. Crucially, they keep away from politicizing or critiquing the policy, a critical, political or skeptic stance (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2000), (Pennycook, 2001), (May, 2008), (Tollefson, 2006; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004) and many other linguists from critical school of applied linguistics envision.

The ambivalent position of students, teachers and principals about mother tongues is characterized by Status Maintenance Syndrome. The ambivalence can be seen in their contradictory views as they like their mother tongues for private domains, but consider them supposedly inferior and misfit for any formal domain. They avoid to challenge either the

current policies or suggest other possible policy alternatives, alternatives which might raise the status and role of their mother tongues in institutional terms—education or other domains. Their narratives are replete with repeated ‘ifs, ‘buts’ and ‘however’s’ about the use of mother tongues in domains beyond home and intra-community interactions. According to EXPERT 2, the reductionist discourses of the state and not recognizing the indigenous and cultural diversity can create profound effect on the perceptions of the speakers of those languages. According to him, marginalization of languages leads towards inferiority complexes amongst its speakers. He argued that,

The discourses the states creates, it has serious effects on ideology or perception of society. It can influence people to underestimate their identities and their self. They tend to stigmatize their identities. Such people cannot develop in creativity, critical thinking, innovations, and genuine scholarship. They will always be dependent. It causes self-stigmatization. It causes tainted identity and damages collective wisdom (EXPERT 2).

Since language policies link languages to material and instrumental benefits or means to cultural capital; therefore most of the supporters of the English-only and English-Urdu tend to perceive languages as commodities, a phenomenon which scholars describe as commodification of languages (Heller, 2010; Tan & Rubdy, 2008). However, it can be argued that languages cannot be treated or perceived as mere commodities, and such narrow view of languages and linguistic diversity not only robs off those languages from their profound linguistic, cultural and folkloric richness, but the overall perceptions do not auger well for the future of those languages. The development and recognition of languages is crucial because “The language of a nation, or an ethnic group, is often a symbol of its identity and allegiance, and an embodiment of its values, culture, and traditions (Tsui & Tollefson, 2004, p. 2). The overwhelming support of the stakeholders goes to the English language because it is the language of power and privileges. The instrumental and transactional value of the English language, both locally and globally, is the prime reason behind the preference of

English over mother tongues. The symbolic power of the English language and the establishment of a monolingual habitus perform substantial part in the inculcation of this attitudinal position. It is primarily the power, wealth and the other associated ‘goodies’ (Lin & Martin, 2005), that gives primacy to the English language over Urdu and other indigenous languages. As English stands at the apex of language hierarchy and is the language of power and high status in Pakistan (Rahman, 1997); therefore, the respondents also realize its vitality, a cognitive orientation which a number of previous studies also report (Mahboob, 2002; Manan & David, 2013; Manan et al., 2015b, 2015c; Mansoor, 1993, 2004b; Rahman, 2005a).

8.3 English-Medium education—the multiple disadvantage factor

The English teaching and learning practices in particular, the amount of exposure received, and ultimate falling proficiency levels of the students from almost all the schools studied, the data transpire that most of the matriculating students end up with what can be conceptualized as ‘multiple linguistic disadvantage’. Although, one could also associate numerous other disadvantages ensuing from the current English-medium education policies such as economic, cultural, intellectual and emotional. The multiple linguistic disadvantage signifies that the current English-medium education policy appear to deprive children of multiple advantages, which otherwise would have given them substantive edge in both their linguistic as well as academic development. Potentially, the manner in which the current language and education policy is being executed in schools causes three major disadvantages, which have been termed as deficit: linguistic deficit in mother tongues, linguistic deficit in English, and academic/educational deficit. Coleman (2010) and Walter (2010) respectively estimated that about (95%) and (91.6%) children in Pakistan do not have opportunity to study their mother tongues in schools. Prior to this, Rahman (1996, 1999, 2002, 2004a) also extensively covered the politics, power and ideology laden language policies of the state that

resulted in the exclusion of the regional indigenous languages from the mainstream schooling. Those statistics confirm that the bulk of children speaking mother tongues are deprived of what Cummins (2000) termed as ‘academic proficiency’. Those children do not learn to read and write in their mother tongues. In the context of the present study, there is ample evidence that most of the matriculating students from the low-fee schools end up developing functional academic proficiency neither in the English language nor in their mother tongues. Apparently, due to misplaced and ill-informed language policy choices, faulty teaching methodologies and lack of favorable multilingual learning environment, most of children are left illiterate in the real sense if one applies the definition of literacy as laid down by UNESCO (2006).

Secondly, based on evidence and classroom observation, majority the students also fail to acquire the level of proficiency in the English language that might enable them to meet the demands of a competitive job market in Pakistan and abroad. An illustration of students’ dwindling proficiency levels in the written assessment of the English language lends testimony to the linguistic deficit that occurs to most of the students. In turn, the linguistic deficit in the mother tongues and English language further leads to educational or academic deficit. Naturally, without being academically literate enough in any of the languages one uses in day-to-day life and in the formal domains such academia, might potentially shut the doors to the gateway of knowledge that is embedded in those languages—be that cultural or professional. EXPERT 2 also argues that the currently confused and narrowly conceived English-medium policy results in linguistic depth and knowledge base. He argues that,

If children learn few words of English, grammar or accent, parents are happy that their children are learning English. This leaves a number of other critical factors associated with languages disregarded such as identity, culture, geography, literature, collective wisdom, folkloric traditions, history, and other variants that are closely intertwined with the indigenous languages. The level of English students normally

achieve is limited to creating few surface level sentences like I'm eating food; I ate food, you went to market, etc. I think if your aim is only this, then there is no need to send children to schools, or invest this much and pay such a heavy price. It endangers the whole social contract. Therefore, there is need for a complete paradigm shift and complete transformation of thought.

Schooling in the present case ends in linguistic deficit rather than linguistic richness. It produces students, which are neither good in their mother tongues nor English nor in academic subjects. Mohanty (2013) terms such students as 'multiple semilinguals'. It can be argued that the most students the low-fee English-medium private schools appear to pay a heavy cost for the poorly managed and unprofessionally executed English-medium policy. Mustafa (2011) fittingly describes such schools as 'pseudo English-medium school'. It can be argued that producing such students handicapped by linguistic and academic limitations causes not only an individual loss; it is monumental loss for the whole society; the country also has to pay a huge cost for producing students who suffer from linguistic, cultural and intellectual deficit. Based on the literacy levels those students acquire especially in the English language, those students can hardly meet the definition of a literate that UNESCO (2006) proposes, which is the "ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve their goals, to develop their knowledge and potential, and to participate fully in their community and wider society (p. 13). In the end, one may endorse Mohanty's (2013) conclusion about the underequipped low fee English-medium schools in India. Results of this study also replicate almost similar mismatches and dichotomies between policies and perceptions. Mohanty (2010) describes such schools as 'doom' schools where children are doomed to failure than become enlightened and emancipated.

8.4 The double-divide—sociolinguistic and ecolinguistic implications

The real as well as perceived hierarchy of languages in Pakistan puts English language right on top of all the mother tongues including Urdu, the national language; within this hierarchy emerges yet another hierarchy in the form of Urdu versus the remaining mother tongues. Language hierarchies both real as well as imagined are predominantly shaped by the top-down formal language policy and planning. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) define language policy technically “are bodies of ideas, law, regulation, rules and practices intended to achieve some planned language change” (p. 3). Policies at the top can also have overt and covert objectives as Spolsky (2004) explicates that language policy encompasses all the “language practices, beliefs, and management of a community or polity” (p. 9). One of the covert objectives usually driven by political and ideological goals is to establish linguistic hierarchies and cultivate belief system about languages where some languages are upgraded with higher institutional status at the expense of subtracting many other minor and major languages. (May, 2006) describes this process as a deliberate act of hierarchization. As Mohanty (2010) conceptualized the formation of language hierarchy in India as causing a ‘double divide’. The same can also apply to the linguistic hierarchization of language and linguistic configuration in Pakistan. Mohanty (2010) saw a the constitution of a three-tiered hierarchy of languages causing “a double divide with English at the top of the three-tiered hierarchy, the mass languages(s) of the majority at the middle rungs, and the marginalized indigenous and minority languages—often stigmatized as dialects—at the bottom”(p. 141). In India, Hindi and other state dominant languages tend to relegate the other minor languages to either dialects or minority languages. On the one hand, the dominance of English creates a hierarchical divide between itself and the vernaculars; on the other hand, Urdu, the second most powerful language in the Pakistan, drives the rest of the indigenous languages further down. This creates a ‘double divide’ like situation (Mohanty, 2010). Double divide denotes

divide one between the elitist language of power and the major regional languages (vernaculars) and, the other, between the regional languages and the dominated ones.

Reverting back to the perceptions most of supporters hold about English language, English-medium policy and literacy in the mother tongues, it can be inferred that there is clearly a double-divide like situation first between English and other languages and then between Urdu and rest of the mother tongues. The student respondents not only fondly supported English-only as their desired medium of instruction policy, but a significant number of respondents recommended Urdu to be taught as integral subject, the numbers being $n=85(35\%)$ (See figure 5.1). Therefore, the double-divide occurs not only at the institutional level, but it also transpires at the attitudinal level. Significantly, a relatively smaller number of students considered mother tongues to figure in the language policy configuration. Teachers and school principals also held positive views about the Urdu language because it was the national language. In addition, the language management mechanism within the school and the governmentality (Foucault, 1991, 1979), within classrooms also confirm the prestigious status conferred upon Urdu vis-à-vis the mother tongues. The evidence from observations suggests that the authorities particularly discourage any use of the mother tongues from the schools and impose exclusively Urdu-English oriented language policy. To enforce their official policies, the authorities employ different methods and mechanisms such as formal oral and written instructions, pejorative remarks and occasional physical punishments and penalties. It was noticed that one of the schools had a written instruction, painted on wall of the main entrance, which carried the following wording: “Don’t speak local languages”. The image given below illustrates the actual wall-painting (Manan et al., 2014).



Figure 8.1: Prohibition on Use of Mother Tongues

The multilingual hierarchy and the perceptual endorsement the supporters extend to the official hierarchization of languages have deep sociolinguistic and ecological implications. Sociolinguistically, the subtractive language policies exclude nearly all minor and major mother tongues from the mainstream domains including schools, thus shrinking spaces for a genuine multilingual landscape to flourish (Manan et al., 2015c). The political and institutional dominance of Urdu over the rest of mother tongue reflects a situation, which in Rahman's (2005) views may be called as 'Urdu imperialism'. The policies of governments over the years suggest that the indigenous languages are yet to be recognized as cultural, educational, or linguistic capital (Mustafa, 2011). Language planning is marked by a kind of institutionalized linguistic exclusivism as Ayres (2003, p. 79) concludes that, "Language-identified movements, deemed antinational by the center, were and still are dealt with primarily through authoritarian crackdowns...Accommodation has been eschewed". The policies have left the indigenous languages as social ghettos (Rahman, 2005). In Shamim's (2011) views, the situation portrays a 'linguistic apartheid' like scenario. Torwali (2014) also contends that cultural and linguistic diversity has never been a favorite subject in our national

discourse. Torwali vividly articulates the conceptual canvass around which the political ideologies of the state have developed about existing linguistic and cultural identity, relegating as many as over 70 indigenous languages to ‘social ghettos’(Manan & David, 2013; Manan et al., 2014, 2015b, 2015c; Rahman, 2005a):

Very few would know that over 65 different languages are spoken here along with the so-called ‘provincial languages’ – Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi and Balochi. The policy of enforcing a single language by education and security policies in order to achieve an imagined national cohesion strikes down the very objectives for which it was created. This ‘one language-one religion-one nation’ policy establishes the hegemony of a single language; and consequently of an alien culture because language is the most effective driver of culture (Torwali, 2014).

The double divide gives rise to institutional exclusion and social neglect of most of the mother tongues. The phenomenon imposes homogenization over a highly diverse ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural population. More alarmingly, both real and perceived hierarchical patterns of languages pose threats to linguistic diversity and impoverish the existing languages. For instance, UNESCO (2013) *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (2013) lists 28 languages in Pakistan as endangered. Among those languages, 07 are vulnerable, 15 are definitely endangered while other 06 are severely endangered. Language endangerment is a global issue. A large stock of scholarship confirms the endangerment of local and cultural diversity (Crystal, 2000, 2009; Harrison, 2007; Kraus, 2007; Maffi, 2001; Moseley, 2007; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b; UNESCO, 2003b). With the continuation of the present-day policies and the prevalent trends at both top-down and bottom-up levels, formal and informal levels, external and internal levels, the future does not bode well in terms of preservation and growth of the weaker languages. Rahman’s (2008) prognosis about linguistic diversity paints a bleak future with reference to the growth and preservation of the weaker and neglected mother tongues:

As the concept of language rights has not emerged in Pakistan and the demand for indigenous languages is seen only as part of ethnic resistance to the Center, the languages of the country do not have the chance of being written down, taught even at the elementary school level, or promoted in the media. This may make some of the minor languages obsolete and, though the major languages will probably survive as spoken mother tongues because of their size, even the larger languages may become so intermingled with Urdu and English as to lose their present identity (p. 389).

In Skunabb-Kangas' (2000) view, loss and endangerment of languages is not a natural outcome of organic decay of languages as many positivist would believe. Shift from one language to another does not occur without any agency or intentionality. In her view, the weakening and ultimate death of languages must be understood as process of murder, linguisticism and linguistic genocide. Languages do not die themselves; rather agencies make them to die. Linguistic genocide must be seen as enforced by a set of interrelated agencies. These may lie in unequal power relations between languages, their speakers, the communities and so on. It is also rooted in the inequitable resources linked to languages, governments'' discriminatory policies, seeing diversity as a problem and hominization for political expediencies and 'politics of state-making' (May, 2003). Exclusivist policies that do not embrace diversity and cultural pluralism cause the dominated language to displacement, marginalization, and disuse (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Given the perceptions of students, teachers and the school principals from within the schools, one tends to subscribe to the conclusions Mohanty, Panda, and Mishra (1999) draw about the earlier language socialization of children in India who shown that schools help create awareness amongst children of age 7-9 to know the social prestige and ultimate preferences for English vis-à-vis their own languages. In a study Bujorbarua (2006) also found that parents' language socialization strategies were responsible for small children to accord English much greater importance than their own language Assamese and Hindi language. The double divide and institutionalized hierachization, accentuated through

language socialization strategies in schools make students to construct the same hierarchical images about the languages. This leads them to rationalize and legitimize the top-down policy. Picking on Skutnabb-Kangas' concept of linguistic genocide, one would conclude that top-down language policies and schools work in tandem to perpetuate linguistic marginalization, motivate language shift and 'invisibilize' (Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Várady (1999, p. 2) the indigenous languages from the sociolinguistic and socio-ecological landscapes.

Why should we bother about linguistic and cultural diversity? Another critical question that must be addressed here is that what is the significance of linguistic/cultural diversity, and why should the government invest in the form of institutional support on development of languages? What potential rewards will such measures accrue in return? These are rather basic questions, which normally crop up in the minds of every layperson as well as well-educated people. To provide some satisfactory answers to the afore-stated questions, one would need to advance a conceptual canvass that captures the practical dimensions as well as encapsulates the philosophical and intellectual facets accompanied with the very nature of diversity. Mohanty (1994) answers fittingly as why to preserve cultural/linguistic diversity. He argues that, "Languages are vehicles of our cultures, collective memory and values". Language is also "essential component of our identities and a building block of our diversity and living heritage" (p. 4). In Annamalai's view, (2014), "Languages are a key component of cultural diversity. They enable representation and transmission of the core aspects of cultures" (p. 2). Fishman (1996) aptly argues as why we should preserve ethno-cultural diversity:

The entire world needs a diversity of ethnolinguistic entities for its own salvation, for its greater creativity, for the more certain solution of human problems, for the constant rehumanization of humanity in the face of materialism, for fostering greater esthetic, intellectual, and emotional capacities for humanity as a whole; indeed, for arriving at a higher state of human functioning (p. 1).

Maffi (2014) outlines the manifold social and cultural services languages can perform ranging “ from signifying social identity to expressing and transmitting the worldview, cultural values, beliefs, feelings, knowledge, practices, and artistry of its speakers”. On top of that, a language “ reflects and conveys the historic adaptations of humans to their local environment, developed through long-term interactions between people and the natural world on which they depended for survival” (Maffi, 2014, p. 7). In addition, Harrison (2007) also points to the magnitude of loss because of language disappearance by adding that “When languages die, an immense edifice of human knowledge, painstakingly assembled over millennia by countless minds, is eroding, vanishing into oblivion”(p. 3). Similarly, Crystal (2000) argues that each single language is a huge repository of knowledge. Linguistic diversity and biodiversity are interdependent, and they both potentially contribute to the richness and prosperity of the world and it maximize the chances of success and adaptability. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environments over thousands of years (atmospheric as well as cultural). Such ability is born out of diversity (Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2007)

8.5 Access and equity: an educational and linguistic apartheid

The proponents of critical applied linguistics and critical language policy propose that language policies in schools and other institutions cannot be seen only from language learning perspectives as the earlier applied linguists from the structuralist school of thought used to do. Instead, critical applied linguists should “raise more critical questions to do with access, power, disparity, desire, difference, and resistance”. There should also be an inquiry

into “an historical understanding of how social relations came to be the way they are”(Pennycook, 2001, p. 6). Contrary to the ‘optimistic traditional research’, critical research recognizes the policies that generally “create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups” (Tollefson, 2006, p. 42). The social change implies that the researchers explore the social and economic inequalities and aims at reducing those inequalities.

Contextualizing the theoretical underpinning of a critical approach and viewing the current English-medium policy, school policies and governments’ role through a critical lens, there appears to be clear orientations of the policy that may be linked to “inequality, injustice, right and wrongs” (Tollefson, 2006, p. 43). Historically, there is little evidence on part of government to create an equitable system of schooling that reaches to every citizen regardless of class, region, or social position. Schooling system in Pakistan is acutely cut across classes—very good English for the rich and affluent children and very poor English and vernacular schools for the lower classes. There is a system of ‘educational’ (Rahman, 2004a) and ‘linguistic’ apartheid (Shamim, 2012). Expert observers agreed that behind the expansion and liberalization of the private sector is a deliberate policy of disengagement of government. Nasim (2012) observes that there is a symbiotic relationship between the growth of the private schools and the decline of the public schools. This neglect has reduced the public schools to educational ghettos. Nasim further notes that, “The harrowing tales of neglect, misuse and the depredation of public schools that are related in the media are enough to scare even low-income parents into sending their children to private schools.” By encouraging private sector, the government appears to lighten its burden. EXPERT 3 argues that,

If you compare the ratio of public sector schools and private schools you will find that the state run schools are growing at a much slower pace as compared to the private schools. The enrolment in public sector schools has also slowed down while the private school enrolment continues to grow rapidly. There is also the new phenomenon encouraged by the government of public-private partnership and adopt-a-school. Don't these amounts to the government disengaging from education and involving the private sector in education?

One fact is clearly established that English is perceived as the gateway to better living. Additionally, we also learn that parents are fondly investing their hard-earned money on the English-medium education of their children, hoping to see their children also climb to social ladder, which most of the elites preserve and enjoy in the country. These are the future dreams parents from the low strata of society associate with the English language. One may put a critical question in this context—do the low-fee private schools produce the future bureaucrats, CEOs, managers, engineers, and scientists? Realities on grounds portray a dismal scenario. To put more realistically, the kind of English-medium education the low-fee schools deliver, and the level of English proficiency students of the same schools acquire apparently further than narrow class divisions and the level of social apartheid. One may suspect that the students of such schools, with poor teaching and learning environment, would smoothly make to educational progress and cement their place in the competitive job markets. Although, low-fee schools extensively advertise English-medium education across the streets of cities and towns; however, evidence from within the schools does not suggest just provision of what one may call genuine English-medium education. Those children are caught in the quagmire of linguistic and educational/academic deficit. This chasm between promises and delivery, policy and practices has profound socioeconomic implications for the children, their parents, and society. Educational failure is synonymous with capability failure. Zakia Sarwar, an ELT expert argues that, “*Teaching English badly for ten years helps nobody. It will not reduce the gap between elite and lower classes*” (quoted in Coleman & Capstick, 2012, p. 103). On face value, the publicity of English-medium may be an allusion.

Mustafa (2011) aptly observes that these schools ‘dupe’ illiterate parents of children into believing that they teach their children English language. However, very few would understand that,

English they are learning is of such an abysmal quality that it will not take them far. Nor do they realize that the imposing of this language is impeding their intellectual progress because it actually militates against the proper teaching of various subjects such as science, mathematics and social studies” (p. 48).

Mustafa is right when she terms such schools as ‘pseudo-English medium’ schools. The schools are selling dreams (Rahman, 2004a). Noticeably, the education system of the country suffers from a number of problems; however, those problems are not uniformly spread across the country because the elitist schools still provide state-of-the-art and quality education, which ultimately results in their matriculates monopolizing the most lucrative bureaucratic and other positions. Mustafa (2011) rightly notes that Pakistan admittedly suffers from serious educational problems and shortfalls; however, the stark reality is that those problems are not spread across the board. One witnesses acute discrimination that those problems only affect the poor and the voiceless; the problems are “not spread uniformly across society...the students are virtually prisoners of their socioeconomic class.”(p. 11). In addition, Siddiqui (2010) explains the way educational opportunities have been minimized for the low incomes children.

The widening difference between private and public schools is responsible for the gaping chasm between resources and opportunities given to the poor and the rich. Children from elite schools have enhanced chances of employment and social integration whereas children from public schools, no matter how bright they are, are disadvantaged in terms of getting exposure to quality education.

English-medium education and proficiency, which parents and students from the low-strata of society view as the gateway to social mobility and which motivates them to invest their hard-earned money, time and energy, appear illusive by the observation of teaching and learning practices and the abilities of students as portrayed in the data. English is indisputably

the gateway to better social living and dignified life in Pakistan; but the kind of English teaching and learning practices and the level of exposure and proficiency students from the low-fee schools obtain, does not seem to help them move up in the social mobility ladder. It is so because the schools do not deliver what students and parents aspire. Buying English for such a low cost does not appear to pay dividend because schools will deliver low quality in return. A comparative analysis of the tuition fee between the low-fee and the expensive elitist schools show staggering differences. To illustrate, the low-fee English-medium schools which were surveyed during this study charge between PKR.350 minimum to PKR.1800 maximum per month (nearly 18 USD) (see table 8.1 below), which is much lower than the expensive elite English-medium schools.

Table 8.1: Tuition Fee in the Low-Fee Schools

Serial of schools	Range of tuition fee (in Pakistani Rupee)	
	Lowest (nursery classes)	Highest (higher secondary classes)
1	500	1000
2	400	1200
3	1400	1800
4	350	950
5	850	1700
6	700	900
7	400	900
8	450	1100
9	500	700
10	600	1200
11	450	1050

As compared to the tuition fee of the low-fee schools, the expensive elite schools charge much higher tuition fee, which is indeed unaffordable for the common folk. For instance, a local newspaper reported that, “Taha, an O-level student at Beaconhouse Defence Campus, said he used to pay Rs 15,000 per two months and from this academic year the fee had increased by Rs 2,500”. In addition, the report reads that,

Mrs. Ikhlas, a mother of an O-levels student at LACAS, said she was paying Rs 9,000 a month as tuition fee which had increased from Rs 7,500 in the preceding year. Three to four thousand was spent on transport while a tutor costs more than Rs 10,000, she said, adding that only ministers or business tycoons could send their children to schools with modern education facilities and the only alternative for her was to send her son to a government school.

(<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2010/11/04/city/lahore/parents-in-a-quandary-as-schools-up-tuition-fee/>).

The aforementioned newspaper report was published in 2010. The tuition fee would have increased even further in the year 2014-15. What is important is the enormous differential the two schooling systems exhibit—elite schools charging nearly ten-fold more considering the average amount the low-fee schools normally charge. A mother in the above report rightly proclaims that only ministers and business tycoons can afford such exorbitant tuition fee and the allied expenses. Thus, access to such schools is automatically blocked to the rest of children from middle, lower middle, or working classes. Based on the differential of expenditures, one could easily imagine the quality of education the elite English-medium schools would deliver. Mustafa (2012a) is right when she comments that, “The illiterate parents of children are duped into believing that their children are being educated in English. Their youngsters who pick up a smattering of English are happy because they feel they know a language their parents never learnt”. However, the poor and uneducated parents would not know that “the English they are learning is of such an abysmal quality that it will not take them very far.”

The difference between schooling of the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ is deeply entrenched within the education system. The class system is a British legacy. The British colonial administration established the elitist system of schooling especially the private schools for the education of the ruling elites. As Curle (1966) observes,

...in fact, as in England, so in Indian subcontinent the education of ruling group was carried out in a virtually separate parallel school system from which the children of the lower orders were excluded by both social and economic sanctions.

According to Rahman (2004), there were two streams of private English medium schools in operation under the British colonizers: those for the hereditary aristocracy called the Chiefs colleges; and those for the newly emerging professional classes called European or English schools. The emphasis in both kinds of schools was the Anglicization with English as the symbolic tool (Lewis, 1962). The primary motives behind establishing such English schools were to strengthen the upper classes, which the British Raj needed as allies for the administrative, bureaucratic, and military services. Such intents are echoed in the assertion of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India (1898-1905) who had said that,

...the young chiefs (who were supposed to learn the English language and become sufficiently familiar with English customs, literature, science, mode of thought, standards of truth and honour) would be allies of the British (Raleigh, 1906, p. 245).

The privileged status and the domination of elite schools continued after the independence, and the elite class has always used these schools as instruments to perpetuate the hold of their class on the top-notch institutions. According to Curle (1966) ,

...goal of Pakistani society was not change, but stability. Education was not thought of as a means of promoting democracy, or spreading egalitarianism, or increasing social mobility. On the contrary, its role was to maintain the status quo.

Due to relative autonomy and backdoor powers, even the sweeping socialistic reforms initiated during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's nationalization schemes of private school did not deter the elite English schools, as they remained unaffected. Between 1972 and 1974, and by the 1970s, some 3,334 private schools had been nationalized in phased manner (GOP, 1979, p. 26). The ideals behind the nationalization included the slogans such as social inclusion, equal access to education and the eradication of illiteracy; however, the equalization of educational opportunities was not realized. Ironically, over two hundred high-fee charging English medium schools were exempted as they made promises of accommodating about 20 percent of their enrolment for students from the working classes. The promises however were not honored (E. Jones & Jones, 1977). Ever since then, the supremacy and authority of the elite schools continues as usual with elite school catering to the elites of power and wealth (Rahman, 2004). The elitist and the non-elitist schooling systems offer different physical and academic facilities. Similarly, the two systems are sharply contrasting in their curricula, pedagogical methods, organizational structure, and even their micro-political contexts. According to Malik (2012), the contrasting quality and organizational structures have profound implications for the reproduction of students' class-habitus and political views, and it ultimately defines social roles and occupational trajectories. The policies of elite schools are programmed to "better serve the rich and provide knowledge that ensures easy access for their children to the higher echelons of society" (Khattak, 2014, p. 100). Alluding to the elite hegemony and monopoly of English and its affiliated socioeconomic rewards, Rassool and Mansoor (2007) also articulate about the inequitable distribution of opportunities which English creates in Pakistan:

The ruling elites, that is, all those with power and influence in Pakistan such as the bureaucracy and military, have command in English through their English medium education. English is not only the language of the upper classes in Pakistan; it also provides access to the best jobs in the governmental, non-governmental and international bureaucracy (p. 234).

Given the history with respect to language and education and the role of the state in perpetuation of class-based language and education system confirm what Tsui and Tollefson (2004) argue about the ulterior motives of the policymakers that “behind the educational agenda are political, social, and economic agendas that serve to protect the interests of particular political and social groups”(p. 2). In case of Pakistan, the state-of-the-art expensive English-medium schools are restricted to the educational purposes of a tiny but a powerful elite class, whose children would subsequently grab the most lucrative and power-oriented positions in the bureaucracy, army and other prestigious institutions. In this context, Rahman (1997) categorically states that, “English remains the language of power and high social status in Pakistan. It serves to facilitate the entry of the rich and the powerful into elitist positions, while filtering out those who are educated in Urdu” (p. 151). More than five parallel class-based and qualitatively dichotomous schooling systems in one society clearly produce ‘*Denizens of alien worlds*’ (Rahman, 2004a), taking on dichotomous trajectories and divergent directions—privileging few ‘haves’ while filtering out the rest of ‘have nots’. It happen because as a ‘*Passport to Privilege*’ English serves to exclude the underprivileged from the circle of the privileges (Mustafa, 2014; Rahman, 2005).

8.6 Privatizations of education—a neoliberal turn

In a review on Noam Chomsky's book titled 'Profit over People: Neoliberalism and World Order', McChesney (1999) explains that neoliberalism is a political and economic paradigm, which refers to,

...the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximize their personal profit...neoliberal initiative are characterized as free market policies that encourage private enterprise and consumer choice, reward personal responsibility and entrepreneurial initiative, and undermine the dead hand of the incompetent, bureaucratic and parasitic government ((McChesney, 1999, p. 7).

One of the major consequences of the neoliberal economics is “a massive increase in social and economic inequality” (McChesney, 1999, p. 7). Similarly, the fundamental tenets of neoliberalism are “free market, private enterprise, consumer choice, entrepreneurial intuitive and the deleterious effects of government regulation” (Ross & Queen, 2010, p. 156). In Pakistan, we find that the unprecedented proliferation of the private educational institutions is an established fact now, which some critics equate with the emergence of a neoliberal turn and embodiment of the free market economy (Khattak, 2014; Siddiqui, 2010, 2012). Its staggering growth in terms of number of private institutions, teachers, and enrollment speak for its huge size. With the phenomenal rise of the private schools, Bari (2013) contends that education has become one of the fast growing industries in Pakistan. Figures suggest that 30% of all educational institutions in Pakistan were private in the year 2007-08. Three in every ten educational institutions were private. Out of total of 1.4 million teachers in Pakistan, 44% were working in employed in private educational institutions. Enrolment in the private sector accounted for 34% of total enrollment in 2007-08. One in every three enrolled children is studying in the private institutions (Federal Bureau of Statistics' Census of Private Schools (GOP, 2000), National Education Census Ministry of Education (GOP, 2005); Pakistan Education Statistics (GOP, 2009b). The expansion of the private sector

educational institutes vis-à-vis the public sector has taken unparalleled pace. Statistics show that between 1999-2000 and 2007-08, the private schools increased by 69% as compared to only 8% increase in the government schools during the same period (GOP, 2000, 2005, 2009b).

Given the rapid expansion of the private schooling and its flooding in the market prompts several critical questions. One of the fundamental questions that may recurrently click one's mind is about the potential causes for the phenomenal growth of the private schools. The disproportional growth of the private schools vis-à-vis public schools over a decade suggests that the government appears to have withheld from its core responsibility of injecting support to the public sector. The differential between 69% growth of the private and only 8% growth of the public sector educational institutions lends ample testimony to the fact that the successive governments have strategically disengaged from commitment to public education. The government policies ever since the denationalization phase have been that of laissez-faire where the National Education policies have explicitly declared the encouragement of the private sector to shoulder the responsibility of public education. According to Muzaffar (2010), except for the PPP-led government from 1971-77, the government policies have fundamentally been that of laissez-faire towards private education.

Expert observes also held government's deliberate indifference and disengagement from commitment to public education as the fundamental cause of private education. EXPERT 4 observes that the government's education policies were a manifestation of a neoliberal turn. He further argued that there was no political will, and that there were no advantages of private education at all:

It was all disadvantages in the sense that education has become subject to the logic of the market (i.e. the ability to pay determines access). Insofar as there are advantages (e.g. more leeway in the curriculum, better quality teaching), these could exist in the

public sector too if the political will and resources are dedicated to the cause (EXPERT 4).

The government deregulates the private schools, and there is no systematic regulatory mechanism in place, said EXPERT 4 *“the government has no such policy. In fact successive governments have not ensured quality education in public schools so there is simply no question that there is any focus on private schools”*. EXPERT 3 contended that the low-fee schools were oblivious to the provision of quality education including teacher training, decent salaries, and favorable working environment and so on. These obviously indicated their urge for saving more. In addition, EXPERT 3 maintains that, *“The low fee schools do not address these issues, which are related to the teachers and the quality of their employment. This obviously affects the quality of education they impart.”* According EXPERT 2, the ‘unorganized market’ had pushed for the expansion of the private schools, and education had turned into a commodity. In addition, EXPERT 7 held the same argument that *“To be very frank and candid, it is true. Education has become business”*. According to EXPERT 6, the following reasons have led to the deteriorating conditions of the public schooling system:

I tell you public education system will never improve because no one at top care about it. You know. We all know. Nobody from the elites send out their children to ordinary government schools. No minister, no bureaucrat, no influential person thinks about the sorry state of government schools because elites have stakes in it. Their children attend expensive English-medium schools, and they can afford to pay the skyrocketing tuition fee and other charges with ease. But no common man can even imagine, let alone sending children. There is only one solution—that is to make education system uniform for all from all classes. Then when a minister or a bureaucrat’s own children will be there, they will push hard for quality education. Otherwise poor will remain poor because of low quality education.

Thus, the reasons for the governments’ disengagement and neglect of public education are clear. Since the elites and the powerful have no stake in the public schooling system; therefore, it has been allowed drain further down in quality. Such mindset from the top naturally leaves a void, which the low-fee private schools come to fill. By the strategic liberalization and privatization policy, the government provided leeway to the private

entrepreneurs of different shades to invest in the education sector and lighten governments' financial burden. It deliberately allowed a free-market on neoliberal lines for the private enterprisers to thrive in their business. Logically, the more the private schools grew, the less the government had to allocate to the public education. The process of privatization and liberalization is the byproduct of long-standing governmental policies facilitating neoliberalism undertaken and rationalized using one pretext or the other. Daun (2004) postulates that neoliberalism is a complex set of ideological perspectives and philosophical principles, political decisions and impositions, mechanisms and implementations and discourses. Bourdieu (2003) uses the phrase 'neoliberal vulgate' which he believes is 'the result of a prolonged and continual work by an immense intellectual workforce, concentrated and organized in what are effectively enterprises of production, dissemination, and intervention' (p. 12).

Because of rapid privatization, the government schools were made to deteriorate drastically in every qualitative scale. M. Jones (2001) and Warwick and Reimers (2005) have termed the government schools as 'dull' and 'stringent'. The private enterprisers on the other hand made their utmost to capitalize on the vacuum created by the collapse of the state-run public schools, and its deliberate neglect to a proper control and regulation of the private institutions. Both sides evidently stick to the neoliberal patterns of economy wherein the state allows a policy of free market, while the private enterprisers capitalize on the free market to maximize their profit. Because of the governments' apparent facilitation and less interventionist policy, the people have been left on the mercy of the private schools. If the orientations of the school principals/owners are a guide, the private schools have turned education into a lucrative business. Educational landscape is dictated by neoliberalism. Hill

(2006) aptly observes that ‘For neoliberals, ‘profit is the God’, not the public good’. While further explicating on the capitalist and commercial face of education, Hill argues that:

The Capitalist state has a Capitalist Agenda for Education and a Business Plan in Education. It also has a Capitalist Agenda for Education Business. The Capitalist Agenda for education centres on socially producing labour power (people’s capacity to labour) for Capitalist enterprises. The Capitalist Agenda in Education focuses on setting business ‘free’ in education for profit-making (p. 8).

Siddiqui (2010, p. 35) also expresses concerns over the commodification of education in Pakistan and the resultant exploitation caused by the state and private sector collaboration. According to him, education has become a profit making ‘*business*’ and the educational institutions have emerged as ‘*industrial zones*’ where teachers are offered alarmingly low salaries, and they are more or less treated on the neoliberal patterns—that is to make them work for long hours and offer them low salaries. In order to maintain hold and constrain their powers, teachers are inducted on contract basis to leave them feel insecure. Siddiqui (2010) refers to the growing privatization of education as the commodification of education, and argues that education has set into a ‘*supermarket*’ phenomenon where “enhanced transactions are keeping a ‘bullish trend’...most of the educational initiatives in the contemporary scenario are totally based on profit maximization” (p. 35).

Commercialization of education is also an important facet of private education. The current wave of the private schools is predominantly driven by outright commercialization, marketization, and maximization of the profit. Education has turned into a selling commodity and a market product. Interviews with the owners and school principals lend evidence to the commercial orientation of the schools, and the ultimate maximization of the profit, not the provision of education to the society. The commercialization has numerous side effects, the most crucial being compromise on provision of quality education. When the maximization of profit becomes the prime objective, the schools will understandably hesitate to invest

generously on teachers, students, basic infrastructure and so on. According to a school principal, most owners in the private schools “prefer to hire teachers on as low salaries as they possibly could to reduce the expenditures” because he believed that, “We have to look our own margin of profit also” (PRPL10). In this pursuit, the quality, educational qualification and other credentials of the teachers are least important. The comparative salaries between the teachers of the government schools and the teachers of low-fee ordinary private schools show staggering differences. For instance, teachers of primary and secondary levels in the government schools respectively earn Rs. 4,000 and 8,000 per month whereas teachers in the private schools of the same levels earn Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 5,000 (Haq 2004). These figures point towards the commercialized and marketized culture. Rahman (2004) and Andrabi et al. (2008) have reported the relatively low salaries of private teachers. Mukhtar (2009) observes that, “The dark side of such “forced” and “voluntary” liberalization is the lucid deterioration of educational quality and the unprecedented rise in cost (school fees, etc.)”(p. 126). The commercial motives also encourage raising tuition fees of the students as they wish to do because what I observed was absolute lack of uniformity of textbooks, fee structure, teachers’ salaries and several other variables across the schools surveyed. Commercialism motivates adhocism and short-term planning rather than long-term sustainable policies. Mukhtar (2009) explains that:

...these “transitory” teachers found in private schools are not able to meet the required standards of teaching and dedicated efforts thus leading toward a clear deterioration of the quality of education of private schools...private schools as employers typically do not pay attention to employment security, on the job training, good working conditions, long-term growth options, or other basic requirements of social and economic security(p. 127).

Comparing the staggering gap between private and government sector school in terms of teachers' salaries, EXPERT 6 narrated a story when he served as an administrator in a private school. He narrated that,

Once a parent came to me. He happened to be a government teacher; he was complaining about increase in fee. I questioned him, what could be the minimum salary of government teacher? He replied at least 25000. Then I took out register showing him that the senior most teachers in my school got only 15000. Now you tell me from where I should generate this money. His salary was 47000. So our locals, often when they get a government job, they leave private sector and be content with government school. Here mostly remain settlers, especially females. Since they are educated, therefore instead of sitting idle at home, they join private schools even if the salary is less. They do so to keep busy, get a pocket money and pass their time. There is very little amount of dedication in their teaching duties. So now to make this person dedicated teachers is extremely tough job.

In addition to low salaries and other exploitative dimensions of the private schools, include the lack of any on-job training, job security, or retirement benefits in Pakistan. Most of the private school teachers are part timers except a tiny portion of those teaching in the upscale elite schools. Mostly, teachers who are inexperienced, jobless, or low qualified join the private schools as transitory employees until they get a better job. It is so because they do not see stable careers in private school teaching. EXPERT 9 also referred to the same issue and argued that no sensible or competent person prefers to work in the private sector because the schools mostly exploit their teachers by paying much lower salaries than they are paid in the government schools.

Considering the assumptions, school principals were asked to share their views on the business motives and commercialization dimension of the private schools. The findings show that 9 out of 11 school principals plainly admitted that the launching of their schools were motivated to earn living; however, they also underlined that it did not deter them from compromising on the quality of education. They also explained that the market was rife with a large number of private schools which were keeping business as their prime priority, and

that they were compromising on delivery of quality education. A school principal while smiling acknowledged the fact that “... *as far as the commercialization aspect, it is absolutely true. Frankly speaking, there is one aspect—that education has become commercialized, I myself admit that I started this school for commercial purposes and to earn living*”(PRPL 10). However, he also pointed out that he was also motivated to render his services in a healthy manner for the betterment and well-being of society. Teaching and educating others was a noble profession. He further highlighted some positive aspects of the low-fee private schools and said that “*Let me say that we are not charging high fee; our fees are not that much high. By the grace of God, people believe in the education system that we are giving here. They trust us. Our strength has increased day by day or year by year. It is their trust in us. It is still commercialized, I don’t deny it.*” Another school principal argued that the business presumption might be justified to a certain extent; however, “*We don’t have to generalize all schools. Good and bad schools are everywhere. As I told you about my school, I go all length to support and provide relief to those students of mine who deserve support. I can show 100 of students whom I have given free education. Yes, the business perception may be right to a certain degree*”(PRPL 3). The principal concerned also signaled towards the relatively much lower fee they were charging for reasonably good quality education as compared to the expensive elite schools.

We see there are schools, which charge heavy amount such as Pak-Turk, City schools, Beaconhouse, and other federal schools under army. They charge from over 4000 while we charge from 500 to 1000, which is four times less than what they charge. Considering the expenses such building maintenance, rents, furniture, salaries and all, then we are in loss. It is the responsibility of the government to check who do business and who run on non-profit basis (PRPL3).

Furthermore, another school Principal confidently asserted that it was justified to save some money as they were earning at the cost of their good services, and that privatization of education should be considered a good omen in view of the unavailability of good government schools. He argued that:

May be, yeh business kelye ho. Is mei koi burayi nahi hai. Agar app maamooli sa fee lekar munasib sa quality education detei hei, to yeh theek hai. Yaha hum hewanoo ko insanoo mei badaltie hei(May be it is for business purposes. There is nothing wrong with it. If by providing reasonably quality education, you earn some amount against your services, then it's fine. Here we turn animals into human beings or good citizens) (PRPL 11).

Two other principals respectively endorsed the business orientation held by many about the private school owners; however, they defended their own schools on grounds of good education. They also reiterated the same argument that the tuition fee they charged was much lower than the elite schools, which they said were charging hefty amount. One of the principals argued that there was a blatant greed for profit-making through private education. He described that,

Mei aap ko ek story sunawooo. Mujhe bahot dukh huwa jab mei nei akhbaar mei ek advertisement parhi jis mei kaha gia tha keh ek lady teacher ki zaroorat hai jis ki salary 1500 hogi. Yeh schools sirf leitei hei lekin detei kuch nahi. Taaleem ek lucrative business ban gayi hai. Quetta mei sirf do aisei school hei jo teachers ko pay scale detie hei jaisei Tamir-eNau aue Islamia school. Baqi berehmi kesath teachers ki istehsaal Katie hei (I believe that private school owners fall second to those beggars who invest nothing, but earn a huge amount. The tragedy is that those entrepreneurs are earning a lot, but spending the same amount on teachers and students is thought as a major sin. Let me illustrate a story. I was extremely saddened by an advertisement in newspaper which said that a private school needed a lady teacher who will be given 1500 salary. These schools only take but give nothing in return. Education has become a lucrative business. Here in Quetta, there are only two private institutes such as Tamir-e-Nau and Islamia schools that give pay scales to their teachers. The rest ruthlessly exploit their teachers) (PRPL8).

The independent experts and observers have also portrayed the same picture of business orientation. EXPERT 9 who has served in over five private schools and colleges in Quetta city and outside also validate the prevalence of commercial motives amongst private schools. One of the basic weaknesses of the system lies in the of governance system. Since the schools are not effectively accountable to the authorities; therefore, their owners tend to seriously compromise on quality. The less they spend, the more they save. He explains that,

Here is no systematic monitoring and regulatory system to watch over the private schools. Here is nothing. What you expect from the entrepreneurs, who right from the beginning, makes money and business as their main motives. Their maximum energies will consume in money-making and money-saving; not the noble aims like public service and social welfare. And if their aim had been to educate people, then they would certainly have hire teachers of reasonably good level and pay them fair salary. The system needs reorganization. Qualified teachers would come if the private schools give them necessary safeguards in form of first good salary and a system of service structure.

While sharing his 4 to 5 years teaching experience in private schools and colleges, EXPERT 9 singles out two policy defects which in his views, have led to the destruction of education. The first limitation as pointed by several other experts previously is related to teachers' exploitation and a sense of job insecurity.

I tell you, when teachers cannot dare to fail any student, what level of education will you promote. The schools cannot and do not want to fail because if they do so, the child will leave and go to another school. This will naturally leave negative effect on the business prospects. It is simple as that. All students get A grades. Hardly is there any instance of failure nor is there and natural variation among excellent, average or poor students, which is logically, scientifically and even educationally impossible. Not all students can be of equal intelligence. As a result, students don't fear failure; therefore, they don't work hard.

EXPERT 9 believes that unless "*the private schooling system provides service structure, no sensible person will stay there for long*". The second defect relates to the teachers' inability to evaluate their students confidently. The owners of the schools strictly instruct teachers to treat students leniently in their examinations and paper evaluation. According to him, private

schools never fail students because if they fail, it would disappoint parents and ultimately cause them to leave the schools. Thus, the schools will lose a customer. The core philosophy among private schools is to award high marks regardless of the real performance of the students.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter drew on some broader implications of the English-medium education policy. It discussed five major thematic areas that included the ethnolinguistic dilemma and language maintenance syndrome primarily produced by the top-down linguistic categorization and linguistic hierarchies in Pakistan. Static maintenance syndrome and ethnolinguistic dilemma precisely signify that the speakers of the indigenous languages perceive their own languages of little value in socioeconomic and social mobility terms in the sociolinguistic configuration of Pakistan where English, and to some extent, Urdu wield much greater institutional powers than their own languages. On the one hand, they want to maintain their own languages within the families and intra-community interactions; however, they hesitate to support those languages for schooling. Most of them perceive that introduction of the mother tongues might leave children backward as those languages do not promise brighter prospects of social and economic mobility. Thus, their belief system is characterized by a dilemma and a syndrome. Another section of the chapter highlighted the multiple disadvantages, which the students of the low-fee English-medium schools are likely to suffer due to the poor quality of English-medium teaching and learning practices and outcomes in schools. Drawing on multiple sources, the data indicate that the students of the low-fee schools fail to acquire a reasonable level of proficiency in either the English or other languages. This causes a linguistic deficit, which in turn results educational/academic deficit too.

Thirdly, the chapter discussed the divide, which language policies create between English and Urdu, and Urdu and the rest of the indigenous languages. English stands at the apex of hierarchy while Urdu stands second to the English language. The students, teachers and school principals strongly support an English-Urdu centric bilingual language policy, while they underestimate the value of the mother tongues in education and other vital domains. Thus the policies at the top and the perceptions at the bottom are leaving profound sociolinguistic and ecolinguistic implications for the mother tongues and linguistic diversity. A number of major as well minor languages are on the retreat vis-à-vis English and the Urdu languages. Thus, the double divide refers to the vicious cycle of linguistic hierarchization, where on the one hand, English erodes the rest of the mother tongues including Urdu; on the other hand, the institutional dominance and state patronage of only Urdu language eliminate the possibility of including the mother tongues within the mainstream institutions including. Because of institutional exclusion, many mother tongues have eroded in vitality. Similarly, the chapter discussed the socioeconomic implications of the English-medium policy as the country suffers from acute class-based schooling system. English, the language of powers and privileges is the preserve of the elites and the privileged segments rather the commoners. Quality English-medium education, which is restricted to few elitist government and private schools virtually, closes the doors to children of the lower middle or lower classes. Therefore, the phenomenal surge of the low-fee English-medium schools, which has come about due to intense public demand for English-medium education, may apparently imitate the elitist English-medium schools; however, their quality of education and English teaching and learning stand much below par than their counterpart elitist schools. Therefore, it can be argued that the low-fee English-medium schools are illusive as they further widen the gap between the privileged and the unprivileged than narrowing it down. In the end, the phenomenal expansion of the low-fee English-medium schools has been discussed from the

historical perspective. Data suggest that the government's role and policies are characterized by neoliberal economic policies where the state has allowed a free market and encouraged the privatization of education to flourish, adopting a liberal approach towards the expansion of the private sector. One can clearly see a symbiotic relationship between the growth of the private schools and the decline of the public schools. The governments' neglect has reduced the public schools to educational ghettos. The loose regulatory and monitoring system of the government further deteriorates the education quality and promotes blatant commercialization of education.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

The final chapter provides an overview of the study. The chapter is divided into six sections. The first part provides a conclusive summary of the findings, drawing on data as drawn from the core research questions. In addition, the contribution and limitations of the study are highlighted. Towards the end of the chapter, suggestions for policy review and recommendations for future research are discussed.

9.2 Perceptions of stakeholders about English-medium policy

The perceptions of the stakeholders are marked by two major views: (1) English-only straight-for-English policy, (2) mother tongue based multilingual policy. The advocates of the English-only straight-for-English policy, who comprise students, teachers, and school principals, propose that English should be taught as a medium from the nursery level of school. A significant segment of the advocates of the English-medium policy also suggests Urdu as a subject. Therefore, this pool of stakeholders does not consider teaching the mother tongue in schools. They perceive that since English has wider scope across all prestigious domains and hold potentially brighter future prospects for social mobility and numerous economic rewards; therefore, it is essential for children in Pakistan to study English from the beginning of their schooling. On the other hand, the second pool of stakeholders, which represents expert observers, takes a divergent position on language policy in schools, and they recommend a mother tongue based multilingual policy in schools. Based on their respective research and expertise of language-in-education situation in Pakistan, expert observers recommend that children should be schooled in a familiar language than in a foreign language such as English at the primary stages. English may be introduced as a medium at the post-primary stages, a stage at which children would have acquired solid

linguistic and metalinguistic foundation in their mother tongues. The expert observers also argue that children usually face manifold linguistic, educational, and cultural problems with the straight-for-English policy, which could be averted with the teaching of mother tongues at the earlier stages. Expert observers also propose that the lack of qualified English teachers, sub-standard textbooks, and under-resourced infrastructure make the implementation of effective English-medium policy in schools problematic.

The students, teachers and school principals, who advocate straight-for-English policy, advanced several assumptions to substantiate their positions. Firstly, English must be taught early because one learns better and faster when one studies English from the nursery level. They believe that children can learn a foreign language such as English best at the young age where children's minds are absorbent to the acquisition of additional languages. Secondly, early introduction of the English language has no disadvantage for children; rather early exposure can maximize the chances of higher proficiency; therefore, the early the introduction of English, the better the outcomes. Early teaching of English promises potential prospects of social mobility and a better future than any other language policy. Moreover, the supporters of the English-only policy regard it the only quality education option. In their view, English and quality education are synonymous. Finally, teaching more than one or two languages can cause linguistic confusion and leave the burden on the learners. They resist any move towards teaching the mother tongue as a medium of instruction because they believe that mother tongues have rather little instrumental value and fairly limited scope; therefore, they must be ghettoized within the home and community-level domains. In their view, the teaching of mother tongues in school is likely to push students backward and close opportunity for brighter career prospects. In their exclusive support for English-only policy, the students, teachers and school principals look upon linguistic diversity as a problem and

show apprehensions that a multilingual education policy might cause confusion for the students. A significant segment of the same pool of respondents perceives language as a non-issue in education.

Contrary to the perceptions of students, teachers and school principals, expert observers lay down an inclusive framework for language policy and planning in general and medium of instruction policy in particular. They highlight the significant role of the mother tongue in the early schooling and socialization. Drawing on theoretical models of additive bi/multilingual education, the key expert observer advocate for a mother tongue based education policy as such policy generally results in a number of benefits. The expert observers argued that English as a foreign language to most of the children was problematic as it posed a number of challenges. The early English policy was not suited at the primary levels because relevant theory and research did not support the teaching of a foreign language such as English. They observed that mother tongue based education was a universally established phenomenon; therefore, the early English policy was unfavorable. As English is an alien language to both students and teachers; therefore, it is a barrier to meaningful learning and obstacle to concept formulation. It also promoted rote learning and memorization. Given the poor institutional preparedness level and the acute dearth of well-trained and qualified English teachers further made the straight-for-English policy paradoxical. Furthermore, English-only policy was discordant to the sociolinguistic realities and the sociocultural configuration of Pakistan as it excluded the mother tongues of most children. The expert observers proposed that English should be introduced in transition after the primary level.

An analysis of perceptions from both pools of respondents suggests that the expert observers hold considerably balanced, informed, and inclusive view about the medium of instruction policy and propose alternative policies that are in consonance with the theory of bi/multilingual education, a policy that many scholars around the world regard as most suited to early schooling of the child. Their proposal for medium of instruction policy is also context-bound, localized, and suited to the actual level of institutional and infrastructural conditions of schools. The propositions of the expert observers are also bolstered by both theory and empirical research around a large number identical sociolinguistic contexts such as that of Pakistan (Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2001; Benson, 2002; Cenoz, 2009; Cummins, 1979, 2000, 2001; Heugh, Benson, Bogale, & Yohannes, 2007; Krashen, 2003, 2004a; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984; UNESCO, 2003a). On the other hand, the perceptions of the supporters of ‘straight-for-English’ are rational and pragmatic in principle; however, their assumptions are not coordinated with the theory, the school practices, the available institutional infrastructure and human resource and the socio-cultural ecologies of children in Pakistan. In addition, the assumption put forward about English-medium policy and the early-exposure hypothesis and English education being the best at primary level are theoretically challengeable. Viewed through the prism of available literature, research, and theoretical constructs, the assumptions may be described as motivated by personal wishes and ambitions of the respondents, but hardly grounded on sound and solid empirical work. Scholars term such assumptions as ‘illusion’, ‘myth’, and ‘misunderstanding’. In addition, the perceptions of students, teachers, and even school principals about medium of instruction are not substantiated by any research, experience or any theoretical knowledge of their own. The evidence abounds that neither teachers nor school principals were informed about the theory and principles of language and education , and language acquisition. In Ferguson’s

(2013) view, the early English-medium policy is an ill-informed assumption, which is largely divorced from of solid scholarly research and sophisticated empirical evidence.

9.3 Perceptions vis-a-vis English teaching and learning practices

Drawing on multiple evidence from interviews, questionnaires and classroom observations, the actual English teaching, learning practices and overall pedagogical strategies demonstrate contrasting picture from what the proponents of the English-only medium of instruction policy aspire. The proponents advocated for a ‘straight-for-English’ policy, as that would enable students to learn English language better and faster. For instance, the assumptions such as the earlier, the better and the more the exposure, the more the effects on the level of learning and such other assumptions apparently contradict with real classroom practices. Although, children are exposed to English textbooks from the beginning; however, they are not exposed to the meaningful use of language in classrooms because English stands confined within the textbooks. Seldom do teachers and students use English in their formal or informal classroom transactions. As a result, the students do not get opportunities to develop their communicative competence in the language, which they would presumably learn in an English-medium school. Teaching methodologies are marked by traditional teacher-centered approaches with limited signs of the modern-day communicative, participatory, and learner-centered pedagogical paradigms. A localized form of grammar-translation method is the norm. English is taught in the Urdu language, which ultimately leaves little potential for communicative competence and meaningful learning of the language as well contents. The reading and writing exercises are characterized by superficiality and lack of sensitivity to concept formulation and linguistic internalization. Reading practices are teacher-centered whereby teacher reads the textbook and students follow them in the form of chorus repetition without encoding the meanings and structures of the contents. Similarly, the writing exercise

is restricted only to blind copying from the textbooks and occasionally from the whiteboards. Evidently, students are seldom exposed to reading or writing exercises that would engage them to analyze, interpret, create, communicate, critique or reflect. Vocabulary is taught by explicit translation without the sense being contextualized. As a result, the writing ability of most students stands below average. Listening and speaking, the two important skills remain entirely ignored. The examination system is largely based on rote learning and reproduction, and there is little evidence that examination system tests the conceptual, analytical, and linguistic competencies of the students. Conventionally, students are forced to memorize large chunks of textbooks for exam preparation. Examination papers contain questions, which the students are told in advance. Their only job is to memorize and reproduce contents on examination day.

Holistically, English teaching and learning practices appear paradoxical to the assumptions the advocates of the ‘straight-for-English’ and English-only policy make. The term English-medium can be termed as an illusion in the present context. The schools advertise as English-medium; however, the actual practices demonstrate Urdu as the de facto medium of classroom transactions, which provide rather limited space and exposure for the use of the English language. Rahman (2004a) and a number of critics of the English-only policy are correct when they observe that those schools sell dreams and exploit the public’s love for the English language—a phenomenon Ferguson (2013) termed as English ‘fever’. Mostly, what children exercise is translated bookish English with virtually little communicative potential. Students’ learning of content is generally imitative rather than interpretive. Moreover, the use of English is only symbolic and pretentious—typical of the ‘myth’ scholars of bi/multilingual education expound in a large number of post-colonial countries. Importantly, the so-called English-medium policy suffers from chaos and

confusion as it becomes hard to figure out whether English stands as subject, as a second language or as a foreign language because there are no clear guidelines in the original policy. However, one fact is rather prominent that notwithstanding the purported English-medium policy in the advertisement and in the names of the low-fee schools, Urdu ultimately stands as the de facto language of classroom as well as school ecology. Apart from the occasional superficial and cosmetic use of the few behavioral English expressions such as ‘May I come in teacher’, ‘May I go out teacher’, ‘Come in please’, ‘Go out please’, ‘No noise students’, etc, the spontaneous and intentional communication of the English language was nearly absent. Few teachers and school principals justified the use of Urdu rather English for classroom transactions because there were a large number of students from less educated family backgrounds who did not understand English at all. It can be concluded that this justification is a self-proclamation of the paradoxes and the pitfalls that underlie the English-medium education policy as most of children are not yet prepared to negotiate with the challenges they confront during learning the language and its contents in a foreign language such as English. Lastly, the data also highlights the dual challenges most students have to confront simultaneously—learning a new language and learning subject material encoded in that language. Therefore, in view of the acutely under-resourced school infrastructure, deficient English teachers, muddled language policy, and the dichotomies between English language and students’ sociocultural ecologies problematize early English-medium policy.

9.4 Sociocultural ecologies of students and English-medium policy

Picking on the data concerning respondents’ exposure (input and output) to the English language in their sociocultural ecology shows that the majority of student respondents receive negligible exposure and use of the English language in their homes, media, and the neighborhood. A number of variables were tested to determine the degree of exposure to

English the respondents received that included their parents' educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, their access and use of reading material at home, their access and use of different media, use of English for interaction at home and the use of English in neighborhood. Findings suggest that more than 70% of students seldom get exposure to any reading material such as reading for pleasure and reading newspapers at homes. Similarly, 76% students never or seldom use English for any social interaction at home and in the social environment outside home such as neighborhood. Similarly, exposure to different media suggests that barring live television cricket commentary, their exposure to the other media outlets such as newspapers, internet, television for current affairs and movies is noticeably little. More than 30% of respondents reports that they often listen to English language while watching live cricket matches. A negligible number of respondents who suggest relatively frequent exposure to the English language across the afore-stated domains largely come from relatively educated and well-off families whose parents facilitate them with storybooks, newspapers, electronic gadgets, and cable media network.

To put collective amount of English exposure students receive in their sociocultural ecology in the form of input and output, English language can be described as an alien. There is discernible disjunction between the language of school curriculum and the sociocultural ecology of most children. The language used in schools has apparently no match with the family backgrounds, home environment, and the neighborhood of most students. English can safely be termed as ecologically a distanced language to which the students get negligible active or passive exposure in their day-to-day lives. Therefore, English may be termed socially, linguistically and culturally a foreign language. Crucially, it is the foreignness and remoteness of English from the sociocultural ecology of children which make the 'straight-for-English' and English-only policy problematic especially when viewed from the

diagnostic lenses of additive bi/multilingual education. The proponents of mother-tongue based multilingual education are right to suspect a school policy where children suffer the hazards of sociocultural alienation from the school language. English is undeniably a foreign and an alien language; therefore, the students have to undergo profound mental and cognitive challenges during their academic studies. They are forced to cope with dual challenges in schools—learning a new language and its subject contents. The system as we observe ask the child to learn the contents before learning the language, which sounds an unnatural order not only theoretically, but also practically. Consequently, they neither learn the language well not the contents. An ill-informed language policy results in total educational failure. One of the prominent examples was reported in the pathetic writing ability of the majority of children in their written essays. Literature is rife with evidence from across the world that the consequences of an alien language as a medium at the early schooling are counterproductive linguistically, educationally and culturally. There is an abundance of examples to illustrate such studies from across the globe—Africa, South Asia, Latin America, ASEAN and numerous other contexts (Alidou et al., 2006; Annamalai, 2004; Benson, 2002; Brock-Utne, 2007; Cenoz, 2009; Heugh et al., 2007; Hornberger, 1988; Jhingran, 2009; Mohanty, 2006; Mohanty & Panda, 2009; Mohanty & Saikia, 2004). In addition, numerous international organizations such as (UNESCO, 1953, 2003a, 2008) and Pinnock (2009) for Save the Children also emphasize on the mother tongue based multilingual education. In addition, a large stock of theoretical work also corroborates the value of studying in a familiar language than in any second or foreign language in schools (Baker, 2001; Bamgbose, 2000; Cummins, 1979, 2000, 2005; Pattanayak, 2003; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004).

9.5 Contribution to research and policy

As pointed out earlier, this study is an addition to the body of research on language-in-education policy in Pakistan as well as in the postcolonial world. The postcolonial dimension is worth pointing because there usually pervades a contestation and what Ramanathan (2005b) termed as the ‘The English-Vernacular Divide’, and which in turn, creates a ‘vicious cycle’ of linguistic hierarchy where English stands at the apex, marginalizing the indigenous languages (Mohanty, 2013). The large amount of research evidence from different quarters substantiating the problems and dilemmas associated with English-only policies in the postcolonial context or any other context where children study a second and a foreign language as medium. Therefore, this study may be taken as a Pakistani contribution to a growing body of empirical research conducted around the English-or-mother tongue issue in schools across African continent, India and numerous other countries of the world. To the best of my information, this research can be one of the few academic studies deploying the dynamic approach to language policy (Canagarajah, 2005b; Hornberger, 1988; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Vaish, 2008), and underpinned by the epistemic perspectives drawn from critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 1990, 2010), critical language policy and critical theory (Tollefson, 1991, 1995, 2001, 2006, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). Thus, in theoretical terms, this research delves deep, primarily into the micro-level school setting to unpack the complex landscape that encompasses stakeholders’ perceptions about languages, language policies, practices and various paradoxes and mismatches. In the broader sense, the major findings of the study, which are bolstered by multilayered evidence, testify to the theoretical as well practical dilemmas most children from the post-colonial countries confront about the medium of instruction policies in schools (Annamalai, 2005; Benson, 2009; Bloch & Alexander, 2003; Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Cummins & Davison, 2007; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009;

Mohanty, 2010; Obondo, 2007; Rahman, 2007, 2008; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). The evidence clearly substantiates the conclusions drawn by Rassool and Mansoor (2007) that “Pakistan’s language-in-education policy is fraught with problems on both a conceptual and practical level”(p. 238).

The use of mixed method with added advantage of classroom observations and close interaction with different stakeholders from within the schools, enabled to probe from the very close position the very minute actions and activities taking place around policies, perceptions and practices. As a result, the research managed to ascertain the glaring mismatches between policies, perceptions and practices about English-medium education policy. The use of multiple instruments in the form of interviews, questionnaire survey, observation, and desk research assisted well to trace a comprehensive and multi-faceted picture about the English-medium policy and practices. Based on personal experiences and observations in the field, it has been learned that to explore the weaknesses and strengths of any language policy in schools, the researcher needs to adopt the dynamic approach, which Menken and García (2010) describe as ‘the new wave of language education policy research that focuses on ‘agency in implementation’ (p. 02). As its proponents propose, the dynamism lies in the methodological and analytical orientation of this approach as it addresses the crucial role of human agency in the policymaking processes; and they emphasize that language policies should be understood from the actual practices (Canagarajah, 2005b; García, 2009a; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Vaish, 2008). In this respect, one may endorse the ‘onion’ metaphor, which (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) deployed to explain the complex and multilayered dynamics of the language policy. Therefore, on account of the multiplicity of factors affecting any language policymaking and practices, the proponents term the new approach as ‘dynamic’ and ‘more multilayered’ because there are many players and agents who are ‘involved in its creation and

implementation’ such as ‘local school administrators, teachers, students, parents, and community members’ (Menken & García, 2010, pp. 1-3).

The findings also substantiate the foregoing argument that language-in-education can better be understood not only from the macro-level governmental policies, but they must also be investigated and analyzed from the micro-level school and classroom practices, the genuine sites for the implementation and execution of the top-down policies. According to Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008), local contexts constitute unique sites of language planning because “it is often local contextual agents which affect how macro-level plans function and the outcomes that they achieve (p. 4). Therefore, Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) propose for an integrated approach towards language planning taking account of macro/national and micro/local level because,

Local contexts are the contexts in which language use and language changes are experienced and understood by people. It is in response to these experiences and understandings that particular language issues come to be perceived as problems requiring solution or that the plans to resolve problems are put into practice (p. 11).

The dynamic approach undertaken within the micro-level school and classroom setting puts a researcher at a vantage point, which affords him/her to unfold the multilayered agents such as school principals, teachers, students, parents and community contributing roles the effective execution of the macro-level policy and in sharing their perspectives. The study unfolds that no macro-level policymaking can succeed without the policy makers taking account of the crucial role those various agents, stakeholders and numerous connected factors would play at the micro-level. At the micro level, school principals are the most crucial managers of language policies whereas teachers are equally key implementers of the same policy. The dynamic approach facilitated the researcher to identify the mismatches that underlie the purported policies, perceptions, and actual classroom practices. Evidence

abounds that although English stands as the proclaimed medium of instruction; however, teachers implement entirely divergent language policy in the actual classroom transactions and activities.

Apart from contributing to the existing body of research in the language-in-education debates and dilemmas taking place around the postcolonial world, the study can also contribute to the local context providing empirically grounded analytical evidence and a solid diagnostic lens through which the realities of straight-to-English policy may transparently be seen. The evidence is believed to add to the limited body of academic research and survey reports that revolve around language-in-education policies in Pakistan. Importantly, the research highlights a vital missing link and identifies various disjunctions problematizing publically popular English-only policy. At policy level, the study shows that the current English-medium policy is counter-productive as it is discordant with the available theory, research, available human resource, and sociocultural ecology. Several other studies also echo nearly similar voices about the English-medium policy in Pakistan (Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Mustafa, 2011; PEELI, 2013; Rahman, 2004a).

The study concludes that that the very term or nomenclature of English-medium schools is a misnomer as the so-called schools barely qualify the quality of English-medium schools. Here also, the policy suffers from lack of clarity and direction. The schools are advertised as English-medium without practically teaching the English language. It appears that in view of the enthusiastic pursuit of the English-medium education amongst people, the private edu-preneurs cleverly advertise their schools as English-medium to dupe parents into believing that they offer English-medium education. However, the real classroom practices, methodologies, language use, and several other schooling aspects testify to their pseudo claims, which EXPERT 3 aptly label as ‘pseudo English-medium’ schools. She also shows

concerns over the negative role played by what she called ‘pseudo-educationists’, who pretend to be competent in their field; however, their understanding of the complex issue of language-in-education is pathetically poor and superficial. As observed, the school principals were short on knowledge about theories of education, ELT, language learning/acquisition, psycholinguistics, early child education, educational psychology and so on. Additionally, they could not differentiate between English as a medium, English as a foreign language, or English as a second language. Critically, majority of school principals were insensitive to the sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and socio-psychological fallout the English-only policy would ensue in a diverse multilingual society such as Pakistan.

In brief, with a comprehensive coverage of the multi-faceted dimensions of the currently popular straight-for-English policy, the study is believed to spread awareness about the loopholes and the limitations the current policy suffers from. The findings of the study are likely to inform the policymakers and all concerned individuals to rethink the current policy on following grounds:

1. English is a foreign language; therefore, theoretically, it is highly problematic to expose children to a foreign language at an age at which they have hardly acquired full command over their mother tongues or home languages.
2. Children in the current straight-for-English policy are faced with dual challenges of learning an entirely new language, and learning its contents.
3. The existing level of institutional preparedness is rather unstable for a full-fledged English-medium education policy. Shortage of qualified English teachers and unfriendly school environment appear to exacerbate both language learning and educational outcomes. Neither of them ultimately shapes well.

4. Lack of exposure (input and output) to the English language in children's sociocultural ecology makes it even tougher for children to negotiate with the language and its contents. At the matriculating stage, they acquire academic proficiency neither in Urdu nor in English, nor in their mother tongues. They end up what Mohanty (2013) termed as semi-multilinguals.
5. Unrealistically formulated and socio-culturally detached language-in-education policy at the grass root level affects not only the educational achievement at the school level, but it potentially close opportunities for access and performance at the higher education level. Mansoor's (2005) study about language policy in higher education suggests that children of the private schools from the privileged families expressed themselves well in the English language than most children from the Urdu-medium government schools. This might have been due to their advantage in the social capital in the form of access to books, materials and numerous other English languages resources.
6. Business orientations and profit maximization appear to have expedited the booming rise of all kinds of English-medium private schools. By the poor standard most of the low-fee English-medium schools set for them, dissemination of genuine education seems to stand secondary to the owners of most of such schools. The government is equally responsible for the deteriorating quality standards of education as it strategically liberalized private education, leaving full leeway for the private sector to take hold of the public education.
7. Most of the experts on language and education consulted in this study, and previous surveys/reports testify to the inappropriateness of straight-for-English policy, which clearly state that the policy in current shape and form is not really attuned to the

realities of majority of Pakistani children. Therefore, a paradigmatic shift in medium of instruction policy is urgently called for.

9.6 Limitations of the study

Admittedly, the study has several limitations. In the following few paragraphs, the limitations of the study shall be delineated. One of the major limitations of the study is the sampling size. In spite of efforts to get access to as many high secondary low-fee schools as possible; however, only 11 of them allowed entry for research. In addition to sampling size, another limitation of the study is the access to schools within one city. One believes, if the range of sites and samples had been expanded to other provinces, the results might have offered more generalizable and representative reflection of the state of policies across the whole country. Lack of financial resources was the main reason to limit the range of research to the city of Quetta. However, in order to make up somewhat for this limitation, the researcher utilized input from the national level expert observers and writers to reflect upon the general picture of the English-medium education, disseminated in the low-fee schools in particular and other schools in general. Thus, the insights gathered from the expert observers are likely to enhance the generalizability of the findings. Importantly, citation of several journal papers, surveys and reports representing identical research also lends an element of generalizability to the results of the study (ASER, 2011-12; Bari, 2014; Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Mustafa, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Rahman, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007; Shamim, 2008).

Parents, who are also major stakeholders in the process of their children's education, could have added substantial weightage to the results. This limitation was primarily caused by the peculiarity of the schoolings system in general and the low-fee schools in particular where there is little opportunity for parents to get together on a certain day in the schools.

Their unavailability in the particular schools made it difficult to seek their input and perceptions over the English-medium education policy. Therefore, this is admittedly one of the potential limitations of the study.

9.7 The way forward

In light of the findings about policy, perceptions, and realities on the ground, what is the way forward? In this regard, I shall put forward certain recommendations some of which have already been proposed by some scholars in Pakistan; however, in practice, their proposals are yet to translate into tangible policies and practices. In fact, my recommendations are fundamentally guided by the proposals most of the expert observers advanced about a rethink of the current policy—a proposal for additive multilingual education that would include the three languages: mother tongue, Urdu, the national language and English, the international language. One of the prominent policy proposals was made by Rahman (2004b) in his study which titled as “Language Policy and Localization in Pakistan: Proposal for a Paradigmatic Shift”. In this, Rahman (2004c) called for fundamental paradigmatic shift from the current English-Urdu centered policies towards a more localized form of inclusive policy that would accommodate all the minor as well as major local languages within the mainstream education system. In line with the additive bi/multilingual education theory, Rahman (2004b) asked for a pluralistic education policy that would embrace and recognize the vast number of indigenous languages of the country. He proposed that:

Pakistan’s language policy has so far been in the interest of the elite. It has strengthened the English-using elite’s hold over the most powerful and lucrative jobs in the state and the private sector. The policy of favouring Urdu has made ethnic groups express ethnicity in terms of opposition or resistance to Urdu. The policy of localization should not follow these lines. It should empower the masses rather than the elite. This will not be immediately cost-effective in pecuniary terms but it will be psychologically supportive of the identity and languages of the common people who

will be able to preserve the positive aspects of their culture while undergoing modernization (p. 13).

The proposal for the localization of the policy and practices is also consistent with what Canagarajah (2005b) describes as disciplinary reorientation. Canagarajah (2005) and his colleagues call for a paradigmatic shift, which aims to celebrate, include and emancipate the local knowledge, languages and pedagogical practices vis-à-vis the sweeping economic and political changes brought about by the forces of globalization. Such reorientation of discipline, which we describe as localization, is an articulation of “globalization from below” (p. xxviii). In addition to Rahamn, Mustafa (2011) and Coleman (2010) also put forward nearly identical recommendations for the formulation of an additive multilingual policy, which would begin with a child’s mother tongue with English, and Urdu taught as subjects until the primary levels. After the primary levels, English could gradually be introduced as a medium in transition. However, English should not be taught the way it is taught now—with outdated, teacher-centered translation methods. The proposal for teaching mother tongues at the primary levels comes from a number of other sources too. For instance, Bari (2014) argues that empirical studies show that teachers “usually fail to explain concepts well in English so they resort to teaching in the vernacular or Urdu but then ask students to learn answers in English”. Bari aptly proposes that the government should realize that medium of instruction and language acquisition is two different debates. Mostly children fail to grasp sciences, mathematics, and social studies if they are taught in English. Realistically, “English is learned by learning English as a language.” Governments’ vacillation for bringing about serious policy reforms in language teaching proves costly; consequently, “Children do not learn English. They do not learn mathematics, science, and social studies properly either.” Bari (2014) explains that when the government of Punjab made a drastic decision to switch over to English medium, it disheartened and made life of many teachers difficult. Teachers

were not comfortable in teaching English. A large number of teachers requested headmasters that they should be assigned Urdu and Islamiyat , avoiding subject that were in English-medium such as social studies, sciences and English subject. Teachers' unwillingness to teach English-medium subject in the Punjab province unambiguously explains the precarious state of institutional readiness in terms of trained human resource for English teaching and learning in the country. Bari (2014) concludes that there is a need for saner debates and serious policymaking as,

...educationists keep pointing out that there is plenty of evidence showing that children understand concepts better, at least in the early years, if they are taught in their home language or mother tongue. For most children in Pakistan, barring a few living in cities and going to elite schools, the language spoken at home is not English. We need to find better ways of teaching English. But we need to move in the direction of teaching in local languages, at least in the initial years, to ensure better conceptual development in our children.

A recently joint study by the PEELI (Punjab Education and English Language Initiative) and the British Council (2013) is also revealing in this regard. The study reports about the casual state of institutional preparedness for English teaching in schools. The study was titled as '*Can English medium education work in Pakistan? Lessons from Punjab*'. In this study, a total of 2008 teachers were tested from the primary and secondary schools of both government and private sectors. The study used the British council's computer based Aptis language testing system. The main findings suggested that the teachers were mostly ill equipped to deliver good results in the new English-medium policy. The study concludes that "If teachers are incapable of instructing their pupils in English, moreover, this is likely to have a dual effect—first by preventing children from becoming proficient in English, and second by impeding their learning of content in other subjects" (p. 1). The major findings are as follows:

- 62% of private school teachers and 56% of government school teachers registered scores in the lowest possible band in the Aptis test, meaning they lack even basic knowledge of English, including the ability to understand and use familiar everyday expressions and simple phrases.
- Most of the remaining teachers received scores that placed them at beginners' level in English.
- Even in English medium schools, 44% of teachers scored in the bottom Aptis band. In all, 94% of teachers in English medium schools have only pre-intermediate level English or lower.
(http://www.britishcouncil.pk/sites/britishcouncil.pk/files/peeli_report.pdf).

More importantly, the report also revealed that 44% of teachers in the province were not using lesson plans. The above findings are astounding given the degree of enthusiasm amongst the public about the English-medium policy. Observations of the expert observers have been consistent with the findings of this study. Unavailability of quality English-medium teachers puts a huge question mark on the appropriateness of the early and English-only policy. A recent study by Channa (2014) in Sindh province also confirms the limitations and challenges of teachers and other institutional measures in the effective implementation of English medium policy. One of the major challenges is the dearth of competent, trained and committed English language teachers.

Another government document, which has been published from the same city where this research took place, also lends sufficient substance to the inappropriateness of English-only medium policy in schools. The document is titled as '*Balochistan Education Sector Plan*' (GOP, 2012a) , a well-thought-out 252-page long documents that lays down a comprehensive plan for the improvement of education in the province. The report concludes with recommendations for a mother tongue based multilingual education policy. The Sector Plan addresses the language and education issue in detail. The document describes that Balochistan, a multilingual province, has never been able to carve out an appropriate language policy that would "*cater the needs of quality and relevance*". The report clearly

underlines that the past language policies in schools were faulty as these “*have been based on unrealistic assumptions about student learning processes, learners’ needs, and teachers’ competency*” (p. 54). The Sector Plan further underlines concerns over the misdirected and irrelevant objectives set out in the curriculum:

Objectives in the curricula have been set independently for each language and a policy for the whole set of languages based on educational, social, political, cultural and economic ramifications has never been developed” (p. 54).

The report further explains that admittedly Urdu is the national language and lingua franca of the country; however, “*the language cannot be treated as the mother tongue or even a familiar language for learning for most inhabitants of the province*”. The report adds that the previous policy fails to take into account the challenges and needs early years of children from different communities. According to the report, most of matriculates of the higher secondary classes have proficiency in neither of the languages taught—English and Urdu. The reason of this deficit lies in the poor cognitive development of the students in “*the absence of mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the early years*”. The core objective of the plan was to emphasize for an additive multilingual policy—“*At the primary level the foremost consideration is cognitive development and use of the best language for the purpose. Second (and third languages) should be introduced at later stages*” (p. 55). The document highlights that the teachers’ capacity to teach languages was also alarmingly poor. The strategic objectives of the Education Sector Plan included , (1) Development of a school language(s) policy that balances the following: (a) cognitive development of the child, especially, in early years; (b) relevance to social and economic life; (c) strengthening and development of local cultures; (2) Strengthen capacity to teach all languages, especially, the mother tongues (p. 55).

As the findings and conclusions of the above document articulate, the current policy needs rethinking primarily because of its problematic aspects and what Mustafa (2014) terms as ‘*Pitfalls of English*’. Mustafa (2014) expresses her concerns over educationists and policymakers’ lack of awareness and knowledge about language and education issue in Pakistan and continued insistence on switch over to English-medium from the beginning. Mustafa (2014) argues that our educationist must learn from what experts of language and education and language acquisition propose. She explicates that a century before, Dr. Maria Montessori (1870-1952) put massive emphasis “*on language that is integrated in the child’s cognitive development and is basic to the communication that takes place among children and between them and adults*”. Therefore, Mustafa criticizes the proposal for switchover to English-medium as faulty because “*Expecting children to start their schooling in English—that too poor English—amounts to insulting their intelligence. The learning process in children begins even before they are enrolled in school*”. She categorically articulated that this does not mean English should be abandoned altogether from the schools; however, “*children must learn English if their education is to be complete. But I also believe that learning English does not mean that they must be taught all the subjects they are required to study through the medium of English*”. Mustafa (2014) contends that despite extensive theoretical and empirical evidence in favor of early mother tongue education by celebrated experts such as Maria Montessori in her publication ‘*The absorbent mind*’ (1967), and in ‘*The Montessori method*’ (2012) and Noam Chomsky (2014), the educationists in Pakistan insist on the implementation of English-medium policy. They insist this despite the fact that Punjab government tried the English-medium “*experiment in 2013 and had to rescind its decision*”, which many reports confirm as a policy failure including a report by SAHE (2013). SAHE is a ‘Society for the Advancement of Education’ in Pakistan. According to Mustafa

(2014), the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province “*has plunged into the same foolish experiment*” too.

In a similar study on the English-medium policy in several districts of Punjab, SAHE (2013) found that teacher utterances in English were most common in English classes at 36% while those dropped to 28% and 23%, in mathematics and science respectively. The report stated that Urdu was over-used in English classes and emphasis on communication skills in English was inadequate. According to the report, there was inadequate explanation of concepts and incorrect use of specialized vocabulary in mathematics and science classrooms. The focus during English classes has been on reading from textbooks and writing rather than listening and speaking, the two skills both play better role for learning. The report concluded that at primary (grades 1-5) level, English should be taught as a subject rather than used as the solitary medium of instruction. It recommended that teachers equipped with training and qualification to teach English as a second or foreign language be assigned the task of teaching English in classrooms.

All the above studies and reports are related, and they end up with a common thread—problematization of introducing English as a medium of instruction particularly the over the early introduction of the English language. In some ways, findings, conclusions, and recommendations of some of the above reports about the ongoing perceptions about English-medium policies and actual practices not only corroborate the major findings of the present study; they also signal towards the illusions which policymakers as well as public harbor about the policy. Therefore, given the problematic nature of the early English policy and the theoretical and practical challenges accompanied with it make a strong case for a thorough transformation and a paradigmatic shift from the narrow English-Urdu-centric policies to a multilingual education policy where majority of Pakistani children are offered education in

their own languages at least until the primary level. Such inclusive policy also corresponds to, and takes into the diverse multicultural ethos of the country.

In addition to the proposal for the above major policy shift, one would also put forward some specific recommendations that are likely to help ameliorate the state language and education. The first recommendation is understandably the revision of the current policy in schools. A vast amount of theoretical and empirical evidence confirms that ‘straight-for-English’ policy does not match with basic tenets of the theory of additive bi/multilingual education. Precisely, four fundamental principles should guide the policy formulation and execution process. Firstly, theory must guide the policy formulation. The current policy of ‘straight-for-English’ does not gather support from any solid theory. It is an arbitrary policy. Secondly, before deciding about the language of instruction, there must be immediate research evidence, which would prove the policy right. Thirdly, the policy designers must take into account the sociolinguistic and sociocultural realities of the majority of children. In sociolinguistic terms, Pakistan is a multilingual and multiethnic country. Ethnicity is a critical factor in the unity and political stability of the country. One of the reasons Bengalis rebelled against the state was the non-recognition and stringent policies of the state towards the Bengali language (EXPERT 2). The political history of Pakistan is rather volatile in terms of language riots and language movements (Rahman, 1996). Sociocultural reality signifies that the language of the school should be in correspondence with the early language socialization of the children and their environmental exposure. As Rahman (2013) recommends, English can be taught as a subject; however, teaching methodologies need to be completely revised such as,

They can be made to use music, song, Sesame Street type of theatre, drama, stories, movies and games to make English a living subject, not some dull translation and grammar exercise in a classroom with a teacher who is more fit to be a butcher. Every school can even have a mock TV station to relay live shows in English from students. This should make English familiar to the students who may then be introduced to English as a library subject.

By employing task/activity based communicative and participatory methodologies such as above can reduce the degree of alienation and foreignness most of children as well as teacher have with the English language. In addition, this will make learning language interesting and student-centric. Above all, children will use English with a higher degree of spontaneity, naturalness and substance than most of them they do now—imitation, mechanical repetition of grammar and memorization. As this study shows, English is an alien language to the sociocultural ecology of most children. Children should be taught a language, which is familiar to their environment. English should be taught; however, it may be introduced slightly later than it is done now. Based on their research from four Southeast Asian countries and Ethiopia, Benson and Kosonen (2012) proposed that at the early stages, children must be taught in languages that “one speaks and understands competently enough to learn age-appropriate academic content” (p. 112). Mainstreaming of the low-fee schools is critical. Such schools are currently detached from the system of government. I found that the low-fee schools in particular and other schools in particular suffer from acute lack of monitoring and loose regulation of the governmental agencies. The schools operate almost on their own without being subjected to systematic regulation, quality control, and monitoring mechanism. At the more micro-level, the private schools must be held accountable for a number of things—teacher recruitment criteria, teacher payment criteria, curriculum and testing system and so on. In addition, a large-scale ELT-driven agenda must be launched which should address some of the grey areas within the low-fee schools and all other schools that fall within the premise of the government—language learning courses, language teaching courses,

methodology specification and so on. In this connection, the recommendations advanced by Rassool and Mansoor (2007) may be considered valuable who proposed that,

Classroom practice needs to be grounded in established and enabling language pedagogies grounded in process-based learning. This means that pedagogy has to be framed by a set of educational principles grounded in pedagogies that empower students, as learners, and as future citizens (p. 240).

How should all that happen? Serious linguists, educationists, and activists can play their part in this regard. It can be argued that a nonprofessional does not understand the complexities that underlie the learning of a foreign language and the educational facets nor does every minister, bureaucrat, or politician know about it. Linguists can launch advocacy campaigns, conduct research, and educate public about the potential dynamics of language-in-education policies and their outcomes. Linguists' activism must be directed towards enlightenment of people and concerned authorities, and the deconstruction of myth and misunderstanding held about medium of instruction policies and linguistic diversity. One thing is transparent that the language-in-education policy is mostly centralized and top-down. It is crucial to note that the top-down approaches are faulty because those do not take into account the contextualized nature of the school communities (Kaplan, 1990; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1995; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Top-down policymaking can also be counterproductive because it goes against the principles of dynamic approach excluding the immediate end-users or immediate stakeholders while advocates of the dynamic approach have stressed and recognized the importance engaging the bottom-up stakeholders such as educationists, head teachers, school teachers, parents, students and so on (Canagarajah, 2005a; Hornberger, 2003; McCarty, 2011; Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006). Therefore, it may be recommended that centralization in the policy-decision making process should devolve, and instead of ministers, politicians, or bureaucrats, serious linguists, and educationists should be spearhead the decision-making processes and procedures and inform

the policy implementers. So far, the policy has suffered due to politicization of the medium of instruction issue. Medium of education is primarily an educational issue, which should be dealt within the educational frameworks; however, it is often given a political coloring in Pakistan. Rassool and Mansoor (2007) appropriately recommended an inclusive approach that the policymaking should adopt, and undertake “multileveled consultation amongst different stakeholders” (p. 240). There appears to be an acute lack of awareness as well as seriousness on part of the government and the intelligentsia on the issue of language policy. Rassool and Mansoor (2007) aptly observe that the current language policy “seemingly, is handed down” from the top. They argue that the policy apparently excludes the potential stakeholders from consultation, and fails to engage “educational planners and practitioners, sociolinguists, educational economists and parents” (p. 232). Therefore, there must be a serious national level debate on the issue of language-in-education policy. Theory and research must guide the policies rather than the personal whims of a few individual politicians and bureaucrats.

On the same lines as Rassool and Mansoor (2007) suggested, I would also like to put forward a principles-based approach toward language policy and planning in education (Mahboob & Tilakaratna, 2012). This holistic approach seeks to engage various stakeholders for collaboration and alignment. Mahboob and Tilakaratna (2012) aptly observe that “Language policy and planning is a complex task with a long list of stakeholders and factors that shape it and an even longer one of things that it influences in turn” (Mahboob & Tilakaratna, 2012, p. 17). In their view, collaboration between all stakeholders is essential for an effective language policy and the “stakeholders should be given power to influence the design of policy, curriculum, and textbooks so that these policies are understood, accepted, and translated into appropriate practice” (p. 13). The principle-based approach outlines an array of principles to establish “a contextually relevant and socially responsible

language policy” (Mahboob & Tilakaratna, 2012, p. 18). It suggests that policymakers must consult and engage experts from a wide range of disciplinary areas such as economists, educationists, linguists, and sociologists to develop a policy that is “robust, responsible, implementable, and sustainable” (p. 18). Therefore, the principle-based approach guides us to take into consideration the following six principles for policy development: collaboration, relevance, evidence, alignment, transparency, and empowerment.

The researcher also proposes for an ideological paradigmatic shift and reorientation of the management of linguistic diversity. One finds that the major motives behind the exclusion of the indigenous languages is the state’s skeptical ideologies and apprehensions about disintegration of the country. Linguistic diversity is a resource for celebration, not a problem to lament about (Benson, 2013; Cummins & Davison, 2007; García, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzman, 2006; Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2007; Mohanty, 2009b; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b). A shift from the current exclusivist orientations towards a more inclusive orientation will be another positive step forward. The myth needs deconstruction, which implies that linguistic diversity, is a problem and promoting diversity causes national integration. There is a need for linguistic democratization rather than rigid centralization.

The English-Urdu-centric policies have left profound effect on both physical as well as perceptual orientations of many users of the indigenous mother tongues. Indigenous languages and linguistic diversity are on the retreat. Languages other than Urdu and English are left ghettoized. The sum of stakeholders’ dispositions about indigenous languages, mother tongue based education and approaches toward linguistic diversity may be described as embodiment of a monolingual habitus, notion Bourdieu used in his social theories, which referred to “a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions, and attitudes which are 'regular' without being

consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 13). There is also a double divide between Urdu and other languages. The top-down policies create a 'vicious cycle' of linguistic hierarchize which deliberately neglect and make the weaker languages to slip further in the hierarchy ladder. The dominant political discourses and ideologies first strategically neglect those languages and the legitimate their exclusion on grounds of them being linguistically underdeveloped and scientifically unequipped for higher order knowledge and academic domains. However, Chomsky debunks "the alleged impoverishment of languages is very superficial affair". When political will and institutional supports is extended to language, "a language can quickly pick up, and can accommodate the vocabulary, conceptual apparatus of more advanced civilization".

Although most of the major indigenous have robust oral traditions; however, they are genuinely faced with acute crises of erosion on literary and institutional development fronts. More alarmingly, children not learning to read and write in their mother tongues potentially become alienated from the rich literary treasure and available cultural knowledge. Rahman (2005) and UNESCO (2013) signaled towards the dangers of extinction a large number of small languages are faced with. Underlining the crucial role of formal literacy in the vitalization of language, Baker (2003) concludes,

Where there is oracy without literacy, the language is predicted to decline in the coming decades in those areas. When someone can speak a minority language and not write in that language, the number of functions and prestige of that language is diminished (p. 76).

The crucial question remains as to how this tide of erosion and literacy decline could possibly be stemmed so that the indigenous languages, which embed a rich body of cultural, historical, literary, folkloric, and linguistic treasure, may be preserved and vitalized. We propose Rahman's (2005) proposition for—a comprehensive paradigmatic shift in favor of additive multilingual policies in education. The vitality can be achieved by establishing a multilingual

habitus (Benson, 2013) across schools, and by “teaching all children, including those from the elite, through their mother tongue” (Rahman, 2005, p. 84). Coleman (2010) and Mustafa (2011) had also advanced an alternative language policy paradigm, which holds mother tongues, English and Urdu languages.

The first initiative in the direction of a paradigmatic shift and policy transformation of the policymakers at the top entails a greater political will and ideological shift in the orientations of language policymaking. Expert observers in their interviews also call for the same shift. According to them, the apprehensions that the introduction of the mother tongues and their development will disunite the country or disintegrate solidarity are just imagined and baseless. A greater accommodation and inclusion of people’s languages and cultural ethos in the mainstream schooling will minimize their level of alienation and cultural deprivation. These measures would help create what Hornberger (2003) espoused as ‘ideological and implementational spaces for multilingualism within their own practices’ an egalitarian and pluralistic proposition which would bring about a vibrant linguistic ecosystem where all languages will flourish than become endangered. In principal, the Constitution of the country guarantees safeguards of people’s languages, and hold a provision that every provincial assembly can legislate and formulate its language policy in schools. In addition, the recent 18th Amendment provides greater provincial autonomy and devolution of power regarding language and education matters. However, in theory, the local mother tongues are yet to be brought to the mainstream domains especially schools. Therefore, there is a need for a practical policies to accept and appreciate the value of languages and linguistic/diversity, an orientation that is marked by linguistic-diversity-as-a-resource paradigm (Ruiz, 1984). For setting up a sustainable future for languages, we would like to propose a strategy which Nettle and Romaine (2000) also advanced in their publication; it was

...to establish language policies on a local, regional, and international level as part of overall political planning and resource management. Just as every nation should have an energy policy, it should have a language policy as well—one that embodies the principle of linguistic human rights. This means setting up agencies for language maintenance and development where they do not already exist (p. 200-1).

It must also be highlighted that in the unfolding language-in-education scenario, not only is a review of the current language-in-education policy paradigm urgent, there is also need for a broader-based review of the overall educational policy framework. Historically, language-in-education policy in Pakistan is marked by inconsistencies and flip-flopping. The flip-flopping in policies may be attributed towards the short-term political goals rather than solid and sustainable policy and implementation. Reversal and revoking of over 22 language and education policies depicts a visible disconnect between policy formulation, implementation and follow-up mechanism. Moreover, the language-in-education must also be framed taking account of the global cultural economy. Rassool and Mansoor (2007) signal towards the limitations of the current language-in-education policy, and propose for broad policy framework that is attuned to the prerequisites of the global cultural economy and labor market:

The global cultural economy is interdependent and, despite the dominant position occupied by English, in practice, it has an organically interactive multilingual base. A narrow monolingual nationalism, an under-resourced educational system as well as unequal access to English as international lingua franca, therefore, is counter-productive to national growth. Such a limited policy framework would undermine the country's possibilities to participate effectively within the highly competitive international labour market (p. 240-41).

Therefore, to achieve genuine economic development and ensure national integration, the policymaking needs to make radical departure from a narrow monolingual habitus, a skewed class-based English-medium policy, and an imagined apprehension of a multilingual education. There is a need for opening up of ideological and implementational spaces for a genuine multilingual and multicultural policy and democratization of quality English-

medium education to everyone regardless of their class and geography. In addition, there is also need for spreading awareness about the urgency and utility of multilingualism and multiculturalism to foster a paradigmatic shift that would help deconstruct the fallacious ideology that linguistic diversity is problematic, and that multilingualism is divisive.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Written consent of school principals

Date: April 10, 2013.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Mr. Syed Abdul Manan, a PhD graduate from the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia. I am currently doing research on *English-medium Education Policy in the English-medium private Schools in Quetta*. Main part of my research is to visit classroom for observation, conduct interviews with students, teachers and the principals. In addition, a questionnaire survey also forms part of the research. All the information collected from the participants will be kept confidential.

In view of this, I would like to request you to permit me access to your school for the aforementioned purpose. Your cooperation and support will be highly appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Faithfully yours,

Syed Abdul Manan

APPENDIX B 1: Interview transcripts (Students)

R= (Researcher)

STDT= (Student)

STDT1:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *I think urdu mei acha hoga* (I think, Urdu is fine).
3. **R:** Que? (Why?).
4. **STDT:** *Meri English itna acha nahi hai* (My English is not that good)
5. **R:** Que?(Why?)
6. **STDT:** *bas..., meri practice nahi hai* (I just don't have practice).
7. **R:** App que English medium school parhte hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
8. **STDT:** *Mei English medium school mei is liye hu keh mei doctor banana chahta hu. aage sare books english mei hei. is liye mei yaha hu. English hamare bahot important hai aaj kal* (I am studying in English medium school because I want to be a doctor, so all medical books are in the English language. That is why I am here. English is very important for us these days).
9. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
10. **STDT:** *Mere khyaal mei English hamari apni zaban se bahot ziada important hai. Inn zabano ka use na office mei hai, na computer mei, aur na pakistan se bahir. Mei apne zaban mei nahi parna chata ho.english hamri zaroorat hai* (I think English is more important to learn than mother tongue. They have no use in offices, in computers, in outside Pakistan. I don't want to study in mother tongue. We need English).
11. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
12. **STDT:** *Kuch teacher acha parhate hei aur kuch acha nahi parahte. Wa aksar English mei kam aur urdu mei zaida parhate hei. English ka use kam hota hai* (Some are teaching well and some are teaching poorly. They often teach in Urdu than in English. There is little use of the English language).
13. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
14. **STDT:** *[Emm], kabhi kabhi. itna nahi. hamare ghar mei koi english nahi bol sakta. TV par kabhi kabhi jab cricket hota hai to English sun lete hei* ([Emm], sometimes. Not too often. No one can speak in our house. When cricket is being aired on TV, then listen to English).

STDT2:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Urdu.*
3. **R:** Que Urdu (why Urdu?).
4. **STDT:** *Mushkil hai* (It is difficult)
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Mei English medium mei is liye parh raha hu quke english eik international language hai. Yes poori dunya mei boli aur understand ki jati hai. Agar aap english medium school mei nahi jayenge, to kaha jayenge? Private schools mujhe pasand hei , wah government schooloo ki tarah nahi hei. Government schooloo mei urdu mei urdu hota hai. Mera walid English chahta hai* (I'm here because English is international language. It is the language of the world. If we are not studying English in school, where will learn it? I like private schools because they are not like government schools. Government schools have Urdu. My father is interested in English)
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Bahot achi hai. English ki bahot demand hai. Har cheez English mei hai. English ke baghair kuch nahi aaj kal, computer, books aur cheeze bhi* (It is very good. English is urgently needed. Everything is in English. Nothing can be gotten without English...computer, books and many more things).

9. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei? Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
10. **STDT:** *Hamare books English mei, lekin hamari english bahor kamzor hai. Hamare teacher kabhi bhi English mei activit nahi kartei. Un kei pas teime nahi. is tarah ki activities to sir English centres mei hotei hei. Iss tarah ke activities se to bahor language sikha jasakta hai. Lekin mei app ko batawoo, hamare teacher English nahi bol saktei. To jab wa khud itne kamzor ho, to un kelye mushkil ha ike is tarah ke activites dei* (Yes, our books are in English. But our English is still very poor. Our teachers never do activities. They have not time for these things. Activities such as these are there in language centers. It can be good for learning English, but let me tell you frankly, our teachers cannot speak English language. When they are poor themselves, how is this possible that they will teach these activities).
11. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
12. **STDT:** *Mujhe pata nahi. Mushkil hai* (I don't know. Its tough to say).
13. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
14. **STDT:** *English...homework karetei hei to English hota hai. Aur TV par bhi kabhi kabhi sunta hu. nahi hai itna* (English...there is English during homework. Moreover, sometimes, listen to it on TV. No, not much use).
15. **R:** *Reading kartie hei* (Do you do reading?).
16. **STDT:** *Mujhe stories aur books pasand hei, English ko samajhna mushkil hai* (I like to read stories and books, but English is difficult to understand).

STDT3:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** I UNDESRTAND ENGLISH LITTLE. URDU MEI ACHA EXPLAIN KAR SAKTA HU. (I can understand English little. But I can explain well in Urdu)
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** Meri vocabulary aur grammar kamzor hei (my vocabulary and grammar are weak).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Mujhe English aur Urdu pasand hei. Mujhe school mei mother tongue pasand nahi qunke ye foreign mei nahi boli jati. Mujhe ye aati hai, school mei parhne ki kia zaroorat hai* (I like Urdu and English to learn. I do not want mother tongue in school because it is not used in foreign. There is no need in school, as I know it).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Mei is lye ho, yeh English medium hei. Mera maqsad English seekhna hai* (I am studying in the private school because my purpose is to learn English language).
9. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
10. **STDT:** *Ok, hamara teacher hamie tenses aur is ke type batatei hei.. Us ke baad woh hamei rule aur seekhne ka formula batata hai. Misaal kelye ham subject, object, verb waghaira sekhtei hei. Woh phir hamie sentence banane ka tariq bata thai. Woh Urdu sentence deta hai, aur phir us ko english mei translate karta hai. Masalan, "mei school jata hu", Urdu translation "i go to school". Us ke baad wa negative aur interrgoative banae ka tariqa batata hai. Hum negative mei 'not' use kartei hei, aur interrogative mei 'does/do' use kartei hei. ham yad to kartei hei lekin exam hei baad fauran bhool jatie hei. bahot se students kelye tenses tough hotei hei* (Ok. For example, Our teacher is telling us tenses and their types. Then he is teaching us all tenses one by one. After that he is giving us rule and formulae. For example, we study subject, object, verbs and these things. Then for example, our teacher is teaching how to make sentence of a tense. First, he gives Urdu sentence and then translates it into Urdu. For example, "me school jata hu" Urdu translation "I go to school". Teacher is giving a formula like this—subject+ verb 1st form +object. Then he gives us negative and interrogative and interrogative negative sentence. We use 'not' in negative and helping verb like do and does in interrogative. We remember, but we forget soon after exams. Tense is very tough for all).
11. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue

education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).

12. **STDT:** *Mei ne phel bhi bata dia keh ham jab jante hei to us kei seekhne ki kia zaroorat hai* (I told you that when we already know our mother tongue, there is no need to study them in schools).
13. **R:** *Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei* (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
14. **STDT:** *Mere ek bhai university mei partha hai, we mujhe English sikhtat hai. Mei private tuition bhil eta ho* (My brother is studying in university, he is teaching me English. I also take private tuition).
15. **R:** *Agar mother tongue schools mei nahi hungie, to phir kaha hungie* (If mother tongues are not taught in schools, where will they will be?)
16. **STDT3:** *Nahi because hum mei se kuch Pashtoon hei, kuch Baloch hei aur kuch Punjabi hei. Itne sarei languages se problems peida hungie* (No, because some of us are Pashtoon, some are Baloch and some are Punjabis. There will be problems due to presence of so many languages).

STDT4:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Donoo mei. Urdu asaan hai* (In both, Urdu is easier).
3. **R:** *App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai?* (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *Yaha English medium hai. Yaha teachers absent nahi hotie. Sakhti hoti hai* (It is English medium. Teachers are not absent here. It is good in discipline).
5. **R:** *App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo* (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** *English medium. English eik international language hei* (English medium. English is an international language). *Aur gei sare courses English language hungei* (Every course of higher studies is in the English language).
7. **R:** *App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei.* (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
8. **STDT:** *Hamare teach ache bhi hei aur kamzor bhi hei. Exam mei ham yad karei hei. mei aur mere freinds sare books se yad karthie hei. Hamei questions pehle se pata hotie hei. ham english mei baat nahi karte. meri vocabulary weak hai. is wajah sei mei english ka newspaper bhi nahi parh sakta* (Our teachers are teaching ok. Some are ok some are not that ok. In exam, we memorize. All my friends and I memorize answers of the questions from notebooks. We already know questions. We are not using English for conversation. My vocabulary is weak; therefore, I cannot read newspaper and other things in English).
9. **R:** *App writing bhi kartie hei?* (Do you do writing?).
10. **STDT:** *Gee ha, Hum har din shaam ko 4 sei 5 ghanthie homework kartie hei . Homework mei sara waqt hum likhtie hei* (Daily we spend from 4 to 5 hours on homework. During homework, all the time we write).
11. **R:** *Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai?* (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
12. **STDT:** *Mujhe pata nahi. Mother tongue school kelye acha nahi hai. Mere khyal mei english theek hai quke ye sarkari zaban hai. ham ko zaroorat hai. job kelye english se koi acha language nahi hai. Mere khyal mei agar ham mother tongue se start karei to age english mushkil hojayega. Eik zaban sei dusre zaban mei jajna mushkil hoga* (I am not sure. I think mother tongue is not good for school. I think English is ok because its official language. We need it. For good job, no language is better than English. I think if we start with mother tongue, and then English will be a challenge for us. Mixing or going from one language to other can be challenging).
13. **R:** *Reading exercise bhi hoti hai? Please thora sa explain karei* (Does reading exercise take place? Please describe a little).
14. **STDT:** *English ke class mei sab se pehle teacher attendance leti hai. Phir woh humei books nikalnei kelye keh deti hei. Phir jab nayi lesson hot to who pehle khud reading kar leti hai. Hum sab suntie hei aur kabhi hum unke peeche parhetei hei. Rozana hum taqriban ek page read kartie hei. Who jab reading kar liti hai phir who dobara prhti hai aur words meaning bata deti hai. Hum chup ke suntie hei. Phir woh board par mushkil alfaz likh deti hai aur sath sath meanings bhi likhwa deti hai. Yahi tariqah wo ageli subah bhi duhra deti hai. Akhir mei hum word meaning exercises ko notebooks me likh lete hei aur phir exam kelye yaad kar letie hei* (In our English class, our teacher, when enters the

class first takes attendance. After that, she asks students to take out books. After that, when it is the beginning of a new lesson/chapter, she starts reading. We all listen carefully and sometimes we do reading after her. We daily read nearly one page. When she completes, then she reads out lesson again and tells the meaning in Urdu. We keep quiet. After she writes vocabulary words, she gives Urdu translation—words meaning. In this way, she resumes the same lesson the next day. In the end, we write all parts of exercises in our notebooks to memorize for examination).

15. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
16. **STDT:** *Hamare ghar mei english bilkul nahi. Mere parents ka taaleem nahi hai* (English is not in my house. My parents are illiterate).

STDT5:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Urdu mei easy hai* (Urdu is easy).
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Urdu ham bolte hei is lye, English nahi bolte* (Because we use Urdu, but we do not use English).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *English sare logo kelye important hai quke jab aap bahir jate hei aur koi app se poochega to aap ko pata chal jayeg keh wa kia keh raha hai, jab aap school mei english parehnge, to aap asani se jawab deingei* (English is very important for all people because when you go somewhere outside, when they ask question, so when don't understand what he is saying. When you read English in schools , you answer questions confidently).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Nahi, English zidah important heim er apne zaban se* (No I prefer English than mother tongue).
9. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
10. **STDT:** *Mei kabhi kabhi English bolta ho class mei. Teacher bhi kabhi kabhi English use karte hei. Woh hamesha Urdu bolte ye zarori hai because agar student ko meaning ka nahi pata, to wa urdu mei batata hai* (Sometimes I speak English in class. Sometimes teachers use English, always teachers use Urdu. Sometimes teacher is talking in English because it is very necessary for students, if we not understand the meaning, then she teaches the meaning in Urdu).
11. **R:** Grammar parhayi jati hai (Is grammar being taught?).
12. **STDT:** *Hamara teacher hum ko sab se pehle tense aur iski qismei parhata hai. Phir woh sari tense alag alag batata hai. Us ke baad who humei jumla banana ka formula parhata hai. Pehle who Urdu mei aur baad me English mei tarjuma batata hai. For example, "me school jata hu" Urdu tarjuma "I go to school". Teacher is tarah formula parhata hai aur hum yaad kartie hei—subject+ verb 1st form +object* (Our teacher tells us tenses and their types. Then he teaches us all tenses one by one. After that he is giving us rule and formulae. For example, we study subject, object, verbs and these things. First he gives Urdu sentence and then translates it into Urdu. For example, "me school jata hu" Urdu translation "I go to school". Teacher gives a formula like this and we memorize it—subject+ verb 1st form +object).
13. **R:** Reading aur vocabulary kaise kartei hei (how do you do reading and vocabulary?).
14. **STDT:** *Hamare har lesson mei words meaning hotie hei. Hum iske maani likhe ke exam kelye yaad kartei hei* (In every lesson we have words meaning. We write down their Urdu meaning and memorize them for exam).
15. **R:** App English mei likh saktei hei?
16. **STDT:** *Hum yaad kiye baghair nahi likh saktie* (We cannot write without memorization)
17. **R:** *Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia khyal hai?* (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
18. **STDT:** *Nahi, mera nahi khyal mother tongue ko hona chahiye* (no I do not think, mother tongue should be there).

19. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
20. **STDT:** *Nahi, ghar mei nahi bolte. Mei story parhte ho. mere father mere liye laaate hei. mere fathr eniginner aur mother ba hai* (No, at home...I dosn't have a chance to use for speaking. But, yes, I do read storybooks. My father brings for mei storybooks. I enjoy it. My father is engineer and my mother done BA).

STDT6:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu.
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Yeh assan hai* (its easy)
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Mujhe ko English medium pasand hai* (I like English medium).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Qukeh English technology ka zaban hai, computer aur internet ka, au disre digital cheezoo ka. Yeh poore dunya ki zaban hai* (Because, English is the medium of technology, computer, internet, and digital world. Its language of the world).
9. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
10. **STDT:** *Hum kabhi kabhi English use karte hei class mei. ha, ham grammar aur tenses bhi seekhtei hei* (We sometimes use English in class. Yes, we are learning grammar and tenses).
11. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyaal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
12. **STDT:** *Iss ke fayede hunge, but us ka istimaal nahi hota kahi bhi* (May be mother tongue has advantages, but is used nowhere). Government school ka environment itna acha nahi hai. Waha sare Pashtoboltie hei, Balochi mei aur local zabanoo mei, mujhe yeh nahi pasan. Mujhe sirf English aur Urdu ache lagtie hei. Yeh sab se important hei (I don't like government schools because the environment is not good. They always talk in Pashto, in Balochi, in local languages, which I don't like. I like only English and Urdu. They are most important).
13. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
14. **STDT:** *Mei sirf school ke books parhta hu. Aur kuch nahi. Ghar pe sirf homework hota hai. Mei koi English channel nahi dekhta. English sirf cricket matches ke dawran. Mei hameshe Urdu newspaper parhta hu* (I only read my schoolbooks, no other thing. Home is for homework. TV is in my house. But we watch no English channels. English, only in cricket matches. I always read Urdu newspapers).

STDT7:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Pata nahi. English nayi zaban hai* (I Do not know. English is new language).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Mere parents ne socha ke private school mere liye ach hoga* (I am in private school because my parents thought it was good for me).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *English important hai. English ke baghair kuch mumkin nahi* (English is important. Without English, nothing is possible).
9. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
10. **STDT:** *Hamare teacher grammar parhate hei. English ham class mei nahi boltei. english kei words use hotei hie. Meaning samajhne kelye hame Urdu ki zaroorat hot hai. sirf english mushkil hota hai.*

Grammar bhi mushkil hai. Grammar yad nahi rehta quke maza nahi ata jab teacher parha rah hota hai (Out teacher is teaching some grammar. We are not using English for speaking. Our teacher is using Urdu mostly. There may be some English word sometimes. We need Urdu to understand meanings. Only English is difficult. But grammar is difficult too. I cannot remember the rules because I never enjoy when my teacher is teaching).

11. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
12. **STDT:** *Mother tongue...mera khyal hai ye school mei nahi hona chahiye quke ham sab balochi jante hei. Nahi quke school mei pashtoon bhi hei, punjabi bhi aur zabano wale bhi, it will be a problem* (Mother tongue... No, it should not be in school because all of us can speak in Balochi language. No because in school there some are Pashtoons, some are Punjabis and some speak other languages. It will be problem).
13. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
14. **STDT:** *Ghar mei homework hota hai. English ka istimaal nahi hota. Mere parents uneducated hei. TV par bhi aksar Urdu programs hote hei, english nahi hote* (There is homework at home. English is not used. My parents are uneducated. On TV, often Urdu programs, not English).

STDT8:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Donu. English is fine.*
3. **R:** Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** I would go for English only. It is international language. It is the language of computer and all things.
5. **R:** How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** I think we should continue with English medium policy. If you teach mother tongue in the primary school, you will not learn English. I think when we begin with one language from grade one, then it is difficult to adjust to other language especially English. Also, English is important for CSS. My dream is CSS and CSS is not possible without English.
7. **R:** How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
8. **STDT:** I like reading English. I read newspaper.
9. **R:** Do you read a thome?
10. **STDT:** Yes, I read stories and fiction books. My father brings for me storybooks. I enjoy it. I read it only on Sunday. Sunday's volume is enough to read all the week. My father reads Dawn newspaper daily. Its helping in English. I learn new vocabulary.

STDT9:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Urdu hamare ha boli jati hai* (Urdu is used around us).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hei? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Mujhe private school English ki wajah se acha lagta hai. Mei apne bahot se dosto ko janta hu jo government school mei parhte hei. Un ki English kamzor hai. Mei un se ach hu English mei* (I like private school because of English. I know some of my friends who study in government school; they do not know anything about English because Urdu is their medium. I am better than they are).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Mei English chahta hu qhukeh ye hamari majboori hai. Mei kabhi bhi local languages ko nahi chahunga. Local languages sir yaha bole jate hei* (I want only English in schools because it is a necessity. I will never support local languages. Local languages are spoken only in local places).
9. **R:** Teacher kaise parhata hai. Grammar aap log parhtei ho? (Do you study grammar, how do you do so?)
STDT: *Jee haa. Hamara teacher is tarah parhata hai—phle teacher humai parts of speech ke barei mei batata hai. Phir wo unka definition likhwata hai jaise noun kia hai? Misaal ke tawar per noun is*

the name of place, thing or person jaise Quetta, bat, Ali (Our teacher teaches like this—first of all, teacher gives how many parts of speech there are. Then he gives definition like what is noun? For examples, noun is the name of place, thing or person like Quetta, bat, Ali) .

10. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
11. **STDT:** *Mei mother tongue kei favor mei nahi hu. Yeh important departments mei nahi use nahi hoti. English international language hai. Yes bahir ke mulkoo mei mei bhi use hoti hai. Mera khyal hai, English ke baghair ham peeche chale jaynge* (About mother tongue, I am not in favor. They are not used in important departments. English is international language. Its used in foreign. As I understand, we will be backward if we don't learn English).
12. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi karte hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
13. **STDT:** *Gee haa, ghar mei kuch istimaal hota hai. Mei kabhi kabhi TV per English dekhta hu. Ghar wale bhi English nahi jante. Gee haa, mei cricket pasand karta hu. Mei hamesha cricket commentary ko tawajah se sunta hu. Iss se mei kayi naye words seekhta hu. Yeh English learning mei madad karta hai* (About English at home, yes there is some use. I watch TV sometimes especially news. My other family members are also not familiar with English. Yes, I like cricket. I always listen to commentary with attention. I learn many new words from it. It is good for learning English).
14. **R:** Homework karteie hei? Kia writing kartie hei? (Do you do homework? Do you do some writing?)
15. **STDT:** *Gee ha, Mei rozana 3 aur 4 hours ke darmian homework karta hu. Hamare teacher book me sei answers per nishan lagata hai* (I spend from 3 to 4 hours during homework. Our teachers underline answers from books).

STDT10:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Mere khyal mei urdu acha hoga* (I think Urdu would be better).
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *English mei aksar ham baat nahi karte. Hamare teachers sare urdu use karte hei* (Often we do not talk in English. Our teacher use Urdu).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Private schools ache hei government school se. Yeh English medium hote hei* (Private schools are better than government schools. They are English medium).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Mei English ke favor mei hu. Meri plan hai keh study karne bahir chala jawoo, is liye english zaroori hai . Yeh eik important language hei. Yeh internet aur computer ka language hai. Dunya mei sare log eis ko jante hei* (I am in favor of English. My plan is to go for study abroad that is why English is important. Its important language. it's the language of internet and computer. All people of the world understand it).
9. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
10. **STDT:** *Hum local languages se kia karenge. Mei local languages chahta hu, lekin us ko to ham pehle se jantei hei* (What will we do with local languages? I don't dislike local languages, but we already know them).
11. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi karte hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
12. **STDT:** *English yaha school mei to parhayi jati hai, lekin sach to ya hai keh yeh books aur exam ki language hei. Yeh speaking ka language nahi hai. Hum answer memorize kar ke exam mei likhte hei. Sare students memorize kartie hei quke un ko meaning nahi aate. teacher bhi wahi answers mangta hai. Mei aap ko ek story batata ho. ek dafa mere bare bahi ne mere liye answer short kiye, lekin meaning nahi badla. Jab mei ne wahi answers exam paper mei likhe, to meri teacher ko ghusa agya.*

Uss ne mujhe kam marks die. Uss ne kaha mere answer book se different thei. Mere bhai ko pata tha keh mere answers bhi theek thei. Uss ne phir sare class ko bhi aisa karne sei mana kia (English is taught here in school, but frankly, it's the language of textbooks and exams. It's not the language of speaking. Urdu is more used than English is. In exam, our question papers are in English. We memorize answers and write in exam. All students are doing the same because they do not understand meaning. Teachers also want same answers. I tell you a story. Once, my elder brother shortened longer questions for me using his own words, but retaining the same meaning. When I wrote that answers in the answer paper, my teacher became angry. She cut my marks in the same paper. She said that my answers were different from those in the book. My brother knew mine was also correct. She latter warned the whole class to be careful).

STDT 11:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu.
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Urdu mei explain larna asan hota hai* (Its easy to elaborate in Urdu).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Private school mei english hota hai. English ka future mei bahot faida hoga* (There is English in private school. English will benefit in future).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *School mei mer favorite languages english aur urdu hei. Mother tongues ko ghar mei use ghar karna chahie. School mei mother tongue ke aideh hunge, lekin pakistan mei is ka koi value nahi hai quke ye kisi depertment me nahi us hota* (English and Urdu are my favorite languages and mother tongue should be used only at home. May be mother tongue has advantage in schooling, but in Pakistan, it has no value because it is not in any official department).
9. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
10. **STDT:** *Mujhe mother tongue pasand hai, lekin hame English seekhna chahie quke ham English medium school mei hei. Mei apni zaban mei likh aur parh nahi sakta, i think ye itna important nahi hai* (I like mother tongue, but we should speak English because we are in English medium school. I don't know how to write and read in mother tongue, but I think it is not important).
11. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
12. **STDT:** *Mere paas is kelye time nahi hai quke bahot workload hota hai. Mei TV dekhta hu, lekin kabhi kabhi English movies dekhta hu. Mujhe cricket commentary bhi pasand hai. Mere favourite commentators are Ravi Shastri and Rameez Raja* (I have no time for this because there is too much workload of homework. I am watching TV, but sometimes watch English movies. I like cricket commentary. My favorite commentators are Ravi Shastri and Rameez Raja).

STDT12:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Practice nahi hai* (I have no practice).
5. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** *Mei engineer banana chata hu. Agar mei nursery sei english nahi parhunga, to mei enigeer nahi ban sakunga. Mere khyal me agar koi acha future chanhta hai, to English parhna parega. Yahi language apke kaam ayega agar app study kelye abroad jana chahte ho* (I want to become engineer. If I do not study English from nursery in school, I will not be able to become engineer. I think if one wants a bright future, one has to read English. The same language will help you if you want to go for study abroad).

7. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
8. **STDT:** *Agar ek dafa hum mother tongue se start kare aur phi achanak English ki taraf ajaye, to ye mujhe mushkil lagta hai. Agar ham ne baad mei english parhna hai, to acha ya hai keh ham English hi se start kare. Hamari mother tongue Pashto itni advanced language bhi nahi hai* (If we begin with mother tongue, and then suddenly switch over to English, this is difficult. I think, if we have to change to English, we had better begin with English as we do now. Our mother tongue Pashto is not an advanced language yet).
9. **R:** Class mei teacher kaise parhahtie especially reading?
10. **STDT:** *Hum whiteboard, books aur notebooks sei note kartie hei. Rozana teen sei chaar ghantei hum homework per lagatie hei. Homework mei hum questions ko apne books ya rough copy sei apne asli copy mei likh letei hei. Phir jab exam mei isi ko hum paper kelye yaad kartie hei* (Usually, we write from whiteboard, our books, and notebooks. We spend three to four hours on our homework daily. Homework is all about copying questions from rough notebooks to neat notebooks. Often teacher underline part of the textbook and ask us to write down on neat notebooks. During examination, we memorize this for our papers).
11. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
12. **STDT:** *Mei ghar aur tuition centre mei apne school ke books parhta hu. Mere ghar mei cmpouter bhi nahi hai. Internet bhi nahi hai . Mere walid ek mazhabi perspn hai. Woh sochta hai keh internet bachoo ko kharab karta hai. Woh is par apna time time zayie kartei hei. Lekin jab mei college join karunga, to mei computer aur internet seekhunga* (I don't have computer at home as now. I also don't have internet because my father is a religious person. He thinks internet is bad for children. They waste their time. But when I join college, I ll' learn computer and internet).

STDT13:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Urdu...Urdu English ke muqabile mei assan hai. Mei abhi english seekh raha hu* (Urdu... Urdu easier as compared to English. I still learning English now).
3. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
4. **STDT:** *Agar government school English parhana sharo kare, to sare udhri jayinge. Sab se bari cheez english language hai. English bahot powerful language hai. Yeh hamari official language bhi hai. Agar app Pakistan mei job chahte ho to english seekhna parega. agar izat chahta hai to english parhna hoga. Iss liye hamei English ki zaroorat hai* (If government schools teach English, everyone will go there. The main thing is English language. English is language that is more powerful. It is our official language. if you want job in Pakistan, you should know English. If you want high status, you should know English. Therefore, we need English).
5. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
6. **STDT:** *Sare local languages ke muqable mei english sab se ziada acha mustaqbil rahkta hai jon ke hawale sei. Dusre languages important hunge, lekin English sab se ahem hai. mother tongue mei reading aur wrting job to nahi deti* (As compared to every other local language, English promises much more in terms of employment than other languages. Other languages may have importance but as compared to English, they are not. Reading or writing in my mother tongue does not give me job).
7. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
8. **STDT:** *Exam mei hum yaad kartei hei. Sare is tarah kartei hai. Exam kelye yahi karna pahta hai. Meri English itni achi nahi hai. Hamare teachers bhi urdu boltie hei. class mei english nahi boli jati. Mera khyal Urdu aur English ka mix karna acha hai qukeh sare students English mei ache nahi hotie* (Yes I do memorize for exam. All are doing. We have to do this for exam. My English is not that good. Our teacher also uses Urdu. English language is not spoken. I think it should be mixed because not all students are good at English).

9. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
10. **STDT:** *Media ka English abhi bhi mushkil hai. Mei koi media nahi dekhta hu* (For me the English from media is still tough for us).

STDT14:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Urdu mei theek rahega* (Urdu will be ok)
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Urdu common language hai* (Urdu common language hai).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Private schools mei english parhai jati hai is liye* (Because private schools are teaching English).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Qukeh mei English seekhna chahta hu. Yeh hamari zaroorat hai. App ko pata hai english ek international language hai. Agar aap age parhna chahta hai, to app ko english parhna hoga. Agar aap import aur export ka karobar karna chahte ho to app ko english bolna hoga. Agar bahir travel karna chahte ho, to English seekhna hoga* (Because I want to learn English. It is our need. If you want to further study, you will have to study English. If you want to import and export business, you will have to speak English. You need to learn English, if you want to travel abroad).
9. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
10. **STDT:** *Gee ha hamare teacher school mei kuch english use karte hei. we kabhi hamare sath english use kartei hei* (Yes, our teachers are using English in the school sometimes...they are speaking English with us also).
11. **R:** Grammar kis tarah parhaya jata hai?
12. **STDT:** *Grammar bhi parhaya jata hai. Iss mei hum parts of speech, tense, active aur paasive aur direct/indirect ko exam kelye yaad kartie hei. Mujhe yah pata nahi yah kaha istimaal hotie hei* (We memorize parts of speech, tenses, passive/active and direct and indirect for our examination. I do not know about their use in language use. We just learn them)
13. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
14. **STDT:** *Mother tongue mei reading aur writing itna important nahi hai. Hamare apne mulk mei agar ham dusre sobo mei chale jaye, to waha log sindhi, punjabi aur dusri languages bolteie hei. Agar ham English ki baat kartei hei, to English isi bhi mulk mei boli jati hai. Iss liye is ki importance ziadaha hai* (Reading and writing has no importance in mother tongue. If we go to other provinces in our country, we find people using other languages like Sindhi, Punjabi and other languages. If we take English, it is widely spoken in all the countries, therefore it has more importance).
15. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
16. **STDT:** *Kabhi kabhi mei apne bare bahi se english mei baat karta hu jo bs computer sceince hai. Mera apna internet bhi hai. Yeh bahot acha hai. Har cheez English mei hota hai. Mei apne dostoo se facebook par chat bhi karta hu* (Yes sometimes I get chance to speak with my elder brother he is BS in computer science. I have internet connection. It is good. Everything is in English. I usually chat with my friends on facebook).

STDT15:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *Urdu and English both.*
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *I like English medium. English medium ne mujhe fayada phunchatya hai. Mei ne English par ziadah time lagaya hai, is liye i can read and write well. Agar mei yaha na hota, to meri english bahot*

weak hoti (I like English medium. English medium has benefited me. I have spent more time; therefore, I can read, can write well. If I had not been here, my English would have been much weaker).

5. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** *I am telling, English is very important for our future.*
7. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
 - **STDT:** *Mere khyal mei apni zaban mei likhna aur parhna acha hai, lekin future mei faida nahi hai* (It is good to learn to read and write, but for future, it is not good choice). Mere khyal mei yeh hamare liye acha hai. Hum Urdu aur English parhte hai. Hum Pashto phle sei jantie hei. Is ki ghar sei bahir koi bhi importance nahi hai (I think it is good for us because when we speak in Urdu or English. Pashto we already know, it has little importance outside home).
8. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
9. **STDT:** *Mei apne school ke books read karta hu. Newspaper mei nahi parhtha hu quke yeh bahot mushkil hai. TV par kabhi kabhi mei cricket commentary dekhta aur sunta hu* (I read my schoolbooks at home. I am not reading any newspaper because its too difficult to understand. On TV, I sometimes watch and listen to cricket commentary). Mujhe English samajh nahi ataa. Vocabulary bahot mushkil hai (I don't understand English. The vocabulary is very tough"

STDT16:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu.
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Hamei Urdu kei ada thai* (We are used to Urdu).
5. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** *English medium acha hai. Hamei is ko age lejana chayie. Hamei english parhni chayah. English foreign mei boli jati hai. Yeh international zaban hai. Yeh modern language hai. Sab logo ko english pasand hai. Yeh future bana sakta hai* (English medium is good. We should continue with it. We should study English. English is used in foreign. This is international language. It's a modern language...all the people like English...that is making very good future).
7. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
8. **STDT:** *Mere khyal mei mother tongue ki koi zaroorat nahi hai* (think there is no need for mother tongue. It is used at home. There is no need for outside like school).
9. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
10. **STDT:** *Gee, sometimes mere walid kesath. Woh bol sakta hai. gi, mera walid bhi english news paper parhtha hai. Mujhe dawn pasand hai. Mei vocabulary seekh leta hu aur sports news* (Yes, sometimes with my father. He can speak. Yes my father is also reading newspaper. I like Dawn. I can learn good vocabulary and read sports news. Mei centre bhi jata hu. English kelye centre acha hai. Teacher sirf English mei parhata hai (I go to English centre. Centre is good for English. Teacher is teaching in English only).

STDT17:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu and English.
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *I like private schools because English medium.*
5. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** Good because English is important language. It is international language.

7. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei? (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
8. **STDT:** *Hum kabhi kabhi English boltie hei. Lekin hamesha Urdu hoti hai. Hum exam English mei detei hei. Iss kelye, ham words aur meanings bhi sekhte hei. Phir hum unko exam mei likhte hei* (We sometimes use English. But there is always Urdu. We give exam in English. For that, we learn words and their Urdu meaning, then we need to write them in examination).
9. **R:** *Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai?* (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
10. **STDT:** *Mother tongue is for home. We already knowing it, no need in school. Hamei achi life kelye English ki need hai* (If we know them, there is no need. We need English only for good living).
11. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
12. **STDT:** *Sometimes, English newspaper, but vocabulry tough hoti hai. Vocabuary advanced hoti hai. Mei aksar word understand nahi karta* (It has advanced vocabulary. I don't understand most of words).
13. **R:** Kia ghar mei kabhi English media ke through dekhtei hei. App ke khyal mei media ka koi faidah hosakta hai? (Do you get exposure to English via media at home? Do you think it has any benefit?)
14. **STDT:** *Mujhe cricket ka bahot shauq hai. Mei hamesha commentary suntan hu. Mei bahot se naye alfaz seekhta hu. Yeh English seekne mei help karti hai* (I always listen to commentary with attention. It is good for learning English)

STDT18:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu and English
3. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
4. **STDT:** *I want English and Urdu in school. Hamara problem yeh hai keh hum different languages boltie hei. If i speak my language balochi, dusre dislike karenge. mei sochta hu, humei ek language bolni chahiye. i want to be doctor, to yeh possible nahi hai keh mei english ke baghair doctor nab jawoo* (problem is that we speak different languages. If I speak my language Balochi, others hate it. I think we all should speak one language. I want to be a doctor. So it is not possible that I will become doctor without English).
5. **R:** *Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai?* (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
6. **STDT:** *Mother tongue is not important because yeh hum ko job ya education nahi deti. Yeh sirf local hei. Hum ko ek hi language bolni chayie. i like urdu and english.*
7. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
8. **STDT:** *I use English with my brother. Woh universirty se ma kar raha hai. he is doing ma from university of balochistan. We sometimes speak in English. Hum cricket ke matches bhi watch kartei hei. I like cricect commentary. i like micke haseman is my favorite commentator.*

STDT19:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Urdu bolna easy hai* (Speaking Urdu is easy).
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Urdu medium se English medium acha hai* (Urdu medium is better than English medium).
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *Jitna mujhe pata hai, hum ko english medium school ki zaroorat hai. english 21st century ki zaroorat hai. Pure language ko seekhne kelyi chahiye keh ham english nursery se start karei. Mere khyala hai yeh best hai* (As I understand, we need English medium schools. English is our need in the

21st century. I think if we want to get full command over the English language, we should begin studying it at small age. I mean from the nursery class. I think it's the best).

9. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
10. **STDT:** *Mother tongue, i am sorry, mei is ke favor mei nahi hu quke is ka koi future nahi hai. Agar yeh. Mother tongue sirf ghar mei bolni chahiye* (Mother tongue... I am not in its favor because it has no future. We should use them inside the house).
11. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
12. **STDT:** *Yes. Mei centre jata hu. Centre mei teacher English bol saktie hei. Students ko bhi bolne pa majboor jia jata hai. Waha bandah English ziadah seekh sakta hai qunkeh banda har waqt English bolta hai* (Yes I go to centre. In center, teacher can speak English. Students are made to speak English. There you can learn English because you are using English).

STDT20:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu and English
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *Private school government school se acha hai. I learn English. I study in English language center also.*
5. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** *Gee, English important hai...har cheez mei English aaj kal bahot important hai. ...school mei, college mei, university mei, business mei aur har jagah* (Yes, English is important...in every field it is important now a days...in school, in college, in university, in business and everywhere, there is a use of English language).
7. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
8. **STDT:** *School se language academy acha hai. in academy, ziada zor grammar par nahi hota like in school. In centre, for example, teacher English use kartei hei. in 6 months, meri speaking power bahot behtar huwi hai, jo school ke 10 saal school mei nahi aya* (Language academy is better than school. In language academy, emphasis is not on teaching rules of language like in school; there teachers teach by using the target language itself and by making students use the target language. In 6 months, I picked up reasonable speaking power, which I had not done in last 10 years in school).
9. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
10. **STDT:** *Mother tongue is little bit important, not much. Because mother tongues is speaking in home. Not in everywhere in Pakistan.*
11. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
12. **STDT:** *Yes in centre. and also i enjoy cricket commentary also. Iss se meri English improve hoti hai.*

STDT21:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?)
4. **STDT:** *English eik important languages hai. Aur mei is ko seekhna chahta hu. Agar koi pakistan mei kuch banana chahta hai, to english seekhna hoga. Mei future mei pakistan army mei jana chahta hu, jis kelye muje english seekhna hoga* (In my opinion, English is very important language. If you want to become something in Pakistan, you need English. In future, it is my plan to join Pakistan Army. For that, I need to learn English to pass entry test and interview).

5. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
6. **STDT:** *Hamare school mei ache english teacher ki kami hai. Sare teachers ko kam salary di jati hai. In ki apni english bahot kamozi hoti hai. Unn ka experience nahi hota. Private schools business ban gaye hei. I am not happy because last year, hamare English aur mathematics ke 7 teacher change huwe. Students ko english nahi ata. is ka kia banega? Hamare pass koi aur choice nahi hai. Government schools is se bhi badter hei. Hum request kartei he ike hamare liye kuch karei* (In school, we do not have very good English teachers. Majority of teachers coming here are low paid. Their own English is weak. They have no experience. Private school is business only. I am not happy because last year, in one year, we had seven different teachers for sciences and mathematics. No student can speak or write English. What do you make of it? But there is no choice, government schools are the worst. I request government to do something for us).

STDT22:

1. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
2. **STDT:** *Mei English ko mother tongue per prefer karta hu. Hamare apne mulk mei agar ham sindh mei ya punjab mei chala jaye, to udher koi pashto nahi. Iss ke muqble mei english bahor se foreign countries mei boli jati hai* (I will prefer English to mother tongues. I think in mother tongue, reading and writing it is not so important. In our own country, if we go to Sindh or Punjab, there will be no Pashto. Therefore, if we talk about English if you go to any other foreign country, you can speak in English to everyone; therefore, English is more important than every language).
3. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
4. **STDT:** *Hamare English ka level kam hai. Hamare teachers har waq Urdu bolte hei. kabhi wa english ke kuch words use kartei hei. Aksar ham secince, social studies ya English mei hum ko bahor se words ki meaning samjh mei nahi ati. Aksar students meanings yaad kartei hei exam pass karne kelye* (Our English level is low. Our teachers use Urdu all the time. Sometimes, they also use some English words. Often we understand few words in the books like science, social studies, and English. Most students memorize without knowing the meanings because they need to pass exams).
5. **R:** Writing bi hoti hoti hai jis me app apni taraf sei kuch likei?
6. **STDT:** *Class mei is tarah ki reading nahi hoti jis mei hum apni taraf sei kuch likei. Hamei itni English nahi ata keh essay likhei. Yeh mushkil hai* (In routine, there is no practice of writing on our own. We do not know English to write essay on our own. It is tough).

STDT23:

1. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?)
2. **STDT:** *Private school mei English class one se parhai jati hai, is liye mei is mei parh raha hu. English samajhne kelye private school mei ap ko government school se ziada time miltata. Yeh sach hai in schooloo ki quality itni achi nahai hoti jis tarah beaconhouse ya city school, lekin yaha phir bhi kuch english sekhne ko milta hai* (I like private school because there is English from class one. They give more time for becoming familiar with the language than in government school. Even though the quality is not that good, but we still have some chance to improve English).
3. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
4. **STDT:** *Qunkeh English ek international zaban hai. Hum jaha bhi jaye, waha English bolne mil jayenge. English ki bahot importance hai Pakistan mei. Har mulk koshish karta hai English sekhne ki. I want to be a doctor* (Because English is international language. When we go to every country in the world, there should be English speaking people. We will speak with those people English. English is very important in our country Pakistan. Every country tries to speak English. I want to be a doctor).
5. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia khyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
6. **STDT:** *Gee, mujhe ko apna mother tongue acha lagta hai. i am pashtoon. Magar bahot se countries English use karte hei. Pashto to sir Quetta me boli jati hai. Mei acha English nhai bol sakta* (I like

mother tongue because I'm a Pashtoon, but in the world most countries are using English, its international language. In every country English is spoken and is important language, Pashto is only here in Quetta).

7. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
8. **STDT:** *Nahi...English mere ghar mie nahi hai. Sometimes cricket commentary dekhta hu.* (No, there is no English in my house. Sometimes I watch cricket commentary)

STDT24:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu and English
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *Mere parents uneducated hei. Government school mei teacher thori waqt kelye ajate hai, aur phir ghayeb hojate hei. Yaha English bhi hota hai. English hamre liye bahot zaroori hai. Har cheez English mei hai. No English, no job.* (My parents are uneducated. Teacher in government school come for a short while and then disappear. Here is English too. English is very important for us. Everything is in English).
1. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
2. **STDT:** *I love my mother tongue Pashto, but schools mei English ziada important hai. English ke bahot faidei hei. Yeh ek international language hai* (English has many benefits. It is international language).
3. **R:** Aur kia faideh hei ? (What are other benefits?).
4. **STDT:** *Har jaga English use hoti hai medical mei, engineering mei, bussiness mei har jagah* (English is used everywhere...in medical, in engineering, in business...everyehre).
5. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karej. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
5. **STDT:** *Class mei kuch english hoti hai books ke ilawa (apart from books, there is some English in class). Ziadah waqt ham books sei copy kartie hei* (Many times, we copy from books and memorize). *Agar aap mucjhe koi tpoic de dei, mere pas ideas hotie hei, magar mei paper mei nahi likh sakta quke meri vocabulary weak hai* (If you ask me to write a topic from own mind, I have many ideas, but I cannot write on paper because my English vocabulary and grammar is weak). *Exam kei bad aksar ansers hum bhool jatie hei* (often we forget things after exam).
6. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
7. **STDT:** *Ghar mei sir mei educated hu...baqi uneducated hei. Kisi ki bhi English nahi aata. Iss liye ghar mei english kam hota hai* (I am only educated at home. None else can understand English. Therefore, there is little English at home).

STDT25:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** URDU AND ENGLISH
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *I am like english and urdu in schools. Mother tongue is for home. Pakistam mei mother tongue ki koi value nahi hai (there is no value of mother tongue in pakistan). Everywhere in office, in college university is English. Mei doctor bnanana chati hu. Doctori kelye English zaroori hai, mother tongue nahi* (I want to be a doctor for that English is compulsory). *For example, meri English government school ke students se bahot acha hai* (my English is better than students of the government schools because I' m in English medium school from nursery).
5. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
6. **STDT:** *Ghar mei itna time nahi hota. Homework karta hu. Ghar mei TV hai, but English koi bhi nahi sunta. English newspaper bhi mushkil hai* (at home, there is not much time for English. I do homework there. I have TV at home, but nobody watches English. English newspaper is difficult too).

STDT26:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Both

3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** English is weak, but Urdu is ok.
5. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
6. **STDT:** *Mera taaluq village sei hai (i belong to a village) i was in government schools, but school bahot kharab tha. Teacher nahi thei. Kuch bhi nahi tha. Iss liye, im in private school(school was too bad. There were no teachers. There was nothing. Therefore, I m in private school)*
7. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
8. **STDT:** *I like three language. First English, Urdu and mother tongue. I'm thinking, sare log English aur Urdu mei writing aur reading kar saktie hei, magar badqismati sei, they are nill in their mother tongue (most people can read and write in English and Urdu, but unfortunately, they are nill in their mother tongue) . Mei ne parha hai keh koi agar apna language bhool jaye to woh apna history aur literature bhi bhool jata hai. Mother tongues ko school mei hon chahyie (I have read that if one forget one's language, one tends to forget his history and literature. Mother tongue should be introduced in school).*
9. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
10. **STDT:** *Meri mother mujhe English parhati hai. Unki koshish hoti hai mere sath English use karei jab who parhati hai* (My mother is teaching me English. She tries to speak English with me when she is teaching).

STDT27:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** *English and Urdu, but more Urdu.*
3. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
4. **STDT:** *I like English medium. English is good for us. Mujhe travelling ka shaoq hai (I like travelling). English was important. English ki wajah sei hum world kei dusre logo sei mil saktei hei* (We get to know and interact with people around the world through English).
5. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei. Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
6. **STDT:** *I think, school mei itna acha English nahi parhaya jata jis tarah languages centers mei* (English is not taught well in school as is taught by language centres). *Hum school mei bahot slow learn kar rahei hei* (We are learning very slowly in school). Teachers bhi Urdu boltie hei. English kisi ko bhi sahih nahi ataa (Teachers also use Urdu. No one knows good English).
7. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyaal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
8. **STDT:** *Mother tongue is also good. English is must in class one. Mera khyal hai hum English ko ziada se ziada time dei de. Mother tongue ek subject hosakta hai (I think, we need to give English more time).*
9. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi karte hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
10. **STDT:** *Home par itna English nahi hota (There is no English as such at home) Homework hota hai* (Homework is there). *Tuition bhi hai* (Tuition is also there).

STDT28:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Both
3. **R:** App que English medium school mei parh rahe hai? (Why do you study in the English-medium private school?).
4. **STDT:** *Government schools are not good I tell you. Because there is Urdu, there is Pashto, there is balochi. They don't speak english. No, English medium is good. English is important language. Not change it.*
5. **R:** What is your opinion about mother tongue based education?

6. **STDT:** *Mera mother tongue Sindhi hai, but i think yeh reading aur writing itna zaroori nahi hai. Mei ne is bare mei nahi socha hai. Because iam in English medium only (reading and writing is not that important in mother tongue. Mother tongue can speak, no need in school.*
7. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
8. **STDT:** *Mei newspaper parh kar apne vocabulary behtar karna chahta hu, lekin mujhe vocabulary mushkil lagta hai* (I like to improve my English by reading newspaper, but I find its vocabulary tough. my father is helping. I like english newspaper. Its good, but vocabulary is very tough. But *mei koshish karta hu*(but I try hard).

STDT29:

1. **R:** Would you like to answer in English or in Urdu?
2. **STDT:** Urdu
3. **R:** Que? (why?).
4. **STDT:** *Meri English itni ach nahi hai* (my English is not good).
5. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
6. **STDT:** *English medium is good. Future mei bahot faida dega* (will benefit in the future). *Mother tongue ghar kelye sahih hei* (mother tongue is suitable for home). *Hum already bol saktie hei* (we can already speak it). *Hum English ke baghair taraqi nahi kar sakte* (we cannot progress without English). *Mei ek medium ke haq mei hu. Ek medium se dusre mei jana mushkil hoga* (I am not in favor of transition from one language to another). *Hum ko naye language ki zaroorat hai* (we need new language).
7. **R:** App ke teachers English kis tarah parhtate hei? Explain karei. (Explain how your teachers teach in English class).
8. **STDT:** *Mere liye grammar aur vocabulary sab se mushkil hei. Mera grammar weak hai. Hamare teacher har waqt Urdu bolte hai. English koi nahi bolta is liye mei bhi nahi bol sakta* (to me grammar and vocabulary are the toughest. My grammar is weak. Our teachers always talk in Urdu. No one speaks English).
9. **R:** Kia school se bahir app English ka istimaal kahi kartei hei (How often do you receive exposure to English outside school and how?)
10. **STDT:** *Ghar mei itna English nahi. Yeh eik challenge hai. English to soeicity mei bhi bahot kam log jante hei* (I have no English atmosphere at home. It is challenging to get English outside home. Here people are not using English in society).

STDT 30:

1. **R:** App English medium education policy ko kis tarah dekh rahe ho? Explain karo (How do you perceive English-medium education policy? Explain please).
2. **STDT:** *Private school is english medium, iss liye mei yaha hu. Yaha English class one se parhaya jata hai* (here English is taught from class one). *It is good. Hamri English government school ke students se achi hoti hai* (English is better than students from the government schools). *Qukeh ham english nursery se parthe hei, is liye hamari English strong hoti hai* (Since we are taught English from nursery, therefore, we are better than they are) . *Mei computer engineer banana chahta hu, is liye English zaroori hai*(I want to become computer engineer, therefore, English is compulsory).
3. **R:** Bahot se experts ka khyal hai keh bache ko primary classes mei madari zabaan parhane ke bahot fayide hei. App ka kia hkyal hai? (Many linguists and educationists propose that mother tongue education has many advantages especially at the primary level of schooling. How do you view education in mother tongues?).
4. **STDT:** *Mother tongues...mei mother tongue ke haq mei nahi hu. Werna hum peche chale jayinge. Har shoabe mei english ki zarorat hoti hai* (mother tongue...I am not in favor of mother tongue. Otherwise, we will be backward. Every field requires English language).

APPENDIX B 2: Interview transcripts (Teachers)

R= (Researcher)

TCHR= (Teacher)

TCHR1

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: I have done MA in English literature.

R: What motivated you to work in private school?

TCHR: Yes, it is good question. I am waiting for my final results. I thought I should get some experience. I have other plans in the future.

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: It is hard to estimate. A lot depend on students, their schooling, their parents' care. Generally, they can read and write, but with translation. Speaking is not that well. Here, focus is on book content, not on English language skills.

R: What about some kind of creative or self-writing exercise?

TCHR: A large number of our students are from uneducated family backgrounds. They have no background of English. Even if I assign them a paragraph or essay to write on their own, they will not be able to do it. Their level is low. If you want to write without the help of books and notebooks, you need to know grammar, have vocabulary and its use. This exercise is not here."

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?

TCHR: I think its fine. English is important. I am in favor of the same policy. We need to promote and teach English because it is the need of time. In my view, only English medium that has some promise as well as quality. Children become familiar with a language that has multiple scopes. Scope is the most important aspect. It is also international language.

R: How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools?

TCHR: I cannot say. I think there is no need for that because it has no scope.

TCHR2

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: I have masters in English.

R: What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?

TCHR: I have no regular job therefore, i am teaching in this school. I hope that i will get a government job soon. Then I will quit this school.

R: How do you teach English in class?

TCHR: It is usually translation of the text. We are told to finish courses. English is not stressed that much in these schools. They cannot speak English. When i teach tenses, for example, i first identify name of the tense. Then i draw a graph where all the tenses are lined up. Then i teach them the formula and use of every tense, their identification, forms of verb used, and all things. First, we provide them Urdu sentences, and when they identified tense, they can translate it easily from Urdu to English. In this way I teach grammar.

R: Writing exercises ?

TCHR: Not a lot. Usually, we have time constraint. We have to complete their syllabus within specific time. Exercise like creative writing is necessary, but frankly, we have no time for this. There is constant pressure on us from the principal to complete the course. No one asks about creative writing; all are concerned about course completion, both principal and parents.

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: I told you most of them are not good in speaking. Their reading is limited to textbooks. Writing, mostly they cannot write on topics that are out of their courses. Cramming is common.

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?

TCHR: Of course, the real productive schooling is schooling in the English medium. You cannot equate other Urdu-medium schools with English medium. I strongly support English medium because English the most important language.

R: How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools?

TCHR: I'm not in favor. Here all children know their mother tongues. It has no future.

TCHR3

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: I have msc in chemistry.

R: App ko kis cheez ne motivate kia yaha per job karne kelye (What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?)

TCHR: *mujhe job ki zaroorat hai jese har kisi ko hoti hai* (I need job as everybody needs it).

R: How do you teach English in class? (Aap kesi parhati hei?).

TCHR: *Mei aksar Urdu mei parhata hu. Jaha zaroorat hoti hai waha translation bhi deti hu. Hamare bache English mei itne strong nahi hoti* (I often teach in Urdu. I also provide translation wherever needed. Our children are not that strong in English).

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools? (English medium policy ke bare mei kia khyala hai?).

TCHR: *Ye policy achi hai* (Current policy is fine). *Agar hum chahte hei keh bacho ko achi job mil jaye, to English bahot zaroori hai* (If we want our children to get good jobs, then learning English is a compulsory).

R: How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools? Madari zabano ke bare mei kia khyala hai?

TCHR: I think, no.

R: English ko to late bhi parhaya jaskta hai (Why, English can be taught later in transition?).

TCHR: *Hum is tarah ka change nahi afford kar saktie hei* (We cannot afford any transition). *Mere khyal mi agar hum ek dafa English sa sharo kare baas yeh acha hai* (In my opinion, once we begin with English, which will be ok). *Farz karei hum mother tongue sei start karei aur class 6th ke baad English mei parhaye to yeh bacho ko pareshaan karega* (Let us suppose we begin with mother tongue and then shift to English after grade 6, it will be upsetting). *Is tarah bahot achanak aur jaldi hoga* (I think it seems too drastic and sudden).

TCHR4

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: *Mei nei BA kia hai* (I have done BA).

R: What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?

TCHR: *Mujhe teaching pasand hai. Mei experience chahta hu* (I like teaching. I want to get experience).

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: *Kuch ache aur kuch weak hei. Waise aksar ki English itni achi nahi hai* (Some are good. Some are weak. As a whole, their English is not that good).

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?

TCHR: *Mei English medium policy ko strongly support karta hu. App ko pata hai computer English mei hai, internet English mei hai, aur sara international media bhi English mei hai, is liye English bahot zaroori hai* (I strongly support English medium policy. You know computer is in English, internet is in English, and the entire international media is in English too. Therefore, English is essential). *Mere khyal me English zaroori hai. Yeh ek international language hai* (In my opinion, English is must. It is international language). *Sirf English hi ek advanced language hai* (Only English is an advanced language). *Mujhe mother tongue nahi pasand. Is ki koi importance nahi hai. Bache har waqt ghar mei mother tongues bolte hei, is ki koi zaroorat nahi hai. Haim ziada se ziada Englihd parhana chahiye* (I do not like mother tongue in education; it is not important; children always talk in Pashto at home, there is no need in school. The more we teach it, the greater the chances for success). *Hamei woh language prhana chahiye jis ki hamei zaroorat ho. Kisi had tak Urdu aur English hamari zaroorat hai* (We need to teach a language, which is our need. English and Urdu to some extent are our need). *Local zabane hi mei bolna acha hai ya gawoo mei ya soobe mei, lekin hamei wa languages parhana*

chahiye jo policy mei bataya gaya ho (It may be good to use local languages at home, village or may be in the province; however, we need to implement the language which the national policy suggests).

Hamie ek aur cheez sochna chaheye woh yeh keh language itni imporatnat issue nahi hai. Hamai jis cheez ki sab se ziyadah zaroorat hai woh hai parhane ka tareeqa improve karna chahiye. Agar teachers qabil ho, to kisi bhi language ko seekha jaskta hai (We need to keep in mind that language is not that important issue. What we need to improve, is the quality of instruction and teaching. If teachers are capable, any language can be learned well).

TCHR5

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: *Mei ne BSc kia hai* (I have done BSc).

R: What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?

TCHR: *Meri job nahi hai. Mei koi char saal se private school mei job kar raha hu* (I'm jobless. I have been in private schools for about four years).

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: *Yeh kehna Bahot mushkil hai. Woh reading aur writing karte to hei, lekin meanings aksar nahi samajhte.. Who English mei baat nahi lar saktei* (Hard to say. They can read and write, but mostly they do know the meanings. They cannot speak English).

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?

TCHR: *Jo mei dekh rahi hu, sharo mei English parhane ke positive results hei. Who reading, writing aur kuch speaking se bhi waqif hojatei hei. Aap ke paas English parhane ke ilawah koi aur choice nahi hai. Ziyadah waqt se faida bahot hoga* (I can see, early introduction of the English language is producing positive effects. They become a lot more familiar with reading, writing, and some speaking. You have no choice, but to teach only English. Spending more time will give better results).

TCHR6

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: *Meri taaleem BA hai* (My qualification is BA).

R: What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?

TCHR: *Mujhe zindagi guzarni hai. Apne family ka khyal rakhne kelye pese ki zaroorat hoti hai* (I have to survive. I need money to look after my family)

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: *Hamare paas har tarah kei students aate hei. Aksar ki English itni achi nahi hai* (We have different levels of students. Most of them are not that good in English).

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?

TCHR: *Apne experience ki bunyad per mei bata sakta hu. Cache jimi chote ho, utne hi who English ke aadi hojayinge* (I can tell you on the basis of my experience, children can get more easily used to the English language when they are young). *Woh language ko jaldi seekh leite hei* (They grasp the language fast). *Hamare liye behtar hai keh English chote age mei parhaye, qukeh, mera khyal hai who English kesath waqif hojayinge* (It is better for us to teach them English in as small age as we can because, I think, they will find English more familiar then).

R: How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools?

TCHR: *Agar bachai local languages parhainge school mei, tu unko who opportunities nahi milinge jo English deti hai* (If children study local languages in schools, they will miss on all opportunities English can normally bring). *Agar madari zabano ko medium banana hai, to bacho ko school mei dakhile ki zaroorat nahi hogi qunkeh unke parents bhi parha saktie hei* (If mother tongue is to be made medium, there will be no need for children to enroll in schools because their parents can also teach them at home).

R: Language kitna important factor hai? (How important language is as a factor?)

TCHR: *Hamei bahot ziyadah language peh tawajah nahi dena chahiye. Teaching behtar banana chahiye. Qualified teacher law. Students se kam le lo. Language ke masale par kaboo paya jaskta hai* (We should not focus too much on language issue. Improve methodology. Bring qualified teachers. Force students to work hard. Language problem can be overcome).

TCHR7

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: *Mei ne B.Ed kia hai* (I have done B.Ed.).

R: What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?

TCHR: *Sach batawoo, meri yeh khwahish hai keh mujhe government job mil jati* (Frankly, I wish I had got a government job).

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: *Yaha ke students government schooloo ke se ache hei* (They are better than students are from government schools). *Unki reading behtar hai, isi tarah writing bhi hai. Yeh speaking nahi kar sakte qunkeh inki practice hani hai* (Their reading better, so is their writing. They are weak in speaking because they do not have practice).

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools? (Apke khyal mei English medium policy kaisi hai?)

TCHR: *Mera khyal hai keh English ke baghair hum taraqi ka tasawur bhi nahi kar sakte, chahe zati level pe ho ya mulki level pe* (I think we cannot imagine progress without English—be that individual level or country level).

R: Should not we teach English from primary level onward?

TCHR: *Nahi, bajaye late parhane ke hamai English sharoo se parhana chahiye. Mera nahi khyala is ka koi faidah hoga* (It is better to begin with English than make late transition. I do not think it can work that way). *Is tarah se bacho ko English parhne kelye kam waqt melega* (Children will also have little time for learning English).

R: How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools?

TCHR: *Local zabanaie parhane ki koi zaroorat nahi, inka koi scope nahi hai* (No need to teach local languages because they have no scope at all).

TCHR8

R: What is your academic qualification?

TCHR: FA.

R: What motivated you to work in a private school instead of government school?

TCHR: *Mujhe teaching ka tajrabah chahiye* (I need teaching experience).

R: How do you teach English in class?

TCHR: *Mei aam tawar par lesson ko English se Urdu mei translate karti hu* (I usually translate lesson from English to Urdu). *Mei grammar bhi parhati hu* (I also teach grammar).

R: What level of proficiency do students achieve at their matriculation stage?

TCHR: *Students mei farq hota hai* (It varies from student to student). *Kuch ache hei aur kuch kamzor hai aur kuch average hai* (Some are good and some are poor and some are average).

R: How do you view the current straight-for-English policy in schools?

TCHR: *English. Agar aap sharoo se English nahi parhayinge, to bacho ki reading writing aur speaking samajh mei nahi ayega* (If you don't teach English from the very beginning, children will not understand to read, write or speak). *Jab aap kisi cheez ki ziyadah waqt do gei, to app ziyadah seekh linge. Yahi English kesath bhi hai* (When you give something more time, you will learn it well. The same is true with English). *Jintne who chotei hungei, utni hi unke language seekhne ke chances barhinge* (The younger they are, the greater the chances for language learning).

R: How do you view teaching mother tongues in schools?

TCHR: *Nahi, mei ne aap ko bataya. Hamei mother tongue se ziyadah English seekhne ki zaroorart hai* (No, I told you. We need to learn English, not mother tongue). *English ek aham zaban hai* (English is an important language).

APPENDIX B 3: Interview transcripts (Schools Principals/heads)

R= (Researcher)

PRPL= (Principal)

PRPL1

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Is school ko 8 saal hogaye hei* (It has been for 8 years).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Zahiri baat hai education, aur such baat yeh hai keh apne kuch faidei* (obviously ducation of the children and off course some personal benefits).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Hosakta hai yeh log sahih keh rahrei ho. English ki kafi demand hai. Parents is liye English medium mei parhana chatie hei takhe future mei in kei bachei kuch ban jaye. Urdu medium ka to aaj kal koi faidah nahi hai* (May be those people are right. There is enough demand of English. Parents educate their children in English medium so that their children can achieve something in the future. Urdu medium is of no value these days).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Mei aap se arz karo, log English medium chahteie hei. Private schooloo ki demand hai. Sab sei pehli wajah yeh hai keh yeh phle din sei English medium parhatie hei, jo meri nazar mei bahot achi baat hai. Jab bache school sei farigh hungei, inhu nei English 10 saal tak parha hoga. Aap tawaqa kar saktie hei keh yeh bache un bachoo sei se ziyadaha proficient hungei jo dusre government schooloo mei parhteie hei. Yahi private school ka faidah hai* (Let me tell you that people want English medium. Private schools are in demand. The most basic reason is that they teach English from day one, which in my opinion is very good. When they pass out from school, they will have studied English for more than ten years—you can expect them to be more proficient in the English language than students of other government schools. This is the advantage of private schools). *Aap yaqeen karie hamei bachoo ki English mediu per ziyadah kharch kana chahiyei qunkeh is kei agei bahot faideh hungei* (Believe me we should invest a lot in English-medium education of our children because it has definite economic rewards).

Ab mei app ko batawoo keh hum ziyadah languages nahi parha saktie. Bachoo kei dimagh ziyadah languages nahi lei saktei. Sirf English sahih hai. Ziyadah languages kei ziyadah mushkilaar hungei. Bachie pehlei se apni madari zabanei jantei hei, unko Urdu aur English ki ziyadah zaroorat hai jo hum unko parha rahei. Ploicy isi tarah rehni chahiyei hei (Now let me tell you that we cannot teach many languages. Children's minds cannot absorb many languages. Only English is ok. More languages means more challenges. Children already know their mother tongues; they need English and Urdu more, which we are teaching them. Policy should remain as it is now).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Hum qualified teachers lagatie hei. BA/BSc minimum qualification hoti hai* (We hire qualified teachers. BA/BSc is minimum qualification).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Gi haa, yeh log sahih keh rahei hei. Education ab ek karobar ban gayi hai. But, sarei ek jaisei nahi hei* (Yes, they are right. Education has become a business now. But all are not the same).

PRPL 2

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Hum is school ko 2004 se chala rahei hei* (We have been running it since 2004).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Yeh is liye tha keh logo ki khidmat kar sakei aur khud ko is ache shoabe mei engage kar sakoo* (It was to help the people and engage myself in a respectable profession).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell it as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Gi ha, yeh sach hai. Private school perfect nahi hosaktie. Yeh ek haqeeqat hai keh log English chahtei hei. Mere khyal mei yeh brand ki wajah se nahi hai, yeh is wajah se hai keh government school mei English nahi hota* (Yes, it is true. Private schools are not perfect. It is a fact that people want English. I think it is not because of brand, it is because government schools do not disseminate English).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Agar aap mujh se poochei, mei sirf English ko support karta hu. Har shoabe mei English use hoti hai. Yeh simple hai. Hamei poori koshish karni chahiye keh apne bachoo ko English parhana chahiye. Dusri zabane bhi important ho saktie hei, lekin wo English ki tarah nahi hei* (If you ask my opinion, I support only English. All professions use English. It is simple. We have to try best to educate our children in English. Other languages may be good, but they are not like English).

Mere khyal mei language ke ilawah hamei education kei standard ko bhi behtar karna chahiye. Hum ko education per ziyadah kharch kane ki zaroorat hai. Yeh bahot ziyadah teacher, students aur parents ki motivation per bhi depend kartia hai. Language eik secondary issue hai. Language kei problem ko teacher kuch had tak translation aur explanation se kam kar saktei hei. Language ek siasi masala bhi hai (I think apart from language, we need to improve general educational standards. We need to spend much on education. A lot depends on motivation of teacher, students, and parents. Language is a secondary issue. Teachers can make up for language barrier by translating and giving extra explanation. Language is also a political topic).

Ab mother tongue kei bare mei. Mere khyal mei chotie umar mei bacho kei dimagh ek lachakdar lakri ki tarah hoti hai. Jo bhi language aap parthatie hei, bachei us ko asani se adopt kar letie hei. Language bhi isi tarah hai (At small age, children are like a flexible stick. Whatever language you teach, they can easily adopt it. The same applies to learning the English language).

Ab English kei barei mei, mei aap ko batawoo agar aap English parhana chahtie ho to aap ko primary classes se parhana hoga. Hum ziyadah languages nahi parha saktei. Mere khyal mei ziyadah languages parhane se bachoo per bojh hoga aur in ki confusion barh jayega (About straight-for-English, I tell you if you want to teach English, you have to teach from the primary level. We cannot teach many languages. I think teaching many languages will increase burden and cause more confusion for children).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Hamari koshish hoti hei keh qabil teachers ko induct karie. Teachers ki taaleem BA se ziyadah hoti hai* (We try to induct able teachers. Teachers' education is BA or over).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Logoo ki baat sahi hai. Lekin kuch bahot ache school bhi hei* (Critics are correct. But there are some good schools too).

PRPL3

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: The school has been around for the last 12 years.

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: In fact I have recently joined it as a principal. The school belongs to another person. I am here to look after the management issues. He may be in a better position to answer this question. But, one thing I can tell you that, here...we are trying our best to give quality education. We provide our students and teachers the best environment to work.

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: We should keep from generalizing. There are all kinds of private schools.

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: Well, it's a good question. Let me tell you, we are already teaching English and Urdu, if we add up another language to our syllabus, it will result in extra burden and create linguistic confusion. Language is not that much important. In my opinion, important is how you teach in class. If too much focus goes to languages, the basic purpose of education will go into background. I tell you very few parents would be willing to teach their children in local languages. It is difficult. Another thing, you see children of private schools do a lot better in their studies later because they have the advantage of studying English from their nursery level. You know poor conditions of students from government schools. They are weak because they do not study English from early schooling (PRPL3).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: Well, our main criterion is qualification. We never compromise on that. In our school, teachers' qualification is, I can show you our record if you want, from FA/FSc to MA. Experience is also important. We also give training to our teachers. I myself conduct trainings from time to time.

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: Yes, I partly agree. You tell me when government has failed to improve its schools; parents are forced to send children to private schools. Naturally when I know this thing, I will try to exploit the opportunity. Most of private schools are for profit. No person likes to lose. Everybody wants to keep some margin of profit. I suggest also, there must be a check and balance on schools. Right now, there seems to be no such thing on part of government. But let me also tell you frankly. We don't have to generalize all schools. Good and bad schools are everywhere. As I told you about my school, I go all length to support and provide relief to those students of mine who deserve support. I can show 100 of students whom I have given free education. Yes, the business perception may be right to a certain degree.

You know, we see there are schools, which charge heavy amount such as Pak-Turk, City schools, Beacon house, and other federal schools under army. They charge from over 4000 while we charge from 500 to 1000, which is four times less than what they charge. Considering the expenses such building maintenance, rents, furniture, salaries and all, then we are in loss. It is the responsibility of the government to check who do business and who run on non-profit basis.

PRPL 4

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Pichlei 7 saal sei* (For the last 7 years).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Community ke help kelye* (To help the community).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Nahi yeh is tarah bhi nahi hai. Education waqai ek karoobar ban gayi hai. Berozgaari ki wajah sei bhi bahot se log private school khol lete hai. Lekin sab ek jaisei nahi hosaktie* (No, it is not like this. Education has become a business. Many people open private schools because of unemployment. But, all are not the same).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Gi ha, mei agree karta hu. In reality, bachoo kei concepts mother tongue mei asani sei clear hojatei hei. Is liye mei kam az kam primary level tak mother tongue kei haq mei hu. Ye is liye keh is mei baat aur concept asani se bachoo ko samjhayi ja sakti hai* (I favor teaching in mother tongue until primary level. It is so because it is the easiest medium to communicate through, and clarify concepts of the child) *Lekin hum ko English par bhi tawajah deeni chahiye ache jobs English kei baghair na mumkin hei. Sarei professions aur sarkari jobs kelye English zaroori hoti hai. Hum jantie hei yeh ek international zabaan bhi hai. Jaha bhi aap jatie ho, waha English chal jati hai* (But we also have to pay attention to English because good jobs are not possible without English. All professional fields and civil services demand English. We know it is international language too. Wherever you go, English can help you).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Aksar do cheezei—education level aur experience. Hamrei paas aksar teachers BA ya BA sei ooper ki taaleem rakhtie hei* (Often two things—education level and experience. Most of our teachers hold BA or more than BA).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Jaise mei nei pehle bhi bataya keh hosakta hai bahot sei log paise kelye school chalatei hu. Ek aur baat, yeh to mumkin hi nahi keh koi apna mafaad bhola dei. Sab ki kishish hoti hai keh ziyadah kamaye. Ab kamane kelye bhi quality education zaroori hai* (As I told you before that may be many people are running schools for moneymaking. One more thing, it is impossible that one overlooks ones' own interest. Everyone wants to earn more. Now, for earning too, quality education is must).

PRPL 5

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Yeh 2006 sei hai* (It is since 2006).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Is school ko pehle mera dost chala raha tha, baad mei me ne partner ke tawar par join kar lia. Hum loko ki khidmat karna chahtei hei* (My friend was running this school before. Later I joined as a partner. We want to serve the people).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *English ki ihmiat sei koi inkaar nahi hai. English ek wajah hogi magar asal cheez government schooloo ka fail hona bhi hai. Government schooloo mei kuch hai nahi is liye sare log bacho ko yaha bhejte hai* (Nobody can deny the importance of English. English could be one of the reasons, but in fact the real thing is the failure of the government schools. Government schools offer nothing, therefore all the people send their children here).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Mei aapko batawoo agar app ne bacho ko English parhana hai, to primary mei parhana hoga. Mere khyal mei zaiadah zabane parhane sei bachoo par bojh barhega aur who confuse hungei. Bachei agar apni zabane ghar mei boltei, to mere khyal mei unko school mei nahi parhana chahiye* (I tell you if you want to teach English, you have to teach from the primary level. I think teaching many languages will increase burden and cause more confusion for children. When a child already uses mother tongue at home, I do not think it should also be taught in the school).

Appko pata hona chahiye who jo madari zabanoo ki baat kartie hai. Hamare haa dushmanoo ki koi kami nahi hai. Aisei log hei jo jo madari zabanoo ki libas mei hamarei dushamnoo ki hathoo mei kheltie hei, jin ko mulk ki salamati aur mazbooti ko torne kelelye paise miltei hei. Agar app itne sare zabane parhayengei to Khusa janta hai hum kitnei mulko mei bat jayingei (Mind you, those who talk about teaching local mother tongues. There is no shortage of our enemies, who use different strategies to trigger splits because of languages. There are people who under the guise of mother tongue based education, play in the hands of the enemies, being funded for the destabilization of the country, and for the disunity of the country. If you teach those many languages in schools, God knows it would divide the country into how many nations).

App dekhei itnei parents private schooloo mei is liye kharch kartie qunkeh unke books English me hotie hei. Qunkeh unko English ki qadar ka andaza hai, is liye who is par kharch kartie hei. Mera khyal hai keh parents bahot hoshiyar hei. Unke bachei akhir mei English kei lajawab phal khayengei (You see why so many parents spend in private schools because they offer curricula in the English language. Because they see the value and quality English can bring; therefore, they invest in it. I think parents are thinking smartly. Their children will reap wonderful fruits with English at the end).

Jaha tak mei janta hoo, agar kisi ko quality education chayie, bachoo ko English medium mei parhana chahiyei. Mera ek aur mashora bhi hai keh bachoo ko primary sei English parhaw, who ziadah se ziadah English seekh lingei. Mujhe local languages ka koi faidah nazar nahi aata. Yeh qadam peeche le jayeegi (If you give quality education to your children, give them good education in English-medium school. Teach them from the very beginning, they will learn more and more English. I see no scope of local languages. It will be a step backward (PRPL5).

Mere khyal mei jab bachei chotie hotei hei to unke seekhnei ke chances bare umar kei bachoo se zaidah seekhnei ke chances hotie qunkeh minds nayi cheezoo ko asani ke sath aur jald yaad kar leite hei (In my opinion, there are more chances for child to learn at small age than at grown-up age because their minds can absorb new things fast. When they do so in their young age, English will be like their first language .

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Unki achi education ho aur behtar hoga keh unka experience bhi ho* (They must have good education; it will be better if they have experience).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Mei itifaq bhi karta hoo aur itifaq bhi nahi karunga. Kuch had tak yah baat baja hai. Hamari koshish to yahi hoti hai keh quality behtar ho* (I agree and I disagree too. To some extent, this is fair criticism. We try our best to maintain better quality).

PRPL6

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Hum is school ko 2007 sei run kar rahei hei* (We have been running this school since 2007).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Is kei bare mei to do batie kahi jasaktie hei. Ek to taalimi maqasad hai, aur dusra rozi ka hasool hai* (Two things can said about it. First purpose id giving education and the second purpose is earning livelihood).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell it as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Mei is se kuch itifaaq karta hu. English to hai hi bahot important. Asal mei logo ke paas koi aur munasib choice bhi nai hai. Log government schooloo sei baddil ho chukei hei is liye English ki demand barh jati hai* (I partially agree with it. English is important. In fact, people don't have any proper choice either. People have have disappointed from the government schools, therefore, the demand for English increases).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Mother tongue app nahi parha saktie. Is tarah who English kab seekhingei, English ek zaroori language hai. Yeh international zaban hai. In ka guzara kaisei hoga future mei. Mei khyal mei hamarei pass koi chara nahi hai. Agar app chahtie hei keh bachei bare level par muqbilah karie, to English english parhaw. Hum apnei school mei yahi kara rahei hei. Hum bachoo ko mustaqbil ki tayari kelye ek acha bunyaad de rahei he* (You cannot teach mother tongue. How will they learn English then, as English is compulsory language? It is international language. How will they survive in the future? I do not think we have any other choice. If you want children to compete at high level, teach them English well. Our school is doing the same. We give children good platform to prepare for the future.

R: But hum English ko to primary kei baad bhi as amedium parha saktie hei?(But we can teach English after primary also?

PRPL: *No, yeh phir bahot late hojaye hoga. Is tarah ka mother tongue sei English mei jana teachers aur government kelye bara challenge hoga. English seekhnie kelye hum ko bacho ko ziadah waqt dena hoga. Primary kei baad English ka parhana maani nahi rakhta* (No, it will be too late for them. Such transition from mother tongue to English can be challenging for teachers as well as government.

Mei sochta hook eh English ko primary sei parhanaei me koi nuqsan nahi hai. Yeh wahi aur best tariqah higa bachoo ko ziadah English seekhnei kelye. Who pehle sei apni zabania jantie hai. Koi zaroorat nahi un par kisi aisa bojh dalnie ki jo who already ghar mei use kartie hei (In my view, there is no harm in teaching English from beginning. It is the only and the best way to make children proficient. I do not favor mother tongue at all because it has no value outside a child's home. They already know their mother tongue; there is no need to burden them with something they already use at home.

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Hum kayi cheezo ko madenazar rakhtie hei jaise teacher ki qualifcation, experience, motivation level. Hamare school mei sab se kam qualifcation FA hai. Aksariat MA/MSc hei* (We consider a number of things such as teachers' qualification, and motivation level).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Yes , yeh sach hai. Halaat itnei achei nahi hei. Har gali mei private school khule huwei hei. Koi pooch gach nahi hai* (Yes, it is true. Conditions are not good. There are private schools in every street. There is no check and balance).

PRPL7

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Mei yaha as a principal kaam kar raha hoo. Asal is ka malik koi aur hai. Mera anadaza hai yeh 2005 sei hai* (Here, I work as a principal. In fact, there is another owner. I guess it is since 2005).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Education kelye* (for education).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell it as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Is me koi shak nahi keh English ek demanding language hai. Agar hum sasti qeemat par English medium offer kartie hei, to yeh naturally attractive ban jata hai* (There is no doubt that English is a demanding language. It naturally becomes attractive if we offer English medium at low cost).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Dekhie, practically, gharpp aur community ke ilawah local languages ka koi scope nahi hai. Isi tarah, bokks mei, taaleem mei, sceinces aur computer mei in ka koi scope nahi hai...kahi nahi. Mei janta hoo keh yeh hamrei apnei languages hei lekin hum jazbati faisalie kar ke apnei bachoo ka future madari zabano keleye qurbaan nahi kar saktie. Jo mei janta hu, English ke siwa hamara koi choice nahi hai. Jinta ziadah ho English parhaaw. Humai chahiye English ko nursery sei parhayei takeh unke pass seekhnei kelye ziadah time ho. Mother tongue ka jo proposal ghalat hai. Hum pasmandah hojayengei, aue woh opportunities lose karingie jo English die saktie hei* (Look, practically, local languages have no scope outside home and community. Likewise, they also have no scope in books, academia, sciences, computer...nowhere. I know they are our own languages, but we cannot sacrifice future of children by making sentimental decisions in favor of mother tongue. What I understand is that we have no choice without English. Teach English as much as you can. We need to teach English from nursery so they have more time to learn well. Proposal for mother tongue is flawed. We will be backward and lose opportunities English can offer).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Qualfication...kam se kam BA. Hamari priority yeh hoti hai keh teachers ache taaleemi idaroo sei farigh ho aur parhanai ki ihliat rakhta ho* (Qualification...BA the least. Our priority is that teachers are graduates of good educational institutions, and have they ability to teach).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Hemm...yeh logo ki observation hosakti hai. May be , yeh theek keh rahe hoo. Honselty, hamri koshish to ye hoti hai keh jitna fee hum laite utna hi behtar education dei* (Hemm...It may people's observation. May be they are saying right. Honestly, we try to give better education against the fee we collect).

PRPL 8

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Iss school ko koi 12 saal hogaye hei* (This school has been for 12 years).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Mei to sirf principal hu. Yeh question behtar hga aap owner sei pooch lei. Lekin, bunyadi maqsad zahir tawar par taaleem hogi* (I'm principal only. It is better to ask this question from the owner. However, basically, education is obviously the purpose).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Critics ki baat bahot had tak sahih hai. Mei to kehta hoo keh private school is pemane par nahi honei chahiye. State ko responsibilty leni chahiye* (Critics are right to a larger extent. I even say that there should be no private school to this extent. State should take the responsibility).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Mother tongues ki baat sahi hosakti hai, magar hamare mulk mei yeh namumkin hai. Kis kis ki zabaan parhayingie itne sare to zbanaei hei, aur phir English ka app kia kariengie. English ko to hum nahi chorr saktie. English ek international language hai. Aur phir local zabanoo ka scope bhi to nahi hai. Sab kuch English hi mei hai* (Mother tongues can right, but it is impossible in our country. There are many languages, which one you will be teaching and what will you do to English. We cannot overlook English at all. English is an international language hai. Then local languages have no scope at all. Everything is in English).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Hum qualified aur experienced teachers ko preference daitei hei* (We prefer qualified and experienced teachers).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Mei sochta hu private schooloo kei malikaan un beggars kei baad atie hei jo invest to kuch bhi nahi karie, lekin kamatie bahot hei. Yeh ek tragedy hei keh yeh malikaan bahot kamatie hei lekin teachers aur students par kharch karna yeh guna samajhtie hei. Mei aap ko ek story sunawooo. Mujhe bahot dukh huwa jab mei nei akhbaar mei ek advertisement parhi jis mei kaha gia tha keh ek lady teacher ki zaroorat hai jis ki salary 1500 hogi. Yeh schools sirf leitei hei lekin detei kuch nahi. Taaleem ek lucrative business ban gayi hai. Quetta mei sirf do easei school hei jo teachers ko pay scale detie hei jaisei Tamir-e-Nau aue Islamia school. Baqi berehmi kesath teachers ki istehsaal Katie hei* (I believe that private school owners fall second to those beggars who invest nothing, but earn a huge amount. The tragedy is that those entrepreneurs are earning a lot, but spending the same amount on teachers and students is thought as a major sin. Let me illustrate a story. I was extremely saddened by an advertisement in newspaper which said that a private school needed a lady teacher who will be given 1500 salary. These schools only take but give nothing in return. Education has become a lucrative business. Here in Quetta, there are only two private institutes such as Tamir-e-Nau and Islamia schools that give pay scales to their teachers. The rest ruthlessly exploit their teachers.

PRPL9

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Pichle 11 saal se* (For the last 11 years).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: *Bahaisiat ek educated bandei ke mei chahta tha keh un logo ki help kar sakoo jo mahenige English medium ko afford nahi kar saktie* (As an educated person, I wanted to help those who cannot afford the expensive English medium schools).

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Hosakta hai. Is mei shak nahi, English bahot popular hai. Government schools ki halat itni achi nahi hai* (May be, there is no doubt, English is very popular. Government schools are not in good shape).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Mere khyal mei English theek hi hai. I think, student jab ziyadah English ke sath deal karingei to yeh used to hojayingei aur English in kelye assan hojayigi. Hamei mother tongues par waqt waste nahi karna chahiye. Is tarah se who English teezi ke sath improve kar lingei (I think English is ok. I think when students deal with English more, they will get used to it and feel easy about it. When we expose children to English in school, they will find it natural and will adopt it easily. We should not waste time in teaching other languages. I think they will learn the language faster in this way).*

Aur jab bache ziyadah waqt kelye language parhingei, who qurati tawar par strong hojayingei. Yahi English kesath bhi hai. Sare parents chahtie hei keh unke bachei English parhie. Isi liye to who bachoo ko English medium mei dakhil karatie hei (When children spend more time studying a language, they will naturally be strong in that. The same goes with English. All parents want children to learn English. That is why they admit them in private schools).

English bahot important hai. Is ki wajah sei bachoo kelye civil services mei, higher education mei, army mei aur bureaucracy mei rastie khul jayingei. English se bachoo ki market value barhegei (English is very important. Because of it, children can get access to civil services, higher education, army and bureaucracy. Due to English proficiency, children will add to their market value).

R: Kia bachei English kei textbooks samajh letei hei (Do children understand English language?)

PRPL: *Gee ha, mei aksar teachers ko batata hu keh medium use kartie waqt bachoo ke level ko dekhei quknkeh aksar students uneducated families se belong kartie hei . Teachers aksar Urdu mei concepts explain kartie hei (Yes, I often instruct teachers to keep children' level while using medium in class because most of them belong to uneducated families. Teachers usually explain concepts in Urdu).*

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Hum education dekhtie hei. Experience ko bhi importance detei hei (We look at their education. We attach importance to experience too).*

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Nahi, yeh sahih nahi hai. Yes, yaha kuch hosaktie hei jo bussniess kartie hei (No its not right. Yes, there may few around doing business).*

PRPL10

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: This school was launched in 2005.

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: I was running a tuition center here before. Later the people from this neighborhood asked me to open a school. They were happy with my previous work.

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: I agree. Let me also tell you, to be honest, that there are many in the city who are using attractive English names and brands to draw attention of people. English is the need of time.

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: Yes. Many people debate this issue. Politicians also raise this issue a lot. I admit, this is a problem here. As I understand, learning is much easier in mother tongue than in a foreign language like English. But, unfortunately, such thing has not flourished in our country. I believe, as now we have selected number of 07

best students out of 100. I'm sure after introducing mother tongue, we will be able to get 93 best students out of 100. Students will not have to go for rote learning. Their creative abilities will grow much quicker than it is now. My proposal will certainly be education in mother tongue and English language (PRPL10).

R: What do you think about English and Urdu?

PRPL: English can be taught after three or four years. About Urdu, it is good as a subject. It is our national language too.

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: To tell you truth, teachers are of different levels. There are FA's, there are BA's and there are a number of MA's. Most of them are BA. You know, MA's generally get government jobs. That is why they don't stay in private schools for long.

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: Five fingers are not equal. We cannot generalize it because of so many schools. Yes, also to a certain degree, one cannot totally reject the blame. I think, if private schools are doing business, it is because there is no check balance from government. It has been a long time, I have never seen someone from Education department for inspection. I tell you, when you give something 100% of your time, you obviously look for saving. Private schools do earn. Naturally, "We have to look our own margin of profit also. As far as the commercialization aspect, it is absolutely true. Frankly speaking, there is one aspect—that education has become commercialized, I myself admit that I started this school for commercial purposes and to earn living. Let me say that we are not charging high fee; our fees are not that much high. By the grace of God, people believe in the education system that we are giving here. They trust us. Our strength has increased day by day or year by year. It is their trust in us. It is still commercialized, I don't deny it.

PRPL11

R: How long have you been running this school?

PRPL: *Iss school ko abhi 9 saal hogaye hai* (This school has been for 9 years).

R: What motivated you to launch the school?

PRPL: Education.

R: You are teaching English as a medium, but critics are of the view that such low-fee schools advertise English to sell English as a brand. How would you respond to such critics?

PRPL: *Critics ki baat mei sachayi hai. Lekin yeh har private school kei barei mei nahi kaha jaskta. Record kei mutabiq to private schooloo ke results government schooloo se bahot achei hai* (Critics are right. But this cannot be said about every private school. As per records, private schools' performance is better government schools).

R: English-medium of education policy is problematic when seen from the perspective of experts who recommend additive bi/multilingual education policy, as they believe that at the earlier stages of schooling, children must be taught in language that is familiar to their home and sociocultural environment. In light of this, how do you view straight-for-English policy and teaching mother tongue in your school?

PRPL: *Mera nahi khyal keh aaj kal ke zamane mei English ke ilawah koi aur zabaan parha sakei hei. English kei bahot faidei hei jaise advanced knowledge, job aur behtar future* (I don't think in this age and time, we can risk teaching other language than English. English is a key to opening every gateway to knowledge, job, and better future prospects).

Dekhei , English to bahot aham hai. Mei to kehta hu sab sei achi policy yahi hai keh English ko class one sei parhaye. Sirf is tarah bachei English par command hasil kar lingei. English international language hai. Har cheez English mei hai. Computer sei leikar har technology tak har cheez English mei hoti hai. Apni zabane to bachei jantie hei (Look, English is very important. I say teaching English from class one is the best policy. Only

this way children will get command over the English language. English is international language. Everything is in English. From computer to every technology, everything is in English. Mother tongues, children already know).

R: Kia bachei English samajh leitei hei (Do children understand English?).

PRPL: *Bachei abhi English mei kamzor hei. Woh abhi tak angrez nahi banei. Mei teachers ko batata hu English lesson parhatei huwei bachoo ko meaning pehle Urdu mei zaroor explain karei* (Children are still poor in English. Children have not become ‘Angrez’ (English-speakers) yet. I tell teachers while teaching English lessons, they must explain meanings in Urdu).

R: On what basis do you hire teachers? What is their qualification?

PRPL: *Wo jo qualified ho aur parhane ki ability rakhte ho* (The ability to teach, and those who are qualified).

R: Critics also believe that private schools such as low-fee ones are for being run for business purposes, and that the motive is moneymaking than dissemination of education. How would you respond?

PRPL: *Iss criticism ko hum sire sei reject nahi kar saktei. Private schooloo ke naam par waqai business horaha hai* (This criticism cannot be rejected altogether. Indeed, there is business going on the name of schools) *May be, yeh business kelye ho. Is mei koi burayi nahi hai. Agar app maamooli sa fee lekar munasib sa quality education detei hei, to yeh theek hai. Yaha hum hewano ko insano mei badaltie hei* (May be it is for business purposes. There is nothing wrong with it. If by providing reasonably quality education, you earn some amount against your services, then it’s fine. Here we turn animals into human beings or good citizens).

APPENDIX B 4: Interview transcripts (key experts)

EXPERT 1

Q1. The number of private schools, especially the English medium private schools has exponentially increased over the last two decades. In your view, which factors have caused these schools to increase?

Ans: The primary factor which has caused private schools to increase is that parents feel their children will learn English and get jobs. Also, they feel private schools have better teachers who teach while government teachers are shirkers of work.

Q2. How do you view the unprecedented proliferation of the private schools of different shades? Does not it indicate that the state has failed to provide its citizens with the very basic right—that is education of a reasonable quality?

Ans: Yes, the state has failed to convince the people that its schools are competent enough.

Q3. In one of your newspaper articles, Zubeida Mustafa argued that apparently in the quiet, the government is gradually trying to disengage itself from looking after the public schools; therefore, it encourages the private schools to expand. What is your take on the above argument?

Ans: The government does not spend much money nor does it have an apparatus which can create good schooling so it has failed even if it has not disengaged itself from schooling entirely.

Q4. Given the variety of English medium private schools operating around, how would you categorize these schools? For instance, in your book, *The Denizens of Alien Worlds*, you broadly categorize English medium schools into elite and non-elite, would you please add some fresh insight on the categorization of these schools? As per my observation, given their different shades, culture, infrastructure, textbooks, location, clientele and overall quality, these schools are extremely diversified and complex to define or categorize.

Ans: I mentioned Islamic English-medium schools in passing,. These schools have multiplied.

Q5. Many critics believe that these so-called English medium private schools only sell English as a brand—there is no English in the reality. It is only in the fancy textbooks. What do you make of the criticism?

Ans: The elite schools actually teach very good English. However, ordinary English-medium schools are not competent and poor people send their children there as they cannot afford the expensive schools.

Q6. Criticism is made of private schools because of unqualified, untrained, low-paid, and temporary teachers. Based on your knowledge and observation briefly shed some light on the components given:

- *Student-teachers ratio(average number of students a teacher engages)*
- *Teachers' qualification(especially in teaching of the English language)*
- *Salary packages*
- *Teachers' motivation level*
- *Professional training*
- *Work experience*
- *Job security*

Ans: Ordinary private schools do have incompetent teachers but this is not true of the elite ones. While student-teacher ratios matter this too is adverse in ordinary schools not in elite ones. Salary packages too are low in ordinary schools not in elite ones. Motivation varies from individual to individual so it gets reduced to faking motivation and that is in all private schools. In the elite ones it is measured more scientifically through a lot of intrusion from the management and instruments like lesson plans, checking of notebooks, classroom observation etc. These measures lower the self-respect of teachers but they do make them fake motivation. It is of doubtful value and I oppose it because it takes away the teachers' autonomy and makes them feel powerless and disgraced.

As for professional training and work experience, they do not matter very much. Short courses on fundamentals of teaching (loud and precise delivery, legible handwriting, eye contact, use of aids, humour and the personal touch etc) can be passed on in short courses but long training sessions are useless. As for job security it is not found in the private sector though the elite schools are more ethical in the sense that they often issue warnings before dismissing a teacher.

Q7. I have observed that on part of government, there is virtually no regulatory system and monitoring mechanism in place, which could effectively check quality control and hold these schools accountable. In the above circumstances, do you think these schools will deliver quality education?

Ans: No. They will not care for quality in the absence of any accountability.

Q8. Language or medium of instruction is one of the crucial components in learning. I observe that this component which Zubeida Mustafa refers to as the ‘vital question’ largely remains overlooked when it comes evaluating the input and output of these schools. This is an issue, which you have, I would emphasize *very critically and justifiably* touched upon previously, however, I would still request you to throw some fresh light as *why has the vital issue—the language/medium of instruction not been addressed seriously in Pakistan?*

Ans: I have answered it in many places. Basically, the medium of instruction policy is in the interest of the elite and powerful decision-makers do not want to change it.

Q 9. Do you think politics has put the ‘vital question’ of medium of instruction into the cold storage in Pakistan?

Ans: Politics has put these questions in cold storage but it is class politics not electoral politics. Moreover, people are afraid of change and a radical departure from the present and the past is frightening since it may have unintended consequences. It will certainly upset the balance of social power for instance and jeopardize the elite status of many people, which is one reason why no major change occurs.

Q10: On what grounds have termed the non-elite English medium schools as ‘deceptive and illusory’.

Ans: Deceptive and illusory because parents think their children will learn English and climb into the elite straightaway. They will not, however, learn English and the manners and ways of behaving which go to make the elite culture into which it is difficult to climb in.

11. yes, their books and examinations are in English.

12. yes.

Q13. Despite solid research evidence about the benefits of mother-tongue based instruction at the earlier stages of schooling, mother tongue based schooling is yet to impress the policy designers and educationists. Why is this so?

Ans: Decision-makers do not believe in academic research. They have a feeling that the more English you give the better it is. Thus, they want English from day 1 of their own children and those from the elite.

14. My question is why has linguistic diversity in general and schools in particular been viewed ‘as a problem’ rather than as ‘an asset’ in Pakistan?

Ans: It is always viewed a problem everywhere. Only the attitudes to the problem vary. Ours is negative while in some places it is positive. But many languages do mean more expenditure and a host of other issues which have to be tackled with. More people speak and use Urdu than in 1947. Moreover, the size of the English-using elite has increased. However, the problems are more than the positive aspects.

Q15. In your views, has the homogenizing tendencies in language policy paid any dividends so far?

Ans: Not it will not. Many countries introduce mother-tongues (Papua New Guinea for instance) and they do not disintegrate. Reasons for disintegration are economic and political discrimination and conflict not multilingual teaching.

16. What is your take on the psychological, ideological and cultural implications of the current language policy?

Ans: I have written in detail about the alienation of students from their culture and ancestors. They tend to look down upon their own roots and relatives. This is culturally and psychologically damaging.

Q 17: What do you mean to suggest when you discuss Urdu imperialism in the context of Pakistan?

Ans: Urdu imperialism is only in relation to the other languages of Pakistan. Otherwise, in relation to English even Urdu is subordinated.

18. I have done a lot of it.

Q 19: Sabiha Mansoor (2004) contends that language policy in Pakistan is fraught with both conceptual and practical challenges; do you agree with the argument?

Ans: More pragmatic and practical than conceptual in my view.

Q 20: Dr. Shahid Siddiqui (2007) is critical of what he terms as commodification of education especially with reference to the blatant commercialization culture of the private schooling/education in Pakistan.

Ans: Dr Shahid is right and I wrote the same earlier too.

Q 21: In your opinion, what is good and bad about the functioning of the non-elite English medium private schools in Pakistan?

Ans: Non-elite English medium schools provide a window of limited access to English for the non-elite. However, this window does cost so much that the sacrifices made by the parents of children attending these schools is morally indefensible. That is why I say 'they sell dreams'. This is so sad!

Expert 1 (Name kept confidential)

LAHORE

22 August 2013.

EXPERT 2

Q 1: What has led to the exponential increase of private schools in Pakistan?

Ans: As I see, there are about 40 to 42% private schools. It is a huge number. This question is rather critical that why so many children attend private schools. It is also extremely important in the context of Pakistan from the constitutional perspective as it guarantees free education to all children. Now question arises to whether the state deliberately disengages from its commitments by allowing the private sector to grow.

I can see three reasons for the increase of the private sector: education system in Pakistan, and when we speak of education system we refer to three things—curriculum, access, and governance. With curriculum is linked the question whether it is child-centered or teacher-centered. Secondly, it is also important to analyze whether it promotes critical thinking and creativity or it promotes rote learning and memorization. If one looks at the above three aspects of education, the state schooling system has completely broken down. Another factor is the states' political ideology, which is bent upon centralization of power, centralization of decision, and similarly centralization of education system. Ideologically, the state does not appreciate diversity. Such centralization, in my view, has led to people's alienation from the state. The state is not maintained link with its people set out in the social contract between people and the state. Other reason is the unorganized expansion of the market. We have an unorganized and quasi market. I tell you those economies which depend on the center, tend take this course. Free market is one of the reasons of the private schools.

Q 2: One observes that there is no proper monitoring system of the private schools. How do you see this aspects, and should we expect quality education without any regulatory mechanism?

Ans: You are right. As discussed, the state education system has broken down. The same applies to the private sector. There is no systematic policy in place about curriculum and textbooks. Teaching methodologies as I pointed out are teacher centered. They do not promote critical thinking. Children are made obey rules and regulation; become compliant. Questioning is not encouraged. In real terms what we call education, is not found in such private schools. I don't see it here.

Q 3: Then why is still positive perception about private schools in the public?

Ans: As I see, it is because of profound psychological influences. In social psychology, we find that people tend to take short cut means to attain their ends—easy ways. Private schools give high marks. They do not fail students. There is a bit of English. People want to get degrees and become professional. But collectively the country is going backward. We all know that policymakers are confused. The actual policy makers are not linguists or language experts; therefore, they cannot formulate better language policies.

Q 4: Critics believe that those so-called English medium schools exploit as a selling brand.

Ans: Look, there are few misunderstandings. People tend to confuse English as a medium/source of communication and English as a subject. Secondly, research in second/foreign language concludes that unless a child masters the structure of his first language or the language of his/her environment, learning other languages become difficult. The crux of argument is that the foundation in child's first language must be exploited for the learning of additional languages. Without doing so, its nearly impossible. What it causes is displacement of child's first language. English is artificially replaced with the child's first language. You must have seen that when our graduates can neither speak their first language well, nor second nor English. I challenge, you cannot find a single student in the entire Peshawar University who can speak/use those three languages well. It is in my view is because our education system and language policy is deviant from the fundamental principles. When you displace a child's first language or disrupt its development, you will pay a heavy price as we do now. It can be linked to the societal social psychology and the race to go fast by learning few words from one and few from other without gaining full command in any language.

Because English has been linked to the domains of power; therefore, parents aspire their children to learn some English to get access to those domains. If children learn few words of English, grammar or accent, parents are happy that their children are learning English. This leaves a number of other critical factors associated with languages ignored such as identity, culture, geography, literature, collective wisdom, folkloric traditions, history, and other variants that are closely intertwined with the indigenous languages. The level of English students normally achieve is limited to creating few surface level sentences like I'm eating food; I ate food, you went to market, etc. I think if your aim is only this, there is no need to send children to schools, invest this much and pay such as heavy price. It endangers the whole social contract. Therefore, there is need for a complete paradigm shift and complete transformation of thought. We need to relook at some important things—English as tool of communication and as subject, collective wisdom, ethnolinguistic identity and cultural diversity, aesthetics, worldwide, history and folk wisdom of the people of the land and so on. Language is the backbone of all I mentioned.

Language is window through which you view the world. Language embraces your collective wisdom. Unless we take into account those factors, and shift away from the superficial view of languages as commodities, we will not be able to promote knowledge and wisdom. Creativity will not grow. Innovation will stop. I tell you and it is vividly evident that those who have been alienated from their languages have not been able to do development in sciences. Therefore, our education system does not produce creative artists, thinker, and inventors. It produces merely emulators and blind followers. In my view, a mother tongue based language policy would not only lead to smooth educational and academic development, the literacy achieved in one's mother tongue will assist in learning Urdu and English languages.

Q 5: You have talked about a paradigmatic shift in language and education policy. What proposal would you put forward in this regard?

Ans: First, there is a provision in the constitution of 1973 that every province has the right to legislate its language policy, as it likes. Secondly, in the 18th Amendment, there are several things. One of the things is about languages that say that the majority languages of the provinces should not be only taught as subject, but they may also be made part of the educational environment. In this connection, the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa passed an act in which five languages were to be incorporated in the education system. There must be language academies across the provinces, which would work on the corpus of all languages, their sociolinguistic and other linguistic aspects. Moreover, those languages may be linked to the job market, sports market, and education market and so on. They can be linked to industry and products. For example, if local languages are made prerequisite for Public Service examination, not only will experts and writers of those languages gain value, it will also motivate all job seekers to learn the language. I believe a multilingual schooling environment has manifold advantages to the child, his/her education and to the state. Children from different linguistic backgrounds will in the first place learn each other's languages, and they would start learning English

language much faster than they do now. The current language policy must be reviewed because it is exclusionary in spirit. The policy must be based on mother tongue education.

And the state's policy is to suppress those language apprehending that it might break the unity while the history is absolutely apposite. For instance, Bangladesh came into being not because you included it in the curriculum; it in fact came into being because you did not include it in the curriculum. I refer to the Bengali language. Baloch are fighting not because you have admitted their culture, their rebellion is because you have not recognized their language and culture. These policy measures could shape only when the state shuns its reductionist ideology about inclusiveness and diversity.

Q 6: Does the recognition disintegrate the country? Why does the state follow this policy?

Ans : I believe those fears are baseless and imagined. In fact, not recognizing the diversity and the suppressive policies has alienated the people. Country cannot be empowered with people. Suppression is counterproductive. The results are before you. The lessons are that a multilingual policy will integrate rather than disintegrate the country

Q 7: Does alienation from literacy in one's mother tongue leave any socio-psychological effects?

Ans: What discourse the states creates, it has serious effects on ideology or perception of society. It can influence people to underestimate their identities and their self. They tend to stigmatize their identities. Such people cannot develop in creativity, critical thinking, innovations, and genuine scholarship. They will always be dependent. It causes self-stigmatization. It causes tainted identity and collective wisdom.

I can give you one example. Bacha Khan Trust runs schools across some districts of the province. We launched one such school in Chiral where Khuwar community resides. I told the community that as per policy, we first introduce mother tongue and then teach other languages. The community members propose me that instead of their languages, we should teach Pashto because Pashto was the dominant languages of the area. Learning Pashto will help their children communicate easily with the dominant population. They said Khuwar was the language of the homes.

I suggested them they should let themselves free of linguistic domination. Later, I proposed them they should study both khoward and Pashto. Pashto will remain optional. Gradually, I realized improvement. Now the community is happy because their children have become strong multilinguals. They are good in English, Urdu, Pashto and Khwar. Teaching Khuwar has tremendous positive effect now. Since their language expanded from homes to schools, thus with development of literacy and production of literature led them to evaluate their language positively. One of the unintended byproduct of this program has been the revitalization of their language. Now when we arrange some function in school, elder people come to do poetry and share folk stories. Their subjective vitality has increased. In my view, inclusion of their language has given boost to their socio-psychological assessment of themselves. Now due to our policies, our school has become popular in the Chitral region.

Q 8: What is your take on new policy by the PTI that English will be taught as a medium in public schools?

Ans: The newly designed policy of the PTI government about teaching English as a medium in public schools is unrealistic. In my view, instead of languages learning, it will cause language displacement. It says that teachers will be given 8 days training to adopt the new policy. You imagine, how will teacher be able to learn English in eight days, and when teachers do not know the language, how will they be able to make students learn the language. It is unrealistic and unscientific.

EXPERT 3

Q1. The number of private schools, especially the English medium private schools has exponentially increased over the last two decades. In your view, which factors have caused these schools to increase?

Answer: These schools have increased because the demand for education is increasing and the government is not opening schools to meet this demand. If the demand is for education in English medium that is because of the general perception that is education is good only when it is in English and proficiency in English is essential to get a good job. English is also needed for jobs abroad.

Q2. How do you view the unprecedented proliferation of the private schools of different shades? Does not it indicate that the state has failed to provide its citizens the very basic right—that is education of a reasonable quality?

Answer: Absolutely correct. The demand for education of a 'reasonable quality' is there but all these private schools are not of a reasonable quality.

Q3. In one of your newspaper articles, you argued that apparently in the quiet, the government is gradually trying to disengage itself from looking after the public schools; therefore, it has allowed the private schools to expand. Would you please elaborate on this?

Answer: I stand by this statement. If you compare the ratio of public sector schools and private schools you will find that the state run schools are growing at a much slower pace as compared to the private schools. The enrolment in public sector schools has also slowed down while the private school enrolment continues to grow rapidly. There is also the new phenomena encouraged by the government of public-private partnership and adopt-a-school. Don't these amount to the government disengaging from education and involving the private sector in education.

Q4. Given the variety of English medium private schools operating around, how would you categorize these schools? For instance, Tariq Rahman categorizes these into elite and non-elite schools. Do you have anything else to add in terms of categorization?

Answer: I would add a third category. Pseudo English medium. These are schools which claim to be English medium but they are a hybrid of English medium. The text books are in English but they teach in a local language, generally Urdu, but ask the child to write his answers in English. The child never learns to speak English or express himself in English. The answers he writes in English are copied or memorized from the book.

Q5. Many critics believe that these so-called private schools only sell English as a brand—there is no English in the real sense—its only in the textbooks, what do you make of it?

Answer: See answer to Q 4

Q6. Criticism is made of private schools because of unqualified, untrained, low-paid, and temporary teachers. Based on your knowledge and observation briefly shed some light on the components given:

- Student-teachers ratio(average number of students a teacher engages)
- Teachers' qualification(especially in teaching of the English language)
- Salary packages
- Teachers' motivation level
- Professional training
- Work experience
- Job security

Answer: All this does not apply to all private schools. Some are very good. They are generally the elite schools. The low fee schools do not address these issues, which are related to the teachers and the quality of their employment. This obviously affects the quality of education they impart.

Q7. I have observed that on part of government, there is virtually no regulatory system and monitoring mechanism in place, which could check quality control and hold these schools accountable. Given the above conditions, do you think these schools will deliver quality education?

Answer: Obviously not.

Q 8: Do you think politics has put the medium of instruction issue, 'vital question' into the cold storage in Pakistan?

Answer: You have summed up all the arguments very well. Politics is one factor. English is the language of power, as described by Dr Tariq Rahman, but there is also the social factor. English is supposed to be a status symbol. If people can't speak English correctly they mix English words with the indigenous languages to show that they are socially superior. The government is not clear about what it wants. Without a clear language policy in every sphere of life, education has unsurprisingly been denied a clear cut language policy too.

Q9. Dr Tariq Rahman, in his book titled as *Denizens of Alien Worlds : A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan* (2004) terms the non-elite English medium schools as ‘deceptive and illusory’ on the following grounds:

“People want their children to learn English because it is the language of power and prestige. But calling a school English medium does not make it cross the class boundaries, which go by the name of English. *One learns to operate in a certain manner and speak English spontaneously through interaction with the peer group and family rather than teachers who themselves cannot operate in English naturally.* This is where the illusion comes in. The parents spend so much money, which they can ill afford, chasing the illusive chimera of English. *These are dreams and these schools sell dreams,* this, by itself would be wrong but what make it worse is that people, deluded by the seemingly easy availability of English, make no effort to change this system of educational apartheid” Rehman, 2004:67).

Q 10: What is your impression of Rahman’s argument? Is it true that the students do not learn English because the teachers “are not even tolerably competent in English at all” (Rahman)? Please add your insight on this.

Answer: You must remember that the teachers are a product of the same decrepit education system that you see at present. Education has been on the slide for several decades. You cannot bring highly trained English speaking teachers from elsewhere and induct them in our system. I agree with Dr Rahman.

Q11. If the above is the case where teachers teach in what you call ‘the Pakistani way’ of English teaching (teaching English through Urdu (translation method), do those schools qualify to be termed as English medium schools?

Answer: You may call them by any name. Does it matter? We know they cannot teach in English.

Q12. The critics observe that these schools promote rote learning, encourage memorization and discourage creativity and self-expression. The students fail to know the meaning of whatever they read or write. There is very little element of conceptual clarity, creativity, etc. In your view, what causes students to memorize/rote-learn book contents?

Answer: I totally agree. Child rote learns when he doesn’t know a language well enough to express himself in that language. The second reason is that he is not clear about concepts.

Q13. Do you think English is a barrier to genuine learning in the context of these schools where majority of students come from illiterate family backgrounds, and whose exposure to English language in the surrounding/family is minimal?

Answer: Apart from a very tiny minority where parents speak with their children in English and English is spoken at home, English medium education even in the elite schools should not be encouraged. Education should be participatory which means the students should take part in discussions and express their own ideas about things. Even in the so-called elite schools the students are not comfortable with English and for them to think and speak in English can be quite a challenge.

Q14. Despite solid research evidence about the benefits of mother-tongue based instruction at the earlier stages of schooling, mother tongue based schooling is yet to impress the policy designers and educationists. In your view, is it the ignorance of the policy makers about the potential benefits of mother tongue based schooling or the deliberate neglect that keeps mother tongue based policy in Pakistan (except Sindhi in some parts of Sindh and Pashto to a lesser extent in KP) ? If the later is the case (deliberate neglect), then whose interest does it serve?

Answer: I would term it deliberate neglect. It benefits no one but our policy makers erroneously believe it is to their benefit to keep the children in the dark.

Q15. The history of language policy and planning suggests that the top-down policies have been exclusivist, and the policy makers have demonstrated monolingualizing tendencies—that is to impose Urdu, and legitimize this as the only viable language policy choice. My question is why has linguistic

diversity in general and schools in particular been viewed ‘*as a problem*’ rather than as ‘*an asset*’ in Pakistan?

Answer: Pakistanis, especially those in power, do not appreciate pluralism. We hate diversity and admire conformity and uniformity. The rulers find it easier to control the people that way. That is why a variety of schools and languages pose a problem.

Q16. In your view, has the homogenizing tendencies in language policy paid any dividends so far?

Answer: They have not and will not. Diversity enriches a culture and is important for learning.

Q17. My own research suggests, and which Tariq Rahman also concludes that English and Urdu are perceived more positively than mother tongues. The students in particular look down upon their mother tongues and oppose them as a medium in school. What is your take on the psychological, ideological and cultural implications of the current language policy?

Answer: Dr Tariq Rahman is right. Not allowing different languages in school also leads to resentment that can be quite devastating.

Q18. Scholars around the globe have been alarming about linguistic genocide, language death, vanishing voices, language obsolescence and so on. UNESCO reports 28 language of Pakistan are seriously vulnerable to death. How do you see the future of local mother tongues in Pakistan? In your book, what do you mean to suggest by the following statement when you write, “Having been language of the influential elites in the power structure, English has overshadowed the other languages and stunted their growth” (2011, p: 04)? Please elaborate on this.

Answer: For any language to grow and develop it is important that it is actively used in the education system, in the media and by its speakers. When this does not happen a language atrophies and dies. This is already happening to many of our languages. Look at Urdu. Even the media is throttling it. Mothers are teaching their children a hybrid of Urdu and English which is neither Urdu nor English. If you look at the oak tree you will find that no plant grows beneath it. When one language is allowed to grow very strong it overshadows the others and stunts them. English is like the oak tree.

Q19. Throw some light on the class-based education system or education apartheid in Pakistan, especially with reference to access to quality English medium education.

Answer: Education is treated like a commodity. The better its quality the higher is its price. It means that only those who have money can enter the high priced schools. Others without money are excluded. This vicious cycle continues. The products of these schools get all the high paid jobs and they only can send their children to such schools. This is the apartheid we speak about.

Even the child of a poor man who can generate resources will find it difficult to enter some of the classy and pricey schools. They have their own exclusive culture that doesn’t welcome who cannot speak English with an accent.

Q20. Dr. Shahid Siddiqui (2007) is critical of what he terms as commodification of education especially with reference to the blatant commercialization culture of the private schooling/education in Pakistan. In view of the above, should not we problematize the very phenomenon of privatized education on grounds of human rights and social justice because on one hand, it marginalizes the *have nots* and excludes them from mainstream schooling, on the other hand, it helps the state to free itself from the basic responsibility of public education?

Answer: Yes but before private schools are banned, the state schools should be brought up to the level of the good private schools. If this is done the demand for private schooling will automatically fall.

Q21. In your opinion, what is good and bad about the private English medium schooling?

Answer: Good and bad is relative. Since the public schools are in such a poor state everything about private schools looks to be good. If there was competition things would improve. These schools promote a class-based society. They marginalize the poor.

EXPERT 4

Q1. In your view, what has led to the exponential increase of the privatization of education in Pakistan over the last two and half decades in Pakistan?

Ans: The poor quality of public education and the increased disposable income of an expanding middle class that is willing and able to pay for private schooling.

Q2. Please briefly elaborate on the advantages and disadvantages of the privatization of education in Pakistan.

Ans: All disadvantages mostly in the sense that education has become subject to the logic of the market (i.e. the ability to pay determines access). Insofar as there are advantages (e.g. more leeway in the curriculum, better quality teaching), these could exist in the public sector too if the political will and resources are dedicated to the cause.

Q3. Some observers argue that education has become a selling commodity, and private entrepreneurs have taken full advantage of what appears to be the neoliberal economic policies of the government. How will you react to this argument?

Ans: I agree

Q3. Based on your observation, does the government have a systematic and effective regulatory policy and monitoring mechanism in place to ensure quality education in the private schools?

Ans: No. The govt has no such policy. In fact successive govts have not ensured quality education in public schools so there is simply no question that there is any focus on private schools.

Q4. A number of critical linguists and educationists have criticized the English medium private schools on grounds that it further widens social and economic gaps between the haves and the have nots. The disparities in terms of access to quality English medium are termed as educational 'apartheid'. Please give your insight on the issue.

Ans: This is true. One could also call this linguistic imperialism. The issue, however, is not about imparting English education or not. It is the fact that there are three separate systems of education operating in the country (english-medium private schools, urdu-medium public schools and madrassahs) and this is what needs to be addressed most urgently.

Q5. How do you view the widely spread low-cost English medium private schools? Critics believe that these so-called English medium private schools sell English as a brand—there is no genuine exposure to meaningful use of the English language nor do students achieve reasonable level of academic proficiency in the language these schools tend to advertise as a medium? Please comment.

Ans: I generally agree. These schools serve a market and are concerned largely with earning profit. There is little emphasis on really learning the language and being proficient, not to mention a complete lack of critical pedagogy and grooming of decent human beings.

Q6. Some linguists in Pakistan and many world-wide recommend the use of learners' mother tongue (L1) rather than a second or a foreign language such as English at the primary levels. Given their arguments in favor of mother tongue education and the prevailing policy of English as a medium of instruction in schools, how do you view the effectiveness/success of English as a medium of instruction in schools?

Ans: I support learning in mother-tongues, particularly at the early ages. This does not mean that English cannot also be taught, these are not mutually exclusive possibilities. Effectiveness/success is normatively measured. I perceive success/effectiveness to be a function of how well developed critical faculties are and the extent to which human values are inculcated in students. In this regard most schooling experiments in Pakistan have failed, regardless of the language of instruction.

Q7. Tariq Rahman and several other scholars observe that the policy makers at the top ideologically did not make a multilingual education policy because they apprehended that this would cause secessionist feelings among the major ethno-nationalist groups, thus would threaten the unity of the country. In your view, does a multilingual education policy (a policy incorporating the local/regional language) has something to do with the disintegration of the country as apprehended?

Ans: No, it actually dampens secessionist feelings because it promotes the idea that the Pakistani state is inclusive. The ruling classes' insistence on a one-nation, one language policy has been a major cause of anti-state sentiment.

Q8. In view of the diverse sociolinguistic landscape and the cultural heterogeneity of Pakistan, what would be your desired language policy in schools?

Ans: Learning in mother tongue, English teaching alongside.

EXPERT 5

Q1: How do you view the current language in education policy in Pakistan both in government and in private schools with regard to its educational effectiveness and learning outcomes of the students?

Ans: There does not exist any vibrant policy on language in education. All we teach at schools is Islamic and Pakistan Studies whether it is Urdu, English or Pashto language teaching. Yes. There exist some standard outcomes set in the Education Policy on Languages but that gain is put under the sword by phrasing as 'the law permits'. In language policy the outcomes are set but the curriculum seem at stark contrast with the set outcomes or standards. There are no lessons on language skills—listening (speaking), reading and writing in the textbooks designed. The emphasis is on Islamic values and the so-called patriotism. The course books teach nothing but hatred, intolerance, irrationality and unreason.

Q 2: Critics have been raising concerns over the current language in education policies, which they believe are exclusivist, and tend to undermine the indigenous linguistic and cultural diversity of the country. What do you make of the above criticism? Please elaborate.

Ans: They are right. In Pakistan the one-language-one-religion-one-nation—even one sect paradigm is being promoted. It has the legacy from Jinnah to Zia and onwards. The minority languages are even not recognized as languages. They are dubbed as dialects. What cultural diversity? This is deemed as a threat rather than a beauty. Pakistan suffers Bengal Syndrome as the separation of East Pakistan has prompted the policy makers to learn the lesson the other way. The lesson should be to accommodate the minority and regional languages and ethnicity in the national arena but they have learnt the opposite: to curb the diversity lest other Bangladesh emerge from the remaining Pakistan; and this has done the damage as we see in Pakistan today. The Indian, let's say an alien--Arab imperialistic and puritanical culture-- under the garb of Islam has usurped Indus or sub-continental identity of Pakistanis. This has given birth to the worst kind of terrorism.

Q 3: Contrary to the above argument in favor of linguistic and cultural diversity, there is another school of thought, quite a strong one, which is dismissive of the notion of linguistic and cultural diversity, and it advances apprehensions that introducing local/indigenous mother tongues in schools will disintegrate rather than unite the country. How would you respond their apprehensions? Are these apprehensions real or imagined? Please throw some light on this.

Ans: As above

Q4: Related to the above question, how would you evaluate the results of the Urdu-English centered policies ever since the independence? Have the only-Urdu-English policies and the denial of the local/indigenous mother tongues (except Sindhi) paid any dividends in terms of integrating the country? Kindly elaborate on this.

Ans: Kindly read the answer in this link: <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-35131-Urdu-vs-the-local-languages>

Q5: Language policy and planning experts and sociolinguistics argue that governments' language policy and planning is fundamentally a political matter usually in the hands of the ruling political elites while it has very little to do with the educational needs of the masses or the sociolinguistic dynamics of the country. In view of the above postulation, we can argue that the policy makers in Pakistan, right from the onset, have stuck to one-nation one-language ideology(of Urdu), ignoring the sociolinguistic and multilingual realities of the country. In view of the above, what causes would have led the earlier policy makers to elevate Urdu and relegate the rest of over 60 languages. Was it lack of political vision, deliberate neglect, arrogant authoritarianism, or anything else? Please shed some light on this.

Ans: Read the answer in this link: <http://jang.com.pk/thenews/dec2010-weekly/nos-19-12-2010/dia.htm#4>

Q6: Dr. Tariq Rahman discusses the concept of Urdu imperialism. How do you view the role of Urdu in weakening the local/regional mother tongues of Pakistan?

Ans: Refer to this work of mine. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-35131-Urdu-vs-the-local-languages>

Q7: The history of language policy and planning suggests that the top-down policies have been exclusivist, and the policy makers have demonstrated monolingualizing tendencies—that is to impose Urdu, and legitimize this as the only viable language policy choice. My question is why has linguistic diversity in general and schools in particular been viewed ‘as a problem’ rather than as ‘an asset’ in Pakistan?

Ans: Refer to this. <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20120106&page=28>

Q8: How do you view the introduction of mother tongues in schools? Many critics observe that this policy should not be pursued as they say, one, it is practical impossible to teach all the indigenous/mother tongues, two, this move will push us backward as the local languages have neither any economic nor educational scope. What is your reaction to the above arguments?

Ans: Link: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2012/04/18/comment/columns/my-education-my-language/>

Q9: In your view, does a subtractive policy such as the one in practice have any psychological, ideological and cultural implications? As Tariq Rahman notes that, the current policies have left the local mother tongues to become social ghettos, relegated to mere informal private domains. My own research suggests that English and Urdu are perceived more positively than mother tongues. The students in particular look down upon their mother tongues and oppose them as a medium in school. What is your take on the psychological, ideological and cultural implications of the current language policy?

Ans: <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20120106&page=28>

Q10: The number of private schools, especially the English medium private schools has exponentially increased over the last two decades. In your view, which factors have caused these schools to increase?

Ans: Refer to this link.

<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20120106&page=28>

Q11: How do you view the unprecedented proliferation of the private schools of different shades? Does not it indicate that the state has failed to provide its citizens the very basic right—that is education of a reasonable quality?

Ans: *Quality matters. The state has failed to deliver*

Q 12: In one of her newspaper articles, Zubeida Mustafa argued that apparently in the quiet, the government is gradually trying to disengage itself from looking after the public schools; therefore, it encourages the private schools to expand. What is your take on the above argument?

Ans: *She is right.*

Q13: Critics believe that these so-called private schools only sell English as a brand—there is no English in the real sense—its only in the textbooks, what do you make of it?

Ans: The private schools are of many types. The elite ones think English as social and development handler. The street private schools just imitate that notion and try to sell out the “English Language Love” among the masses whom have been disappointed by the government.
<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20120330&page=26>

Q14: The previous ANP-led government in KPK pushed for Pashto in schools. Why did they make that demand? In your view, was it made for political point scoring or it was a genuine demand driven by the educational and cultural needs of the Pashtoon students?

Ans: *It was a good move without any sound capacity. They did include Pashto but lack the sound methodology how to develop good books in Pashto.*

Q15: What progress has been made in the implementation of the above policy so far?

Ans: *Pashto has been made the medium of instruction at primary schools.*

Q16: What has been the reaction of the people? Will the parents like their children to study Pashto as a medium?

Ans: *In Pakistan people remain indifferent to these things.*

Q17: There have been reports about the death and extinction of most of the smaller languages in Swat and in the Northern areas, would you kindly update on this and suggest the causes of their death/decay/extinction?

Ans: Link: <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-148122-The-language-murder>

Q18: Sabiha Mansoor (2004) contends that language policy in Pakistan is fraught with both conceptual and practical challenges; do you agree with the argument? Moreover, given the real and imagined challenges, what would be your desired medium of instruction policy in schools?

Ans: <http://www.viewpointonline.net/can-you-understand-the-words-i-utter.html>

Q19: If you were to highlight significant achievements of the multilingual program program you have started, what would they be?

Ans:

- Teacher-student interaction in the mother tongue language class is lively because both speak the same language and interact freely with each other.
- We found some of the students ask curious questions and ask for more. However, this also depends upon the ability and attitude of the teacher.
- Rote learning is discouraged but still the children have learnt by heart the rhymes in the mother tongue without parsing the words and sentences.
- Confidence and pleasure level is higher as the students feel comfortable in their own language.
- Mother tongue is an effective to learn second and third language. They can easily transition to Urdu while to English it is a bit difficult as the writing system of English is the other way round.
- More people now use Torwali (their identity with their names. I was the first one who used Torwali with my name and now there are more than 500 youth who write Torwali with their names). Identity strengthened and we now look for Identity Based Community Development. People have also started to practice their culture and events related to it.
- Students of our schools who were sent to the private schools at grade 3rd have by now stood first in their class. It means they can perform better.

EXPERT 6

Q 1: There has been a ten-fold increase in the number of private schools. What do you think the reasons of such expansion?

Ans: There is no accountability in the government sector. It has led to the deterioration of education in the government system. As you said, despite the ten-fold increase, private schools are making very small dent, they make very small percentage of the schools. They are mostly in cities. In villages, the number is very low. There are many reasons. In my view, bad quality of government schools, teachers' absenteeism, corporal punishment, no monitoring, lack of support of enough resources to education. All that made left the market open for private schools. I think, most of private schools are doing better either. There are so many issues too.

Q 2: Is it due to deliberate neglect of the government?

Ans: One thing, they are not held accountable because of political interference. One of the things prevalent is substitute teachers, which is even accepted by the education department. Other issues are Political patronage,

nepotism, favoritism, and violation of merit. There are other reasons also. I tell you public education system will never improve because no one at top care about it. You know. We all know. Nobody from the elites send out their children to ordinary government schools. No minister, no bureaucrat, no influential person thinks about the sorry state of government schools because elites have stakes in it. Their children attend expensive English-medium schools, and they can afford to pay the skyrocketing tuition fee and other charges with ease. But no common man can even imagine, let alone sending children. There is only one solution—that is to make education system uniform for all from all classes. Then when a minister or a bureaucrat's own children will be there, they will push hard for quality education. Otherwise poor will remain poor because of low quality education.

Q 3: About private schools, critics say that to maximize their profit margins, they compromise on qualified teachers and other facilities. What is your take on this?

Ans: Yes, all these drawbacks are correct, but still the private schools perform better. Yes, they are low paid, there is no guarantee, there is adhocism, and there is temptation for money. Despite all these shortages, the private schools do better.

Q 4: This makes me to raise another related question. This is where the dilemma lies. We admire the relatively better quality of the private schools, but ignore the fundamental question as to what is the role of the state? Why should the state leave the masses at mercy of the private schools?

Ans: This is very good question. We have written in our constitution, and now we have passed resolutions in provincial assemblies that upto higher level, government is responsible for free education. But all this is rhetoric. There always been cut on budget allocation for health and education. These two basic departments are the most miserable. It is most unfortunate.

I tell you one thing. Once I met a top ranked officer of the UNDP in Islamabad. He was a foreigner. We were discussing the poor state of our education. He made important comment. He said, there was no seriousness on part of authorities. They do not want to educate masses. There is no commitment. He said, this country wanted to become a nuclear power, so it achieved that. But the political masters of this country have not yet decided to educate its masses. Health and education are low priority. In south Asia, countries that have invested more, have achieved much better literacy. Let me tell you, 50% of children are still out of school in Balochistan. 70% girls are out of school. And about 50% drop out by the stage they reach 5th class. 70% of the girls drop out at the same stage.

Q 5: English and pursuit of English has become a fashion, a trend, a culture. We observe that schools advertise themselves as English language; however, there is no English within. What is your observation?

Ans: Once a parent came to me. He happened to be a government teacher; he was complained about increase in fee. I questioned him, what could be the minimum salary of government teacher? He replied at least 25000. Then I took out register showing him that the senior most teachers in my school got only 15000. Now you tell me from where I should generate this money. His salary was 47000. So our locals, often when they get a government job, they leave private sector and be content with government school. Here mostly remain settlers, especially females. Since they are educated, therefore instead of sitting idle at home, they join private schools even if the salary is less. They do so to keep busy, get a pocket money and pass their time. There is very little amount of dedication in their teaching duties. So now to make this person dedicated teachers is extremely tough job.

Now coming to English. It's a foreign language. We the people of Baluchistan have not yet learned the Urdu language. We still struggle with proper use of urdu such as plural/singulars, feminine/masculine. Then from classes 5th, we start learning English through Urdu language. Moreover, guess who are our teachers—Pashtoon and Baloch. Who have no ability in urdu. That is the basic reason why UNESCO repeatedly recommends the use of mother tongues for at the early stages. I propose mother tongue education. That is the most easy, natural and scientifically proven option. A lot of research confirms this. But we are doing the reverse.

I know, learning can be accelerated through mother tongue. The child does come with certain storage of knowledge, what we need to accelerate that. Unfortunately, there is misperception and a feeling among parents that if you give children education in mother tongue, you are pushing them backward. And they have not been recognized by the government. First, we need the government to recognize mother tongue. UNESCO says,

teach in mother tongue. It is a universal principle. If we are not teaching them, it is our fault. We are also paying the price. Our children are handicapped in languages. They learn no one of the language well.

Q 6: Children do rote learning instead of conceptualizing and understanding the concepts. Critics also say that these English medium private schools also encourage rote learning. How would you comment on it?

Ans: I believe this all is related to the person whom we call teachers. If he/she is really a committed teacher, they will create such creativity. And there are teacher who do the same. So it is a continuous struggle, needing close monitoring role of the supervisor. Parents' also have very important role to play in this. For instance, I have allocated 4 days in an academic session for parents. It is defined in the academic calendar. On the given day, classes are off. Now, none of those poor students has shown it to the parents, neither has the parents taken the trouble to ask about their children progress. So it is a three-way progress. Students-teachers-parents. Parents have crucial, role to play. In the same class, those whose parents are involved, perform better than those whose parents do not take interest. Another thing is that when parents are educated, they look after their children's educational affairs well. This is very important factor.

Q 7: Given our social, economic, and cultural environment, do you think English is a suitable choice as a school language?

Ans: I told you. I say teach mother tongues. Its natural choice. Education becomes joyful. The basic solution is mother tongue. Even in secondary classes, some times when I explain meanings of word in Pashto, it instantly brings smiles on their faces and they comprehend with ease. They say that the nation will disintegrate but I say the nation will integrate with mother tongue education. We will make real progress then. We will produce thinkers and scientist. Currently we mostly produce blind followers and rote learners.

It's a tragedy. As a UNICIF chief in KP, we once pushed the education ministry to introduce local languages, it was in Malakand, the president of teachers' union said that "no, no, we will push our children backward, if we teach Pashto". He was the one who was opposing. The representative of USAID, a lady from Beirut was literally laughing at this. Once an education secretary introduced local languages, the parents resisted this move on the same grounds. So unless you make a solid and firm policy, it will not succeed. You need to convince parents that education in mother tongue has a lot more advantages than English.

Q8: How to accommodate English in the policy?

Ans: Well, I would say you have given so much time to English, lets try local languages for 10 years; let this policy take roots. English is need of the time. But we still need to develop our languages for academic purposes. Like you produce Urdu teachers, let us produce Pashto, Balochi and Burahvi teachers. Create jobs linked to languages. South Korea became independent after us. They are more developed. So it depends on the political masters and policy makers. This nation has not decided yet to educate its children.

Q9: There is no equality and uniformity in schooling. We have a number of schooling systems in parallel. Don't you think it creates polarization?

Ans: Yes, I agree. I believe, let private schools function; let us create a competitive environment. But have a systematic regulatory authority to supervise private schools. We don't have regulatory authority. Yes, I'm sure. After giving recognition, education authorities never go to those schools. They are free in terms of syllabus, uniform, teachers' pay, building etc. Most of schools are run in neither congested private houses, which have neither libraries nor playgrounds nor physically refreshing learning environment— houses not built for the purpose of schools. There is no control. Baluchistan Education Foundation, another institution that gives yearly grants to these schools, but it only checks the utilization of those funds. They have done nothing to interfere with other things of the schools.

Q 10: How do you see the future?

Ans: I believe unless the policy makes change their minds and their priorities, the situation will remain as grim as it stands now. I don't see that changing. All elected representative, males and females are government employees, and they get their relatives government jobs, who draw salaries and other benefits. I would suggest that : Make education compulsory; Introduce local languages, produce good teachers; Increase allocation— make it four times more. Improve governance, monitoring system. Do accountability. Give rewards and

incentives to those who do good job. Finally, stop corporal punishment because has added to drop out in the government schools. It creates panic in the children. Improve physical infrastructure. You can see, on the other side of our school, there are three private schools even a high schools, all are housed in private residences...very congested. They don't prefer this spacious school because compared to our schools they charge less fee. That is the only attraction for the parents.

EXPERT 7

R: Medium of instruction is one of the recurrent issues discussed with reference to education in Pakistan; therefore, what medium or instruction would you suggest?

Ans: Yes, it is a critical issue. Let me point out one thing that people mostly confuse medium of instruction and language. Let me give you an example. There is a school called Alhijra Trust established in Ziarat. There, Arabic is taught as a language. English is taught as a language. The Pashto speaking students, you go, you will find them, they speak fluent Arabic, and they speak fluent in English. This is so because they are taught in English, and they are taught English as a language, not as subject as we traditionally do in our schools. When we talk about those private schools, ok, they say that they teach English-medium, but they are not using English as a language. Their courses may be in English though. There are some good aspects of the private schools. Teachers are regular, though they are less paid. Government schools, teachers are highly paid, but they are not attending schools. Those who are attending schools are not good in teaching. They are cheaters.

English medium policy, at the moment, appears to be an illusion. They have attractive English names like 'Oxford grammar, Grand Folk, Spectrum, Wisdom and St. Joseph grammar schools' to sell out their brands high in the public; but those schools don't teach English as a language, but English as a subject. The mode of education is still rote learning. Students are neither taught the language.

Q2: UNESCO recommends mother tongue based education, but we still pursue education in a foreign language such as English. Please throw some light on this issue.

Ans: This is a dilemma. We do not like ourselves. There is a psychological issue. Unfortunately, we don't feel proud to talk in our own languages. For instance, a Punjabi officer will never talk in the Punjabi language. They prefer to talk either in Urdu or in English. Baloch are the only people in Pakistan who are proud of talking in their own language. I prefer to write in my own language Balochi. I have written more than 90 novels in Balochi, but I don't want to be recognized as an English writer or Urdu writer. Yes Urdu is my lingua franca. We don't hate languages, but Balochi is my mother tongue. I love Balochi.

We are uprooted people. We are slaves to others.

We have not been taught something that could bring us together. And education could bring us together. You don't teach me in Balochi, you say it's the world of science and technology. Its wrong. A German researcher has proved that if you are taught in mother tongue, you can learn better and learn fast. With mother tongue based education, a child's learning can increase manifold. Let us say if we teach a child in Balochi language at the primary level properly, he will feel at much ease and will become sharper than he/she is now. If I had been taught in Balochi from the early days, I would have been sharper than I'm now. So politics matters. Politics is more important than anything else is.

R: What is your observation about private schools. Critics say that those schools tend to sell education as selling commodity.

Ans: To be very frank and candid, it is true. Education has become business.

EXPERT 8

What is your view of the English-medium policy in a number of private schools? Given your background from UNESCO, you might be in better position to throw light.

Ans: Yes, in given the UNESCO reports, the best medium of instruction is teaching in mother tongues. In this sense, English-medium policy does not follow UNESCO. I think, we need to begin with mother tongue because there are many advantages. Language is easy to understand. Better concepts can be developed. It will also bring about positive change in language perceptions. This is good in theory. But in practice, it is not that simple.

There are so many languages. Pakistan is facing worst economic conditions. Politics of languages can also be an issue.

EXPERT 9

Q 1: How do you perceive English-medium policy in general and in the context of the low-fee private schools in particular? Experts of bi/multilingual education around the world emphasize teaching mother tongue at least until the primary level. How would you comment on the theoretical and practical aspects of English-medium policy from nursery levels?

Ans: What we do is we give our schools English medium schools, but to teach English, we do not have good teachers. Often, teachers teaching in those schools are matric, FA (pass and fail). As a result, the teachers needed to teach the subjects are pathetically low in levels. More often than not, those teachers join private schools due to their financial compulsions and acute joblessness in the market. And their qualification especially in the English is so poor that, I guarantee, they are unable to construct four written sentences in the English language. And to me, it is the biggest problems. What was required like, some of the standard, but expensive networks of schools like City schools and Beaconhouse, do, these schools also should have sought services of relatively better English teachers. Those schools mentioned, to a certain extent hire better teachers who can teach with a certain amount quality. Two things are better: qualified teachers and reasonably better salaries. Here, neither teachers nor schools qualify to be labeled as English medium schools. It is a deception. I'm amazed when you pay teacher around 5000, what will be their devotion and commitment levels towards teaching and the students. They only spend time and remain content with a pocket money for survival. And mostly females come to private schools whose main target is to earn this much as to manage their make-up and pocket-money expenses. Its simple. That is just a part time activity, and a source not to be dependent on parents. We can never associate this job with future and career.

What we need is a complete systematic [policy and controlling mechanism. Here is nothing. What you expect from the Entrepreneurs, who rights from the beginning make money and business their prime motive behind establishment of the school, their maximum energies will spend in money-making and money-saving; not the noble aims like public serve and social welfare. And if their aim or ideology is to educate people, then they would certainly hire teachers of reasonably good level and pay them fair salary. Now of we want this problem to address effectively, we need to organize the education system and attract qualified teachers. Qualified teachers would come if the system of private schools gives them necessary safeguards in form of first good salary and a system of service structure. Currently, the teachers live at the mercy of their owners' will, and their will is understandably to exploit them at their best. If you don't give them job security or service structure, the teachers will spend few days and run away the moment they see other opportunities.[adhocism]. It suggests that his/her interest level with the school and children is the minimal.

I have taught at 4 to five schools and a college. What I have observed is that unless the private schooling system provides service structure, no sensible person will stay there for long. I believe private schools have played a big role in the destruction of education in our country. I tell you, when teachers cannot dare to fail any student, what level of education will you promote. When a child feels that whatever effort he does whether he works hard or not, the school is bound to pass him/her. The schools cannot and do not want to fail because if they, the child will leave and go to another school. This will naturally leave negative effect on the business prospects. it is simple as that. Now what was required was at least, out of 100 students, at least 70 or at the most 80% would have passed. It is impossible to think of all students getting equal grades and percentages. How can you give 100% similar result? It is impossible for all students to have equal I.Q level. It is a joke. So the bottom-line is that unless you threat the child with a certain level of fear for failure. As a result, they never work hard. Throughout the year, they pass their time and are confident that teachers cannot fail them. Parents also hardly take account of this miserable practice.

Until their children fail, they never visit schools. [logically without accountability, children will not study]. you cannot leave children unaccountable at such a small age where they cannot distinguish between good and bad. Doing so is bound to deteriorate their education levels. Until they become conscious, they have reached college levels. Later on, he survives in a system of rampant cheating.

2. What is your view about English-medium education? Is English-medium policy suited in the context?

It is a very important question. Often students from class one to 14 spend and waste on English, but still they don't learn. Instead, if we teach them in mother tongue or Urdu in beginning, they will truly learn. I don't totally

disagree with English. English is important. I argue those who cannot learn, or do not have aptitude, if overburden them with English, they will instead not be able to study other subjects also. What is needed is environment. There is no English at all. Urdu prevails in schools while mother tongues prevail at homes. Here I argue that you provide with friendly environment where they get genuine exposure around, English will be all right. However, to impose or thrust English on those missing on the English exposure, English does not seem to be a sensible choice.

Q 3: Do students develop concepts or just do rote learning?

There may be both. As I know, most of them learn by heart. They do not understand what they read. I think syllabus designers are responsible. Classroom size is also a major factor. Ideally, class must not exceed 30, but unfortunately, we have a lot more students on which teachers cannot concentrate individually. Other reason for rote learning is that we teach material that is foreign. Even the names of characters are foreign. You teach instead the local things or at least things related to our religion or culture. This will minimize rote learning because the child will to a certain extent be able to understand messages in the text.

Q 4: Critics believe that private schools are meant for earning money rather than disseminating quality education.

Yes, it is very much true. Once I complained to a college (BIT) principal that look, we teach our students with great dedication and application, but there are some mischievous students who not only disturb teachers, but also other studious students, I suggest you things to handle them—either arrange a separate class for the naughty and non-serious students or struck them off. Doing this will likely to bring in discipline in classroom. Now, his reply is very revealing and exposing the fundamentally corrupt philosophy of the private entrepreneurs. His answers left me in state of shock saying that “Look, a single student pays me 60,000 package while I can get a teacher in only 10,000, now you guess who is important to me and who is not”.

APPENDIX C: Survey Questionnaire



QUESTIONNAIRE

‘English-Medium Education Policy in the Low-Fee Private Schools in Quetta’

Dear respondent,

The objective of this research is to survey and analyze issues related to the ‘English-medium education policy in the low-fee private schools in Quetta’. I would like to promise that all the responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. You are requested to read questionnaire carefully and answer to the best of your knowledge.

Your kind cooperation is highly appreciated.

The questionnaire comprises of following sections:

- Section A: Demographic information
- Section B: Exposure to English language
- Section C: Language use by teachers within the class
- Section D: Language (s) i use within the class with friends & teachers
- Section E: Strategies for examination preparation
- Section F: Comfort level across skills in the English language
- Section G: Comfort level in different languages
- Section H: Desired language-in-education policy
- Section I: Views on importance of English language
- Section J: Writing task

A. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- 1) Age:
- 2) Gender:
- 3) Mother tongue:
- 4) District:
- 5) Parents’ educational level:

6) Parents' occupation:

B. EXPOSURE TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE

1. When I use English as a medium of communication in classroom, it is usually in the form of:

a) *Asking for permission from teachers*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
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b) *Asking questions on subjects*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

c) *Discussion with teachers*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
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d) *Using few English words within Urdu conversation (code-switching)*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

e) *Using English in informal chit chat with friends or teachers*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
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2. When I get opportunity to use English for writing, it is in the form of :

a) *writing down teachers' dictation*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
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b) *copying from the whiteboard*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

c) *creative/reflective task (essay, story, personal reflection)*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

d) *Homework assigned from books, etc.*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

3. When I get opportunity to use English for reading, it is in the form of:

a) *reading text book(s) which teachers assign in classroom*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
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b) *reading after my teacher*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

c) *reading a passage for quiz/test*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

d) *reading material other than text books for pleasure*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
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e) *reading newspaper as a hobby*

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

4. I get opportunity to use English for communication at home

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

5. I get opportunity to use English in the outside environment/market

Never	seldom	sometimes	never	always
-------	--------	-----------	-------	--------

6. I get opportunity to engage with English through media

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|--------|
| a. TV: | Never | seldom | sometimes | never | always |
| b. Radio: | Never | seldom | sometimes | never | always |
| c. Newspaper: | Never | seldom | sometimes | never | always |
| d. movies : | Never | seldom | sometimes | never | always |
| e. sports : | Never | seldom | sometimes | never | always |
| f. internet : | Never | seldom | sometimes | never | always |

C. LANGUAGE(S) USE BY TEACHERS WITHIN THE CLASS

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|
| • Only Urdu: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | agree |
| strongly agree | | | | |
| • Urdu & English: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | agree |
| strongly agree | | | | |
| • Only English: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | agree |
| strongly agree | | | | |
| • Urdu & local languages: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | |
| agree strongly agree | | | | |

D. LANGUAGE (S) I USE WITHIN THE CLASS WITH FRIENDS & TEACHERS

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|---------|----------------|
| • Only Urdu: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | agree | strongly agree |
| strongly agree | | | | | |
| • Urdu & English: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | agree | |
| strongly agree | | | | | |
| • Only English: | Strongly disagree | disagree | neutral | agree | |
| strongly agree | | | | | |
| • Urdu & local languages: | Strongly disagree | | disagree | neutral | |
| agree strongly agree | | | | | |

E. STRATEGIES FOR EXAMINATION PREPARATION

When I prepare for examination papers, I usually do the following:

- a) *memorize whole set of questions from notebooks/textbooks*
Strongly disagree disagree neutral agree strongly agree
- b) *understand concept and write answers in my own words*
Strongly disagree disagree neutral agree strongly agree
- c) *write the same in answers as in the books/notebooks*
Strongly disagree disagree neutral agree strongly agree

F. COMFORT LEVEL ACROSS SKILLS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

- a. *When I read in English, I find it:*
Easy more essay difficult more difficult neither easy nor difficult
- b. *When write in English, I find it:*
Easy more essay difficult more difficult neither easy nor difficult
- c. *When I speak English, I find it:*
Easy more essay difficult more difficult neither easy nor difficult
- d. *When I listen to English, I find it:*
Easy more essay difficult more difficult neither easy nor difficult

G. COMFORT LEVEL IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

- b) *If I'm asked to write an essay, I will feel more comfortable with:*
English Urdu Mother tongue
- c) *If I am asked to read a newspaper editorial/report , I will feel more comfortable with:*
English Urdu Mother tongue
- d) *If I am asked to conduct debate/discussion in classroom, I will feel more comfortable with:*
English Urdu Mother tongue

H. DESIRED LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY

Carefully read language combinations in all the boxes, and then select any one of the combinations you would like/wish to study in schools. Please mark your choice.

Only English	Only Urdu	Only Mother Tongue	Urdu & English	Mother-tongue+ Urdu+ English	Mother tongue & Urdu	Mother - tongue & English
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I. VIEWS ON IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Do you think English is an important language? Please explain in few sentences.

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J. WRITING TASK

Write down a short essay on “What do you want to become in the future and why?”

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