

**Social Meanings of Language Policy and
Practices: A Critical, Linguistic Ethnographic
Study of four Schools in Pakistan**

by
Muhammad Ali Khan

A thesis submitted to Lancaster University for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Linguistics and English Language
Lancaster University
December 2012

Signed declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work is my own. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed

Muhammad Ali Khan

31 December 2012

Abstract

In this thesis, I present a study in which I investigate language-in-education policy and practices in four schools in Pakistan: School (A) and (B) are both fee-charging private English-medium schools, located in Karachi, with a wide margin between their fee structure. School (C) is a no-tuition-fee, public sector Urdu-medium school, located in Quetta, north-west of Pakistan, and School (D) is also a no-tuition-fee Urdu-medium religious school in Karachi, locally known as a *Dini Madrassah*. The study aimed to address the following over-arching research questions:

1) What is the relationship between the language-in-education policy of Pakistan and the everyday language practices found in its schools? 2) How do pupils, teachers and parents become socialized into the language practices of a school, in the classrooms, at school functions and in the social spaces in the school? 3) How are the languages of pupils, teachers and parents valued/legitimized or constrained by the schools' overt and covert language practices? 4) Why is a particular discursive practice legitimized in some schools but not in others?

Following the critical interpretive tradition of research on multilingual classroom discourse (Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001), I combined methods and perspectives mainly from post-structuralist theory (Bourdieu, 1991), critical ethnographic sociolinguistics (Heller, 2011), and sociolinguistics (Bakhtin, 1986; Gumperz, 1982). I gathered data using a number of different methods, mainly: observation, audio-recording, note-taking, interviews, photography and the use of a questionnaire.

The findings of the study suggest that there is a mismatch between the language practices observed in these schools and language policy at the government level. The language practices of the research participants are more complex than they are assumed to be at the governmental

policy level and in findings of survey-based research on language-in-education in Pakistan. Research participants draw on a variety of languages at different times and in different spaces in schools depending on a number of factors. The study found that the stance of some of the research participants on the role of languages-in-education was ambivalent. Moreover, there was a mismatch between their views on the role of languages in education and their actual languages practices in school. The use of local languages for formal education was largely considered to be a problem in all four of the schools. There was also evidence of antipathy towards local languages and the participants in my study seemed to have accepted the argument that these languages need to be substantially developed if they are to be used for teaching and learning in formal schools. Access to full bilingualism and biliteracy in the language of the former colonial power and the national language seemed to be restricted to those attending School A. The students in School B and School C were provided with bilingual education in English and Urdu only in theory despite the fact that there is widespread demand for bilingual education, with the emphasis being on English in School B and on Urdu in School C. The linguistic repertoires of students were thus shaped in different ways in different types of schools and there was a significant relationship between the nature and prestige of the linguistic resources of individuals/groups and the formal education options available to them. Given the complex sociolinguistic realities in the country and actual discursive practices in schools, the home-school language gap does not appear to be the major problem. Instead, the institutionalized regulation of access to powerful languages seems to be shaping the chances of different groups of students, positioning them in different ways vis-à-vis the national political economy and the changing market demands for languages. Regarding the choice of particular languages as media of instruction, my study has shown that historical legacies, and also socioeconomic and political

interests, are the primary motivations. In turn, these choices have led to particular discursive practices in schools and those of particular ways of legitimizing and displaying school language policies.

The findings also suggest that the display of languages in public signs in schools needs to be taken into account in investigating language policy, linguistic ideologies, hierarchies and power relations at micro, meso and macro levels. Such signs contribute to the construction of a sociolinguistic order in which standard varieties of English and Urdu dominate the public space. The orthographic aspects of languages on display index the socio-political and economic struggles embedded in the history of asymmetrical relations. There is also a mismatch between the spoken language practices observed in schools and the clearly defined boundaries between the languages on display. In addition, at a policy level, signs such as those photographed in the schools in this study misrepresent the multilingual makeup of Pakistani society by only displaying the officially-mandated languages.

In short, this thesis primarily contributes to the field of LPP and bilingual education by showing how the study of languages on display, along with observation and analysis of everyday discursive practices in schools and classrooms, can be used to investigate language-in-education policy. It also shows how local situated language and signage practices index wider socio-political relations across time and space. It also contributes to bilingual education by illustrating the complexity involved at the implementation site of bilingual education, showing the agency of the actors in appropriating/ negotiating/ resisting / rejecting policy at micro levels.

Acknowledgment

This thesis has taken shape over a period of time—I started working on it in January 2009 and finally completed the task in December 2012. Apart from my PhD courses at Lancaster University, I benefited enormously from attending research training, courses, seminars and academic meetings at the School of Oriental and African Studies, King’s College London, University College London and the University of Birmingham. I am most grateful to all my teachers and colleagues in these institutions for sharing their knowledge and time. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Jane Sunderland, Director, Thesis and Coursework for organizing a programme that was intellectually challenging and enabling.

My presentations at the American University Sharjah, Post-graduate Conference Lancaster University, Aga Khan University, Universiti Sains Malaysia , Nepal English Language Teaching Conference and Dhaka University gave me great opportunities to discuss my study with senior and junior colleagues. These interactions helped in fleshing out my conceptual approach and arguments. For that, I am greatly indebted to all for their valuable questions/ critiques/ appreciation on my work.

I would like to acknowledge my everlasting gratitude to Dr. Mark Sebba, my guru, whose sustained and invaluable guidance, encouragement and confidence in my ability enabled me to make this modest contribution to the field of language policy and planning, bilingual education and language policy scholarship in Pakistan. I gained much knowledge from my discussions with him, while his insightful questions and very constructive feedback helped give direction to my research. I am most grateful to Dr. Sebba for letting me work closely with him, and graciously permitting me to do so even on board the TransPennine Express while travelling from Lancaster

to Birmingham to attend a meeting at The MOSAIC Centre for Research on Multilingualism at the University of Birmingham.

I have also gained much from exchanges with a number of senior colleagues: Prof. A.A.M.S. Arefin Siddique, Professor Ben Rampton , Professor David Barton, Professor Nancy Hornberger, Professor Michael Apple, Professor Kazi Kadir, Professor Moinuddin Aqeel, Professor S.M. Wasti and finally the person who merits a very special mention for her mentoring and friendship, Professor Ingrid Piller. Her award to me for presenting the best paper on the second day of the International Conference on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education at the American University Sharjah, followed by the Best Doctoral Write-up award (ALMA) presented by the website Language-on-the-Move, were most encouraging and helped me produce an identity text. I owe Prof. Piller and her wonderful project Language-on-the-Move a debt of gratitude. I also thank Dr. Kimie Takahashi, the co-founder of the project, for the valuable Skype meeting she held with me in the early days of my doctoral journey.

There are colleagues who shared invaluable resources with me through emails: Professor Marilyn Martin-Jones, Professor Monica Heller, Dr. Angel Lin, Dr. Bonacina, Dr. Chimbutane and Ms Alia Amir. I am most grateful to all of them. I also benefited a great deal from my participations in e-seminars at the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, Linguistic Ethnography Forum. I thank you all. I am also indebted to Ethnography Forum Penn GSE for regularly sending me their Working Papers in Educational Linguistics and feel honored at being appointed a Visiting Scholar. I am also grateful to all those unnamed scholars who took time to review my doctoral project.

This thesis would not have been possible without the participation of my very dear informants. I owe each student, teacher, parent and school management officer a great debt of gratitude for accommodating my many visits to their institutions. I see my fieldwork as most stimulating and rewarding in terms of bringing new insights. I am particularly grateful to my key informants in each school for allowing me to spend many full working days with them. Thanks are also due to friends who helped me get access to these institutions. I would like to acknowledge the generosity of my host in providing me accommodation in his flat in Quetta during politically unsettled times.

I would like to acknowledge the financial support from the prestigious Aga Khan University, Lancaster University, and the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. I can never thank enough my former head of the department, Dr. Graeme Cane, for making extraordinary efforts to support me at every stage of my study. I would also like to mention the name of our former administrative officer, Ramzan Rajwani, who voluntarily acted as the financial advisor of the project. I greatly appreciate this goodness in him and even when he moved to another department, he kept giving me his valuable suggestions.

Many colleagues and friends in Lancaster and Pakistan have been a great support to me and I would like to mention their names: Raja Mubarak sahib, my cousin Raas, Rajab Zahrani, Joe Thistlwaite, Anthony Capstick, Mazura Muhmamd, Yvonne Perfortaine and Sebaistian. Throughout the process of writing this thesis, a host of people assisted me. The ones who deserve special mention are Ms. Yasmin Qureshi, Dr. James Whiting, Dr. Asho Ali, Professor Iqbal Azam Professor Azra Ahmed, Ms. Mehnaz Hanzala, Mr. Riaz Barni, Mr. Mohsin Ali and Mr. Arshad.

Finally I would like to mention the warmth and comfort I received from my family. A special thanks to my *shareeq-e-hayat* (my wife), Syeda Ambreen Zahra, Basil Ali Khan, Jamail Ali Khan, Yusra Ali, Khayyam Ali Khan, my dear brother Kanan Ali Khan and my sisters Nabila Kanwal and Dolly. My final thanks go to my Amma for narrating stories of scholars and urging me to emulate them.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my wife, Syeda Ambreen Zahra, and my kids, Basil, Jamail, Yusra and Khayyam, who have once more endured life without me for an extended period of time. I am sure they will one day appreciate my choices better.

Table of Contents

Abstract	I
Acknowledgements	iv
Dedication	vii
Table of Contents	viii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	xiii
List of Figures and Tables	
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Overview	1
1.1 The Central Issue	2
1.2 The Context for this Study	2
1.3 Motivation for this Study	4
1.4 Research Questions	8
1.5 The Nature and Significance of this Study	13
1.6 Structure of the Thesis	15
Part I – The Interdisciplinary Research Context	
Chapter 2: An Overview of the Empirical Foci in Language Policy and Planning Studies	19
Overview	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Early LPP Scholarship: the era of models, taxonomies and frameworks	23
2.2.1 Strengths and Limitations of Early LPP Scholarship	25
2.3 Critical-Historical research: the era of ideology, power and inequality	26
2.3.1 Strengths and Limitations of Critical-Historical Approaches	28
2.4 Ethnography of Language Policy: the era of agency and ecology	31
2.4.1 Agency	31
2.4.2 Ecology	34
2.5 Current trends in LPP Research: Synthesis and broadening of the empirical foci of LPP	35
2.5.1 Continua of Biliteracy	36
2.5.2 Broadening the Empirical Foci	38
2.6 A Proposed Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics	40
2.7 The Contribution of the Current Study	41
Chapter 3: Post-Structuralist Theoretical Framework and the Approach of Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics	42
Overview	42
3.1 Introduction	42
3.2 Globalization and Language Education	43
3.3 Post-Structuralist Perspectives	46

3.4	Language, Multilingualism and Language Use in Linguistically-Diverse Settings	47
3.4.1	Ethnolinguistic Difference	47
3.4.2	Education	48
3.4.3	Legitimate Language	49
3.4.4	Justification for using Bourdieu's theoretical framework	51
3.5	Sociolinguistically-Informed Approaches to Discourse	54
3.5.1	Conceptualizing Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics (CES)	55
3.5.2	Language Practices as Policy	56
3.5.3	Critical Interpretive Approaches to Multilingual Classroom Interaction	58
3.5.4	Ideologies Indexed in Everyday Classroom Language Practices	61
3.6	Justification for the Selection of the Approach Adopted in this Study	62

Chapter 4: Pakistan: Sociolinguistic Profile and Overview of Colonial and Post-Colonial Language-in-Education Policy and Research in Pakistan

	Overview	63
4.1	Location and Demography	64
4.1.1	Sociolinguistic Profile of Pakistan	65
4.1.2	Discussion on Sociolinguistic Profile of Pakistan	67
4.2	Colonial Language Policy	70
4.3	Key Empirical Studies on Role of Languages in Education in Pakistan: Descriptive Studies	75
4.3.1	Critical Approach to Language Policy Study in Pakistan	78
4.4	Proposed Models of Bilingual Education in Post-Colonial Pakistan	85
4.4.1	Bilingual Education and the Discourse of Linguistic Human Rights in Pakistan	88
4.4.2	Reflections on School Observation	91

Chapter 5: The Research Sites: Communities, Schools and Classrooms

	Overview	95
5.1	Salient Characteristics of the Research Sites	96
5.2	Ethnographic Profiles	97
5.2.1	School A (SA)	97
5.2.2	School B (SB)	99
5.2.3	School C (SC)	101
5.2.4	School D (SD)	105
5.3	Models and Programme Types in Pakistan	107
5.3.1	School A (SA)	107
5.3.1.1	Student Population	107
5.3.1.2	Teacher Population	107
5.3.1.3	Medium of Instruction	108
5.3.1.4	Classroom Language Use	109
5.3.2	School B (SB)	109
5.3.2.1	Student Population	109
5.3.2.2	Teacher Population	110

5.3.2.3	Medium of Instruction	110
5.3.2.4	Classroom Language Use	111
5.3.3	School C (SC)	112
5.3.3.1	Student Population	112
5.3.3.2	Teacher Population	112
5.3.3.3	Medium of Instruction	113
5.3.3.4	Classroom Language Use	113
5.3.4	School D (SD)	115
5.3.4.1	Student Population	115
5.3.4.2	Teacher Population	115
5.3.4.3	Medium of Instruction	115
5.3.4.4	Classroom Language Use	116
Chapter 6: Research Approach and Methodology		
Overview		117
6.1	Ethnographically-Informed Research	117
6.2	Selection and Access to the Sites	119
6.2.1	The Selection of the Sites	119
6.2.2	Access to the Site	120
6.3	Fieldwork Procedures	120
6.3.1	Initial Stage	121
6.3.2	Middle Stage	122
6.3.3	Late Stage	122
6.3.4	Relationship Between the Researcher and the Researched	123
6.3.5	Observations	124
6.3.5.1	Observation in the Classroom	125
6.3.5.2	Observation in the School Environment	127
6.3.6	Field Notes	128
6.3.7	Audio Recordings	129
6.3.8	Interviews	130
6.3.9	Questionnaire	131
6.3.10	Gathering of Relevant Documents and Textual Materials	132
6.4	Data Preparation: Transcription and Translation Processes	133
6.4.1	Transcription and Translation Processes	133
6.4.2	The Process of Interpretation	134
6.4.2.1	General Interpretation	134
6.4.2.2	Specific Interpretation	136
6.4.3	Ethical Considerations	137

Part II - Every Day Discursive Practices in the Schools in the Study.

Chapter 7: The Socio-Cultural Value of Local Literacies and Languages in Schools		149
Overview		139
7.1	Interactional Practices in Classrooms	139
7.1.1	Initiation and Maintenance of Unified Floor	140

7.1.2	Use of Arabic to Regulate the Interactional Practices and Legitimize Knowledge	142
7.1.3	Meeting the Demands of English Only in the Classroom	145
7.1.4	Pupils Challenging Native Speech Model	147
7.2	Linguistic Repertoire and Pupil Categorization	150
7.2.1	Unofficial Categorization in Everyday Teacher Talk	150
7.2.2	Official Categorization of Pupils	152
7.2.3	Categorizing Students Based on their Ability to Utter English Words in the Classroom	153
7.2.4	The Process of Category Formation	154
7.2.5	The Link Between the Categorization of Pupils and their Ethnicity and Class	156
7.2.6	Everyday Interaction and Ethnicity	157
7.2.7	Interactional Practices and Social Class	159
7.2.8	Bridging Gaps Between Policy and Practices	162
Chapter 8: Discursive Responses to Language-in-education Policy of Pakistan		164
	Overview	164
	Introduction	164
8.1	Monitoring Pupils Linguistic Production	167
8.2	Socialization Processes of Pupils in School Language Environment	170
	8.2.1 Socialization of Students	171
	8.2.2 Parents' Socialization in the School Environment	176
8.3	Contestation and Collaboration	177
	8.3.1 Separation of Linguistic Resources	179
Chapter 9: Legitimate Language in these Multilingual Schools		
	Overview	182
9.1	Languages on Display in the School Environment	184
9.2	Values Attributed to Local Languages and Literacy in School	198
	9.2.1 Ambivalence Towards Local Languages	201
	9.2.2 The Discourse of Deficit	204
9.3	The Processes of Legitimacy in the Daily Life of School	206
	9.3.1 Language Choice	206
	9.3.2 Turn- Taking	211
9.4	Rationale for Legitimizing Certain Discursive Practices in Schools	216
	9.4.1 Social Distinction and Upward Mobility	217
	9.4.2 Systematic Confusion	222

Part III - Conclusion

Chapter 10: Taking stock and looking ahead

Overview	241
10.1 Socio-Political Considerations	243
10.2 Socio-Cultural Considerations	245
10.3 Socio-Economic Considerations	246
10.4 Significance of the Study	248
10.4.1 Implications for the Field of Language Policy	248
10.4.2 Language-in-Education Policy in Pakistan	249
10.4.3 Implication for the Field Of Bilingual Education	251
10.5 Way Forward	253

References	255
-------------------	-----

Appendices	278
-------------------	-----

Appendix 1: Maps	278
------------------	-----

Map 1: Pakistan and Neighboring Countries	278
---	-----

Map 2: Pakistan and Neighboring Countries	279
---	-----

Map 3: Linguistic Map of Pakistan	280
-----------------------------------	-----

Appendix 2: Education System in Pakistan	281
--	-----

Appendix 3: Fieldwork and Methodological Procedures	261
---	-----

Doc 2: Recommendations for good practice in Applied Linguistics (The British Association for Applied Linguistics – BAAL)	282
--	-----

Doc 3a,b: Letter of Permission sent to school managements	284
---	-----

Doc 5a,b: Letter of permission sent to teachers	287
---	-----

Doc 6a, b, c, d: Statements of Consent sent to teachers in SA, SB, SC, SD	288
---	-----

Table: 1: Summary of classes observed and audio recorded at SB, SA, SC and SD	291
---	-----

Table 2: Debriefing sessions with teachers observed at SB, SA, SC and SD	291
--	-----

Table 3 a, b: School management, teachers, parents and pupils interviewed and audio recorded at SB and AS	292
---	-----

Table 4: Meeting attended and audio recorded in schools	293
---	-----

Table 5: Pupils interviewed and audio recorded at SB, SA, SC and SD	293
---	-----

Table 6: Parents interviewed at SB, SA, SC and SD	293
---	-----

Table 7: Events attended and audio recorded at SB, SA, SC and SD	294
--	-----

Table 8 a, b: School management, teachers, parents and pupils interviewed at SD	294
---	-----

Table 9: Transcription Conventions	295
------------------------------------	-----

Appendix 4: Research Sites	296
----------------------------	-----

Table 10: Teachers in SB in Karachi in 2011	296
---	-----

Table 11: Teachers in SA in Karachi in 2011	299
---	-----

Table 12: Teachers in SC in Quetta in 2011	299
--	-----

Table 13: Teachers in SD in Karachi in 2011	299
Appendix 5: Relationship between Language –in-education Policy and Everyday Language Practices in Schools	300 316
5.1: Common Classroom Interactional Practices in Schools	329
5.2: Pupils Categorization by their Teachers	
5.3: Relationship between Pupils Categorization and their Ethnicity and Class	
Appendix 6: Pupils, Teachers and Parents socialization into Schools Language Environment	352 363
6.1: Strategies of Collaboration or Contestation	
6.2: Condition of Success or Failure of the Strategies	387
	387
Appendix 7 a,b,c,d,e : Legitimate Languages in Schools	426
7.1: Values Attributed to Local Languages and Literacy in Schools	
7.2: Process of Legitimacy Unfolded in daily life in Schools	440
Appendix 8: Rationale for Legitimizing Particular Discursive Practices in Schools	

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
AKU	Aga Khan University
A level	Advanced level
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable news network
CES	Critical ethnographic sociolinguistics
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HDP	Human Development Index
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
LPP	Language planning and policy
LIEP	Language- in- education Policy
LHR	Linguistic Human Rights
NEP	National Education Policy
O level	Ordinary level
PES	Pakistan Economic Survey
SA	School A
SB	School B
SC	School C
SD	School D
SPELT	Society of Pakistan English Language Teacher

Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview

This chapter provides an outline of the study which examines the discursive practices of four schools in Pakistan, three of them private and one a government school. I have named these schools (SA), (SB), (SC) and (SD). While SA, SB and SD are private schools, SC is a government school of the type where a majority of the school going Pakistani children receives education. I used an interdisciplinary research approach, combining methods and perspectives from post-structuralist theory, namely Bourdieu (1991), linguistic ethnography, Rampton (2007, 2010, and 2012) and sociolinguistics, Gumperz (1982) and Bakhtin (1986). My main concern is to theorize the ways in which multilingual practices in schools and classrooms contribute to the reproduction and contestation of linguistic ideologies, language hierarchies and language policies in these settings. This is mainly achieved through observation and audio-recording of language practices in and outside the classroom and during school events, i.e., the morning assembly, a farewell party and parent-teachers meetings. Through discourse analysis of the audio-recorded texts, and the languages and images on display in school environments, I explored the relationship between them and institutional, community and wider socioeconomic arenas in Pakistan.

This chapter comprises five sections. Section 1.1 presents the central argument and outlines the sociolinguistic context of the study ; in Section 1.2, I explain how I became involved by presenting the case of my current working place, Aga Khan University, as a way to contextualize the project; In Section 1.3, I outline the research questions set to be answered by this study followed by their rationale; in Section 1.4, I outline the nature and significance of the study and, finally, in Section 1.5, I delineate the structure of the thesis.

1.1 The Central Issue

Statistical accounts on languages and literacies are inadequate as they assume the context of communication rather than investigating it, besides which they lack specificity and engagement with real-life communication. A complex study of languages and literacies requires an interdisciplinary approach and methods that investigate the context of communication and closely examine real-life language use in specific contexts.

I draw the central argument of this thesis from the tradition of a critical interpretive approach to language policy study. A closer examination of the discursive practices in specific settings helps us understand the processes of how language policy is interpreted and practiced at the local levels. The consequences of monolingual and bilingual policies for teachers and learners in different political and historical contexts are also brought out (Martin-Jones, 2011: 7).

1.2 The context for this study

In order to situate my project in wider socio-political and socioeconomic contexts, it is important to present a brief picture of languages and education against the backdrop of poverty in Pakistan. In Chapter 5, I discuss in detail the reliability of *Ethnologue* and government data on languages in Pakistan. I use them here solely to present the macro context in which the study is situated. *Ethnologue* (2009) has seventy-two entries for Pakistan. Out of these, fourteen languages are shown to have more than one million first-language speakers. The number of speakers and their percentage of the population differ significantly: Western Punjabi, for instance, has 60.6 million speakers and is spoken by 38.3 percent of the population but there are also languages which have only a few hundred speakers such as Aer, Bhaya or Domaaki. Overall, it is claimed that 85

percent of the population speak fourteen languages and the remaining fifty-eight languages are shown to be spoken by 15 percent of the population.

The key point to note is that Pakistan is a multilingual country like many other nations worldwide. Its multilingual population, however, is not served by a matching multilingual language-in-education policy. As a matter of fact, Pakistan's language-in-education policy has many contradictions and ambiguities but since this is not directly relevant to my project I will not elaborate on my assertion. But it merits mention that the current education policy (NEP, 2009:28) stipulates that 'The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject' and 'English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from Class IV onwards.' However, it is important to note that while the policy (NEP, 2009:8) maintains that comprehensive school language guidelines should be developed in consultation with the provincial and local governments, it does not recognize the importance of the community, the school management/teachers and the pupils in the development and implementation of such a policy. Teacher training and curriculum revision is non-existent. Like all other previous language policies, the approach that has been adopted seems to be top-down with little evidence that local realities, experiences and knowledge have been recognized.

Whether as a result of such a shortsighted policy or other factors, education outcomes are dismal: the officially stated overall literacy rate is 58 percent (PES, 2011-2012:8), of which 69.5percent of males are literate and only 45.2percent of females attain this standard. The urban population with a literacy rate of 73.2percent has an edge over the rural population which has a literacy rate of 49.2percent. Furthermore, most people only receive elementary education.

A mere 18percent of girls and 24percent of boys are in secondary schools and just 5percent of the population in the age group of tertiary level of education is enrolled in a college or university.

While the country's dismal literacy rate, seen in the context of a monolingual language-in-education policy for a multilingual population, is a reflection on the efficacy of such policies, a look at the buildings and spaces allocated for schooling tells a story about the state of public schools: 32.7 percent of elementary schools are without boundary walls; 36.6percent without drinking water; 35.4percent without toilet facilities; and 60percent without electricity. These statistics help us understand at a surface level why only 10percent of children out of roughly 70percent enrolled in schools manage to finish their secondary education.

In addition to this, it can be seen that 23percent of Pakistanis live below the poverty line of USD 1.25 per day. The 2010 Human Development Index has Pakistan in 125th position – out of a total of 169 countries. Shocking inequalities manifest in every sphere of life—the poorest 10percent of the population have access to 3.9percent of the total national income while the richest 10percent access 26.5percent (Coleman, 2010:7). The state of the country can also be measured by the fact that since 2006, 35,000 civilians and 3500 security personnel have been killed in the 'war on terror' (ESP, 2010-11:219).

1.3 Motivation for this study

I believe it is important for me to explain how I became interested in studying the actual language use in concrete school settings and its social implications and why I chose to study it at three levels: classroom, institution and policy.

I taught English language to GCSE 'O' and 'A' level students in three schools in Karachi for a period of ten years before being appointed senior instructor at the Centre of English Language in the Aga Khan University (AKU), Karachi, Pakistan. I currently teach English in the School of Nursing at the AKU Karachi (Stadium Road Campus) which also houses a major medical college. Most students of the medical college have attended expensive private schools that offer 'O' and 'A' level education while those at the nursing school have studied in the so-called English-medium private schools. Students of public sector schools where the majority of Pakistani children study rarely have the opportunity to enter this prestigious institution of higher education.

Most students of the AKU medical college come from affluent Pakistani families living in all parts of Pakistan. Many of them have studied in select schools which endow them with the right 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1991) valued by the transforming labor market of the country. As Coleman (2010:10) notes, such schools are extremely expensive and provide education for the children of a small and powerful elite. As Bourdieu explains, habitus is a set of dispositions that incline agents to act and react in certain ways; similarly the practices, perceptions and attitudes of medical college students are very regular and different from those studying in the School of Nursing. They seldom travel on public transport, often wear branded clothes and enjoy both local and Western music. They are socially recognized and respected and the majority of them eventually go to Western countries for further education. Their college does not have an English language support program because students have considerable command over English and have also developed 'practical competence' (Bourdieu, 1991) which is valued by their institution and the outside market. Their parents either hold senior positions in multinational corporations or in public sector institutions in Pakistan. The majority of them do not require any financial assistance

during the course of their degree program. In terms of linguistic resources, one can easily see that the students of the medical college are fluent bilinguals in English and Urdu.

Compared to the medical college, the School of Nursing has a larger number of students who mostly hold Pakistani certificates of Matriculation and Intermediate and have studied in supposedly English-medium schools. They need an English language support program throughout their studies. They generally travel by public transport, listen to Urdu/ Hindi music, and many of them try to emulate students of the medical college in their attire. Their parents mostly work in the lower tier of public and private institutions in Pakistan. After graduation, nursing students seek jobs in the local labor market. The majority of them receive financial assistance from the university for the completion of their degrees in nursing. To summarize, in the wider society, they enjoy lesser social, economic and political power in comparison to those who study at the medical college.

With respect to public presentations, I noted on several occasions that students of the medical college delivered their presentations in English with ease, confidence and fluency which distinguished them from the majority of the nursing students whose presentations were often marked by tension and anxiety. It looked as if the nursing students were examining the grammatical correctness of each sentence before the actual delivery. No matter how hard they work on their texts/compositions, they fail to achieve the confidence and fluency levels of the students of AKU medical college. On campus, in classrooms, and at official programs, all students communicate either in English and/or Urdu. They do not communicate in the local languages. Those who visit the campus would perhaps think that Pakistan is a country in which only two languages are spoken—namely English and Urdu.

The fact that stands out is that the linguistic resources of these students are very different from an average public sector school-going student of Pakistan.

While the student population of the AKU does reflect the larger picture of the linguistic, socio-economic and political inequality existing in Pakistani society, it simultaneously invites investigation into the role played by educational institutions in multilingual societies in terms of the production and distribution of valuable linguistic resources. While it points to the emergence of the global neo-liberal market economy which seems to have offered new opportunities for cosmopolitan, multilingual elites to acquire distinctive linguistic repertoires, it does agitate one to investigate the communication practices of learners and teachers and their role in the production and reproduction of linguistic inequalities.

Although the case of AKU clearly suggests marginalization of local literacies and languages by the normative ascendancy of English and Urdu as the only legitimate languages of Pakistan, one needs to further explore the significance, experiences and contributions of local actors in order to understand how members of different speech communities develop culturally distinctive linguistic repertoires.

While teaching in these institutions, I was part of everyday differential processes that lead to the construction of disparate social identities, roles and life chances of social actors in multilingual settings. I witnessed firsthand different communication practices and various linguistic resources in these institutions and the wider society. The institutions I worked for had an unequal distribution of linguistic resources, mainly English and Urdu. I lived through the complex processes of reproduction of the linguistic resources. I felt that in many ways these processes were socially stratifying and were creating linguistic disparities. In brief, I recognized

the central role of formal education in the construction of social categories, social relations and life chances of individuals and groups.

I consulted the existing local accounts of languages in Pakistan and discovered they had no answers to my questions. I found that these accounts had little data on real-life communication practices in education in Pakistan. Instead, I found static correlation orthodoxies between policy and practice, macro socioeconomic and political forces, dominant-subordinate, majority-minority relations without attending to the communicative practices in specific settings.

I assume that there are many masked realities/ multiple causes /links in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan and the challenge is to determine how processes at different levels come together in everyday language practices in concrete settings in order to understand the mechanism through which linguistic inequalities are made to appear natural and taken-for-granted.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions formulated below were suggested by the book *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference* edited by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001). It is important and relevant to highlight the post-structuralist perspectives encapsulated in the key word ‘differences’. Heller and Martin-Jones (2001:4) explain the term ‘as a resource for constructing, leveling, contesting, and blurring boundaries in order to attempt to maintain, contest, or modify relations of power’. As the above quote shows ‘difference’ is central to human relations and can be used to shape the nature of the relationship between groups and communities. It also shows that institutions tend to play a key role in organizing the relations of ‘difference’. What is perhaps more important is to see how social actors understand and respond to ‘difference’ in

specific contexts. As Rampton (2006:19) states, this involves: ‘...looking closely at how people make sense of inequality and difference in their local situations, and how they interpret them.’

The study sets to answer the following research questions:

1) What is the relationship between the language-in-education policy of Pakistan and the everyday language practices found in its schools?

What are some of the common classroom interactional practices in schools?

What are the ways in which pupils are categorized by their teachers?

How are pupils’ categorizations tied to their ethnicity and class?

2) How do pupils, teachers and parents become socialized into a school’s language practices in classrooms, at school functions and in the social spaces in the school?

Under what conditions do we find strategies of collaboration or contestation?

Under what conditions may these strategies be more or less successful?

3) How are the languages of pupils, teachers and parents valued/legitimized or constrained by the schools’ overt and covert language practices?

What counts as legitimate language and what does not in educational settings?

What values are attributed to local languages and literacy in schools?

What are the ways in which these processes unfold in daily life in schools?

The key assumptions behind the questions outlined above are: A) studying the negotiation of meaning in and through interaction with a focus on learners, teachers and local community language in a specific context, B) social actors have multiple and alternative social

roles and identities available to them in everyday discursive practices. These assumptions are consonant with the general view of critical interpretive approaches to the study of language in bilingual and multilingual settings (Martin-Jones 2008), sociolinguistically informed approaches to the study of school processes (Hornberger, 2003) and linguistic ethnography (Rampton, 2010, 2012). While I draw methods and perspectives from linguistic ethnography, sociolinguistics and post-structural theory, I view my study as ethnographic in perspective as opposed to ethnographic in nature *per se*.

In terms of the focus, there are a number of overarching research questions: RQ 1 investigates the classroom interactional pattern and examines the link between the stated and the practiced language policy. As the questions are too broad to be answered fully within this study, I have sharpened their foci by adding sub-questions relating to specific issues that can be covered in this thesis.

The focus of RQ2 shifts to the reactions/contributions of social actors to everyday discursive practices in the school. The empirical focus remains the micro discursive strategies/responses made by social actors in their everyday cycle of institutional life.

RQ3 again is a question that seeks its answer through the study of policy decisions made at the level of the institution. The underlying assumption is that social actors occupying different positions in the institutional hierarchy possess agency, and they interpret and respond to policy in complex ways. The scope of the last question covers not only the now-and-here but also the consequences of everyday language practices on the lives of individuals. The rationale for each overarching question is presented below.

1) What is the relationship between the language-in-education policy of Pakistan and the everyday language practices found in its schools?

Question (1) focuses on the actual language practices in a specific institutional setting. This will help us understand how actors in the institution position themselves with regard to official language-in-education policy and how their positioning is manifested in their language practices. It also helps us understand the interconnection between the micro, the meso and the macro levels of language-in-education policy, i.e., at the level of the people, community, institution and the wider socio-political and socio-historical dimensions of language-in-education policy of Pakistan. Bourdieu's (1977: 650) theoretical perspective used in the study underscores the importance and relevance of looking closely at the discourse beyond the immediate context to get a fuller understanding of the phenomenon as 'the whole truth of the communicative relation is never fully present in the discourse, nor in the communicative relations itself...a genuine science of discourse must seek the truth within discourse but also outside it, in the social conditions of the production and reproduction of the producers and receivers and of their relationship.'

2) How do pupils, teachers and parents become socialized into a school's language practices in classroom, at school functions and in the social spaces in the school?

Following this line of argument of looking within and outside the discourse, Question (2) investigates the micro level of the language policy within the classroom and within different social spaces in the school. This question will help us understand the processes through which institutions legitimize certain language ideologies. This will allow me to understand how

discursive spaces like classrooms become ‘... sites where day-in-day-out, participants struggle to reconcile themselves to each other, to their future, to political edicts and to the movements of history’ (Rampton, 2006:3).

3) How are the languages of pupils, teachers and parents valued/legitimized or constrained by the schools’ overt and covert language practices?

Question (3) examines both the stated and the unstated language practices in school. This question helps us understand the sources of motivation and the role of actors at the level of institutions in negotiating and interpreting the language-in-education policy. The study does not assume social actors as devoid of agency responding linearly under external pressure but as active agents who contribute to the policy in multiple and complex ways and whose behavior therefore needs to be studied rather than assumed. Scholars working in the area (Corson 1999; Chick 1996; Canagarajah 1995; Hornberger, 1988, 1990; May 1997; Heller 1994, 1999, 2007; Heller and Martin-Jones, 1996, 2001; Martin-Jones 2007, Lin 1996, 2001; Lin and Martin 2005) underscore the importance of agency and micro examination of the ways social actors contribute to policy in their everyday lives in order to understand the difference between what is claimed and what is practiced.

4) Why is a particular discursive practice legitimized in some schools but not in others?

Question (4) aims at embedding the study in the larger socio-historical dimension for understanding the origins of parallel schooling systems in Pakistan and with those found in similar contexts. This focus helps us understand the power-play involved in the policy

development and implementation in Pakistan and in similar post-colonial contexts. The question will give us an insight into the hegemonic discourses and their implications in the lives of social actors. This will also help identify the reified communicative practices that construct linguistic and social inequalities amongst students.

1.5 The Nature and Significance of this Study

My investigation is a qualitative study combining methods and perspectives from linguistic ethnography (Blommaert, 2007; Creese, 2008; Hymes, 1996, Rampton et al., 2004; Rampton, 2007; Rampton, 2010) and critical interpretive approaches to the study of language in bilingual and multilingual education contexts (Heller, 2011; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Lin and Martin, 2005; Martin-Jones, 2007, and sociolinguistics (Gumperz,1982) . The approaches that I draw on share a fundamental assumption that ‘persons, encounters and institutions are profoundly interlinked, and a great deal of research is concerned with the nature and dynamics of these linkages- with varying degrees of friction and slippage, repertoires get used and developed in encounters, encounters enact institutions and institutions produce and regulate persons and their repertoires through the regimentation of encounters’ (Rampton, 2010:2). On the level of methods, the traditions I have worked within also recognize the importance of the ethnographic perspective in understanding the complexity of contemporary sociolinguistic dynamics, and the fine-grain multilayered analysis of a linguistic phenomenon. Linguistic analyses are not seen as linguistic *per se* but rather as a means of revealing the manifestations of ‘specific institutional regimes, the wider political economy and the global processes of cultural transformation at work in contemporary society’ (Martin- Jones, 2007:168). In line with post-structuralist thought on

language, they argue against a notion of language as connected to but distinct from society and culture, and for a view of language as one form of social practice in which importance is given to how language practices understood by speakers are tied to other forms of social and political saturation, notably the construction of nation and ethnicity. This means, as Heller puts it (2007: 2)

...understanding language as a set of ideologically-defined resources and practices constructs language as a fundamentally *social* phenomenon. In this respect, it also reflexively constructs our analyses as a form of social action, and situates our disciplines (centrally, linguistics, anthropology and sociology, but also such disciplines as political science, education or history) within the modes of regulation and discursive regimes of our times.

This study comes at an important time when the state language-in-education policy in Pakistan claims to have introduced English from grade one onwards in all public sector schools in order to 'bridge the public-private divide' (NEP, 2009: 25) and the British Council has made recommendations for policy and practice on language-in-education in Pakistan (Coleman and Capstick, 2012). Both these recent developments have succeeded in bringing language-in-education issues into the country's public domain. Like all official accounts, the context of communication has been assumed. There is little evidence of investigation into the real-life language practices in educational institutions of Pakistan. Languages in these official accounts have been treated as clearly bounded autonomous systems. Orthodox correlations between languages and identities have been established. In addition, little importance has been given to

indigenous experiences, realities and knowledge and social actors are assumed to be passive recipients of the language policy.

Against this backdrop, I am reasonably confident that the current study will make meaningful contributions to the field of language policy and planning, bilingual education and language policy scholarship of Pakistan. From a theoretical point of view, the study also has the potential to make a methodological contribution to the field as the current study investigates the discursive practices of four research sites and includes the examination of oral and written forms of languages.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

In order to avoid repetition of the themes for each of the four schools, the dissertation is organized thematically as opposed to case-wise.

Following the introduction, the thesis is organized into three main parts: The interdisciplinary research context (Part I); historical, sociolinguistic and language-in-education scholarship in Pakistan (PartII):Everyday discursive practices in schools in Pakistan: Its purpose and value and Conclusion (Part III)

In Part I, I review and discuss the relevant literature and conceptual frameworks informing this study. In Chapter 2, I review the field of LPP with an emphasis on empirical foci in different stages and strands of research tradition in language policy scholarship, and present the case for the theoretical framework that the current study draws on. In Chapter 3, I present, discuss and justify the selection of the post-structuralist theoretical framework and theorize the fundamental concepts that the study engages with: language, bilingualism and language use in multilingual settings, ethnolinguistic differences, education and legitimate language. I then

provide an overview of the sociolinguistically-informed ethnographic approaches to discourse and present the case for Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics (CES) that the current study draws on.

Chapter 4 presents the sociolinguistic context of Pakistan and discusses the issue of reliability of the *Ethnologue* and government census data followed by an examination of language-in-education scholarship in Pakistan with particular focus on the methods and analysis employed in these studies. I then examine the current trends in bilingual education and discuss the Linguistic Human Rights approach to bilingual education in Pakistan.

Chapter 5 describes all of the four research sites. One of the research sites is situated in an affluent locality in Karachi while the next two sites are in underprivileged locations of the city. The fourth site, which is a public sector school, is also located in an underprivileged area but in a different province, some 1000 kilometers from Karachi. I particularly try to show the intersection of the political economy with the linguistic resources of the social actors in these research sites. Using Hornberger's (1991) framework, I have also attempted to assess bilingual education in practice in my research sites.

Chapter 6 outlines the research approach and methodological choices for the study. I first outline and justify my approach in this study, and then describe the selection of my research sites and issues related to accessing them. From there I proceed to discuss fieldwork procedures and how I conformed to ethical standards at all stages of this study.

In Part II, the core of the study, I describe and analyze the everyday discursive practices found in my research sites.

Chapter 7 discusses the socio-cultural values of local literacies and languages found in all the research sites. I discovered that local languages and literacies are not only marginalized but

there is clear evidence that these are held in contempt. Discursive practices including classroom practices differ widely in terms of language choice, human resources, academic material and material conditions. It was found that while there is a great desire for bilingual education using English and a local language, the state language-in-education policy shift of introducing English seems to be mere rhetorical as social actors were not seen conducting lessons in bilingual modes. As a result, a false appearance of English language teaching is created by teachers who are poorly-qualified and struggling to show competence, using rote learning as a strategy to save loss of face.

Chapter 8 addresses the circumstances in which strategies of collaboration or contestation are found and the conditions in which these were more or less successful in the research sites. I found that while social actors respond to policy in complex ways, there are sophisticated, systematic approaches to time and space management and dominant modes of teaching-learning which help to generate collaboration at the level of the classrooms. Along with collaboration, contestation is also found in the midst of seemingly collaborative responses to the social order of the schools. In other words, I found overlaps in collaboration and contestation in relation to institutional regimes on behalf of students, teachers and the community.

Chapter 9 discusses the question of legitimate language in multilingual schools. I found that legitimacy is largely created through language choice and through restricting spaces for turn-taking. I also found that languages are legitimized on the basis of the position of the power elites on ideological, political and social issues as well as market demands for languages. I found that the new, multilingual cosmopolitan elites have organized themselves in strong institutions that endow their children with linguistic resources which in turn enable them to become a valuable

resource for both the national and international labor markets. The majority of children, parents and teachers seem to be trapped in old nationalistic and religious discourses associating local languages and literacies with religious fervor and nationalistic ideals.

In Part III, I summarize the findings of the study and explore their implication for further research in the area of language policy and practices. I also point out some limitations of the current study and consider a few areas for further research.

Chapter-2: An overview of the empirical foci in Language Policy and Planning studies

2.1 Introduction

Emerging in the 1960s as a formal research discipline, Language Policy and Planning (LPP) has always been engaged in addressing a wide array of political, social and educational problems through a variety of theoretical frameworks and methods with diverse and changing empirical foci and preoccupations of the scholars involved Tollefson, (2008: 3), Ricento (2000:197). The shift from macro to micro level studies, and from descriptive to interpretive paradigms, can be attributed to the wider changing intellectual orientations in the social sciences, particularly the shift towards interactional/ discursive orientations and social constructionism. At the same time there has also been a growing dissatisfaction amongst scholars of LPP with the inadequacy of the early models and taxonomies to grapple with the questions of ideology, power and inequalities (Hornberger, 2006:27). The preoccupation with ideology, power and inequality—also known as a historical-structural or critical approach to LPP—remained in place until recently. It was felt that too much emphasis on ideology, power and inequality masks the agentive spaces and the active role social actors play in interpreting/ appropriating/ resisting policy in complex ways. Hence there was a clear shift of attention towards more anthropological and sociological approaches to LPP which reconceptualized the field as ‘agents, levels and processes’ and argued for ethnography as a method to ‘slice the onion’ (Hornberger and Johnson 2007:509). Examining language practices vis-à-vis policy documents became the central preoccupation of anthropological and sociological approaches to LPP (Johnson, 2009, 2010; Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996). The current trend in LPP seems to have moved towards taking practice as the ‘real policy’ (Spolsky, 2004) although there is ambiguity amongst scholars as to what actually constitutes practices and how these can be studied. For instance, in

one strand of research (Shohamy 2006) it is suggested that the study of entire mechanisms comprising rules and regulations, language tests, language in public spaces, language education, ideology, myth and coercion leads the researcher to address the '*de facto*' policy (Shohamy, 2006:59) with little methodological guidance . In another strand of research (Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001) there is a sharp focus on empirically studying the classroom discourse and linking it to the wider socio-political arena with relatively much less attention to studying the available semiotic resources in the school environment. In the socio-anthropological strand of LPP, policy documents are still considered very important in the analysis and interpretation of practices.

My aim in this chapter is to highlight the less explored area of LPP, namely the study of the dialectics between the language on display and the language practices. In addition, I present the case for the Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistic approach proposed by Heller (2011) in addressing the complex role of social actors vis-à-vis the material conditions of their lives in interpreting, appropriating, negotiating, resisting, and collaborating with the language policy in their everyday institutional lives. In order to achieve this aim I: (a) critically examine the existing comprehensive reviews on LPP proposed by Hornberger, (2006); Hornberger and Johnson, (2007), Johnson, (2009,2010); Ricento (2000, 2006a); Ricento and Hornberger, (1996), Tollefson, (1991, 2002a, 2008), Martin-Jones, (2011, 2007), (b) analyze the methods and emphases of key empirical studies in the second and third phases of LPP scholarship and show that the proposed area of investigation is relatively less explored in LPP and (c) discuss research on multilingualism in classrooms. I argue that it is through the examination of language display in institutions and its intersection with real-life language practices in different parts of the school, taken against the backdrop of the material conditions of social actors, that we can complement

our understanding of the ways in which the changing political economy, history, politics as well as language ideologies get played out. We can explore the interstices in discursive practice to show the multiple causes or factors behind the unfolding of real-life discursive practices.

Following Blommaert and Huang (2010), I argue that the display of signs [languages on display] is primarily a manifestation of material forces subject to, and reflective of, conditions of production and patterns of distribution. As a means of representing social reality, as actual social agents they have real effects in social life. Their investigation reveals the historical, ideological and political forces behind these manifestations and the role of actors in highlighting/ contesting such displays.

I start out by reviewing and showing the major emphases in the fields, illustrating the changing empirical foci and examining key empirical studies. Then I offer my reflections on them. I go on to focus on the less explored area, namely the examination of language on display in school environment, and its relation with the language practices of the social actors against the backdrop of their personal circumstances and the wider political economy.

The chapter comprises three sections. In Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, I review and discuss the major emphases and empirical focuses in LPP scholarship by examining the reviews and pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of the first two stages of research in this area. As the current body of LPP research grows, mainly out of a concern for the inadequacy of critical approaches to the subject, I analyze key empirical studies of the critical approach to show the major preoccupations of the scholars and the methods of investigation employed by them in the selected studies ; in Section 2.5, I examine the current trends in LPP in light of these reviews, and by analyzing key studies employing the socio-cultural approaches to LPP. I show the less

explored areas of investigation covered in this study. In Section 2.6, I present the case of Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics as being the most suitable approach for the current study and in Section 2.7, I outline the contribution that this study makes to the field.

A survey of the general findings of the reviews mentioned above clearly show the diverse and changing foci of research in LPP: models, taxonomies and dichotomies were the major emphases in its first wave; engagement with the study of ideology, power and inequality emerges as the central preoccupation in the second wave whereas investigation of agency and ecology come out as key areas of concentration in the third phase. The study of language practices clearly comes out as the major concern or interest of investigation amongst LPP scholars. Ricento (2000) characterizes the field by identifying some of the most salient macro-sociopolitical processes, epistemological paradigms and strategic factors that have informed LPP. Based on them, he sees the first two phases as primarily responding to the practical needs of the newly independent states in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. In other words, the early phase was largely informed by decolonization as the macro sociopolitical event; structuralism was its guiding epistemology and offering practical solutions to what Fishman (1968:491) calls 'language problems of the developing nations' was its pragmatic stance. The second movement was largely the outcome of the growing dissatisfaction of researchers with the failure or limitation of the first wave to develop explanatory accounts through descriptive models, its claims of neutrality/ scientificity/technicity and also its problem-solving stance. The focus of attention shifted to ideology, power and inequality in LPP and the paramount aim was to develop what Hornberger (2006:27) calls a 'theoretically motivated LPP framework.' In recent times, under the influence of critical and post-modern approaches, the emphasis moves beyond power and inequality to agency, ecology and ideology while the previous models and taxonomies have

been built upon/refined or integrated into newer frameworks (Hornberger, 2006: 24-41). I now go on to examine in detail the empirical foci in different stages of LPP, and also study the research on multilingualism in classrooms and schools under the headings of first, second and third wave research paradigms in LPP. I do not imply here a lack of interaction/overlap between these phases of LPP. In fact, all three waves complement one another as evidenced by the way in which scholars draw on the works of different phases of LPP.

2.2 Early LPP scholarship: the era of models, taxonomies and frameworks.

The pioneering works of Fishman (1968, 1972, 1974); Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta (1968) and Rubin and Jernudd (1971) responded to the socio-political demands of the times by devising concepts and models which led to the formation and development of LPP. The major emphases of the works were to address practical, language-related problems of decolonized nations. For instance, Fishman (1968) proposed a typology identifying the language problems confronted by developing nations and proposed solutions. He noted that Western languages were constantly undergoing elaboration and codification and argued that such processes were even more necessary (and noticeable) in those new nations in which an indigenous language had been selected for some function above and beyond that with which it had been hitherto associated (Fishman, 1968: 218). As the politics of the times was dominated by nationalistic ideologies to unify public linguistic practices, the scholarship responded to it by offering conceptual frameworks and models. I concur with Ricento's (2000: 202) and Hornberger's (2006:27) observations that scholars in the earlier period were concerned with status planning and issues related to standardization, graphization and modernization, and that in the second phase a

number of scholars focused on the social, economic and political effects of language contact. In terms of empirical foci, the focus remained largely on the macro-level processes of countries and governments. Probably the best explication of the macro national-level focus of LPP research comes from Fishman who notes (1968: 213-214):

The problems of developing nations differ largely in degree rather than in kind from those of most other nations since few nations, if any, are completely stabilized, unified and legitimized... a widespread problem of new nations is that their political boundaries correspond rather imperfectly to any pre-existing ethnic cultural unity.

It was assumed that a successful language policy focusing on “nationalism” (Fishman, 1968:215) would ultimately help form the new nationalism just as surely as a successful language policy focused on nationalism helped sustain the new nation. As a result, the dominant language planning activity was the creation of models: “corpus planning” and “status planning” (Kloss, 1969: 81), and “acquisition planning” (Cooper, 1989: 33).

In the current literature on LPP the above are often labeled as the “traditional approach” (Ricento 2006b: 12; Tollefson, 2002b:5), “neoclassical approach” (Tollefson, 1991: 35); (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007:510,) “ classical” (Ricento, 2000:206) or “ presentist approach to language” (May, 2008: xiii). May interprets them as “decontextualized” and “ahistorical”, and “apolitical” (May, 2008: xiii). Blommaert (2008:2) thinks that such an approach takes “no account of human agency, political intervention, power and authority” in the formulation of policies. While it is true that the emphasis of early scholarship was not on agency and power relations, it seems difficult to accept that the works were “ahistorical, apolitical” (May, 2008:

xiii) in the light of my reading of Fishman (1968, 1972, 1974); Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta (1968); Rubin and Jernudd (1971) which I find deeply embroiled in the politics of their times. However, it is true that the empirical focus and the aims of the endeavors were macroscopic.

In short, from the 1960s to the 1970s, language planning researchers had two major preoccupations: (1) devising conceptual frameworks and models, which continue to date in revised forms such as an integrative framework proposed by Hornberger (2006:29), and (2) orthographic, grammatical and lexical codification. As Tollefson notes (2008:3) ‘much of the early work focused attention on devising conceptual frameworks’ as we find in Einar Haugen’s (1966) language planning model and Heinz Kloss’s (1969) typology of multilingualism. As Ricento (2000: 198) notes, much attention in status planning centered on the selection of a national language for purposes of modernization and nation building, primarily because linguistic diversity was taken as an obstacle to national unity.

2.2.1. Strengths and Limitations of Early LPP Scholarship

The fundamental typologies and models such as status/corpus (Kloss, 1969), acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989) and Haugen’s (1966) model—selection, codification, implementation and elaboration—were developed in this phase to provide the basis for further development of the field. Studies in the relationship between structure and functions of languages in various domains, for instance (Fishman, 1968), were major contributors to the scholarship. As Tollefson (2008:5) puts it ‘the major achievement of early LPP research was an understanding of the

relationship between language structure and language function on the one hand, and various forms of social organization (ethnic groups, nation states) on the other.’

The widespread dissatisfaction with the early scholarship of LPP (Tollefson, 1991, 2008; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996) was on account of the fact that it assumed a direct correlation between planning processes and their outcomes, ignoring the complex attitude and perspectives of communities, in particular, with regard to the processes. In the words of Tollefson (2008:4) ‘it ignored the complexity of sociopolitical systems, in which cause-effect relationships between policies and outcomes are highly complex and social groups often have covert and competing goals’. The second major critique is that it while it addressed the wider historical, social and political issues it ignored the micro level processes unfolding in everyday lives (May, 2008: xiv). In addition, it is also critiqued on the negative outcomes of policy efforts in different parts of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. As Hornberger and Johnson note, the wider consensus about early LPP is that ‘it has not satisfactorily accounted for language policy processes across national, institutional and interpersonal layers’ (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 509).

2.3 Critical-Historical research: The era of ideology, power and inequality

As shown above, there was an emergence of critiques questioning the descriptive models developed in the first wave and the need for new theoretical and empirical perspectives (Ricento, 2000: 198; Hornberger, 2002, 2006; May, 2001). As Martin-Jones states (2011: 6) ‘new proposals were made for the developments of approaches which could take account of the ways in which language policies contributed to the reproduction of asymmetrical power in different

political and historical contexts.’ The main LPP research preoccupation shifted from solving national problems to examining the relations of power, ideology, politics and the history of different polities and institutions under the influence of critical theory and more specifically related to developments in sociolinguistics. This challenged autonomous linguistics as a viable paradigm for research in language acquisition, use and change, with direct relevance to developing models of language policy and planning (Ricento, 2000; 201).

In many ways, the broader intellectual shift towards “critical perspectives”, “critical linguistics” and “progress in sociolinguistics” (Hornberger and Johnson 2007: 509; Ricento, 2000:202; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 406; Tollefson, 2002) made LPP more interdisciplinary. It examined the issues of ideology, power, inequality and history. These preoccupations clearly manifest themselves in the key questions set by Tollefson in his pioneering work (2002) ‘How do language policies in school create inequalities among learners? How do language policies marginalize some students while granting privilege to others? How do language policies in education serve the interest of dominant groups within societies? How can linguistic minorities further their interests through attempts to change language policies in schools?’ (Tollefson, 2002: 4). Tollefson adds that these questions are at the heart of fundamental debates about the role of schools in society, the links between education and employment and conflicts between linguistic minorities and “mainstream populations.”

What stands out in the above questions is the explicit concern with inequality, asymmetrical power relations and ideology. The questions also show very clearly that the proponent conceptualized the relationship between policy and individual/groups as linear and top-down. In these questions, LPP seems to appear as an oppressive process, and social actors as passive victims.

Tollefson, the pioneer of the critical perspective in LPP, calls this a “historical-structural approach” (1991: 31). He explains that the difference between the neo-classical and historical-structural approaches is in the unit of analysis. While the former emphasizes the rational decisions of the individual, the latter underlines the origins of the costs and benefits confronting individuals. He argues that language policy should be seen as one mechanism by which interests of the dominant sociopolitical groups are maintained and the seeds of transformation are developed. For Tollefson, the primary goal of research and analysis is to discover the historical and structural pressures that lead to particular policies constraining all individual choices.

2.3.1 Strengths and Limitations of Critical-Historical Approaches

I now analyze selected, key empirical or representative studies of the historical-structural approach in the area of language policies in education (Pennycook, 2002, Coulmas, 2002, Sonntag, 2002). Pennycook (2002) looks at the colonial language policy in Hong Kong and shows the intersection of language policy with the discursive construction of Hong Kong-Chinese as politically passive. He draws on perspectives from Foucault’s notion of governmentality, docile bodies and language policy as cultural politics and operationalizes these concepts. He argues that in language policy the issue is not so much one of mapping out the formal policies that promote or restrict the use of certain languages but about how debates around language, culture and education produce particular discursive regimes (Pennycook, 2002: 92). After analyzing the competing discourses found in different reports and research findings in Hong Kong, Pennycook argues that the study of the relationship between language policy and broader political concerns needs to move away from an understanding of language policy as

imposition or denial of particular languages. This is necessary if one is to view policy in terms of governmentality by relating the complex relationships amongst language policy, cultural politics, curriculum, educational practices and the modes of surveillance of the liberal state (Pennycook, 2002: 108). The central point Pennycook makes is that a 'postmodern approach to language policy and planning requires a rethinking of our social, economic and political categories in favour of a more localized understanding of modes of governmentality' (2002: 71). In other words Pennycook offers a new perspective on LPP research by drawing attention away from a view of the state as an international actor that seeks to impose its will on the people and instead pointing to the much more localized and often contradictory employment of power (2002:65).

Coulmas (2002: 203) investigates the language policy in modern Japanese education. Like Pennycook, he analyzes the discourse of three main policy documents concerning language and education from the Meiji era (1868-1911) until the end of the twentieth century which he labels as language and modernization, language and empire, and language and democracy. Coulmas's (2002) findings however differ from the major trend of the times because he shows how democracy, the demands of the economy and empowerment of the resident minority succeeded in changing the language policy from centrist to more liberal orientations (Coulmas, 2002:221). There is clear evidence of the resistance to, and reinterpretation of, the top-down policy.

Discourse analysis of policy documents is also pursued by Sonntag (2002) in her investigation of minority politics in north India. In her focused case studies of (1) Nepali speakers in the Darjeeling area of West Bengal and (2) Urdu speakers in Uttar Pradesh, she examines the relationship between the symbolic politics of language and the practical, pedagogical import of minority language use in education in north India. Her findings clearly

show that the conflict over Urdu is more intense and potentially explosive, with greater ramifications for liberal democracy in India as a whole. The imagined states seem to be the main actor impacting significantly on the practical import of minority language use, particularly in education (Sonntag, 2002: 176).

The strength of these studies lies in the fact that the scholars are extremely plausible in their claims of power inequality, and the role of ideology and history shown through an in-depth discourse analysis of policy in specific times and spaces. The dominant research methods employed by the scholars are questionnaires, interviews and document analysis. The other strength I find in these works is the fact that the scholars carry out an extensive survey of historical evidence and policy pronouncements and examine them closely.

However, the examination also shows that the main empirical focus of scholars still remains the macro domain of LPP. While their in-depth analysis of the competing ideological discourses found in policy documents and socio-political histories clearly point to the asymmetrical power relations embedded in history and ideology, the epistemologies they adopt do not allow one to see the phenomena through the eyes of the local actors. The indigenous experiences of ideology, power and inequality is missing. My observations match those of Johnson, (2009, 2010); Hornberger and Johnson, (2007), and Ricento and Hornberger, (1996). Johnson (2009:155) states that critical language policy approaches have enriched our conceptualization of language policy but by focusing primarily on the power invested in policy, they obfuscate agency and perpetuate the reification of policy as necessarily monolithic. In like vein, Hornberger and Johnson (2007: 510), Canagarajah (2005) and Pennycook (2002) observe that recent critical work in language planning and policy shows an [over] emphasis on the hegemonic power of policies which obfuscates the potentially agentive role of local educators as

they interpret and implement policies. As Martin-Jones (2011:6) observes about critical language policy studies ‘the empirical focus was still on the macro level processes.’ Perhaps another very obvious point is that critical scholarship does not seem to engage with real people and the actual ways in which languages are used in specific institutions.

2.4 Ethnography of Language Policy: The era of agency and ecology

Following Hornberger (2006:34), I divide this section under the headings of agency, ecology and ideology. In order to remain brief, I only analyze the key empirical studies showing particularly the agency of social actors under the heading of agency and briefly touch on the major emphases of ecological framework and studies in which ideology has been microscopically examined.

2.4.1 Agency

I have shown the weaknesses of the theoretical frameworks and the sets of methods employed by critical-historical approaches in grappling with the complex ways in which social actors interpret, appropriate, collaborate or contest policy in their everyday lives. I now show how this gap was overcome by a number of influential studies—Hornberger (2002), Hornberger, (2005); Hornberger and Johnson, (2007); Johnson, (2009)—which underlined the strength of ethnography as a method to capture the subtle reinterpretation of policy at different levels. The central assumption behind the socio-anthropological approach is what Ricento and Hornberger observe as (1996: 417): ‘policy change as they [language policies] move down through administrative levels.’ Insights also get reflected in the notion of ‘opening and filling up

implementational and ideological spaces' proposed by Hornberger (2005). Hornberger (2005: 605) explains that the notion of opening and filling up implementation spaces for multilingual education was originally inspired by Chick's (2001, 2003) suggestion that the emergence of alternative multicultural discourses that he observed amongst teachers in South Africa was enabled by the ideological spaces opened up by new multilingual language policies. The key assumption behind opening and filling up implementational and ideological spaces was the active role or agency of social actors as policy makers (Hornberger, 2005). The field of LPP was reconceptualized as layers that can be seen by the use of an 'onion' as a metaphor—"Unpeeling the onion" (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996) and "slicing the onion" (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007)—signifying the importance of investigating agents, levels and processes that permeate and interact with each other in multiple and complex ways (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 419). In the layers of planning and policy, the classroom practitioner is placed at the centre of the onion and seen as an "unwitting reproducer of social reality" and a "primary language policymaker" (1996: 418); the outermost layer of the onion is the broad language policy objectives articulated in legislation or high court rulings at the national level and the intermediate layers comprise situated contexts such as schools, businesses, institutions and interpersonal interactions (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:409). The key insight in layers of language policy is that each layer comprises competing discourses that create tensions and ambiguities in policy formation (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 409) and that LPP processes interact across layers. The ethnography of language policy took into account the spoken and written language practices in specific settings and linked them with the national policy and influential socioeconomic changes at the global level. For instance, Johnson (2009) looked at language policy and bilingual education in the School District of Philadelphia. The ethnographic data for the project comes

from a multi-sited ethnography: participant-observation, field-notes compiled in a Spanish-English dual language classroom, teacher meetings and language policy meetings. For the sake of data triangulation, multiple formal and informal interviews were conducted with teachers, administrators and Pennsylvania state and federal policy makers. The data was then compared with critical discourse analysis of federal, state and local language policy and discourse (Johnson, 2009: 143). What emerges clearly from the data is the conception of interconnected layers of language policy comprising diverse/competing discourse capable of modifying and interpreting policy in different ways. In the words of Johnson: 'language policy is an interconnected process generated and negotiated through policy text and discourse' (Johnson, 2009: 156). In like vein, the methods employed by Hornberger and Johnson (2007) in their study of the role of two intermediary agencies in policy interpretation and implementation in two different contexts: the School District of Philadelphia and the Andean regional graduate program in bilingual intercultural education in Cochabamba, Bolivia show more or less similar approach and methods. In their long-term ethnography work in each context, researchers present excerpts from spoken and written discourse. The methods employed in the ethnography include participant observation, recorded interviews, recording naturally occurring conversation, historical legal analysis and textual analyses (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007:513). The key identified actors are the administrators that seem to have played a vital role in interpreting Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act and two students in the case of Andean regional graduate program in bilingual intercultural education in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The selected actors were interviewed and their views were interpreted in the backdrop of the discourse analysis of the policy document. While the analysis clearly illustrates the links between the micro-macro policy and the significant role played by actors in interpreting and/or modifying the policy at their end,

the study does not engage with the unfolding of the phenomena in the actual discursive practices in specific settings.

One of the implications of reconceptualizing the field through socio-anthropological approaches is the clear shift in the empirical focus from the macro to the micro levels and exploring the intersection of the micro with different layers of policy. Analyzing the data against the backdrop of policy documents and investigating the role of actors remain the salient features of this strand of research.

2.4.2 Ecology

Since the 1990s, greater attention has been given to language loss, and revitalization has been seen largely through the paradigm of the ecology of language proposed by Haugen in 1970. This led to the establishment of a unified branch of linguistics in 1990 (Fill and Muhlhausler, 2001: 1). As explained by Fill and Muhlhausler (2001: 159), the central premise of the ecology-of-language paradigm is that linguistic diversity is a resource whose value has been widely underestimated and that linguistic diversity should not be seen as a problem but as an essential resource, and that there is an urgent need to reverse policies and practices that currently threaten thousands of small languages (2001:159). In LPP research, the concepts of the ecology of language or ecolinguistics have been drawn on in different ways by Hornberger in her works (1997, 2003), and by Phillipson (1992) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). The latter draws on the concepts of ecolinguistics by invoking the terms 'linguistic imperialism' and 'linguicism' as shorthand for a multitude of activities, ideologies and structural relationships between the global North and South, arguing that, in the former British and American colonies, social and economic

progress is thwarted for those who do not learn English, the language of modernity (Ricento, 2000:204).

Quite apart from the major critiques on the linguistic human rights paradigm by Davies, (1996) Edwards, (2001) and Brutt-Griffler, (2002b), even those scholars who are sympathetic with this paradigm argue that linguistic imperialism and linguistic models are ‘too deterministic and monolithic in their assumption and conclusions’ (Ricento, 2000: 204).

2.5 Current trends in LPP research: Synthesis and broadening of the empirical foci of LPP

Thus far I have shown that the LPP empirical foci have been shifting from macro level to micro level investigations of key identified events, mostly in classrooms. I have also shown that the emphases in LPP have shifted from politics and inequality to agency and ecology. While these shifts are prominent in the literature surveyed above, through a process of periodization I do not intend to bracket them to particular decades as recent studies show parallel developments in socio-anthropological approaches to LPP, research in multilingual classrooms, the linguistic-human rights paradigm and the ecological paradigm. The emphases on ideology, agency, inequality and the intersection of the broader socio-political conditions with economic realities are also being shown in current work. In this section, I particularly focus on the revised ‘Continua of Biliteracy’ (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003) originally proposed by Hornberger, (1989) as this model is perhaps the most unified framework synthesizing key research findings on multilingualism and literacy of the past several decades (Hornberger, 2003: xii). Apart from the synthesis of research feeding into the Continua, I also look at a synthesis of

major approaches to LPP such as ecology, new literacy, bilingualism and bilingual education policy.

2.5.1 Continua of Biliteracy

The updated version of the Continua (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003) has added a critical dimension. The matrix of Continua now shows both the traditionally powerful and less powerful ends in all the sub-continua of context, development, content and media of biliteracy. According to the authors, the power weighting does not imply fixed power but refers to the traditional weighting observed in schools across the globe. As Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003: 325) point out, the purpose of labeling the continuum is not to reify power but to emphasize that such labeling can be transformed through critical reflexivity that allows learners to see themselves as agents who control or resist power in their everyday practices.

What is perhaps more relevant for me here is the epistemological shift that the new Continua of biliteracy framework seems to have proposed. I examine research by Basu (2003) as one of the studies that has employed the Continua as a framework.

Drawing on two sets of the Continua of biliteracy—biliterate media and biliterate content— Basu (2003) analyses two bilingual schools in New Delhi to investigate the reasons for different proficiency levels in Hindi and English amongst students of two schools run by the public administration: Sarvodaya KanyaVidyalsaya (SKV) and Nagar Nigam BalVidyalays (NNBV). These schools are organized on the basis of the medium of instruction. In the former, there are two sections: in the Hindi-medium section, all subjects are taught in Hindi with

English taught as a second language while in the English-medium section science, mathematics and English are taught in English whereas social studies and Hindi are taught through Hindi.

The home language of most SKV children is Hindi. Their fathers are public sector employees and most of them have had at least a secondary level school education while their mothers are in the majority illiterate (2003:292).

The other school, Nagar Nigam BalVidyalays (NNBV), offers education from nursery to class 5 in a medium that is 'totally Hindi' (2003: 393). Parents of most of the children in this school work as domestic workers. The children of NNBV mostly speak some dialect of Hindi at home which is not taught to them in school.

The problem Basu addresses is that while NNBV students are not taught through their L1 (dialect of Hindi) in school, they are more proficient in Hindi as compared to students of SKV whose home language and the language of instruction at school is the same, i.e., Hindi. Despite the language similarity in the two domains, i.e., home and school, the positive transfer between Hindi and English is not evident amongst the students of NNBV. Basu finds that the children of NNBV are very close to the similar structure (between dialect and Hindi) and successive exposure ends (as they start learning Hindi after the age of three) which helps children of NNBV acquire the L2, i.e., Hindi and the dissimilarity between English and Hindi is a cause for low proficiency in English of NNBV students. Her ethnographic investigation revealed that in the case of poor proficiency of SKV students in their L2, i.e., English, it is not only their being positioned on higher or lower points on similarity/dissimilarity continua that is significant but also that the macro-micro contexts in which language acquisition takes place which include home environment, fluency of teachers, involvement of the parents, poverty, difficult textbooks

and corporal punishment. Interpreting the situation with the sub-continua: majority vs. minority, decontextualized vs. contextualized, the findings show that NNBV students are able to master Hindi because in addition to their being exposed to Hindi in school, Hindi is the majority language in Delhi. Hence these students get ample exposure to it outside the school whereas English is a majority and minority language, the former because of its prestige and latter because it is only spoken by a small segment of the population. In other words, limited proficiency of SKV students in English is also linked to the status of the languages in the wider society.

While the study clearly showed how the use of sub-continua of media and content could help identify multiple causes at both micro- and- macro levels leading to asymmetrical linguistic relationships, the data collection scheme did not encompass real life discursive practices in and outside classrooms which could help show how social actors make use of the choices available to them in their interactions. As a result, I tend to concur with Cummin's observation that the Continua needs to add a sub-continuum of 'actors of biliteracy' (Cummins, 2003: viii) to account for the ways in which social actors make use of the choices available to them.

2.5.2 Broadening the empirical foci

The recent work of Shohamy (2006) has broadened the empirical focus by offering a critical examination of the policy mechanisms or policy devices which encompass rules and regulations, language education, language tests, language in public space, ideology, myths, propaganda and coercion (Shohamy, 2006: 58). These mechanisms sit between ideologies and *de facto* language policies. Her key argument is that "language policy falls in the midst of... manipulations and battles, between language ideology and practice" (p. xv). She explains that the "real" or *de facto*

language policy is formulated through a variety of additional devices or mechanisms, beyond the official policies that are included in language policy and language laws. While the notion of mechanism or policy devices seems to offer a broader and multifaceted examination of LPP, the methodological guidelines for their study are few in number. Also, it is not clear whether policy devices should be seen separately or as being interrelated. If there exists some kind of relationship, one wonders how to empirically establish the links between them. While Shohamy recognizes the agency of the individual in appropriating, resisting, ignoring or changing policy, it remains largely a top-down examination of LP. However, her invitation to take into account the linguistic display found in workplaces, schools, stores, public signs, labels and advertisement has not been addressed in LPP and research in multilingual classrooms. Drawing on Landry and Bourhis' (1997) notion of linguistic landscape, Shohamy (2006:110) argues that the public space is a mechanism that uses symbolic messages 'to [establish] the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they represent.' In other words, the languages on display act as a mechanism to convert ideology into practice. As stated above, while it certainly amounts to broadening the empirical foci of LPP research, Shohamy does not indicate how languages on display can be investigated vis-à-vis the language practices found in a specific context. The current study makes an attempt to examine the relationship between the languages on display and the everyday language practices found in different social spaces and events in schools. In addition, the study particularly focuses and problematizes the role actors play in interpreting, appropriating, collaborating or contesting language policy. I completely attest to Cummin's (2003: x) observation that while educators may work in oppressive conditions, they never lose the choices in the way they structure the pattern of interactions in the classroom. Hence, the investigation of social actors should not be viewed as dichotomous:

collaborating or contesting but rather looking for situated behavior in a particular space, time and situation with the inclusion of micro, meso and macro policy levels and socioeconomic, political, religious factors surrounding them.

2.6 A proposed Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics

To start with, Heller (2011) builds her argument for critical ethnographic sociolinguistics by saying that what ‘in the here and now is not’, may not be separated and assumed as constant from the larger schemes of social categorization and that the ‘now and the here is shifting and shiftable’. In other words, ‘the here and now’ is connected/linked to wider schemes of social categorization and social stratification and to assume it is constant can at best be an orthodoxy. By implication, the investigation of situated micro discourses may not be seen as an end in itself but rather as a means to explore the interconnectivity in discursive patterns. In other words, the key idea here is that by following the trajectories of conversation and of conversational participants, it is possible to empirically record the interconnectedness of different discourses in a discursive space. Therefore, it becomes important to look beyond the local and contingent discourses that develop over time and across space which then means looking at the interconnectivity of discourses and not assuming them to be constant (see Chapter 3 for details discussion on CES).

Secondly, Heller argues that material conditions constrain how we make sense of things. Social action is tied to social structuration (Giddens, 1976) and as researchers we need to proceed by understanding both action and structuration to be social processes unfolding over time and across space, rather than conceptually and empirically distinct realms of micro- and macro-social phenomena. By implication, an investigation of the political economy of the social actors, institutions and their intersections with discursive practices is something which CES

promises to contribute to the existing ways of understanding languages in specific settings. In short, it is a materialistic approach in which language is seen as a form of capital that is unequally distributed and elements of which have different values in a market in which people participate.

Thirdly, while CES underscores the primacy of material conditions and unfolding of discourse over time and space, it also acknowledges agentive spaces and the power of structures. The prime focus in CES is the material base/motivation for social action as seen or conceptualized through the notions of *resource*, *discursive space* and *trajectory* (Heller, 2011). While these notions are constantly shifting and shiftable and are very plausible in the current context of neoliberal economies, such ideas remain largely programmatic. In other words, Heller has not offered adequate methodological guidance for those who wish to study empirically the interconnections between political economy and real- life discursive practices.

2.7 The contribution of the current study

The current study attempts to show the interconnectivity of different discourses by broadening the empirical foci. It not only takes into account the microscopic examination of the classroom discourse but also identifies and examines other key events in the schools' processes such as morning assembly and parent- teacher meetings. As has been shown in the survey of the literature above, scholars in LPP and research in multilingual classrooms have invariably given less attention to the dynamics between the social semiotics in the school environment and the discursive practices found in different social spaces in the school. There has also been relatively less attention given to the material conditions of the social actors and the broader political economy in shaping the actual language practices. This study will attempt to redress these problems/correct this imbalance.

Chapter 3: Post-structuralist theoretical framework and the approach of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present, discuss and justify the selection of a post-structuralist theoretical framework and the approach of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics (CES) that the current study draws on. I achieve this aim by theorizing the fundamental concepts that the study engages with and reviewing the sociolinguistically-informed approaches to discourse as a way to present the case of CES.

The main argument I pursue is that the selection of the framework and the approach is motivated by their relevance to the nature of inquiry and the research questions that this study seeks to address.

I organize this chapter into three sections. In section 3.2, I discuss globalization and language teaching; in section 3.3 I present the post-structuralist perspective. In section 3.4, I theorize the fundamental concepts that the study engages with. In section 3.5, I present and discuss the sociolinguistically-informed approaches to discourse as a way to introduce and justify the selection of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics.

The chapter begins with an introduction to globalization and its implication for language education, particularly English language education and ‘ bilingual education, conceptualized as national language with English (3.2) followed by a brief introduction to post-structuralist perspectives (3.3); it then theorizes the fundamental concepts that the study engages with: language, bilingualism and language use in multilingual settings (3.4), ethnolinguistic differences (3.4.1), education (3.4.2), legitimate language (3.4.3) and justification for using

Bourdieu's theoretical framework (3.4.4). Section 3.5 then presents and discusses sociolinguistically-informed approaches to discourse, dealing in turn with critical ethnographic sociolinguistics, the reconceptualization of policy as practice (Spolsky (2007) and critical interpretive approaches to language practices in multilingual classrooms. This is followed by the justification for the selection of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics as the approach adopted for the current study (Section 3.6).

3.2 Globalization and Language Education

Recent studies in globalization and language education (Block and Cameron, 2002) tell us that globalization seems to have weakened the nation-state as an economic and political entity, however, the empirical evidence of language pedagogy from Japan (Kubota, 2002); England (Harris, Leung and Rampton, 2002) and Canada (Heller, 2002) suggests that the nation state clearly continues to exert significant influence in many areas of its inhabitants' experience, including their experiences as users and learners of languages. While the findings of the research by the authors listed above show us, in three national settings (Japan, England and Canada) that national differences, particular histories and socio-economic and political processes are important contributors to the varying outcomes, they also illustrate that globalization has shifted the conditions under which language learning takes place and that some of the most significant changes are 'economic' (Block and Cameron, 2002:5). The shift from an economy primarily based on manufacturing to a service-based economy in many of the countries of the global north and west seems to have changed not only the language choice and motivations of people for learning languages but has transformed the traditional ways of framing languages; language

education as a means of constructing a sense of national and cultural identity is now contested with new ways of framing languages and bilingual education as ‘commodities’ (Heller, 2002, 2003, 2006) and ‘skills’ (Cameron, 2002) which are of value within the new globalized communicative order created by the internet.

Probably the best example of the commodification of languages and bilingualism and its implication comes from Heller’s (2002, 2003 and 2006) work in which she has focused on both public and private sectors in Canada. These in-depth ethnographic studies show clearly that the demand for commodified bilingualism in Standard English and French forces people to view and acquire languages for largely socio-economic advantages as opposed to hallmark of authentic community promoted by the ideology of nation-state. While the demand for commodified bilingualism is on the rise, its distribution is unequal. In the words of Heller ‘double monolingualism’- understood as multilingualism- is not equally distributed, hence, giving rise to ‘new bilingual, even multilingual elite that marginalizes both those bilinguals whose linguistics resources do not conform to new norms and those who are simply monolinguals’ (2006:5)

The implication of globalization for language education, particularly English language education and bilingual education are both diverse and complex. In practice, we see marketization of English language education and commodified bilingualism in which only English and the state-mandated language become valuable resources or ‘skills’ (Cameron, 2002) valued by international corporate agencies. For instance, Krishnaswamy and Krishnaswamy (2006) report the differential values and framing of languages in India. In their words ‘Only effective communication skills in English- both spoken and written - have a market value. All multinational companies, corporations and outsourcing centers ask for competence in communication skills and everyday use of English’. The quote is reflective of the part of the

larger phenomenon, what Cameron (2002) calls ‘the global ideology of effective communication’ in which specific genre and style of speech is validated by the global organizations and corporate capitalists.

The marketization of English and a particular selected national language is also reported from Japan. Kubota (2002) discusses the impact of globalization on language teaching in Japan. Kubota (2002: 27) observes that language learning and teaching in Japan has been influenced by the discourse of Kokusaika (internationalization), the aim of which was to ‘understand people and culture in the international communities through various social, cultural and educational opportunities’ (p.16). Interestingly, this author explains that the essentialization involved in the discourse of Kokusaika blends both Anglicization and nationalisms: (1) ‘foreign language’ is ‘English’; (2) the model for English should be standard North American or British varieties; (3) learning English leads to ‘international/intercultural understanding; (4) national identity is fostered through learning English and the construction of national identity is based on essentialized images of Japanese language and culture. Kubota (2002:28) observes that despite a prominent increase in the ethnic and linguistic diversity in Japan, language education pays insufficient attention to it.

In short, the above review reveals that bilingual education in these settings is often conceptualized as the coexistence of a national language with English. The trend has transformed the language choice, motivation and rationale for teaching and learning languages. The ideology of nation-state seemed to have given way to new forms of social organization in which there is an increasing role of international agencies and global corporate organizations in validating a specific set of languages. Three major consequences flow from these changing social/ economic conditions: (1) there is a wide-spread commodification of English and national languages; (2) the

rise of an elite class that possess the right set of valued bilingual resources; and (3) increasingly asymmetrical power relations between social groups with different language resources.

3.3 Post-Structuralist Perspectives

Although there may not be a simple definition of post-structuralism, its central tenet lies in its skeptical and critical stance towards reified notions, concepts and knowledge. Pennycook (2001: 134) describes post-structuralism as a ‘philosophical questioning of many of the foundational concepts of received canons of knowledge’. By implication, knowledge is not a neutral, objective phenomenon to be accepted without problematizing it. Instead, it is constituted socially and culturally, and mediated through discursive practices. As a result, assumed established notions, ideas and categories are brought under empirical scrutiny, which reveals that they are produced, reproduced, sustained and transformed largely through discursive practices manifested in everyday interactions. In my view, the critical engagement with reified ideas and notions is one key idea behind post-structuralist thought. To highlight the ‘tacit presuppositions’ behind the efficacy of legitimate language in multilingual settings is one of the main aims of interpretive and critical paradigms in sociolinguistics.

In the following paragraphs, I briefly unpack my assumptions about language, bilingualism, language use in multilingual settings, ethnolinguistic differences and education.

3.4 Language, Multilingualism and Language Use in Linguistically-Diverse Settings

The works of Martin-Jones and Heller (1996); Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) led me to reconceptualize language, bilingualism and language use in multilingual settings from a neutral, essentialist or static (and thus unproblematic) concept to a ‘resource and terrain’ perspective that views the classroom as an arena for the struggle over the reproduction of social difference and social inequality. I see language and bilingualism as socially, culturally and historically contingent. Connected to my reconceptualization of language and bilingualism, I see linguistic practices as central to struggles over controlling the production and distribution of resources and over legitimizing relations of power (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001: 2). In other words, the issues of multilingual education are not the issues of linguistic proficiency *per se*; they are about debates over controlling resources. Based on my firsthand experiences of being an English language teacher in a post-colonial context, I agree with Heller and Martin-Jones’ observation that by exercising control over linguistic resources, educational institutions (and the dominant social groups who organise and control them) regulate access to other resources and legitimize the social order that permits them to do so by masking (that is naturalizing) their ability to do so.

3.4.1 Ethnolinguistic Difference

I view ethnolinguistic differences as largely socio-political differences. They are constructed and sustained mainly through legitimizing certain linguistic practices in multilingual settings. In many contexts they function as a smokescreen hiding politico-economic inequalities among different groups. As Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) note, ‘Difference is a resource for

constructing, leveling, contesting and blurring boundaries in order to maintain, contest, or modify relations of power’.

Although the usual explanation of ethnolinguistic difference sees it in terms of a cultural differences model, I do not find the explanation adequate because they do not take into account the ways in which institutionally organized relations of power constrain what happens in interaction and also the fact that difference may not be the result of separate experience. I hold that differences are primarily the result of socially constructed boundaries.

3.4.2 Education

Following Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), cited in Heller and Martin-Jones (2001:6), I understand education as a ‘key site because of its possibilities for the construction and application of processes of symbolic domination’. The authors explain that symbolic domination works because ‘it masks its concrete sources’ and ‘appears not to work by convincing all participants in an activity that the rules defined by one group are natural, normal, universal and objective, and that it is in everyone’s interest to accept those rules’ (Ibid). Bourdieu and Passeron’s view of education destabilizes the traditional notion of education as an objective egalitarian practice. It also throws light on its potential for appropriating certain discourses and giving the impression of neutrality—a common- sense covering up of the processes of development of differential power among actors. It also shows that the power of education lies not only in the construction and application of symbolic domination but also in its capacity to make things appear not to work and work at the same time. It works because it hides the actual reasons of domination and as it hides the actual reasons, it seems not to work. As Heller and

Martin-Jones (2001:6) rightly maintain: 'One of the objectives of education is to construct hegemonic discourses and to ensure their acceptance' i.e. to convince participants that the discursive practice in educational settings is 'normal', 'universal and objective' and is in the interest of all. In reality education systems often serve the interests of dominant groups. In this sense, education is deeply connected to the social and political order of institutions and communities.

3.4.3 Legitimate Language

Bourdieu (1977) formulates the notion of legitimate language in the economics of linguistic exchange:

...we can state the characteristics which legitimate discourse must fulfill, the tacit presuppositions of its efficacy: it is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the imposter (religious language/priest, poetry/poet etc.); it is uttered in a legitimate situation, i.e. on the appropriate market (as opposed to insane discourse, e.g. a surrealist poem read in the Stock Exchange) and addressed to a legitimate receiver; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms (what linguists call grammaticalness), except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer (p. 650).

Bourdieu points out the key elements of legitimate language i.e. legitimate speakers, legitimate situations, legitimate receivers, legitimate linguistic forms and the market. What is perhaps a key phrase in the quote is that of 'tacit presupposition' which often goes unchallenged and plays an important role in making a certain language legitimate and others illegitimate. The

quote also shows the importance of going beyond the analysis of internal linguistics, to see its link in the social norms and power relationships that endow the speaker and listener with legitimacy. Bourdieu (1979:650) mentions that the search for such presuppositions should start with schools, ‘.... starting with schools, which impose the legitimate forms of discourse and the idea that a discourse should be recognized if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms’.

Bourdieu (1991: 45) elucidates the notion of legitimate language in a larger context thus:

to speak of the language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the official definition of the official language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language..... produced by authors who have the authority to write, fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are also charged with the task of inculcating its mastery, the language is a code, in the sense of a cipher enabling equivalence to be established between sounds and meanings, but also in the sense of systems of norms regulating linguistic norms.

In the quote above, Bourdieu highlights the ways in which a language is made legitimate. It is done in a top-down manner - ‘imposed’ - and people are invested with power to make language legitimate by performing certain tasks such as codifying and writing grammar. While Bourdieu does highlight the importance of ideology and political power invested in legitimizing certain discourses, he downplays the significant roles played by actors occupying different social positions in interpreting top-down policy in their own interests with respect to their everyday institutional lives. By implication it is not the particular form of language which is legitimate but the existence of an institution which defines the conditions (place, time, agents) that must be

fulfilled for the language to be called legitimate. Despite this shortcoming, in my view one of the strengths of the framework is its potential in theorizing discursive practices in multilingual settings.

3.4.4 Justification for using Bourdieu's theoretical framework

My research questions are primarily social questions as outlined in chapter 1. They deal with everyday communication practices in specific institutions. The implicit consideration behind them is that (1) everyday communication is more consequential than previously imagined (Berger and Luckman 1966; Giddens 1976, 1984 cited in Rampton, 2012:1); (2) social actors are never powerless, they have choices in the ways they structure the pattern of interactions in specific social spaces and events (Cummins, 2003); (3) power lies in each of us and our immediate personal and social relations, as well as in institutional formations (Street, 1996:13); (4) at the ontological level, my research questions subscribe to the view that reality is more fragmented, less coherent and less predictable than we used to think (Rampton, 2012: 1).

The key question that this thesis aims to address is how and why certain discursive practices are legitimized while others are not. In order to answer my research questions, I have chosen to use the concept of legitimate language to investigate the role of language in multilingual educational contexts because this idea allows me to not only examine how certain discursive practices are considered normal, taken-for-granted, objective and neutral, but also the development of power relationships among social actors occupying different social positions in society. The notion also helps me examine the presuppositions and rationales for making certain discursive practices legitimate. The concept of legitimate language primarily allows me to find

ways of 'mapping micro and macro relations' (Pennycook, 2001:5). I have selected the concept of legitimate language also because I think this will not give my work an appearance that Corson (2000:415) describes as 'exclusive and inward looking'. As I have examined studies employing this framework, I am quite certain about its comprehensibility for academics in Pakistan. The third rationale is that Bourdieu's theoretical model looks at the different types of relations to the world that different social groups possess. These relations are embedded in different sets of dispositions and attitudes towards the material world and towards other people, which means that many of these relations go well beyond "what can be said in natural language" (Corson, 2000:412). Corson explains that linguistic investigation can be more meaningful and complete by addressing the wider context of socio-economic and political issues that affect it. I find it the most appropriate model to guide my work because it helps me address the socio-political issues that impact language-in-education. In fact, according to Robbins (Robbins,1999:427), 'Bourdieu's main objection was to the way in which linguists and then anthropology had generated conceptual systems that had lost touch with the phenomena which they purported to explain. In other words, Bourdieu's framework stresses knowledge construction through the primary experiences of real people.

The other alternative models that I have reviewed do not allow me the scope and breadth of examining issues which are important for my work; such as wider socio-economic inequality, the legitimization of particular languages in schools as well as their relationship with wider economic and social aspects. Corson (2000:417) argues that in theorizing literacy education, we are stepping resolutely into the ontological minefield that is the real world of human social interaction—a world that includes, at the very least, the needs, values and interests of the students receiving that literacy education. Corson explains that if we confine ourselves to

working from an epistemology that has its roots only in linguistics, rather than from all the other areas mentioned above (and more), then we risk trampling on the needs, values, and interests of the very students we hope to serve. What Corson emphasizes here again is the need for interdisciplinarity as an approach to addressing the issues facing real people. In other words, Corson is arguing for an open system of knowledge creation in which the researcher does not lose touch with the real people in situations that in this context comprise teachers, parents and school managers.

In short, the post-structuralist viewpoint allows me to shift my focus from discovering an objective reality or ‘truth’ to examine its constitution at the intersection of socio-economic and political arenas. I do not see a one-to-one relationship between social categories, social inequality and interaction in education. Instead, these relations are mediated and produced in institutions that are fundamentally about producing and distributing different kinds of resources.

While I draw on Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, I am aware of its limitations in terms of seeing power as mainly negative and oppressive. While it is concerned with the relationships between everyday practices and socio-historical and economic conditions which shape them, there is little accounting for how these day- to- day practices come about (Street, 1996; Heller, 1999) address this shortcoming by taking an interdisciplinary approach discussed in section 3.5. In this next section, I provide a brief overview of the empirical foci and methods employed in sociolinguistically-informed approaches to discourse as a way to contextualize my discussion on the selection of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics as an approach.

3.5.2 Sociolinguistically-informed approaches to discourse

Hornberger (1995) traces the intersecting influences of different kinds of interpretive work (ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics and sociolinguistic micro-ethnography) on research in multilingual classrooms. Hornberger (1995: 245) calls these different kind of approaches ‘sociolinguistically- informed approaches’.

Whereas interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication and microethnography share the common assumption that “the meaning, structure and use of languages are socially and culturally situated and relative”, (Hornberger, 1995:240) they differ in terms of their focuses and methods. Interactional sociolinguistics investigates the actual process of communicative interaction, primarily in instances of inter-ethnic communication, while the ethnography of communication focuses on the description of the components of communicative events and the interpretations of their meaning to participants within a particular culture. Microethnography focuses on “particular cultural scenes within the key institutional settings” (Hornberger, 1995:243). Methodologically, interactional sociolinguistics makes greater use of audio-recorded verbal interaction for analysis, and an important aspect of its methodology is to play back to the participant these recordings and elicit a joint interpretation of what was happening in a particular interaction. The ethnography of communication discovers a relevant frame or contexts, identifies the items which contrast within it and determines the dimensions of contrast for the items within the set so defined (Hymes, 1968: 103). Perhaps more importantly, it looks for levels of analysis for uncovering both the frames or context and the items within the frames from smaller to larger. Microethnography combines ‘participation observation’ with detailed analysis of audiovisual records of naturally occurring interaction in key scenes in people’s lives’ (Erickson and Mohatt, 1982:137)

While the approaches outlined above differ in terms of empirical foci and methods, they share a common interest or emphasis on close and rich analysis of discourse in context (Hornberger, 1995: 236). The examination remains focused on situated discourse and the analysis is informed by critical perspectives on the role of discourse in reproducing or creating alternatives to dominant social structures and ideologies. They explore ways in which different languages or language varieties are ratified by use in schools and what, if any, are the consequences for the speakers of different languages; for their learning and educational opportunities and for the future of certain languages

3.5.1 Conceptualizing Critical Ethnographic Sociolinguistics (CES)

Describing what ‘critical’ means, Heller (2011: 11) notes that ‘the concern for what social process means for social difference and social inequality is at the heart of what I mean by *critical*’. In other words, understanding social processes is the subject matter of CES. She notes that describing, understanding and explaining the relations of social difference and social inequality is what being ‘critical’ means.

The conception of ethnography in CES is about discovering how language works as a situated social practice and how it is tied to social organization especially to current political economy. CES argues that while the description of what is going on is an important ethnographic commitment, it should not stop there. It should explain ‘why things happen the way they do’ (Heller, 2011:42). Drawing on Giddens (1984), Heller (2011) argues that there is no such thing as a bounded whole. There are only processes which link together across space and time. There are boundaries which are socially constructed, and need to be described and analyzed.

CES examines what actors do with linguistic resources that circulate through social spaces and networks. It particularly examines how mobilizing linguistic resources is part of the other form of social action contributing to the construction of linguistic ideologies. In this view of sociolinguistics, language is not an autonomous system and ethnolinguistic categories are not natural and they are not based on immutable cultural differences among groups. Such a view of sociolinguistics primarily focuses on the examination of the daily processes and practices. In other words, the function of the sociolinguistics is to link agency and structuration empirically. (Heller, 2011:49)

3.5 Language Practices as Policy

As shown in chapter two, the dominant analytical approach in the socio-anthropological study of LPP was to examine language practices in comparison with the policy documents. However, it was suggested by Spolsky (2004, 2007) that practices themselves constitute policy. As Spolsky notes (2007:3) ‘they [practices] constitute a policy to the extent that they are regular and predictable...describing them is the task of a sociolinguistic study’ (2007:3). By implication policy lies within practices which adds a new dimension in LPP research. In order to study practices, Spolsky proposes a model (2004, 2007, 2008) that takes into account the “explicit and observable effort by someone or some group named as ‘managers’” (2007:5) as well as the practices of individuals. As Spolsky notes (2008:4), ‘language policy has three interrelated but independently describable components—practice, beliefs, and management’.

His model draws on Fishman’s (1972) generalizations of the domain and proposes three interrelated but independently describable components of LPP: practice, beliefs (or ideology) and

management. Spolsky (2004, 2007, 2008) informs us that there are two main underlying assumptions behind the model: A) policy is essentially a social phenomenon; B) language policy has three interrelated but independently described components: practices, beliefs and management.

The key argument by Spolsky (2007:1-14 2009: 1-9) is that each domain has its own policy with features controlled internally, and also by others under the influence or control of external forces, and that the regular choices made by an individual are determined by his or her understanding of the language choices appropriate to the domain. In other words, all three components account for language choices. In Spolsky's view, the strongest of the three components is the language practices because without this there is no available model of language to learn. As a result, we note that the preoccupation with the study of language practices takes primacy in recent LPP endeavors. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000:1) elucidate the concept of practice which they describe as 'the implicit rules that seem to underlie the language of a defined community.' In the words of Spolsky and Shohamy, 'it is necessary to distinguish between the language practices of a speech community—its habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire and any specific effort to modify or influence that practice by the formulation of specific language policies.' The quote clearly shows that deducing the implicit rules governing the language choice is the central task of LPP and the guiding questions for policy research are 'Who plans What, for Whom, Why and How' (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000:5).

3.5.3. Critical Interpretive Approaches to Multilingual Classroom Interaction

The focus on examining classroom interactional practices and exploring their links with the wider socioeconomic arena has been the hallmark of studies commonly known as the critical interpretive research in multilingual classrooms, established by a series of influential publications by Martin-Jones and Heller (1996), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) and Martin-Jones (2007). It is important to highlight the difference between the two strands of research, i.e., the approach proposed by Spolsky (2004, 2007) and Shohamy(2006) and the one by Martin-Jones and Heller (1996) and Heller and Martin-Jones(2001)

Bonacina (2010) notes that one of the major differences between the study of language practice proposed by Spolsky and Shohamy and that by Heller and Martin-Jones is that while the former accounts for language choice patterns with regard to policy within the interaction by ‘deducible, implicit rules that seem to underlie the language use of a defined community’ (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000:2) the latter accounts for language choice outside the interaction with a clear emphasis on exploring links between micro and macro policy. Other than this, there is also dissimilarity between the two in their theoretical and methodological perspectives. The former is rooted in an ecological model proposed by Haugen (1983: 27) and the seminal works of Fishman (1972) which correlate social structures and situations with linguistic repertoires. On the other hand, the latter explicitly draws on ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974), ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (Garfinkel, 1972; Sacks et al., 1974), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982) and micro-ethnography (Erickson & Shultz, 1982), and uses a post-structuralist framework, namely Bourdieu (1991), to inform the studies.

I now analyze some recent empirical studies in the tradition of critical interpretive classroom research to show the emphases and the less explored areas in this tradition.

For example, Martin's (2005) study of two classrooms in two rural schools shows how teachers and learners implement a macro language policy in two micro contexts situated in North Borneo (East Malaysia). The communities living here are a minority in Malaysia and the languages of wider communication in the area are Kelabit and Saben. 'The study purposefully gives emphasis to the actual language practices in the schools, as many studies that purport to consider policy and practice together actually give pre-eminence to the former and neglect the latter' (Martin, 2005: 94). Classroom language practices in two rural Malaysian schools were audio-recorded, transcribed and analyzed through critical discourse analysis, and intersections between the interactional practices of the classrooms and the wider policy context were explored with national and global levels as well as the local one. The findings show that there existed a tension in both local and national contexts. In education and literacy (including electronic literacy), English and Malay predominate whereas the languages of ethnic Kelabit and Saben are relegated to also-rans (Martin, 2005: 94)

More or less the same approach is followed in Li Wei and Martin, (2009), Rashka et al, (2009), Tien, (2009) and Li Wei and Wu, (2009). For instance, Rashka et al. (2009) focus on code switching as a strategy employed by teachers in their EFL classrooms in two commercial bushibans or cram schools in Taipei. Two classes, one from each cram school, were selected for detailed observation followed by detailed interviews with teachers and students. The transcribed material was then analyzed for patterns of code switching. The findings of Rashka et al show that the constraints on code switching seem to be managed by a policy dictated by external forces and its value is not acknowledged. While the links between code switching found in the classrooms,

institutional policy and larger commercial ELT discourse of English-only is clearly illustrated, the study seems to restrict itself to the investigation of classrooms and interviews with social actors. Hence, it does not offer a comprehensive account of code switching and its significance in the society at large.

The preoccupation with classroom interactional patterns and language practice with little attention to languages written in the school environment can be seen in two doctoral research projects reviewed here: Bonacina (2010) and Chimbutane (2009).

Bonacina (2010) looks at the monolingual educational program for newly arrived migrant children in France. Drawing on Spolsky's (2004) conceptualization of policy as text at the level of "language management", discourse at the level of "language belief" and practice at the level of "practices", Bonacina argues that language policy can be interactionally constructed in practice, hence she prefers to call it a 'practiced language policy' (2012: 217) and uses conversation analysis to operationalize the idea in a set of audio-recorded data. The study reveals the policy within the practice by showing that speakers draw on a set of implicit rules that they have deduced from their observation of patterns of language use (Bonacina, 2012: 230). The empirical focus remains on a close study of real-life interaction in classrooms, and interaction by itself is taken as policy as opposed to a policy document or competing discourses of policy.

Chimbutane (2009) looks at the purpose and value attributed to bilingual education by participants in two schools in Mozambique. Drawing on epistemic perspectives of linguistic ethnography and critical, interpretive approaches to bilingual education, he focuses on the analysis of the relationships between discourse practices in bilingual classrooms and

institutional, local and societal discourses on multilingualism and multiculturalism. The account draws on a combination of different data sources and analytical perspectives such as participant observation of the classrooms, and interviews with different stakeholders followed by discourse analysis of the audio-recorded discursive practices. The key epistemological site remains mainly the classroom discourse.

While these studies in classrooms in multilingual schools have given practical examples of linking practices with policy in different contexts, their examination of classroom discourses do not take into account other potential sources of language and semiotic practices and in the school environment. Moreover, the work of Bonaciana (2010) does not tend to give importance to material conditions of the social actors and the role of the wider political economy that shapes the responses of social actors to language practices in complex ways.

3.5.4 Ideologies indexed in everyday classroom language practices

I need to briefly mention here a body of scholarship whose preoccupation was with ideology. This preoccupation was either on the basis of context, i.e., schools, the work place, the courts, etc. or of topic, i.e., education, accent discrimination, research methodology , etc. (Ricento, 2000: 205). This body of scholarship is exemplified in the works of researchers such as Canagarajah, (2000); Jaffe, (1999), Davis, (1999); Freeman, (1998, 2004); Ricento and Hornberger, (1996). According to Ricento (2000: 204), these scholars, often associated with postmodern theoretical approaches have offered more nuanced, contextualized and historical descriptions of events and practices.’ Hornberger (2006:34) notes that these contributions called for greater attention to the role of human agency and in particular bottom-up agency in LPP. As

Ricento observes (2000:205) ‘in this approach individual agency—and not impersonal ideological forces—is the locus of analysis’ which goes to show the scholars do not assume social actors as passive recipients of policy. The works of Canagarajah (1995, 2000), Heller (1999) and Jaffe (1999) could be taken as the most representative of this approach to LPP where ideologies have been shown in the everyday language practices in Jaffna, French Ontario and in Corsican classrooms.

3.6 Justification for the selection of the approach adopted in this study

The principal justification for the selection of CES is that it allows me to answer my research questions that do not assume permanence of traditional discourses, roles of actors and policy. I find CES particularly useful as it is focused on examining the political economy and its link with the everyday discursive practices in multilingual settings. It does not consider the investigation of situated microdiscourses as an end itself but rather as a means to explore the interconnectivity in discursive patterns. Perhaps more importantly, it rightly argues that the- now- and- the- here is shifting and shiftable. In my study, I find a clear shift in multilingual urban elites’ orientation towards languages concurrent with the rise of global enterprise in Pakistani society. They seem to give little importance to old nationalistic discourses and sentimental associations with languages. I see the urban elites as taking an extremely materialistic view of languages with the changing labor market conditions in Pakistan. In short, while CES as an approach shares the basic principles and methods with other sociolinguistically informed approaches to discourse, its explicit emphasis on taking a materialist approach to the problems of languages in institutions is its niche and the central reason for its selection in the current study.

Chapter 4: Pakistan: Sociolinguistic profile and overview of colonial and post-colonial language-in-education policy and research.

Overview

The existing accounts on the history and current language-in-education policies in Pakistan given by the government (National Education Policy, 2009), international bodies and independent researchers in the country are mostly based on large- scale, survey-based research methods. These accounts show pervasive inequalities in education in Pakistan in terms of differentiated available options of education for different ethnolinguistic groups in the country. They bring out variant material conditions, student-teacher ratios, gender literacy rates and professional qualifications of teachers. In short, differences are shown in terms of ‘context, development, content and media’ (Hornberger, 1989).

I argue these are superficial accounts primarily because of the explanatory limitations in large- scale, survey-based research methods. They lack specificity and they do not engage with everyday language/literacy practices in institutions. As a result, they fail to capture the indigenous experiences, meanings and cultural variations. Perhaps more importantly, they take the complex role of social actors in languages/literacy practices for granted.

The aim of this chapter is to engage critically with the major perspectives and empirical studies on the historical development of language-in-education policy in Pakistan. In order to achieve the aim, I review selected studies on colonial and post-colonial language-in-education policies with a particular focus on the methods employed in these studies. To limit the length of this chapter, I will not consider the scholarship produced in the former East Pakistan, the present day Bangladesh.

I organize the chapter into three sections: In Section 4.1, I present the location, demography and sociolinguistic profile of Pakistan followed by a discussion on the sociolinguistic profile of Pakistan. In Section 4.2, I examine the research methods and analyses of selected works on colonial language-in-education policy within India: Viswanathan (1989), Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (1994), Brutt-Griffler (2000) and relate them to the recent scholarship on language policy in education of British India and post-colonial Pakistan: Annamalai (2005), Durrani (2012), Mohanty (2006) Khubchandani (2008). In Section 4.3, I closely analyze the research methods, in particular the survey tools in selected key empirical studies on language policy, in post-colonial Pakistan.

4.1 Location and Demography

Pakistan, officially the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, borders the Arabian Sea, between India on the east, Iran and Afghanistan on the west and China in the north (see Map 1 in Appendix 1).

The country has a total area of 796,096 square kilometers and a population of 176 million (in 2011) according to the Population Census Organization (PCO), a body of the government of Pakistan. The PCO- estimated population of Pakistan differs from the estimates given by international agencies such as The World Bank (185 million) and the United Nations Development Programme (164.6 million). Pakistan comprises seven administrative units: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, Azad Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) (PCO, 2011). The capital is Islamabad.

4.1.1 Sociolinguistic Profile of Pakistan

As stated in chapter 1, the sixteenth edition of *Ethnologue*, Lewis, (2009) lists seventy-two languages for Pakistan. I now discuss the reliability of *Ethnologue* data in the context of Pakistan. Out of seventy-two entries for languages in Pakistan, twenty-five entries have no source of information at all. Particularly, the following Pakistani languages are reported from published sources: Aer , Goaria , Ghera , Gurgula , Jandavra , Sindhi Bhil , Parkari Koli , Bhaya , Vaghri . In fact many of them are reported in an unpublished report by Jaffery (1999). This means there might be many more languages in Pakistan that are not documented in *Ethnologue*.

For the entries which have source-years, the distribution of entries over the decades is as follows: seven entries in 1980s, thirty-seven in 1990s, twenty in 2000 whereas eight are marked 'no estimate available'. The earliest entry is dated 1981 while the latest with just one entry was made in 2007, thus reflecting the obsolescence of the data.

The evidence of field work is largely restricted to northern Pakistan and is dated: Languages of Kohistan (Rensch, Decker and Hallberg, 1992); languages of the Northern Area (Backstrom and Radloff, 1992); Hindko and Gujari (Rensch, Decker and Hallberg, 1992); Pashto, (Waneci, Ormuri, Hallberg, 1992), and languages of Chitral, Decker (1992).

The remaining complex sociolinguistic data of the country seem to have been inferred from published sources. In addition, I found inconsistencies between the data and the source of information. For the entry relating to Bagri, the given source date is 2011. This was, an SIL study carried out in Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana in India whereas the data shown has been carried forward from the previous editions of *Ethnologue*. This is one of many such cases where there is a mismatch between the source data and the data presented. Some of the following

entries can be taken as further evidence of this: Eastern Balochi, Balti , Bateri and Brahui . I also found inconsistency in the number of sources for entries that have sources. Out of forty-seven entries with sources, seventeen have a single source of information, nine have two sources and the remaining twenty-one have a range of sources from three to fifteen.

The examination above raises questions on the validity of *Ethnologue* data. The poor reliability of *Ethnologue* data also has been documented by Cambell and Grondona (2008), Hammarstrom (2005, 2012), and Blench & Dendo (2000). The common observations about *Ethnologue* are that the information is dated; there is strong evidence of over- and under-reporting, inconsistencies in information and an extremely weak system of classification. More serious issues raised in these reviews relate to the definition of language used by *Ethnologue*, and the unacknowledged complexity involved in the implementation of the laid- out criteria for distinguishing between language and dialect.

Of relevance to me here is the estimated population of speakers of first languages in Pakistan shown in *Ethnologue*. The primary source of these figures is Pakistan's national census which quite clearly is not conducted on a regular basis; the latest data available is from the census of 2001. The other aspect is that the questionnaire used in the census for gathering data is not accessible to the public at any forum as a result of which it is difficult to determine whether the tool had a section on languages or not. Assuming it did have a section on languages, it still remains necessary to examine the manner in which questions were worded, asked, interpreted and filled out as these have an impact on the results particularly in a context where the claimed rate of literacy is about 57 percent (Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2010:145). The poor infrastructure and volatile political conditions make the administration of the tool challenging. As I had no access to the tool, I conducted informal discussions with two senior residents to

understand their lived experiences vis-à-vis their participation in the national census of Pakistan. [Ahmed and Ali, 10 August, 2012]. The respondents confirmed that the national census survey contains a single question on the mother tongue. However, they also pointed out that in many cases the mother tongue is assessed/inferred from the ethnicities of people. The respondents reported that the political interference of government, political groups, bureaucracy and gender issues (men reporting on behalf of women) raises serious questions on the validity of such claims. Both the respondents share the view that as the allocation of national resources and assembly membership at the national and provincial levels are mainly decided on the basis of population, the national survey in Pakistan has often become a political exercise and may not be treated as valid. Perhaps a very telling case about the validity of the Pakistani national census is the gap in population estimates reported by government and international agencies. For the year 2010, the gap in the population estimates of the government and international agencies was sixteen million. The government of Pakistan reported population estimates (Government of Pakistan) as 169 million whereas UN population estimates for Pakistan in the same year was 185 million. Furthermore, the number of Urdu speakers (7.57 million) has not changed from the first census of the year 1951 (Source: Census 1951) to 2001 (Source: Census 2001).

4.1.2 Discussion on the sociolinguistic profile of Pakistan

The available sociolinguistic profiles of Pakistan (Rahman, 2010; Mansoor, 2003; Coleman and Capstick, 2012) have largely made use of national census data and have taken into consideration the reported number of speakers as the sole criteria for labeling languages as major or minor. In other words, following the logic of numeracy without attending to internal variations in the languages, as well as regional and social variations in them, languages are categorized as major

and minor languages. The census data are often misused by charged political factions to provoke ethnic violence in the country. To take an example, Coleman and Capstick (2012: 13) note that ‘for complex historical reasons, the national language of Pakistan is the mother tongue of a small minority of the population’. Urdu may or may not be rightly claimed as the mother tongue of 7.5 percent of the Pakistani population, considering its diffusion in Pakistani society particularly within its urban and educated classes. Also, considering the rich tradition of Urdu literature produced in the Punjab and the everyday use of Urdu by people of that province, it would be no surprise if Urdu is claimed as the mother tongue of a large number of urban families in the Punjab and elsewhere in the country. Apart from objectifying the very notion of mother tongue, discourse on the language and number of speakers is deeply entrenched in the works of scholars in Pakistan. It tends to assume a one-to-one link between two entities: ‘language’ and ‘people’: both of them are said to possess similarity and homogeneity. By this logic we are forced to believe that all speakers of Punjabi speak Punjabi, no matter whether they identify themselves with this language or not. Whether or not the language has undergone changes in recent decades, the experts still identify them with Punjabi. As a result, ‘crucial differences within the group of speakers [are], like in language, obliterated: the group of speakers could in some way or another be qualified as “speakers of language X”, even if their internal differences were so massive and fundamental that any reference to commonness and sharedness would be empirically unsustainable’ (Hymes 1968; Rampton 1998 cited in Blommaert, 2005: 391). Contrary to the ‘idealized notion of language and society’ (Blommaert, 2005: 391), we are informed by the rich research tradition of ethnographic sociolinguistic paradigms that the use of languages vary along different social parameters and that linguistic repertoire of the people are ‘truncated’ (Blommaert, 2011).

On the contrary, English is still shown as a bounded entity in the official rhetoric claiming it as the official language of Pakistan with a promise of replacing it with Urdu in the next fifteen years (Article 25, Constitution of Pakistan, 1973). The academic discourse around English language has also seen it and other languages portrayed as what Blommaert (2005: 391) calls 'monolithic, uniform and homogenistic'. Describing the role of English in Pakistan, Coleman and Capstick (2012:15) note that 'it is the language of government, the military and higher education. It is the language of power and prestige of an elite class that has dominated the country since independence'. Similar idealized notions of English come from other scholars such as Rahman (2002) who notes that 'it [English] is the most empowering language in Pakistan'. Apart from essentializing tendencies, which obscure important processes of change that languages register when they come in contact with other languages, such scholarship remains restricted to seeing languages as permanent objects without internal differences. It can be argued that while English may have been the language of colonizers, it has mixed with local languages and must have emerged with new characteristics, i.e., it must have registered changes and variations in the use of these varieties. Unfortunately scholarly works on English language in Pakistan have not moved beyond the rhetoric that English is the language of power spoken by imaginary elites.

To sum up, accounts of the existing sociolinguistic profile of Pakistan is based on very dated and essentialised sources of information. It relies on folk conceptions of languages, ignoring important processes of language change, prestige, variety, register, stylistics, generic, and channel-related variety.

I now will examine the perspectives on colonial language-in-education policy with a focus on the methods of investigation and then link the findings with recent scholarship.

4.2 Colonial Language Policy

Viswanathan (1989) offers the most comprehensive account of the adoption of the content of English literary education to the administrative and political imperatives of British rule. She explores the relationship between institutionalization of English in India and the exercise of colonial power manifested in the process of curricular selection. Drawing on Gramsci's (n.d.) writings on the relations of culture and power, Viswanathan's central argument is that the introduction of English in the Indian curriculum is the manifestation or representation of embattled responses to historical and political pressure and tensions between the East India Company and the English parliament, between parliament and missionaries, and between the East India Company and the Indian elite classes (Viswanathan, 1989:10). Based on an in-depth examination of archival sources of British India's educational policies, she explains that certain humanistic functions were attributed to English literature and that it was largely turned into an ideological instrument in which it was linked with 'proper development of character' or 'civilizing the natives' (p.24). The aim was focused on 'raising' the Indians to the intellectual level of the British which then helped constitute the power asymmetry between the colonizer and the colonized. Viswanathan (1989) claims that the primary motive was to control and dominate, whether it was the Orientalist faction arguing for training British administrators and civil servants, learning the local languages and cultures or Anglicist factions advocating the spread of English language and culture.

While the historical accounts and arguments presented in the work appear plausible in the face of strong documentary evidence, the researcher's focus was on examining the textual manifestation of curriculum changes.

Phillipson's (1992) account of language-in-education policy in India is quite dated now; however, it is still the popular account of colonial education policy in Pakistan. For instance Mustafa (2011) draws her arguments from Phillipson (1992) who weaves grand narratives of imaginary core and peripheral countries resting on the assumptions that English learning has served the interests of the receiving countries and the donors and which then has contributed to perpetuate North-South inequality (Phillipson, 1992:1). The complex colonial educational language policy and practices have been simplified and linked to abstract imperialistic designs of imaginary core countries. The core countries are shown as perpetrators and the periphery countries as innocent victims. The evidence for such links has been largely gathered from the idiosyncratic interpretations of the works of other scholars and reports of different agencies. At best, the work offers some insight into colonial language-in-education policy of India with little empirical evidence.

Pennycook (1994) adds a valuable metaphor: that of a 'swinging pendulum' (Pennycook, 1994:78) to signify the fact that both the Anglicist and Orientalist factions of the colonial regime were two sides of the colonial coin with a common denominator of control and domination of the local population. He rightly suggests that the British language-in-education policy should not be seen as the victory of one camp over the other but that there were competing discourses that operated/existed in British educational policies for its colonies. Drawing on historical accounts, policy documents and particularly the work of Viswanathan (1989), he argues that colonial education policies were significant not only because of the spread of English that they brought about but also because of the increase in studies of English that they produced (Pennycook, 2004: 6). The key method employed by the researcher is the discourse analysis of written documents, Macaulay's minute of 2 February 1835, reports produced by different governmental

organizations and other empirical studies on colonial language policy in India and elsewhere. The conclusion he draws is that educational policies of the British in colonial times must be seen in the context of the economic and political interests of colonialism and as part of the shifting discourses on colonialism (1994:82).

Brutt-Griffler (2002) shows the inadequacy of the theory of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) in accounting for the complex linguistic processes by which English has spread and argues that the locus of language is the speech community rather than geographical territory (Brutt-Griffler, 2002:11). She rightly asserts that the specific school community should be seen as one unit of analysis for the investigation of language policy and practices. It is a groundbreaking study for the field of language policy of colonial times in which Brutt-Griffler (2002) critiques the use of purported political jargons such as imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and underscores the importance of taking into account the agency of locals. Drawing on Hornberger (1997), Brutt-Griffler states that social actors should be seen as ‘active shapers’ (Brutt-Griffler, 2002:63) and she argues for the recognition of bottom-up language policy as well.

The author employs to discourse analysis of educational policies, commission reports and presents the statistical overview of education in Asia focusing on the comparative number of students in vernacular- and English-medium schools in Ceylon, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States; she also examines the total number of vernacular- and English-medium schools along with the varying percentages of different ethnic groups (Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 191-195)

I now discuss the common threads in the literature surveyed above in the light of more recent reviews and accounts on language-in-educational policy of British colonial rule in India Annamalai (2005), Durrani (2012), Mohanty (2006), Khubchandani (2008), and Ramanathan (1993).

From the literature review presented above, it will be clear that the language-in-education policy of British India was largely a 'contested terrain' (Brutt-Griffler, 2002:62) with multiple perspectives and interpretations ranging from an imperialistic design plus a civilizing mission to fulfilling the economic purposes of the colonial empire. However, the common perspective and interpretation is that British colonial education policy, though using different strategies in response to the economic and socio-political challenges of the time, had control and domination at its heart. Creating differential access through differential institutionalization of languages seems to have been the major strategy adopted in British India. As Khubchadani (2008: 371) notes, in actual terms, three patterns of education emerged in British rule: (1) the vernacular medium in rural areas for primary education; (2) the English medium in urban centers for education of the elite; and (3) the two-tier medium: the vernacular for primary education and English medium for the advanced stages in towns. The implications of these differential educational pathways with variant distribution of linguistic resources in them is very well captured by Ramanathan (1993) in her ethnography of English teaching and the textbook in state-mandated vernacular- and English-medium schools. The findings show that the divergent English instruction in these settings contributes to the construction of two different kinds of student populations with implication for unequal distribution of linguistic resources and, in turn, social goods. A more or less similar social implication of language policy in the Pakistani context is documented by Durrani (2012:37). She argues that as access to English was

differential in colonial times leading to social division, the current Pakistani education system perpetuates this division between English-medium education for the elite and Urdu-medium for the rest.

The second important thematic thread in the survey of literature is the top-down manner of British language-in-education policy implementation where the key actors are the colonial administrators, the British parliament and the upper class of the Indian population; little evidence of locally-informed language policy is found in British India. It can be argued that the manner of formulation of language policy and its implementation has not changed much over the years. As Durrani (2012:38) notes, current Pakistani scholars and policymakers continue to pursue a top-down education policy that fails to account for locally- informed communicative practice.

The survey of literature also shows the monolingual assumptions behind the language-in-education policy of British India where only a few languages were selected for formal schooling under the regime and the remaining local languages were regarded as deficient. It is important to note here that the legacy of monolingual language-in-education still sways the language policy landscape of both India and Pakistan. Mohanty (2006) reports that education in India largely remains monolingual as he notes (2006: 279) ‘On the whole, education in India is only superficially multilingual and it remains monolingual at an underlying level’. Durrani (2012: 37) reports that despite the rhetoric at the policy level of the strengths of multilingual education, key social actors such as teachers are ‘hesitant’ to recognize the use of multiple codes in education.

The analysis of the survey above shows scholars’ preoccupation with the economic and socio-political struggle involved in the use of English for educational purposes. It shows that the differential institutionalization of languages led to the creation of linguistic and social hierarchy

in colonial and post-colonial India and Pakistan. Writing about the state of English in Indian education system and its social implications, Annamali (2005: 35) reports that English actually reproduced inequality not only in terms of language *per se* but also by its varieties. Annamali explains that there are several varieties of English in India with a few that are privileged, the mastery of which ensures social and economic distinction. Similarly, multiple varieties of English have been reported in Pakistan (Rahman, 1991; Baumgardner, 1993; Mahboob, 2009). However, the social implications of the use of these varieties are less explored.

In this section, I have shown that major accounts on the language-in-education policy of British India are largely constructed on the basis of archival sources and policy documents since these are the sources that are generally used in historical accounts. I have also shown that the colonial language policy is probably best described as ‘contested terrain’ (Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 62) with a multiplicity of interpretations. I have also explored some common grounds in these accounts and have shown their resonances in some recent works. In the next section, I present an in-depth analysis of the key empirical studies specifically focusing on language- in-education policy in post-colonial Pakistan.

4.3 Key empirical studies on the role of languages in education in Pakistan: descriptive studies

Mansoor (1993, 2004, 2005, 2009) and Rahman (1999, 2002, 2004) are the key empirical studies in the area of language-in-education policy (LIEP) in Pakistan. As I show below in my examination of these and a few other recent works (Shamim, 2011, and Coleman and Capstick 2012), Mansoor takes a descriptive approach to LIEP, drawing on survey work while Rahman

takes a critical approach. In the review below, I focus particularly on the methods, analysis and findings of these studies.

Mansoor (2009) examines the role of regional languages of Pakistan in higher education. The aim of the study is to highlight issues and concerns for language planning in higher education. This is then achieved through investigating the differences in students', parents' and teachers' language attitudes and language use which are measured by using a questionnaire, conducting interviews and documentary analysis. The questionnaire is not made available in the report. As the study intended to capture 'real-world enquiry' (2009: 35), it involves students (N=2163), teachers (N=121) and parents (N=63) from all the provincial capital cities in Pakistan through the use of multi-stage cluster sampling with stratification. Using univariate analysis, the following trends are shown:

1. percentage distributions of available materials in different mediums;
2. students' competency in speaking and writing in their mother tongue;
3. language use by students in different domains and gender;
4. reasons for learning English;
5. teachers' and parents' recommendations for medium of instruction at various levels of education.

The results show that a majority of students from the private sector received English medium of instruction teaching whereas the majority of students from the public sector received Urdu medium of instruction at different levels of schooling. The regional languages are seen as deficient for educational purposes because of the lack of material produced in scientific and technical subjects. In terms of the language competence of students, the results show that there is

a wide range of levels of spoken and written proficiency amongst students, teachers and parents in their mother tongue. However, students' high written proficiency in mother tongues is reported to be very low. Significant associations are made in language use and gender in the family domain: males reported most use of the mother tongue and regional languages as compared to females. In terms of language attitude, an overwhelming number of participants showed a highly positive attitude towards, and a preference for, English. The motivational orientation to learn English is found to be mainly in its being instrumental for getting jobs or studying abroad. The study also illustrates the language shift from mother tongues to national language i.e. Urdu among speakers of Punjabi and Sindhi languages.

In her earlier study, Mansoor (1993) reports on Pakistani university students as positively- oriented towards English mainly for instrumental reasons. The result was later confirmed by her doctoral work (2003). Her PhD study involves 2136 students. The data collection involves the use of a bilingual survey questionnaire in English and Urdu for teachers and parents, and unstructured interviews and individual and group interviews. A short English language proficiency test comprising reading, comprehension, vocabulary and structure was adapted from IELTS and the Michigan English Test of English Language Proficiency which was administered to assess and correlate the respondents' educational background and their level of English. This was complemented with document analysis of the Constitution of Pakistan, educational reports and policy documents from different eras and economic survey reports produced by government of Pakistan.

About the aims of the survey, Mansoor notes (2005: 166), 'great care was taken to get a representative sample'. The quantitative data was analyzed through the use of statistical tests and the document analysis mainly focused on content analysis through working out the frequency of

issues explored as found in the documents. The qualitative data for the study comes from audio-recording of interviews with educational ministers, policy makers, teachers, administrators, parents and students and their views were presented verbatim. The classroom language of instruction was also measured through the use of questionnaires, while group interviews were conducted to ascertain the medium of instruction in classrooms. This data was then analyzed in the light of current language- in- education policy documents. The researcher asserted in the light of the results that the policy has led to a situation where students neither have sufficient material in Urdu, nor the required language proficiency in English and that this situation is perpetuating the existing divide between private and public sector students as a result of the differentiated medium of instruction for them (Mansoor, 2005: 348). Importantly however, the actual language/literacy practices in this study were not taken into account. In other words, the context of communication was assumed.

4.3.1 The Critical Approach to Language Policy Study in Pakistan

Rahman, through a series of substantive works (1990, 1996, 1999 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) illustrates the politics of languages in reifying inequality, power differentials vis-à-vis the role of ideology, and the continuity of historical discourses in constructing/sustaining the asymmetrical relations of power in different ethnolinguistic groups in Pakistan. However, I have selected his works on LIEP (2002, 2004a) for review as they are more relevant to my project.

Rahman (2002) primarily aims to connect language-learning with language, ideology and power among the Muslims of Pakistan and north India. The second aim of the work, as Rahman notes, is to offer ‘a comprehensive study of what language-teaching policies were adopted and

how the people responded to them' (Rahman, 2002: 24). It is important to point out the key assumptions of the author about how language policy works and about the question of power, ideology and worldview. These assumptions are clearly manifested in the form of questions he sets to answer in this study: "Does the state have an ideological aim when it enforces the teaching of certain languages, through certain prescribed books in educational institutions?", "Does English bring Pakistanis in contact with the Western world view?", "Is it in the interest of the West that this should happen?", "If so, is that why British Council and the American Centre make efforts to teach English to Pakistanis?" (Rahman, 2002: 22).

Suffice to say that the questions have strong resonances of Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism (1992) and Skuttnabb-Kangas' (1989) notion of linguisticism as discussed in section 5.2.

In order to determine the ideological content, the language textbooks from grade 1 to X was analyzed by Rahman (2002) with reference to Islam, Pakistani nationalism and militancy. The frequency of these words is then expressed as percentages of total number of lessons at different level of schooling, language and province-wise. The varying percentages for the use of these words are interpreted by the author as "ideological content" (Rahman, 2002: 518), in different languages, taught to school students in different provinces. The author then links them to the design of an imagined state. In his words 'the state uses the motivational power of religion, patriotism and romanticized history to create a Pakistani identity which supersedes kinship, regional or ethnic identity' (Rahman, 2002: 519).

This analysis is complemented by the findings of a questionnaire administered to 1519 students in different urban locations. The available questionnaire is in English. However, the author mentions the use of an Urdu version of the questionnaire as well.

As stated above, the key tool for the data collection is the questionnaire structured into two parts titled 'Questionnaire on Language-teaching and Ideology'. In the absence of general instructions, and the aims and objectives of the tool, there seems to be a great deal of confusion on the part of respondents about the purpose of the study. To begin with, the questionnaire opens with factual questions requiring respondents to give their names (optional), age, gender, grade, and mother tongue which the author assumes to be one only. The items take the form of actual questions ending with a question mark followed by two options: 'Yes' or 'No'. For the sake of analysis here, the items can be classified into two types : W-h words items seek information on the medium of instruction in the school, i.e. if it is the mother tongue or not followed by closed-ended statements in section two intended to assess the views of the learners as to which language or languages should be taught in school; whether one's mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction; whether higher jobs are available in English, Urdu or in the mother tongue of the people of province; and also, whether English-medium schools be abolished. The other focus of the questionnaire, on ideology, comes in the form of statements seeking respondents' views on the ideological content of their language textbooks, and whether the narratives of the text are correct or not.

Part two of the questionnaire that is composed in the form of statements followed by Likert scale options ('strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree') intends to measure the ideological loading in language teaching by asking questions on sensitive and contested political, social and religious issues : whether religious laws should be implemented, whether Muslim religious

minorities and other religious minorities should be given equal rights. Similarly, items deal with military budget expenditure and Pakistan-India political relations and also focus on media and political issues. For instance, the statements of some items read: “make the press completely free”; “establish democracy fully”; “make TV/Radio completely free”. One wonders about the interpretations of phrases such as: ‘completely free, democracy full, mother tongue’. It is also not clear as to how the contested concepts used in the questionnaire such as ‘democracy’, ‘ideology’ ‘Sharia’h law’ (Islamic law) would be understood by its respondents keeping in view their age and exposure to debates about these concepts. It seems that the questionnaire was primarily created from the author’s own interpretation of the phenomena without any regard to the knowledge and practices of the respondents.

It is also worth illustrating here that the designer of the questionnaire has certain contestable assumptions about language use in classrooms in Pakistan. These were reflected in the ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ choices given. While the respondents’ experiences of the medium of instruction may have been very different across the curriculum, topics, teachers’ personal language preference, on task, off task, in the classroom, out of the classroom, their choices to report have been constrained by ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ options. The fundamental problem with ‘Yes’/ ‘No’ options is that they restrict the respondents’ interpretation of the phenomenon by closing up the spaces for expressing themselves. In other words, it is the writers’ interpretation of the phenomena manifested in the questionnaire item that has to be either approved or disapproved (Block, 1998). Likewise, the fundamental problem with the use of Likert scales is that the respondent may not mean the same thing as does the question writer (Alderson, 1992). One person’s “strongly agree” may be much stronger / more passionate than another’s. In addition, the empirical investigation on language use in the classroom and media in Pakistan also contests

the black-and-white ‘medium of instruction’ assumption of the author (Khan, 2004, Rasul, 2008; Qadir and Rasul, 2009, Abbas *et al*, 2011).For instance, Abbas *et al* (2011: 104) note that code-mixing is widely used in classrooms in Pakistan. In like vein, Khan (2004) reports that the students of Karachi University code-switch between English and Urdu frequently in their classroom discursive practices.

The most confusing aspect is the analysis in which direct correlations are made between the data and the assumed social categories. The researcher then draws the conclusion that the educational enterprise is largely unorthodox and conventional in Pakistan (Rahman, 2002: 531). He also concludes that the feudal lords, clergy, bureaucracy and military are perpetrators of all evils (Rahman, 2002: 532). While these claims may or may not be true, they do not have valid empirical bases. Perhaps more importantly, they do not highlight the language/literacy practices in the institutions which are discussed.

Rahman (2004a) is another book-length study of education, inequality and polarization in Pakistan with very similar methods, tools and conclusions. This study involved some 1924 participants selected through stratified random sampling from the list of educational institutions provided by the government of Pakistan. The primary research tool was a two-part questionnaire written in English although the researcher mentions the use of an Urdu version of the questionnaire (not provided in the report). In addition to the questionnaire, examination results of matriculation from the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education Rawalpindi were collected.

The untitled questionnaire without any general or specific instructions for the respondents began with the instruction of not writing the personal name but the name of the institution. It then opened abruptly with a series of items in the form of actual questions for the teachers

surveyed, including with question marks 'occupation of spouse', 'ranks', 'titles', 'average monthly income', 'occupational status', 'salary', 'grade', 'income from all sources', 'qualifications', and 'medium of instruction in which they studied and their children' .

The first part of the students' questionnaire filled out by grade 10 students, required them to report their 'father's occupation', 'his rank', 'title', 'occupational status', 'salary', 'grade', 'income from all sources' and 'mother's occupation', 'rank', 'title', 'occupational status', 'salary', 'grade' and 'income from all sources' to be responded to by 'yes' or 'no'.

The second part of the questionnaire included items that were written in the form of statements followed by three options: (1) Yes, (2) No, and (3) Don't know. The content of these items included contentious religious, political and ideological issues: the issue of disputed territory between India and Pakistan, the politicized religious issues between majority Muslims and minority Muslims, and other religious minorities in the country such as Hindus and Christians and the issues of rights for men and women as in Western countries.

The answers to these questions are then interpreted and shown as 'Militancy and Tolerance' among different strata of the sample and linked with the medium of instruction as well as the educational policies of the country since independence to the present times. The analysis was carried out by largely showing the statistical differential between educational budgets, monthly incomes, average monthly tuition fee, teacher-student ratio, and cost per year per student, and by tracing the historical roots of inequality in education. The key findings of the study show varying access to educational institutions among different social classes, varying spending of state resources on educational institutions, polarization of worldviews among teachers and students of different educational institutions, commercialization of education in

Pakistan, and differential access to English language (Rahman, 2004: 147-153). In addition, the analysis links educational institutions with the creation of asymmetrical social classes: ‘the rich and the powerful are found in the English schools (private elitist and cadet colleges) as well as private universities; the lower middle classes and working classes go to Urdu medium schools and public universities’ (Rahman, 2004: 148).

The study of languages through large-scale surveys is also found in the recent study by Shamim, (2012) that looked at the issues, challenges and possible solutions in the discourse of English as the language for development in Pakistan. The survey was carried out through a questionnaire in public sector universities of Pakistan. The total number of students who responded to the questionnaire was 3552 while eighty-four teachers also responded. The questionnaire was not provided in the published report on this project; however students’ family income and examination scores were correlated and presented in the form of a bar-graph. The positive correlation between students’ income and their examination scores was linked to their schooling types. The researcher concluded that there is an urgent need to provide relevant and high-quality English language programs for learners in public sector universities to enable them to compete with their more fortunate counterparts. (Shamim, 2011: 9). It is interesting to note that teaching-learning practices are described only in terms of methods of teaching without any reference to the empirical evidence regarding the claimed methods of teaching. However, Shamim (2011: 9) asserted that in public sector schools, the grammar-translation method through Urdu and/or local languages is used in crowded, under-resourced classrooms while in private schools English is the medium of instruction and bilingual discourse is commonly used. This has created what Shamim describes somewhat dramatically as a ‘a state of language apartheid’ in Pakistan (Shamim, 2011: 11)

Coleman and Capstick's (2012) study gathered data in five different ways: through a series of policy dialogues held in the major cities of Pakistan, through discussion with participants in the annual conference of SPELT (Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers), through a half-day consultation with a group of provincial education ministers, through a series of radio phone-in programs in Mirpur, AJK (Azad Jammu and Kashmir) and through unsolicited written contributions from members of the public (Coleman and Capstick, 2012: 18). The opinions of participants are presented as findings of the study against the backdrop of statistical accounts of literacy, numeracy and educational poverty in relation to 17-22 year olds, amongst speakers of different languages in the country. It is telling to note that all the respondents with diverse socioeconomic and educational backgrounds in Pakistan are shown speaking standard English without any local traces. The processes of transcription, translation and interpretation of the data are not touched upon.

4.4 Proposed Models of Bilingual Education in Post-colonial Pakistan

As discussed in Chapter 2, most language policy studies in Pakistan have looked at policy at the national level, largely concentrating on policy documents, archival sources and interviews with policy makers, and tracing the history of language through historical records. Whereas these studies present clear evidence of the power asymmetry amongst different social groups, their focus remains on the macro arenas of language policy. As a result, we still do not know what happens in real life in concrete settings.

The models of bilingual education proposed by scholars and journalists in the country (Table 2) show strong traces of the popular discourse of linguistic human rights (LHR) around

bilingual education in Pakistan. To begin with, the suggested models are not based on the actual multilingual realities of in Pakistan. The supporting research evidence is anecdotal (Coleman, 2010, Rahman 1999). The available research has been conducted outside the walls of schools. As a result, particularity and concreteness is missing. Terms such as mother tongue, home language, language of the environment, and even languages are treated as neutral, essentialist or even static concepts.

Table 2: Proposed Models in Pakistan (Mustafa, 2011, p.151)

T. Rahman

Levels	Medium of Instruction	Languages Taught as
Pre-primary	Mother tongue	Subjects
Grades 1-2	Mother tongue	Urdu and English
Grades 3-10	Urdu	Urdu and English
Grades 11-12	English	English and mother
Tertiary	English	tongue
		-
		-

H. Coleman

Levels	Medium of Instruction	Languages Taught as
Pre-primary	Home language only	Subjects
Grades 1-2	Home language only	-
Grades 3-5	Home language	-
Grades 6-9	Urdu	Urdu

Grade 10 onwards	English	Home language and
Tertiary	English	English
	English	Urdu and home language
		-
		-

Z. Mustafa

Levels	Medium of instruction	Languages Taught as Subjects
Pre-primary	Language of environment (LE)	Use mother tongue (MT) if different from LE to induct child into LE
Grades 1-3	Language of environment	LE
Grades 4-6	Language of environment	Urdu and MT if
Grades 7-10	Language of Environment or Urdu (if preferred) and LE not developed sufficiently	different from LE Urdu and English
Grades 11-12	Offer choice between English and Urdu	Urdu/LE and English
		-

What is perhaps more interesting in the suggested models above is the tacit assumption of linear progression of language learning in specified periods of time and the smooth switch from

one language to another. In all the three suggested models, indigenous languages are not seen as resources to be developed simultaneously along with the language of the former colonial power and the state-mandated language, but rather as a transition from the local languages to official and national language. In other words, the proposed models seem to suggest hegemonic bilingualism (i.e. in English and Urdu) where the multilingual populations of schools and teachers are supposed to move from their own languages to the official and national languages of the country. In short, the scholars do not feel the need to invoke empirical data to support their suggestions.

4.4.1 Bilingual Education and the discourse of Linguistic Human rights in Pakistan

Bilingual education has largely been promoted by scholars and popular writers in Pakistan mostly using the frame of the linguistic human rights paradigm (LHR), a paradigm often associated with the works of Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (ed. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson , 1994; Skutnabb- Kangas, 2000, 2008). Its proponents in Pakistan give the general impression that minority languages are in great danger of extinction because they are not used in the power domains such as the military, education, law, or parliament, whereas major languages such as Punjabi, Seraiki and Pashto are too big to be killed easily. Rahman (1996:4) notes that “the other powerful language can be called a ‘killer’ language... however; Punjabi, Seraiki, Pashto and other Pakistani languages not used in the domains of power are too big to be killed so easily.” Following their now outdated theory of linguistic imperialism and linguisticism, scholars have classified English as a ‘killer language’ (Mansoor, 2005, Rahman, 2004, Mustafa, 2011)

without invoking empirical data and neither taking into account the conceptual problems of the version of LHR promoted by Skutnabb-Kangas.

I now illustrate some fundamental problems with LHR.

LHR is mathematically represented by Skutnabb-Kangas (1998:5) as follows: Language rights + human rights = linguistic human right, which shows that language rights are a type of human rights. Although seemingly a simple equation, there are complex theoretical and practical problems behind this formula in which language rights are constructed as being synonymous with human rights.

LHR encompasses the right to maintain and develop mother tongues. It implies, at an individual level, that all people can identify positively with their mother tongue and have that identification accepted and respected by others whether their mother tongue is a minority language or a majority language. It means the right to learn the mother tongue, orally and in writing, including receiving at least a basic education in one's mother tongue, and to use it in many official contexts. It also means the right to learn at least one of the official languages of the 'country of residence'. In other words LHR frames the promotion of bilingual education through a universal human rights paradigm. According to Skutnabb-Kangas 'one of the basic human rights of persons belonging to minorities is—or should be—to achieve a high level of bi- or multilingualism through education...education participates in attempting and committing linguistic genocide in relation to minorities'(Skutnabb- Kangas 1994:626).

One of the central criticisms leveled against minority language rights (MLR) is that it essentialises the language and the groups concerned, fixing them eternally at a particular (usually long-past) point in time and offers simplistic accounts of language-identity links. According to

May (2005: 327), this often-unquestioned language/identity link is then used, in turn, to justify any associated 'collective' language rights claim.

The LHR view promoted by Skutnabb-Kangas presents languages as very broad, bounded, homogenous systems. Nations and communities are identified by bounded systems at all times and in all spaces without empirical evidence to support this view. In the case of Pakistan, its proponents identify large communities with unbounded homogenous systems such as the Punjabis by Punjabi language, the Sindhis by Sindhi language, the Balochi by Balochi language, majority vs. minority language and that all speakers of a given language have the same linguistic repertoire, motivations and rationale and are similarly attached with the languages they speak. Perhaps a telling example of essentialism in linguistic scholarship produced in Pakistan can be taken from the work of Rahman (1996: 119) who notes, "... because the Punjabi ruling elite, in collaboration with the Mohajirs, wanted to colonize and exploit Sindh so that Sindhis would not have 'separate governments of their own.'" Here Rahman imagines a similarity of linguistic repertoires, social and regional variations of Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi amongst the hugely multilingual speakers and puts them in separate categories: Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi. Put differently, here we see an essentialising and reifying of languages and establishing unquestioned language-identity links in speakers of Urdu, Sindhi and Punjabi. The intended outcome is the establishment/construction of a battlefield of linguistic inequality in which all speakers of these languages are shown to have become oppressors and victims of one another. Similar essentialisation of languages and language-identity links have been found in other works (Rahman, 2000, Mansoor, 1995, Mustafa, 2011). Therefore, I agree with Blommaert who notes that LHR and its proponents often promote politicized narratives produced by politically mobilized ethnolinguistic groups without attending to 'internal inequalities' in the languages and

that ‘diversity and inequality is reduced to inter-language diversity and inequality’, i.e., diversity and equality within particular units conventionally called language is not treated.

The data makes me concur with Blommaert’s (2001:136) statement that: ‘what counts is not the existence and distribution of languages, but the availability, accessibility and distribution of specific linguistic communicative skills such as competence in standard and literate varieties of the languages, therefore granting a member of a minority group the right to speak his or her mother tongue in the public arena that does not itself empower him or her’. He further points out that people can be members of the majority community yet remain thoroughly disenfranchised because of the lack of access to status varieties of the so-called ‘power languages’. This is the case in SC and SB schools in Pakistan where speakers of particular languages are in a majority and have access to the so-called powerful languages in the country, yet they remain powerless. One of the reasons for this is that access to the specific communicative skills and specific varieties of English and Urdu valued in the labor market is regulated.

By implication a critical and reflexive form of linguistic inquiry should take into account the variations and differential values attributed to varieties within the languages. Ignoring them according to Blommaert (2001:136) would mean ‘overlooking the political economy of linguistic-communicative resources in society.’ The fundamental problem with MLR is that they merge/coincide the ‘linguistic community (an ideological unit) and ‘speech community’ (an ethnographic unit) perhaps because of the methods they employ in the study of languages in society.

4.4.2 Reflections on these Schools observations

My observations, interviews and audio-recording of official medium of instruction policy and actual classroom language use in the four schools, documented in chapter 7, show that the linguistic inheritance of colonial times of bilingual education in English and Urdu/Hindi continues to be practiced until the present day. Initially and perhaps even now, the question of who does or does not become a full bilingual and biliterate is overshadowed by a nationalistic ideology in which Urdu is claimed to be promoted. At the government level, the controversial question of the medium of instruction—Urdu medium vs. English in public/ private schools has been debated and policies implemented on an experimental basis without having empirical evidence of the languages practices in Pakistani schools. While the current language policy of the country (NEP, 2009) theoretically addresses the widening gap between students in private and public sector schools, there is a dearth of research on the actual practices in schools and classrooms.

In reality, schools in Pakistan have responded differently to the discourse of one nation and one language. While in theory all schools uphold the nationalistic discourse of Urdu as the national language, in actual fact the programs and the actual discursive practices in classroom show complex responses. In the case of SC, the government school, the discourse of nationalism is compulsorily enforced. On the other hand, SB gives a false impression of having English as its medium of instruction, using this as a business strategy to attract more students. In a like vein, while SD claims to be teaching Arabic and links this to the Muslim identity, it seems that this is primarily a niche-marketing strategy targeting the underprivileged segments of society. It is probably only in SA where children are trained to become bilingual and biliterate in English and

Urdu. However, the main focus is on English and there is minimum compliance with the requirement that Urdu should be taught.

Thus, there is some evidence from the study of the exploitation of linguistic resources by social actors to serve their personal and institutional interests. At the same time, there is also evidence of adherence to nationalistic and religious discourses by schools. While social actors such as those in this study claim to take pride in their local languages and literacies, their attachment to their languages is often subservient to strong socioeconomic interests which in turn guide their response to policy. In many ways the classroom language use practices of SA, SB and SD are the local school and community's response to the centralist language-in-education policy which does not seriously address the question of developing Pakistani children as bilingual and biliterate.

One explanation of these phenomena comes from the history of the modern nation-state taking from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards. This can be understood as being a kind of moment of crystallization of the national market and the idea of nation-state as being the way everybody should organize themselves. Hobsbawm (1990) argues that the rise of the bourgeoisie and capitalism made it useful for the emerging industrial bourgeoisie to organize themselves through national markets. This was done to have privileged access/ control of the market with clear boundaries, relationships across which could then be regulated, state-to-state. He further argues that these markets were legitimized through the notion of a homogenous population with a long standing history of occupying territory which then legitimized particular historical boundaries. For a number of reasons that essentially had to do with the regulation of social inequality, institutions like education were established which were about forming national citizens, establishing a legitimate history and tradition, and standardizing language so that it was

understood to be the legitimate language of the nation. In other words, institutions were erected to produce, reproduce and legitimize the ideology of language in which what counted as normal behavior was to have a population that shared a language, history and a set of cultural practices, and in addition occupied a certain territory defined by clear cut political boundaries.

To conclude, the studies surveyed above show a number of commonalities: First, the context of communication is assumed in all the studies. Second, they take *Ethnologue*, national census data, local board examination results and statistical accounts given by international agencies for granted. Third, they strive to get representative samples. Fourth, they use questionnaires for the study of language and literacies without attending to the validity of the tool. In short, scholarship in LIEP in Pakistan has given little importance to everyday communication practices in educational institutions.

Chapter 5: The Research Sites: Communities, Schools and Classrooms

Overview

This chapter describes the sites selected for my research work, and focuses on the salient characteristics of the communities, schools and classes observed in the study. I show that the sampled schools serve communities with very different socioeconomic conditions. I also show differences in linguistic resources of social actors, buildings and facilities, classrooms, and student-teacher ratios. Although all four selected sites are located in urban areas, the specific localities where they are situated are reflective of the socioeconomic status of the communities they serve. I suggest that the socioeconomic dimensions of a community have links with the linguistic resources available to them through schools.

I organize this chapter in two sections: in section 5.1, I present comparative information about the selected schools—location, tuition fee, student-teacher ratio, parents' occupation, and the dominant language used in the community. In section 5.2, I present the ethnographic profiles of the research sites— the community served, the location, building and facilities, classrooms and details regarding the teaching staff. In section 5.3, I present and discuss the models and programme types in all the four schools.

5.1 Salient characteristics of the research sites

I show below the salient characteristics of the schools selected for this study (table 1)

Table 1: Comparative information about the schools

School	Location	Type	Fee/month		Parents' Occupation	Total Student Population in 2011	Total Teacher Population in 2011	Average Class Size	Dominant Language in the Community
			Rs.	US\$					
SA	Clifton District South Karachi	Private	14,000	150	Businessmen, financial advisors, accountants, bankers, feudal lords, doctors, engineers, media personnel, HR specialists	300	26	1:30	English & Urdu
SB	District Malir Karachi	Private	1200	13	Fishermen, school teachers, office assistants , sales workers, bankers	2,280	159	1:33	Balochi & Urdu
SC	Quetta	Government	No fee	No fee	Laborers, junior police officials, carpenters, drivers, janitors and cleaners	1200	45	1:65	Pushto
SD	Central Karachi	Private	No fee	No fee	Cattle farming, pushcart vendors, labor in cottage industry, rickshaw/ taxi drivers	120	12	1:10	Mix of Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushto, Seraiki

5.2 Ethnographic Profiles

In this section, I present the ethnographic profiles of the sampled schools with a focus on the community served by them, material conditions of the schools, classrooms and details regarding the teaching staff.

5.2.1 School A (SA)

The community served by this school mostly comprises people who are either entrepreneurs or holding senior positions in multinational and/or national organizations. It is difficult to work out the dominant L1 of this community. However, their common linguistic denominator is the relatively higher degree of proficiency in English and Urdu. Most communication amongst community members takes place in English and Urdu with frequent code-switching from one language to the other. However, officially the medium of instruction (MOI) is English-Only.

Members of this community live in big, expensive houses. Many of them employ personal drivers, security guards and other domestic staff. Most have some members of their families residing in the USA, Canada, or a European country. Both male and female members of this community either run their own businesses or work in senior positions in banks, the armed forces, telecom companies, the stock exchange, media houses, etc. Children are encouraged by their parents to speak in English.

The grades taught in the school are from 6 to 9. It is a mixed-gender school housed in a two-storey residential bungalow built on a plot of about 2000 square yards. In all, the school has twelve classrooms: each floor has a staff room with separate cabins for teachers and a well-maintained separate toilet facility for boys and girls. Apart from classrooms, there are rooms

assigned for laboratory work, science exhibitions and an arts room. The building has a separate space for the housekeeping staff, with janitor rooms on each floor. All classrooms, staffrooms, and offices are air-conditioned. The school has a crèche area where the children of teachers are cared for during the school hours while their mothers are at work. The open areas at the front and back of the school building are used for sports. I was greeted by everyone in English. The staff and teachers of the school offered me coffee and tea. The school logo with a Latin caption ‘*Venimus Vidimus Vicimus*’ (Pic. 1) encapsulates/represents its international vision. ‘The number of such schools is very small in the country’ (Coleman, 2010).



Pic 1: School Logo of SA

In the classroom, separate desks and chairs are provided for the pupils and the teachers. Classrooms also have projectors, audio-video equipment, air-conditioning, a white board, many soft boards and a number of colored markers. The furniture is made of plastic which makes it easy for the tables and chairs to be repositioned according to pedagogic needs. Teachers’ access to each pupil is easy. During the period of my observations, the school suffered the usual power cuts in the city but this did not affect anything as the standby generators of the school instantly made up for this outage.

Ms Fatima is a native speaker of Punjabi with excellent reading, writing and speaking skills in both Urdu and English. She teaches Pakistan Studies, and English Language and Literature to students of grades 6 to 9. Since I chose not to ask her an explicit question, it was difficult for me to determine her L1, but in my assessment it could well be English. She attained her O' and A' levels certificates from Pakistan and studied International Relations in a private university in Lahore. She has few or no professional qualifications in education.

5.2.2 School B (SB)

This school mainly serves two communities: the indigenous Baloch community living in Malir Goth (an underdeveloped residential area in the Malir district of Karachi) and migrants from Hansot, Gujarat, India. Popularly known as the Hansotees, members of the latter community are mostly involved in banking and teaching. Prior to their migration to Pakistan, the community spoke a Gujarati dialect commonly known as Hansotiboli. The common saying in the community is: *kum kha lain gay, acha parhain gay* (we may eat less, but will seek good education). The less well-off people of this community compare themselves with those of their members who are more affluent and make strong linkages between their language resources, i.e., English and Urdu and their respective material prosperity. Officially the MOI in the school is English-Only.

The Baloch community lives in a neighborhood surrounded by a boundary wall known as Goth. This community is involved in fishing, labour, and running donkey carts to provide short-distance transportation services. They live in a joint-family system which means sharing their

living space with other family members. I noted that in some cases six to seven families live together in single, small rooms built in one small compound. I met an old lady—let's call her Ms Shahida—from the Baloch Goth. I soon realized I needed someone's help to communicate with her because we did not share a common language. Ms Shahida called her daughter-in-law to act as our interpreter. Ms Shahida informed me that her forefathers had migrated from East Africa to India and from thence to Sindh, Pakistan. They were originally speakers of the Swahili language but that was a long time back. Now they spoke the Makrani, a dialect of Balochi known as Southern Balochi, spoken in the coastal and mountainous strip of Makran which extends from Balochistan in Pakistan to Iran.

The school building comprises two large blocks on either side of a small street in the Malir district of Karachi. One building is called 'pre-primary' and the other 'secondary'. In both buildings, the school runs in two sessions: the 'morning shift' and the 'afternoon shift'. The school has large soft boards put up at the entrance, and in the corridors and classrooms, all of which depict European characters with English captions (pics. 2 and 3). It is important to mention that every fifth school-going child studies in a similar type of school in Pakistan. (Coleman, 2010) Classrooms in the school are spacious in which pupils and teachers can sit comfortably. The classroom consists of wooden desks for the students and a chair and table for the teacher. Although the students' desks may not be moved easily, the teacher can easily access students through the aisles between the rows of desks. The school was a mixed sex school. The home-language of the majority of children in this school was Urdu and Balochi. However, in every class I found children coming from Punjabi, Pushto, Seraiki language backgrounds. In short, the classrooms were linguistically diverse.



Pic 2: Pre-primary classroom board at SB



Pic 3:Pre-primary classroom board at SB

Ms Faiza—who teaches in the primary section is a native speaker of Urdu and has received education from private institutions in Pakistan. She seemed to have limited competence in speaking, reading and writing both Urdu and English and had no professional training in education.

5.2.3 School C (SC)

The communities surrounding SC are located in the Pashtun belt in the north of Quetta, Balochistan. They are mostly migrants from other provinces/districts of Pakistan and are broadly labeled as ‘settlers’. Members of this community informed me that the recent spate of violence in 2010-2011 by ‘militants’ had targeted lawyers, educators, unarmed civilians and children. I had

been assured by my host the principal of a high school in Quetta that my life was not in danger because I was in a Pashtun-dominated locality which was not threatened by the ‘militants’ because the Pashtun themselves were an organized and armed community. The political volatility can be judged from the fact that my host who had been working in the education department of this province for the last twenty-five years was compelled to send his family back to his ancestral province on account of the threats he had received from the insurgents. He also informed me that many of his colleagues—lecturers and school teachers—had become victims of insurgents in 2011. People belonging to other provinces of Pakistan were labeled ‘settlers’ in Quetta and were made the target of violence. The first language of the residents is taken as the central criterion for categorizing him/her as ‘settler’ or ‘local’ in the province.

SC belongs to that category of schools where the majority of Pakistani children receive their education. These are ‘government schools’, derogatively referred to as ‘Peela Schools’. Peela refers to yellow. The public schools’ building in early 80s was painted yellow. Since then, the ‘Peela’ has become symbolic of public sector schools in Pakistan. More importantly, they symbolize poor educational facility made available to people working the lower tier of economy. Although, the government is changing the colour of the public sector school buildings, they are still known as ‘Peela’ school. Officially the MOI is Urdu-Only. They are funded by public money. SC’s student (all boys) population comes from three locations: Pashtonabad, a community of laborers and farmworkers who speak Pashto as their first language; Darul Falah (orphanage house), where most people are speakers of Pashto as their first language and which includes many Afghan nationals; and the Police Staff Colony, populated by mostly junior police staff interspersed with others who are speakers of Pashto, Punjabi, Balochi, Brahvi and Urdu.

The school is accessed through a big open area with a high iron gate. On top of this gate is a green board with the name of the school (Pic. 4). The front wall of the school (Pic. 5) is painted at three levels: on the top is the name of the school written in Persio-Arabic script with pictures of the Holy Quran on either side.



Pic 4: Entrance of SC



Pic 5: Face-wall of SC

The name of the school is written in English on the left and right sides of the middle area of the wall. In the space in between are pictures of the Holy Kaaba, the Prophet's Mausoleum and Pakistan's map along with the national flag. The bottom portion of the wall has a large inscription in Persio-Arabic script that says in Urdu: *Komain taleem say banti hain* which roughly translates into 'education builds nations'.

In terms of infrastructure, the school has twenty-six rooms including one laboratory. Doors and windows of most rooms and the laboratory are broken and some are without them. The school has six washrooms for 1200 pupils and one for forty-five teachers—all without basic toilet facilities. The school has a large room which was being used as a staff room for the teachers. The school has never had a librarian. The book shelves were locked and had piles of dust on them. The sports room had no equipment. Only teachers were seen playing badminton in the squash court of the school. The school has only one laboratory meant to be used for conducting practical

classes in chemistry, physics and biology. During frequent visits to the school, I did not see a single student engaged in laboratory work.

The classrooms in SC are spacious. However, considering that there are 80- 90 students per class, seating arrangements are not adequate. The classroom furniture consists of benches made from *kikar* wood (a cheap, heavy wood). Each bench has a desk fixed to it and is made to seat three pupils. This makes the furniture heavy and hence difficult to move. Five to six pupils sit on each bench with many having to keep their educational material on their laps. As a result of overcrowding it is rather difficult for teachers to approach their students.

In addition to the pupils' benches, the classroom had a chair for the teacher but no table. Teachers had to keep their material either on their own laps or on the desks of the students sitting in the front rows. The blackboard has been prepared by painting the center wall of the classroom with black oil paint. The paint had peeled off at a number of places and in the remaining parts most of the black paint has turned nearly white because of the regular use of white chalk. As a result, the writing on the board could not be clearly discerned even by children sitting in the front rows.

Co-occurrence of religious symbols with Persio-Arabic script dominates the semiotics of SC. For instance, Pic.6 alludes to Noah's flood and the couplet inscribed on it in Perso-Arabic seems to contextualize/re-contextualize the scene into a nationalistic discourse. The translation of the couplet runs like this: 'We have saved the boat in the storm, dear children, keep this country safe'. The boat with the Muslim Kalima adorned on its side is apparently intended to symbolize Pakistan.



Pic 6: A painted wall at SC

One of the teachers is Mr. Salim, : A native speaker of Seraiki, he has been settled in Quetta for the last twenty-five years. He seems to have excellent competence in speaking Seraiki, Urdu and Pashto. He can also read and translate simple English text into Urdu. He has had fourteen years of formal education, a Bachelor of Arts, and a one-year course for a professional degree in Education. For the last twenty-three years he has been teaching English language in government schools. He studied in public sector schools, colleges and went to university in Pakistan.

5.2.4 School D (SD)

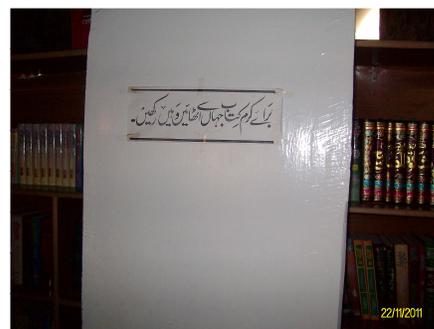
SD mainly serves two residential localities: Haji Ail Goth, populated by speakers of Sindhi and Zia-ul-ki-Basti inhabited by speakers of Punjabi, Hazara, Seraiki, Pashto, Bengali and many other languages. A majority of the residents of these two communities migrated from other parts of the country and settled here a long time back in search of livelihood. Their main profession is cattle farming as the city is dotted with shanty areas where people sustain their lives through it,

or working in small-scale factories in Karachi. Lots of rickshaws, donkey carts and animals are found outside the homes of the community members. The youth of the family work as daily wage workers in local cottage industry while women work as housemaids in affluent localities of the city. Very few of the community members send their children to formal schools. Their houses are in a dilapidated state and the streets are extremely dirty.

SD is a boys' school primarily housed on the first and second floor of a mosque. SD is locally called Dini Madrassah (religious school). The mosque on SC's ground floor is also used for educational purposes. The entire building has large, empty multipurpose halls (Pic. 5) for teaching-learning, praying, afternoon siesta and accommodation for live-in students. These halls are easily converted by pupils to serve the required purpose. Pupils manage the housekeeping and food-serving, taking turns. The school has a cook who is assisted by the boys in preparing meals. SD has a well-stocked library on its first floor with large volumes on religious subjects, mostly in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. It has a few chalkboards which are rarely used for teaching or learning. Officially the MOI of the school is Arabic.



Pic 5: Multipurpose hall at SD



Pic 6: Library at SD

Molvi Abdul Rehman, one of the teachers, is a graduate of Dini Madrassah where he received religious education for eight years. He has an above average competence in reading,

speaking and writing Urdu, Arabic and Persian. He is a speaker of Urdu as a first language and could also get by in meeting the official requirements of English. He is a speaker of Urdu as a first language and in my judgment would also meet the minimum official requirement of English.

5.3 Models and Programs- types in Pakistan

Using Hornberger's (1991) typology described above, I explore the characteristics of the programs observed in the four schools in Pakistan included in this study.

I divide the programs in terms of student-teacher linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds, the medium of instruction policy at the level of the school and classroom language practices.

5.3.1 School A

5.3.1.1 Student Population (SA)

Like students from other schools, the language base of students of SA is varied. However, the common linguistic denominator is that by the time these students reach grade six, most have acquired a relatively higher degree of bilingualism and biliteracy in English and Urdu. Most students come from high-income group families living in nearby areas.

5.3.1.2 Teacher Population (SA)

Nearly all the teachers, staff, management and janitors are bi/multilingual with English + Urdu as their common linguistic repertoire (see Table 11 Appendix 4). A majority of them also know an additional language. The teachers have mostly studied in similar schools and seem to understand both parental and school aspirations to make students fully bilingual and biliterate. They are better paid in comparison to teachers of the other schools. However, none amongst them had received training in bilingual education.

5.3.1.3 Medium of Instruction (SA)

When students come to SA, they have already been taught in English-only medium for about eight years, from pre-school grade to grade two. They are rigorously tested in their English and Urdu skills before being offered a place in grade 6. The program is conducted school-wide. As SA is a private enterprise like SB and SD, it receives no funding from the government and meets its expenses from the tuition fee. The educational program of the school prepares children for Cambridge ‘O’ and ‘A’ level examinations and has no affiliation with any of the local boards of examination. The curriculum used in SA is designed by the University of Cambridge International Examinations. All subjects are in English-only including Islamiyat and Pakistani Studies. It is interesting to note that the test rubrics for the Urdu language are also written in English. As stated earlier, students of SA were taught in the primary levels by fully bilingual, biliterate teachers and with the school’s English medium of instruction these children, from

grades six to nine, are claimed to have mastered English language skills. Urdu is learned as a second language.

5.3.1.4 Classroom Language Use (SA)

The classroom language remains dominantly English-only with very rare code-switching into Urdu (see Extract 4 Appendix 5 and Extract 41 Appendix 6.2). Urdu language teachers complained that students forget to use Urdu in their Urdu language classes. The rare use of Urdu in the classroom often triggers laughter amongst the teachers and students. The dominance of English is most clearly visible in the classroom language use. The overall aim of the school in terms of language capabilities is to produce bilingual children who are highly proficient in both English and Urdu. There is no shortage of teaching materials; the school has the latest training aids while classroom seating arrangements are comfortable.

5.3.2 School B

5.3.2.1 Student Population (SB)

The school is located in a relatively less developed area in Karachi (see Chap 6 for the salient characteristics of the school). At the time of the study, the school served 2280 students in its primary and secondary sections and had 159 teachers. It is primarily a neighborhood school drawing its students from two main areas, i.e., Baloch Goth, where the majority are the speakers of the Balochi language and the adjoining area where the majority of L1 speakers of Urdu reside. However, there are a significant number of students with Sindhi, Punjabi or Seraiki as their first

language. In short, the student population is considerably heterogeneous in terms of home language backgrounds. As regards their socioeconomic background, the majority of the children come from families in which parents work for the lower tiers of the private service sector.

5.3.2.2 Teacher Population (SB)

While the multilingual repertoire in the teachers of SB is considerably large, the majority of them are speakers of Urdu as their home language (see Table 10 Appendix 4). As was the case with the rest of the schools, the teachers in SB are not trained teachers. The head teachers and senior mistresses pointed out that there was a great need to have teachers who could speak to their students in English. The socioeconomic status of the teachers was not very different from that of their students as most of them resided in the underprivileged neighborhood of the school.

5.3.2.3 Medium of Instruction (SB)

Like SC, SB's program is a school-wide program--all children and all classes have to participate in it. From the very beginning efforts are made to shift children from their home languages to English. Here, parental aspiration for a higher degree of proficiency in English seems to exert pressure on the school management to promote teaching and learning in English

When children with diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds first come to SB at the age of 4, it is claimed they are taught general knowledge and mathematics in English. This is so because the school describes itself as an English-medium school. The textbooks are in English while teachers teach in both English and Urdu; two content areas, Urdu language and Islamiyat, are taught only in Urdu. The policy of Urdu + English is followed until the children reach grade two primary. By

the time they reach grade three, it is assumed that the children are bilingual and biliterate in English and Urdu and hence Islamiyat which was earlier taught in Urdu is then taught in English as well. Children are also introduced to the Sindhi language as a subject because passing this in the local board examination for grade 9 is a mandatory requirement to obtain a school leaving certificate. According to the Academic Coordinator [personal communication, August 2011] ‘we start monolingual English only after grade three and discourage bilingual education. The understanding is that if the subject/ content is in English then the medium of teaching should also be the same’

5.3.2.4 Classroom Language Use (SB)

The classroom language at SB varied from grade to grade. In the junior section, i.e., junior prep to grade three, there was evidence of frequent code-switching between English and Urdu. However, as the grade level progressed, teachers tried their best to stick to English-only (see illustrative examples in Extract 3 Appendix 5 and Extract 13 Appendix 5.2). It did appear though that they were not comfortable in adhering to the practice of English-only and as a result, the classroom language kept shifting to Urdu most of time. No evidence was found of local languages being used in the classroom in this school.

The ongoing dominance of English and parental pressure for imparting education in English is clearly visible, especially evident from the fact that the school management speaks in English with everyone who comes to seek admission for their children. They appear to be trying to justify their claim of being an English-medium school. The languages students bring to SB,

especially Balochi, Sindhi and Pashto, are seen as a serious problem by the teachers and the school administration—they are kept away from use in the classroom and in the school environs.

5.3.3 School C

5.3.3.1 Student Population (SC)

The public sector school (SC) in Quetta serves about 1200 students from grade 6 to 10. Most of the students come from a nearby area called Pashtonabad; there is an orphanage located some 3-4 km from the school. Most students are from a poor socioeconomic background. Although they are linguistically heterogeneous, the majority of them speak Pashto as their L1. The official policy is that students are to be assessed and placed in classes based on the result of a written test of mathematics, science and English. However, in practice, they are often placed in classes on the basis of availability of places and the recommendation of influential people in the education department.

5.3.3.2 Teacher Population (SC)

At the time when I was doing my fieldwork, the school had forty-five teachers; most of them were speakers of Punjabi as their L1 and Urdu as their L2 followed by Derawal Punjabi, Seraiki and Urdu. In addition, four teachers were speakers of Pashto as the L1 + Urdu and three were speakers of Balochi + Urdu (see Table 12 Appendix 4). The principal informed me that although all teachers had professional qualifications, earned through the teacher training college in the

country, and were bilingual, none of them had specific training in bilingual education. In short, the ethnic and linguistic background of the teachers was varied but Urdu language was a common denominator in their repertoire.

5.3.3.3 Medium of Instruction (SC)

Like all other public sector schools in the country, SC also implements its educational program using Urdu, i.e., the officially declared national language of the country, as the medium of instruction. It is a one-way program implemented throughout the school and all classes have to participate in it. When students first arrive at the school, often with their parents, they meet the head teacher who decides on their placement based on his oral communication with the parents and candidate. The parents are offered no choice of selecting the languages or medium of instruction for their children. The language of the curriculum is Urdu-only except for the English textbooks where it is English-only, taught through Urdu. While English is the official language of the country and is a compulsory requirement for academic success throughout the formal education system, children get little opportunity to practice it other than in the hour in which it is taught. In all content subjects, children receive instruction in Urdu. Therefore, all the content books (printed and distributed free of cost by the Ministry of Education) are monolingual, i.e., Urdu textbooks are used for all subjects.

5.3.3.4 Classroom Language Use (SC)

Given the language background and proficiencies of the teaching staff, there is a whole spectrum of classroom language use. In most of the classes observed during the study it was noted that

even though the teachers and the majority of students shared a common L1, the language of the classroom, mostly for on-task discussions, remained Urdu. However, there was evidence to show the use of L1 in some classrooms in off-task language practices (see illustrative examples in Extract 1 in Appendix 5; Extract 33 in Appendix 6.2). As the majority of the teachers were speakers of the Punjabi and Seraiki languages with some proficiency in Pashto, their classroom language practices remained the prescribed language for teaching and learning. The evidence of mixed language use was often found in language practices outside of content teaching, especially on those occasions when students and their teachers engaged in a conversation, mostly outside the classroom.

The SC seems to meet the criteria of what Skuttnabb-Kangas calls (1981) a 'submersion' type of bilingual education in which there is complete absence of the recognition of the diversity of languages; it is known as the 'sink or swim' approach (Hornberger, 1991). In submersion programs, it is usually the language of the minority which is shifted towards the language of the majority. However, in the case of public schools in Pakistan, it is the language of the majority in terms of numbers which is targeted in favor of the national language, i.e., Urdu. The local languages are perceived as '*kalang ka teeka*' (a mark of disgrace) since they are considered inadequate for carrying the load of teaching and learning. Hence, the extensive use of the official national language, i.e., Urdu, as their replacement. The speakers of local languages seem to have been incorporated into the State-mandated Urdu at the cost of the valuable linguistic resources of the local actors.

The program structure does not incorporate any possibility of maintaining or developing the languages children bring to school. Although there are bilingual or multilingual speakers in the

school and multiple languages are heard in the corridors, the educational program may not be categorized as bilingual since no other language other than Urdu is used in the teaching of content subjects.

5.3.4 School D

5.3.4.1 Student Population (SD)

The language base of the students is mixed to the extent that it is difficult to work out the majority home language of the students. The entry requirement of the school is for students to provide evidence of having memorized the Holy Quran. The socioeconomic backgrounds of these students are the lowest by Pakistani standards. The majority of the students can speak Urdu as L2 by the time they seek admission to SD.

5.3.4.2 Teacher Population (SD)

The teachers of SD are graduates from religious schools of the same type and run this institution as a private enterprise. All twelve teachers are speakers of Urdu as L1 (see Table 13 Appendix 4). They appear to have acquired a mastery of extremely complex religious studies involving high-level reading skills in Arabic, Urdu and Persian.

5.3.4.3 Medium of Instruction (SD)

In the first three years of education children are taught Arabic, mathematics, social studies and Persian using Urdu as the medium of instruction. In *Ouola* (secondary) all subjects are taught in

Urdu although the books are mostly written in Arabic with annotations in Urdu. The assessment of students is mostly based on their ability to translate text from Arabic to Urdu. Persian and Arabic are also taught as subjects in order to enhance the ability of students to translate from one language to another.

The school promotes an environment where the use of only Arabic and Urdu are seen as the best means by which to establish Islamic values, traditions and culture. English is considered by the management as the language of the Christians and Jews, and therefore all efforts are made to avoid using it. The main aim of the program is to shift students towards a more extensive use of Arabic since it is considered and promoted as the language of Islam—a pure language which is also a mark of Muslim identity.

5.3.4.4 Classroom Language Use (SD)

In most classes Arabic words, sentences, grammar and script are read aloud and translated/ explained to students in Urdu. Urdu remains the language for both on- and off-task conversations. It is also the language of instruction in the classroom (see illustrative examples in Extract 2 Appendix 5 and Extract 36 Appendix 6.2). The structured, rigid monolingual medium of education in Urdu and/or English for bilinguals/multilinguals does not seem to be conducive to the fostering of bilingualism and biliteracy in Arabic and Urdu.

Chapter 6: Research Approach and Methodology

Overview

In this chapter I present and justify the research approach and methodological choices for the study. The chapter consist of four sections: in section 6.1, I outline and justify the approach I have adopted in this study; in section 6.2, I present and justify the selection of sites and access to them; in section 6.3, I present the fieldwork procedures and in section 6.4, I present and discuss the interpretive processes and the ethical standards followed in the study.

The central argument I pursue in this chapter is that it is only by producing situated accounts in specific local educational sites, illustrating the complex ways in which actors respond/interpret/ make use of their agentic spaces, that we can adequately address the problems of language-in-educational policies in multilingual settings.

Following Blommaert (2006:4), I theorize fieldwork as an intellectual enterprise and a procedure that requires serious reflection as much as practical preparation and skills.

6.1 Ethnographically-Informed Research

As was outlined in chapter 1, the sub-questions show the specific aims of the project: A) to explore the social, cultural and linguistic significance of the everyday discursive practices of the schools within the school and the wider society, B) to investigate a range of linguistic practices used in these settings and C) to investigate how social actors negotiate/ contribute to everyday discursive practices.

The project design comprises four ethnographically-informed case studies. As the research project is not a comparative study of these institutions, each school is taken as a unique context or as a set of cases. In each case, I audio-recorded classroom language practices, school

events (morning assemblies and parent-teacher meetings) and social functions (a farewell party in one school , students' meetings in one school and Independence Day celebrations in one school). I interviewed parents, teachers, students and management. In order to make my investigation systematic, I identified two teachers and two students as key informants with whom I spent a minimum of two full working days. I observed and audio-recorded their classes and held debriefing sessions with them. From school A, I worked with Ms Fatima Gul and Ms Tabinda and from school B, Ms Shaista and Ms Faiza; from school C, Mr. Salim and Mr. Tarang while from school D, I worked with Moulana Abdur Rahim and Moulana Mati-ur-Rehman. I would like to mention that all these names are fictitious.

In all I collected 975 minutes of audio-recorded classroom interactional data. The length of the interviews and events audio-recorded varied from five minutes to forty minutes. In terms of numbers, I interviewed and audio-recorded fifteen management personnel, sixteen teachers, ten parents and eight students. I also audio-recorded ten debriefing sessions with the teachers. I attended and audio- recorded two parent-teacher meetings, three morning assemblies, one sports day, one farewell party, one National Day celebration and one students' meeting. I administered and collected questionnaires from twenty-two teachers and wrote fifty sets of field notes. I took ten photographs of official and unofficial displays of languages and other visual and textual material.

The justification for using an ethnographic perspective primarily stems from the specific aims of the project as outlined above. At a higher level, I justify the selection of the approach by arguing that 'persons, encounters and institutions are profoundly interlinked' Rampton (2012: 2). Rampton (2012:5) explains that attending to these (profoundly intertwined) empirical foci, linguistic ethnography uses case-study methodology to engage with issues, formulations and

claims made more generally in social science and public discourse. In short, I justify the selection of an ethnographic perspective based on the specific aims of the project and my assumptions on communication in daily practices and routines of teaching, learning and interacting in the school setting.

I use methodological insights from ethnography of language policy (Johnson, 2009, 2010; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, 2007) and critical interpretive approaches to bilingualism (Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996, 2001). The common methodological thread in the studies cited above is the close examination of situated interactional practices. They account for the specific institutional language ideologies and explore the intersection between them and the wider socio-political and economic issues.

6.2 Selection and Access to the Sites

In this section, I first discuss the selection of the research sites (6.2.1) followed by an account of the difficulties encountered in gaining access to the subject sites (6.2.2).

6.2.1 The Selection of the sites

The approaches outlined above from which I draw my methodological insights usually involve one or two schools but I decided to investigate four schools because I wanted to examine the phenomenon in a set of cases. It is important to reiterate that I do not have any notion of representativeness that might form the basis of their selection. Nor do I generalize by implying that my findings resulting from the study of these sites are applicable to the entire country. I see these schools as a set of cases and I recognize that there is a great need of empirical investigation

in other settings in order to make meaningful generalization about language in education in Pakistan.

6.2.2 Access to the Site

Although my PhD courses on research methodologies, procedures and applications had underscored the importance of adaptability, I feel I actually learnt its essence when I was confronted with the challenges of getting access to my research sites. While I followed most of the prescribed procedures of writing letters and holding face-to-face conversations to describe the purpose and nature of the enterprise, I discovered that these did not seem to work and that I needed an alternative strategy to overcome the challenge. I also learnt that my familiarity with the culture of the informants actually did not help me gain the access for research. I overcame the challenge by enlisting the help of *zamins* (brokers).

6.3 Fieldwork Procedures

Broadly speaking, the qualitative interpretative paradigm (Erickson, 1996) informed my fieldwork throughout. I collected and analyzed ethnographic data gathered from mainly three levels: (1) classroom, (2) institutional and (3) societal, and through general participation and observation in the school environment in all four sites; this activity was conducted over a period of nine months during which I made several visits to the sites. I describe my fieldwork procedures by dividing them into three phases: initial stage (6.3.1), middle stage (6.3.2), followed by the late stage (6.3.3). I then discuss the relationship between the researcher and the researched (6.3.4), observations (6.3.5), observations in the classroom (6.3.5.1), observations in

the school environment (6.3.5.2), field notes (6.3.6), audio-recording (6.3.7), interviews (6.3.8), questionnaire (6.3.9), and gathering relevant documents and textual material (6.3.10).

6.3.1 Initial Stage

In the initial stage of my fieldwork, I spent time acquainting myself with the settings largely by visiting the neighborhood and holding informal conversations with pupils, teachers and community members during periods when they were not engaged in their professional duties. Although I dressed in a *shalwar kameez* ensemble (the national dress of the country) in order to subscribe to the norms of the local cultures of the institutions, the observer paradox in the initial phase was intense; although this started to diminish in the latter stages of the process. In order to dilute the degree of the observer paradox, I avoided writing notes or making audio-recordings. I focused more on familiarizing myself with the geographical settings of the schools for which purpose I went walking around in the neighborhood in order to understand the locale from which majority of the pupils and teachers came. I positioned myself as an observer in different spaces and at varying times, inside and outside the institution, to work out the daily patterns of social life in the local worlds in which the institutions and the actors were placed, building a broad picture of the socio-cultural setting. My visits to the neighborhood and conversations with the community members, sitting with them in their homes, eating with them, visiting their markets, and talking to both the elderly and the young helped in giving shape and determining the direction— ‘the patterns of expectations’ Blommaert (1996:29)—in which to further explore my research project.

At all the four research sites, I developed a good rapport with at least one person who volunteered to act as a contact between me and the school.

6.3.2. Middle Stage

This was a stage when I was no longer a stranger to my research sites and the associated social actors. I started to recognize the research participants by name and many of them would address me by my first name without the pre-fix of a formal title. The pupils seemed to have accepted my presence in their schools: walking in the corridors, talking to them during their break times and playing with them in the grounds. I started to look closely at the semiotics in the school environment. I took field notes at this stage and tried to document all the visible semiotic displays. While transcribing the data in the evening, I realized that I was able to use very little of it to answer my research questions. As a result of this reflexivity, I learnt to identify key events and spaces in the schools for data collection. In addition, I continued visiting neighborhoods and interacting with the community members.

6.3.3 Late Stage

I started participating in and observing the focal site of the study, i.e., the classrooms. I interviewed the informants. At this stage, I also made connections between the data collected in the initial, middle and late stages.

Before going into the class along with the teachers, I would invariably ask myself what specific point I was going to look for in that specific session and also worked out the linguistic profile of the pupils and the teacher. (See 5.2.1)

As there was an overlap between my own professional background and that of the school setting, I had some advantages in terms of familiarity with the educational environment and its patterns in the private, elite English-medium school only. I found myself as much a stranger as anyone else with my background would have been in the remaining three sites.

6.3.4 Relationship between the Researcher and the Researched

My fieldwork relations developed throughout the process and continued beyond. They changed significantly over the life of the project. Initially, it took me time to establish my professional identity—that of someone working for a private international university (i.e. the Aga Khan University, part of an educational foundation with a global presence, owned and operated by a minority Islamic community) and studying in a British university. In other words, convincing informants of the independent and academic nature of the inquiry was a bit challenging. I addressed this issue by explaining in explicit terms the details of my project, how I was managing my financial resources to fund my study at a British university and how I intended to use the data after obtaining my doctoral degree. I also adopted an indirect approach to address the issue of relationship by participating in the rituals of the communities and engaging with them informally on issues of their interests.

In successfully implementing all these strategies for the development of good relationships, my ability to speak Urdu and English with varying registers, especially the school register seemed to have made a substantial contribution. I was particularly mindful of the institutional patterns and norms of speaking with people in different positions.

The familiarity with the context and development of friendly relationships created fresh challenges in terms of raising the informants' expectations. These expectations seem to have links with the sedimented identity of researchers in Pakistan: a teacher in a public sector school asked if I knew a donor agency which could provide computers for the school; another teacher in the same school asked about study in UK. The pupils of the private, elite medium school shared their aspirations of going to the UK and USA for studies. I took these instances as 'rich points' (Blommaert, 2006:37) which offered valuable insight into the local social orders of the actors.

While I tried hard to establish my identity as that of an independent researcher, I am not certain how successful I was in achieving this. However, there was clear evidence of a higher degree of confidence/trust in me which was manifested in the voluntary co-operation offered by the social actors. In this connection, it is important to note that I did my best to guide the research participants about the available options for funding overseas education.

6.3.5 Observations

The studies cited in 6.1 guided my attention to not only the core, i.e., the classroom as the central unit of analysis of my study, but also to the surrounding areas. These included different spaces within the institutions such as the toilets, playgrounds, canteen areas, walls (to examine the graffiti) , libraries, classrooms , staff offices and staffrooms. These observations also included the neighborhood beyond the institutions' boundaries to observe the condition of the streets, modes of transportation, kind of shops, the usual dress codes—in short, the complete ecology and ambience. In the words of Blommaert (2006:28), I began by 'observing everything' which helped me develop the overall picture of the contexts in which institutions were situated, especially the socioeconomic and political conditions prevailing in areas beyond these institutions. Although such observations were helpful, I realized that they were not directly useful in answering my research questions and that I needed to retain focus on the more important spaces. As a result, I tried to introduce a systematic orientation to my observations by focusing on classroom discourse, observation in the school environment and observation of official events.

6.3.5.1 Observation in the Classroom

As I noted above in section 6.3.1, I delayed making audio-recordings of the classroom as part of a strategy to minimize the intensity of the observer paradox. By the time I started recording, I was a familiar face for the students and teachers. However, after I had obtained permission from the pupils and teachers and started audio-recording their classroom sessions, I noticed there was a degree of unease amongst them but this lasted only for the initial few days. With time, the students and teachers got used to my recorder and largely normal interactional patterns started to emerge.

I was mindful of the fact that my recording sessions should not be disruptive and hence used an unobtrusive recorder and carefully selected the place to position myself from where I could record student-student as well as teacher-student off- and on-the-task interactions. Unfortunately I was not very successful in audio-recording student-student interaction in the classroom largely because in two of the schools, SC and SD, there was no space to put in another chair for me to sit amongst the students; the other contributory reason was that in these institutions, as a mark of respect, an outsider is seated beside the teacher and in front of the class. I kept my recorder on the teacher's desk but ensured that his/her normal practice of placing things on the desk was not disturbed. The routine more or less followed this pattern: as soon as I would enter the class along with the teacher, all pupils would rise to greet us, after which a pupil was sent by the teacher to get a chair for me from some other classroom; the pupil would bring the chair and place it next to the teacher. I indicated an interest to sit at the back of the class but teachers in Quetta informed me that to do so would be tantamount to them showing disrespect to a guest, and hence my chair was placed in the centre of the class. The position was awkward because I was sitting right in front of the faces of the pupils. I had to negotiate with the teacher to

be seated in the corner and of the class and not directly in front. As a result, my presence was removed from the direct attention of the pupils.

At SD, it was not possible to sit amongst the pupils or even at the back of the class because according to the norms of the institution a teacher's guest or a visitor is seated in the centre, facing the class, as a mark of respect. It may be noted that the teacher's sitting place often had a carpet while pupils sat on normal rugs that were otherwise rolled out for congregational prayers.

I observed the sitting conditions, the arrangement of furniture, the seating capacity, size of the classroom, and the linguistic profile of the learners and the teacher. While observing the classes, I kept making connections with the socioeconomic environment and the discursive practices of the classroom. As I was particularly interested in looking for evidence of the wider social world and its accomplishments through interactions in the class, I paid special attention to recording off-task communication whenever this took place and noted the moment and purpose of using language variations at different occasions in the classroom.

I made recordings of classroom sessions of different grades and on different subjects. However, I focused more on the language classes because I view them as not just as a means of teaching/ learning linguistic proficiency but also as terrain in which multiple ideologies leading to unequal distribution of resources, contestation/ social-category formation and struggle get played out and negotiated interactionally on a daily basis.

Although my questions formed the framework within which I was to observe and record the lessons, I tried not to be overwhelmed by them as that would have prevented me from attending to the behavior of the social actors in the process of teaching and learning. I took field notes and audio-recorded the lessons.

While in classrooms I mostly acted as an observer. I did get opportunities to get closer to the pupils during classes especially in SA where the arrangement of the classroom furniture facilitated group work. I did not audio-record the work of these groups on purpose for fear of disrupting the natural flow of conversation, but took notes of the language used.

I conducted post-classroom debriefings to understand the teachers' views of their orchestrations in classrooms. The debriefing sessions provided excellent opportunities for developing insight into the ways in which teachers' views of students' local languages, ethnicity and class came out.

6.3.5.2 Observation in the School Environment

In order to answer my third research question outlined in chapter 1, I looked closely at the discursive practices outside the classroom, i.e., in the corridors, playground, at the canteen, and in the staff room. I noticed there were major differences between the language practices at all these different locations. On comparing the dissimilarities in linguistic practices in the school I found that the legitimacy of a language actually differed from space to space and from event to event. In events that required the school to present itself to the parents, the management projected as representatives those students and teachers who were relatively more fluent in the English language.

My observation also focused on the schools' material conditions and the languages on display in these institutions. I looked closely at the use of language, the intended audience and the ideology represented by such visual materials. It was revealing to compare the difference between the language use on the official charts sent by the school administration/ provincial department of education and the informal writing on the back walls of the school.

I attended parent-teacher meetings in two schools and was able to have post-parent-teacher discussions with the teachers. These sessions which I audio-recorded gave me opportunities to understand the local explanation of the teachers about their classroom language practices and the normative expectations of the school management.

6.3.6 Field Notes

I made careful notes at all stages of the study taking into account not only the visible languages in the school environment but the ‘behavioral repertoire’. This included the actual range of the forms of behavior that people displayed (Hymes, 1981:84), the institutional norms of speaking taking into account the contextual information, description of the physical settings of the classroom, school and community living styles and also the relationship between me and my research participants. I also made notes to keep a record of my ideas and reflections throughout my fieldwork. I gave more importance to noting down the ‘telling incidents’ (Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2001) and my spontaneous thoughts/ understanding/reflection on them. As Blommaert observes on field notes:

I attach great importance to field notes, if for nothing else because I still use and re-use my own field notebooks, some of which are now over decades old. They still provide me with invaluable information, not only about *what* I witnessed in the field, but even the conduct, social relations and the encounters I experienced. I do not see them as marked and deviant anymore, and I do not feel that they are in need of description and explanation any more: they have become *your* social and cultural codes, no longer just theirs (Blommaert, 2006:34).

Following Blommaert (2006: 35), I view my field notes as a record of not what I saw in the field but as an ‘epistemic process’ in which I tried to make new information understandable for myself, using my own interpretive frames, concepts and categories and gradually shifting into new frames, making connections between earlier and current events and finding my way in the local order of things.

I carried with me a register book the form of which was very local and distinctive in the sense that the pages was bound with cotton cloth which enhanced its durability. For each school, I used one such register book. In the evening, I would revisit my notes and they would actually help me for the next day’s field work in the sense that they would point to the direction in which I should explore further. I kept expanding my notes after coming back from the field and making connections between the previous and the current experiences. From the field notes, I developed a research diary taking into account not only the description of the phenomenon and my personal experiences of participating in different events but also my interpretation of them. I realized that the field notes became perhaps the most valuable research tool for crosschecking other ethnographic data such as interviews, recording of the official function and visits to community members. As Creese notes (2011:44), ‘it is here that close detail of local action and interaction is embedded in a consideration of the wider social world... field notes document details of practice. They are productions and recordings of the researchers’ noticing with the intent of describing the research participant’s action emically.’

6.3.7 Audio Recordings

As stated in section 6.1, one of the most important aims of my fieldwork was to record naturally occurring data. For that I used a Sony Digital Voice Recorder ICDB-500, a very slim, light

device with the capacity to record a large amount of data. I was particularly mindful of the fact that the audio-recording process should not interfere with the regular routine so I kept the recorder with myself and used it only when essentially required.

6.3.8 Interviews

I mostly conducted one-to-one interviews with teachers, parents and students. On two occasions, I conducted group interviews with teachers and students in school C and A. Most of the informal questions I asked during the interview were to ascertain the views of informants about the immediate settings as well as their understanding of the wider socio-political and economic conditions that they were part of. As a general procedure, in all interviews, I shared with the informants its purpose, approximate duration and I adopted the informants' preferred language for the interview, and also took their verbal consent which I duly recorded.

Before every interview, I asked myself, 'Why am I conducting this particular interview?', as this helped me to remain focused during the interview. My PhD course on employing questionnaire-design and interview methods helped me reconceptualize interviews in the field of applied linguistics. Following Holstein and Gahrmann (2005: 484), I take interviews as interpretative practices; as processes that "engage both the 'hows' and the 'whats' of social reality". The interpretive approaches treat 'interviews themselves as topics for investigation' (Talmy 2011: 131) as opposed to using them as a conduit to the inner voices/ worlds of the interviewee. Richards and Talmy call it a discursive perspective on qualitative interview which 'is conceptualized explicitly as a socially situated speech event' (Mishler 1986), in which the interviewer (s) and interviewee (s) make meaning, construct knowledge, and participate in social practice (Richards and Talmy 2011: 2). The discursive perspective aligns with Holstein and

Gabrium's (1995) notion of an 'active interview' which is not an approach but a 'theory of interview' (Richards and Talmy 2011: 2) 'which not only gives the content or what but also the hows'. In short, theorizing research interviews from 'research instrument' to 'social practices' or as a discursive perspective or active interview calls for 'an ontological and epistemological shift' in which the status of interview, data, voice, bias, analytics approaches and analytic focus change markedly' (See Talmy 2011: 132). The active interview approach I adopted shares ontological assumptions and methodological procedures with ethnographic interviews which view interviews as conversations in which the interviewer and interviewee are equally active in knowledge construction. (Blommaert, 2006: 39). When I reconceptualized interviews in this way, and analyzed their objectives and the roles of the interviewer and the interviewee, I did not judge any of my interviews as either good or bad but as 'a linguistic activity in [their] own right' (Blommaert, 2006: 38). I gave importance to the anecdotes, views, and explanations given by my research participants.

6.3.9 Questionnaire

I decided to construct and administer the questionnaire when I realized that I would not be able to gather a large amount of data just through interviews, field notes and observations within the time limit I had for my fieldwork. The construction, administration and test-retest of the tool took more time than anticipated.

While designing the questionnaire, I was particularly conscious of addressing the central problem of the interpretation of the items by my respondents. In order to address this concern I used the strategy of test-retest (Alderson, 1992). After administering the questionnaire to a group of teachers who volunteered to participate at the pilot stage, I held a small group-talk in order to

understand the problems they might have faced in filling the questionnaire and to listen to their suggestions for its improvement. Their feedback helped me fine-tune the wordings of the items, rearrange them and add a few qualification credentials in the biographical section of my questionnaire. I also showed the tool to my supervisor whose comments were useful in helping me to make appropriate revisions.

In short, I designed an *ad hoc* questionnaire, administered it, held a meeting with the informants and incorporated changes on the basis of their feedback by adding/deleting and fine-tuning the wordings of the questions and the response types, and also checked the validity of the tool by the test-retest method. After validating the correctness of the tool, I used the purposive sampling technique in which I followed two criteria for selecting the informants: (1) all those teachers who came to the staffroom during the break and (2) those who volunteered to participate in the project. In terms of numbers, twenty- two participants volunteered to fill out the questionnaire.

6.3.10 Gathering of Relevant Documents and Textual Materials

I gathered a number of documents relating to the language practices in the schools. I collected memos by school heads addressed to their faculty, leave applications of pupils, correspondence between the school and the education department, and between the school and the parents. I also scrutinized students' notebooks and textbooks. With permission from the people concerned, I photocopied some of the material relevant to my study. I collected more or less the same documents with some minor variations at all the research sites.

6.4 Data Preparation: Transcription and Translation Processes

In Section 6.4, I discuss the steps adopted for the transcription and translation of the data followed by the process of its interpretation. In the final section I also outline the ‘ethical’ standards that I subscribed to during the research project.

6.4.1 Transcription and Translation Processes

I followed three steps for transcribing the data. In step one, I listened to the audio-recordings several times in Urdu/ English, and then translated and transcribed them in normal orthography. For recordings that were in Arabic or Pashto, I took the help of a student who had received formal qualifications in these languages. In step two, I developed and used my own transcription conventions, mainly taking help from the notations developed and by reading about issues in regards to transcription as discussed by Roberts (2007) in order to capture relevant non-linguistic features of the spoken data. In step three, I showed the transcribed data to a group of Pashto and Arabic speakers in my university. In step four, I sought the help of a professional for formatting the data into two columns.

Transcribing a wide range of linguistic practices, varieties, registers, and channels of communication proved to be a challenging task. I felt it was impossible for me to detach my subjectivity from the data. During the process of transcribing each episode, I came to realize that my own observations/impressions had become integral to the selection of the episodes and events and that they also contributed in foregrounding some aspects of the events while leaving out others. My readings on transcription in applied linguistics made me reflect on my relationship with the transcription I had produced. In particular, following Bucholtz (2002), I find that it would not be very accurate to claim total impartiality in the representation and

interpretation of transcripts. However, I took a reflexive stance towards my role and responsibility as transcriber in the process of transcription. In this regard, I showed my transcription text to the respondents in the first place and then to other people including laypersons and experts in the languages. I incorporated the changes suggested by the respondents and the experts on translations. In one case a respondent teacher withdrew from the research when his transcribed interview was shown to him.

6.4.2 The Process of Interpretation

I divided the process of interpretation into ‘general’ and ‘specific’ which I discuss below. Both the general and specific complemented each other in the process of interpretation.

6.4.2.1 General Interpretation

The process started the day I entered the field and continued throughout the fieldwork—at the stage of transcribing the data and finally at the stage of writing the thesis. As Blommaert notes, “since the analysis of such data is interpretive, the boundary between ‘during’ and ‘after’ is blurred: a lot of interpretation (read: analysis) has already been done in the field, on an everyday basis” (Blommaert, 2006: 55).

Linguistic ethnography informed the detailed analysis of the discursive practices throughout the study. Broadly speaking, this type of analysis comprises context-specific interpretations of language use (Mehan, 1984:175). I understand ‘context’ in the study as not referring to the physical aspects of the setting but to the wider interactions amongst people in the setting: ‘they are constituted by what people are doing, as well as when and where they are doing it’ (McDermott and Aron, 1978 cited in Mehan, 1984:175). In short, reconceptualizing

context as ‘segmented and to some extent controlled by indirect verbal strategies’ (Mehan, 1984: 178), and taking ‘discourse and its organization’ (Edwards and Westgate, 1994: 174) as a guiding heuristic orientation, I interpreted my data without assuming a direct correlation between language form and social categories. The analysis was not only restricted to the linguistic forms but to the contextual dimension of their production, interactional rules and norms of conversation. According to Mehan, ‘ethnographically influenced studies of classroom language and communication have been particularly successful in uncovering the suggested unspoken classroom rules and previously unnoticed norms of classroom behavior’ (Mehan, 1984: 178).

While interpreting the data I was mindful of ‘epistemic reflexivity’ (Blommert, 2006: 58), that is whatever claims I make on the discursive practices and on the social, educational and political arenas must have their basis in linguistic and non-linguistic clues that exist in my data and that I should not offer transcript data as evidence ‘to speak for itself’ (Edwards and Westgate, 2004: 135).

The general interpretation covers the processes of negotiating access to the sites with a focus on the use of language during my stay in the headmaster’s room in Quetta, visits to community members and a description of the general conditions of the neighborhoods where the research sites were located.

Following the common analytic methods of linguistic ethnography and the multiple method approach, I triangulated data collected from different sources through audio-recording of the lessons and events, the questionnaire, field notes and informal discussions with different stakeholders and analyzed all of them together in consultation with the local actors, thereby bringing both emic and etic perspectives to my analysis . In line with the critical, interpretive work in a multilingual policy context (Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996, 2001) and drawing on

Bourdieu's (1991) conceptual framework, I attempted to extrapolate links between language practices in the schools and the wider socioeconomic and political order.

6.4.2.2 Specific Interpretation

As I was the only person involved in the whole process—negotiating access to the sites, visiting the community and collecting, transcribing and verifying all the data—I discovered that single-person research was rewarding in that each stage gave me opportunities to observe the actors' linguistic behavior and to reflect on my own language practices. The links between language practices in institutions and the development of social categorization based on language differences began to emerge when I triangulated my data. Although the process of transcribing and the debriefing sessions with the teachers was time consuming, it allowed me to develop closeness with my data, and the professional/financial trajectories of my research participants became extremely familiar to me. In other words, I developed a strong human bonding with my research participants as a result of being familiar with their histories, and their social and financial conditions, which I then linked to their language practices in institutional settings.

The debriefing sessions usually involved multiple visits to the research sites and communities to show to those involved the transcripts, initial accounts and interpretations. The usual response was one of amazement, that 'you observed these things!' I had no major disagreement with the participants with regard to the transcriptions and accounts but some teachers did point out that the meaning behind a few of their utterances was different from what I had understood. I respected their interpretations, made the appropriate changes and once again showed them the revised transcriptions.

The debriefing sessions performed multiple functions. On the one hand they allowed me to negotiate the local meanings and views of the participants on their language practices and on the other hand they provided me with alternative explanations to the phenomena under investigation. Moreover, the behavior/ response of the teachers to the transcription also illustrated meanings through verbal and non-verbal gestures. Many of the teachers at SB school regretted their code-switching practices and made very perceptive comments regarding their practices in this regard. A teacher at SB said, ‘You know we have to do this because Balochi children do not even understand Urdu. How would they learn English if we taught them in English only?’ While this casual remark made by the teacher is a fine example of linguistic hierarchy, it also points to the language policy endorsed by the school, i.e., English only. The teachers at SD were least concerned about their communicative patterns. All they worried about was the translation from Arabic to Urdu that they did during the lessons.

6.4.3 Ethical Considerations

I strictly followed the ethical standards of Lancaster University. In addition to that, I also read and followed the standards published by British Association for Applied Linguistics. I wrote a letter to the principal (Appendix 1) of each school seeking permission to enlist the school in my research project. I also obtained the informed consent of all informants. I advised all informants about their right to withdraw from the study at any stage and indicated what measures would be taken to protect their interests and privacy. I was sensitive to cultural, religious, gender and age differences through maintaining a reflexive attitude when in the field. While I explained the objectives of the study, its possible consequences and issues of confidentiality, I also conveyed to the informants that it is not always possible to completely conceal identities and that

anonymity can be compromised unintentionally. At no stage of my study did I resort to covert or deliberate deception. As children were also informants for this study, I not only obtained their consent but also obtained permission from the parents whom I could approach through school head. In case of school C and D, the school policy covered it. I spent time with the children and commensurate with their interest and ability to understand, explained to them the objectives of the study. For class observations, I obtained the verbal permission from the pupils and the teachers to attend and record their classroom language practices.

Chapter 7: The Socio-Cultural Value of Local Literacies/ languages in Schools

Overview

This chapter addresses the question of the relationship between the language-in-education policy of Pakistan and the everyday practices in its schools. It specifically answers the following questions:

- What are some of the common classroom interactional practices in schools?
- What are the ways in which pupils are categorized by their teachers?
- How are pupils' categorizations tied to their ethnicity and class?

The argument put forward in this chapter is that, while the imposition of a monolingual rule for education is a dominant aspect of the language-in-education policy, especially in the post-colonial context, it has been found that social actors in Pakistan respond to this in complex ways.

The chapter comprises two sections. Section 7.1 presents some of the common interactional practices found in the school sites, examines the ways in which teachers categorize their students and explores the links between language practices, social class and ethnicity. Section 7.2 discusses the findings made in the previous section taking into account the monolingual rule in the light of recent scholarship in the field of language-in-education.

7.1 Interactional Practices in Classrooms

As noted in chapters four and five, examining the interactional practices between teachers and pupils in classrooms provides opportunities and illuminating insights into the manner in which

the micro and macro aspects of language-in-education policy of the country are linked. A close investigation of these aspects in all the four study sites helped me understand the ways in which power and authority are constituted at the classroom level. Although language use differed from one site to another, the patterns of interactions are not very dissimilar. Some of the common interactional patterns observed are discussed in the sections that follow.

7.1.1. Initiation and Maintenance of a Unified Floor

The most commonly shared strategies were the creation and maintenance of a unified floor, largely by means of reading out from textbooks during lessons, an exaggerated emphasis on translation from English/ Arabic to Urdu, the use of repetition drills for memorizing target languages, and adopting strategies in SB to ensure that only English was used for classroom interaction. In addition to that, teacher-initiated chorusing, students' taciturnity and the teacher's volubility were noted.

The lesson analyzed here took place in April 2011 in the public sector school (SC). The lesson was conducted by a senior teacher who had been working at SC for over twenty years. Let's call him Mr.Salim. He was teaching a class of eighty-one boys out of which seventy-eight were present on the day of my observation. Out of the seventy-eight boys, sixty-four boys spoke Pashto as their first language, whereas six spoke Balochi, one Brahvi, four Urdu, one Punjabi and two Farsi. Mr. Salim is a native speaker of Seraiki but he can also speak some Pashto as he has lived for decades in Quetta city. He is very well respected amongst his colleagues for his hard work. He never misses class and is known for utilizing every minute of his lesson in teaching English language to middle school boys. I was also informed by one of his colleagues

that Mr. Salim had left the banking profession as he considered banking non-Islamic and had become a teacher.

Mr Salim conducted most of his English lesson standing in front of the class, although he occasionally walked up and down the aisles while reading aloud from the textbook. The students sat in rows on rickety benches facing the teacher and the blackboard, four to five pupils per desk designed to seat three students. The layout of the furniture in rows created a social organization that directs everyone's attention towards the teacher standing in front of a large blackboard.

As illustrated in (Extract 1 in Appendix 5.1), from the very first minute of the lesson Mr. Salim established a unified floor by introducing the textbook lesson (Extract 1, line 1). There was virtually no exchange of conversation or greeting between him and his students before, during or after the lesson. The class begins with his instruction for opening the book. From then on, Mr. Salim retained the floor to himself by reading out each line of text and translating it into the version of Urdu commonly used in very formal situations. While reading aloud from the textbook, he emphasized self-selected words by repeating them with a higher volume, one at a time and in isolation from the full sentence, to identify the key items in the text (line 3, 10). As soon as he reached line 23 which was the end of the text, he made it clear to the pupils what was expected of them: "listen carefully, you will learn it by heart." (line 24) He read the entire lesson a second time (lines 25-55). The only difference between his first and second reading was perhaps the speed with which he read the text. The function of the second reading was possibly to rehearse for the final performance in which pupils are given a chance to take the floor. Once he had completed the second cycle of reading and translating, he read out each sentence of the text in a loud voice (line 50-55) for the third time and with a rising intonation, pausing after each sentence so that his pupils could respond with a vocal translation of the sentence into Urdu. His

students who had remained silent in the first thirty minutes of a forty-five-minute lesson now got the opportunity to speak. However, their participation was consciously or unconsciously controlled by Mr. Salim who offered them a contextual cue (Gumperz 1982) by using a rising intonation for the last word of the sentence followed by a pause which was the signal for the pupils to vocalize the translation. The pupils responded to the teacher-initiated group chorusing in a rhythmically coordinated refrain. I observed that a number of boys were contributing to the sing-song drill by merely raising their voices but were not involved in the process of translation.

7.1.2 A Practice Specific to One School (SD): Use of Arabic to Regulate the Interactional Practices and Legitimize Knowledge

The lesson analyzed here took place in April 2011 in the private sector school (SD). The lesson was conducted by a senior teacher who had been working at SD for over ten years. Let's call him Molvi Abdul Rehman (MAR). He was teaching a class of twelve boys out. Out of the twelve boys, seven boys spoke Urdu as their first language, whereas three spoke Pashto, one Gujarati, and one Sindhi. MAR is a native speaker of Urdu and could also read and write English to some extent. He informed me that he received his early education in a private English medium school until grade nine. From then on, he opted for madarssah education (religious school)

This is a grade six lesson on Jihad, 'Holy war,' audio-recorded in May 2011 in SD, Karachi. The focus of the lesson was the norms of holy war which is taught to boys of ages from 10 to 15. Like in the previous class, the majority of the boys here too spoke local languages as their first language. Some of the common languages spoken here were Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi and Urdu. The class was conducted in a multipurpose hall where all classes are held simultaneously. It is converted into a dining hall twice a day and was also used as a sleeping dormitory for the 120

boys studying in the institution. Every one sat on the floor in small groups with each teacher sitting in the center with his students gathered around him. The furniture in the class comprises small, portable wooden desks meant only for keeping books.

The class began with the teacher, let's call him Molvi Abdul Rehman (MAR), reading out from a bilingual textbook written in Urdu and Arabic. A boy remained standing throughout the lesson with a book in his hand. According to an established convention the boy was supposed to read the text and the teacher then would offer his comments. However, MAR decided to read out the text himself. He read a chunk in Urdu then a line in Arabic, which he translated into Urdu. As Extract 2, Appendix 5.1 shows, the recitation of Arabic and its translation (lines 3, 5, 12, 14, 40, 41, 46, 59) dominated the classroom interactional practice. The recitation of Arabic seemed to perform a social as opposed to an academic function. It also established a hierarchical relationship between MAR and his students. MAR knew Arabic and can translate it into Urdu but his pupils did not have this ability. This difference in levels of knowledge created an asymmetry in the power relationship in the classroom which was manifested in MAR's volubility and his pupils' taciturnity. MAR used two kinds of cues in his classroom—the first was when he asked the question, “have you got it?” (lines 3, 7), and the second when he raised his tone on key items (line 17). Both cues fail to prompt any response from the students. After reading the first three lines of the text in which MAR explained the size of a battalion, he gave the cue, “have you got it?” at a point where no teaching was involved. Here, the cue gave the impression that teaching and learning activity was actually taking place. It is very difficult to say whether students internalized the knowledge in the absence of any negotiation between students and teacher. It seems fair to note that the teacher here was using ‘safe talk’ practices (Chick, 1996) by sticking

rigidly to the textbook and making an impression of teaching and learning through the use of the cue “have you got it?” used more or less as a formulaic expression.

At the level of the institution, MAR collaborated with SD’s policy of using Arabic and Urdu in the school. Two of the parents I interviewed believed that learning Arabic was associated with maintaining one’s link with Islam. Similarly, an individual belonging to SD’s management argued that Arabic was the language of all Muslims and in particular the language of the Prophet and must therefore be taught to every Muslim. However, observation of the actual classroom practice did not show that the pupils were learning Arabic as it was just MAR who was reading out the text and translating it into Urdu. The teaching of Arabic here apparently had more to do with the perception that this language symbolizes an imagined Muslim identity. At a broader level, the use of Arabic in the classroom reinforced the discourse of the eighteenth century tradition of religious schools in India in which Arabic was used as a counter-response to the British policy of teaching English language to the ‘natives’. As the use of Arabic in SD and elsewhere in the country is held in high regard, MAR took advantage of this to avoid any extemporaneous communication in the class. In short, MAR reinforced the normative ascendancy of the language by reading out the Arabic text from the school course book. The use of Arabic helped MAR in many ways. To begin with, it helped him to establish his authority and provided him the power to control the class. It also helped him and his students in mutual face-saving over the inadequacy of the teaching and learning that was taking place in the class. The use of a foreign language, i.e., Arabic created a language difference between MAR and his students. MAR seemed to know the translation of the Arabic utterances while his pupils did not know it, as a result the difference led to an asymmetry in the power relationship in the classroom manifested in his volubility and his pupils’ taciturnity.

7.1.3 Meeting the Demands of English- Only in the Classroom

I also observed an English language class held in SB, which claimed to be an English-medium school, and which was located in a less affluent area of Karachi. The students were mostly from a Balochi-speaking background. The teacher, let's call her Ms Shaista, was a native speaker of Urdu and had a Master's degree in Mass Communication. In the lesson analyzed here (Extract 3, Appendix 5.1), Ms. Shaista started her lesson by clearly introducing the objective of her class which was reading chapters of an English novel.

Ms. Shaista spoke to her students mostly in Urdu but nevertheless tried very hard to speak as much as possible in English. Her instructions were in English: "tell me the summary of the chapter" (line 12) and "close your books" (line 12), and asking wh- questions such as "where is London?" (line 19). Her students' responses remained limited to one- or two-word answers (lines 4, 7, 11). I observed that Ms. Shaista's and her students' competence in English was limited and appeared to be restricted to a few utterances which they seemed to have memorized well. In order to meet the demands of the school's recently introduced policy of using English, Ms. Shaista and her students had worked out a method of jointly staging a lesson in which she and her students appear to be respectively teaching and learning in the English language. Connected to the impression that English was being taught and learnt was the selection of the novel *Lisa goes to London* which is the story of a girl who visits London on a trip which she has won as a prize in a story writing competition. I found that the text which talked about Heathrow Airport, the London Eye and Hyde Park posed significant difficulties for comprehension and greatly constrained any meaningful interaction between the teacher and the students. In order to overcome the language and unfamiliar cultural challenges posed by the material, Ms. Shaista and her students spent most of the classroom time reading silently and summarizing the chapters,

lifting lines from the textbook and reading them aloud in the class. It appeared that Ms. Shaista avoided reading and discussing the chapters of the novel by adopting a number of methods. Firstly, there was an elaborate pre-lesson talk which took about seven minutes out of a forty-five minute lesson (line 1-11). The teacher asked her students if they had brought dictionaries with them and whether or not they had self-read the novel. In order to get some feedback, she shifted her gaze from one student to another, row by row, making sure that each pupil showed her their personal dictionaries. She also spent time in getting a nod from each student to her question about whether they had read the novel at home.

Her second recurring interactional strategy was to ask the students to first read and then write a summary of the chapters but without having provided them any sort of guidance; her third strategy was to teach a grammatical point which had no relevance to the novel (lines 56-62). In order to fill the gap between the silent reading of chapters, Ms. Shaista opted to ask wh-word questions on the location of cities and thus successfully avoided a discussion of the book (lines 21-32). The avoidance strategy became even more conspicuous when Ms. Shaista asked her students to name the cities of Pakistan (lines 49-53). The strategies of summary writing, asking wh- questions and the fillers between chapters were adopted by the students and their teacher as a means of survival, as they had to subscribe to the school management's requirement that every student and teacher should speak only in English. Although Ms. Shaista and her students did speak in English they did so by coming up with creative ways of doing this that seemed to serve the institutional agenda but were only tangential to the task of academic learning.

7.1.4 Pupils Challenging a Native Speech Model

I also observed a lesson on oral communication skills in English in SA. The lesson was held in August 2011 in Karachi. The teacher, let's call her Ms. Fatima, was a native speaker of Urdu and her students came from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds, as was the case in all the other classes that were part of my study. One major difference that I found was that students in this class had received their schooling in elite institutions of Pakistan and had a comparatively better oral proficiency in English. Fatima had recently returned from the USA where she had gone to attend a one-year Foreign Language Teaching Assistant Fulbright (FLTA) program. I noticed she had acquired an authentic American accent and that her speech had few traces of Pakistani English. As the transcript of the following episode shows (See Extract 4 in Appendix 5.1), the focus of the lesson was talking about "highschool life".

At the start of the lesson, Ms. Fatima set the speech model for her students to follow in class by referring to a success story (line 7) and then advised her students to watch the BBC and CNN. A boy stood up to share his high school experiences with the class. He spoke English fluently and confidently. I noticed that he made a conscious effort to speak the way English is commonly spoken in Pakistan with frequent code-mixing. Although the implied demand was the display of monolingual English-Only, he deliberately mixed Urdu lexical items "*chai wala*", "*chai paratha*" (Tea seller, Tea and Bread) with English (line 23). Noteworthy was the long pause he gave while speaking English, perhaps mounting a small challenge to the teacher's ground rule of not speaking Pakistani English as it is widely understood that native speakers of English do not take long pauses while speaking English nor do they code-mix. Interestingly, the second student followed in his footsteps by giving long pauses and using English the way it is used in the English-speaking tiers of Pakistani society. I interpreted this as an example of

students' language policy, in response to the implicit institutional language policy of native speaker 'English- only'.

This fleeting instance of a linguistic challenge to teacher authority was part of a wider pattern in this school and in the other schools. This wider pattern is revealed in the results of the questionnaire (Figure 1- Appendix 5.1) we see that English is used on formal occasions such as convocations and formal school functions. It is important to note that formal school functions usually involve participation of the parents and the community, in other words those who pay the tuition fees for children studying, at least in private schools. Such events are crucially important for the school management as these provide them with an opportunity to establish their credibility by demonstrating to the attendees the proficiency of the teachers and students in the English language. As is evident from (Figure 1), backstage interactional practices at places like the playground or the school canteen were mostly associated with the use of local languages. These practices differ widely from classroom practices.

The interactional practices in Ms. Fatima's class were quite different from schools B, C and D from the point of view of student participation as a number of students took turns to speak out in the class. However, the restriction imposed by Ms. Fatima of avoiding speaking in Pakistani English excluded the majority of her students from taking part in the oral communication exercise. I found many students who were eager to share their high school experiences with their classmates but who chose not to do so perhaps because of the restriction imposed on them by their teacher.

In the debriefing session I asked Ms. Fatima for her rationale for giving so much importance to the so-called native English accent. Fatima argued that there was an element of

“beauty” involved in the ways English is spoken in its native style (See Extract 5 in Appendix 5.1).

On further probing I found that Fatima believes that a child’s English pronunciation gives the teacher a clue about his/her social position in the school. She noted that children whose pronunciation is different from the standard British and American pronunciation are mocked by their peers. She thinks she is valued by her students because of her pronunciation (line 53, Extract 5). She relates her arguments to the wider society by referring to the English accent of a Pakistani film actress whose is mocked by people because she speaks in a typical Pakistani accent.

To conclude this section, I note that my observation of classroom discursive practices showed that there was a range of linguistic practices in different schools. These practices reflected the social, cultural and linguistic significance of each school within the educational system and in the wider society. In the state school (SC), which is similar to those where the majority of Pakistani children study, there was clear evidence of restricting the use of local languages in the classroom by imposing Urdu as the sole legitimate language for classroom interaction. SD classroom interaction showed that the recitation of Arabic helped the teacher avoid loss of face and ostensibly legitimized their knowledge. It was found that teachers in SB had extremely limited competency in English but were obliged to show their classroom interaction in English; therefore safe talk practices were very conspicuous. SA validates no other language: only English is required to be used in and outside the classroom. Students from different socioeconomic backgrounds are found in these schools, which suggest two important things: first, the school seems to act as an important social stratifying mechanism, both material and symbolic, and second, the school appears to be an institution for structuring and regulating

linguistic resources. The most visible and conspicuous pattern of interaction was the absence of spontaneous communication between pupils and teachers which also points to the social distance between them and the difference in their social and linguistic backgrounds.

In the next section I illustrate the processes of pupils' categorization at the level of the classroom and the school. I present my findings which suggest that the linguistic and social backgrounds of pupils are important determinants for teachers in the classification of students.

7.2 Linguistic Repertoire and Pupil Categorization

My data (see illustrative examples in Extracts 7-10, Appendix 5.2) suggest that the pupils' linguistic repertoire is one of the key factors that determine how they are categorized by their teachers. It was found that proficiency in two important languages, i.e., the national language (Urdu) and the official language (English) is taken into consideration by teachers when categorizing their pupils. Those who are comparatively better in these languages are marked as good students while those not as proficient are considered problem students.

7.2.1 Unofficial Categorization in Everyday Teachers' Talk

I also found that the process of categorization is very much a part of everyday discursive practices in schools in Pakistan such as those in this study. I illustrate this point by referring to a parent-teacher meeting at SB conducted in Urdu between four teachers and a father whose daughter, Muskan, studied in grade 1 of the school. The father, who was employed as a gatekeeper in the same school, a native speaker of Balochi. Two teachers involved in the meeting spoke Urdu as their first language and the remaining two Punjabi. The meeting lasted for about three minutes at the end of which I had the opportunity to conduct a debriefing session with the

teachers. As the transcript of the parent-teacher meeting (Extract 7) shows, the teachers felt that Muskan faced language problems in school because of the difference between her home language and the language of instruction. She was broadly categorized as a problem child by her teachers. Her teacher noted (lines 5-6) “she is very quiet... she does not speak to anyone”. Her teachers also shared their observations on Muskan’s classroom behavior, “she tries to hide at the back of others”,(line 10), “lack of confidence” (line 11).

The father agreed with the teachers that his daughter had a serious language deficiency because she did not know either of the two languages i.e. Urdu and English. In my debriefing session (Extract 8) I further explored the case of Muskan ; I found that Muskan’s home language was interpreted by her teachers as a deficiency, “this is their language problem” (line 2), “ they even can not speak Urdu” (line 3).

The class teacher noted that the school neighborhood was inhabited by families who spoke Balochi. The teacher believed that there was a language problem with the community (line 9). I also found that other teachers involved in the meeting saw a strong link between the social position of the Balochi community and their linguistic repertoire. The teachers reported that because of the language problems, i.e., lacking the required competence in English and/or Urdu, few of the community members get access to higher education in Pakistan and that they mostly end up as fishermen, gardeners or shopkeepers (lines 11-12).

A similar set of attitude was voiced by the teachers regarding another child, Aliza (See Extract 9,10).The community was construed as not well educated because they did not know Urdu and if the community members made pronunciation and masculine-feminine errors while speaking the language (line 8, Extract 10, Appendix 5.1). The teacher’s manner of saying “you know Balochi children come in... even Sindhi” (line 6) provided clues as to the way in which students were

categorized on the basis of their home languages and cultural background. The implication of the teacher's utterance is that these languages are seen as a problem. It also reflects the asymmetrical power relationships that are being constructed in the everyday discursive practices in schools—a relationship that is based on language differences between the officially supported national language and the home languages of the pupils and teachers.

7.2.2 Official Categorization of Pupils

The official categorization of students was more subtle than the unofficial practices as revealed above. Perhaps the best example of official categorization of students comes from the national day celebration speech that I audio-recorded on 14 August 2011 in SB. The event involved almost all the staff, faculty and students of the primary section aged between 2.5 and 8, and a considerable number of parents who were invited by the school to participate in the celebrations. My diary notes tell me that the parents and children looked happy and relaxed and were communicating with one another in local languages as they were there to celebrate their national day. I also found that it was a day when the students felt less compelled to follow the English-only rule of the school. Children sang songs and acted out skits on the stage in both the national and local languages while their teachers prompted them from off the stage in the same languages. The warmth of the relationship between students and teachers was clearly visible. As extract 11 in Appendix 5.2 shows, the headmistress chose to deliver her speech in English which immediately created a power difference between the speaker and the audience who obviously lacked proficiency in the language. I could however understand her opting for a speech genre that was structured and using formal language because this was appropriate for a ceremonial occasion (see Extract 11 in Appendices 5.2).

Her speech showed that she was seeking to create a bond with her listeners by emphasizing common values and using plural pronouns ‘we’ and ‘us’ (lines 4, 6, 16, 18, 20). However, my research diary tells me that the speaker was not alert to the blank expressions on the faces of her listeners. The majority of the audience had puzzled expressions on their faces simply because the speaker addressed them in English and did not accommodate their languages. As regards student categorization, the speech classified all students as Pakistanis and persuaded them to work for the country irrespective of their cultural and ethnic differences. However, one thing was obvious—that the deliberate choice of the language for the occasion showed little regard for the languages of the people present.

The speech can be interpreted on different levels: on the surface, its aim was to persuade the audience to become better Pakistanis and its ostensible audience was the students. However, its deeper intent was linked to the school’s claim of offering English language education and its actual audience was the parents who wanted to be assured that the school lived up to its claims of an English-medium school.

7.2.3 Categorizing Students Based on Their Ability to Utter English Words in the Classroom

I found that perhaps the most common way in which teachers categorized their pupils was on the basis of their ability to speak up in the class. Extract 13, Appendix 5.2, is the transcript of an English lesson in SB taught by Ms. Shaista. The lesson focused on a novel titled *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*. This was a grade six lesson. The average age of the pupils was 11 years. The total number of students present was forty. Like other classes, the children came from diverse cultural backgrounds but most were speakers of Balochi. As indicated in 8.1.3, Ms. Shaista, the

teacher was a native speaker of Urdu. As the transcript shows, the teacher addressed four students by their names: Haris, Usman, Bilal and Rabia. Her in-class interaction with them was full of warmth. Her fondness for her students was particularly evident when she made a comment on Usman's long hair (line 6).

Similarly Rabia was addressed as “my wife... my child” (line 11, Extract 13 in Appendices 5.2) which showed the teacher's fondness for her. Ms. Shaista largely focused her attention on these four students who claimed in public that they had read the novel while the remaining students were reprimanded by the teacher (line 12) for not having ‘memorized’ (line 12) the novel. The same four students dominated the chorusing responses while Ms. Shaista moved from one social conversation to another after having heard the replies from these four (line 15, 19, 21). My informal conversations with the students and an examination of the book showed that there was a huge gap between the students' competence in English and the proficiency required to read and understand it. The book was largely about English life. In short, students who collaborated with the other students by claiming to have read the novel on their own (e.g. the four mentioned above) were treated as good students in comparison to the ones who had problems and who remained quiet during the lesson. The teacher's selection of the students and her engagement with them might have been a strategy to avoid the challenges of the textbook. The outcome was a joint-staging of an activity by both students and teachers which made it appear that English was being taught and learnt in the classroom.

7.2.4 The Process of Category Formation

The process of categorization of the students appears to begin early in their school lives. I illustrate this by showing the classroom practices of one of the teachers in SB. This teacher is

Ms. Faiza, referred to in chapter five. She was teaching a lesson on animals to kindergarten students of ages between 4 and 5. As the transcript shows, the teacher engaged in a considerable amount of code-mixing between English and Urdu and used a poster as a teaching aid. In response to her question (line 14 Extract 14 in Appendix 5.2) a number of students answered in their local languages. However, Ms. Faiza avoided these contributions and waited until they rephrased their utterance in English (line 5). It was clearly evident that only a few students were able to name the animals and plants in English with any degree of confidence while most others were unable to do so. Ms. Faiza was consciously or unconsciously categorizing her students on the basis of their conformity to her classroom ground rule of naming plants and animals in English. Those who succeeded in doing so received positive reinforcement. Here, we see the categorization of pupils embedded within the daily cycles of meaning-making in classroom life.

In order to understand Ms. Faiza's unusually high frequency code-mixing between English and Urdu, I conducted a debriefing session with her (Extract 15 in Appendices 5.2, line 5). She remarked that, "we tell them... we ourselves tell them that 'children this is a better way of saying things.'"

Here Faiza reveals the view, shared with her colleagues that teachers should tell their students overtly that the best way of saying things is when English is used. She also justifies her classroom categorization practices by referring to a child's ethnic background: 'obviously we have Balochi children', which is a clear example of the teacher's categorization of children on the basis of her perception of their cultural and ethnic background. Her manner of saying this (line 5) provides us very valuable insights into the ways in which teachers such as Ms. Faiza categorize pupils on the basis of their background. The devaluing the pupils' languages becomes clearer when Faiza notes (line 7) that teachers do not respond to the students until they [students]

speak in either Urdu or English. I was curious to understand the rationale behind this institutional ‘ground rule’ and the high frequency code mixing between languages by the teacher in her class. In my debriefing session with her, she made it clear that learning of English words by the children was seen as enhancing the prestige of the school: “Sir this is an English medium school and parents send them to us because we teach them English” (line 10 Extract 15 Appendix 5.2). The investigation of classroom practices in this kindergarten class and the debriefing session afterwards illustrate important facets of categorization. It highlighted the process starts early in the lives of students.

The data presented here suggests that teachers’ antipathy towards their students’ languages and their categorization of students based on their linguistic repertoires were significant elements of the processes of symbolic domination at work in schools like SB. Those who had had access and exposure to state-supported languages were categorized positively whereas students whose home and school languages were different got negatively categorized by their teachers.

7.2.5 The Link Between Categorization of Pupils and Their Ethnicity and Class

My conversational interview with the headmaster held in April 2011 in Quetta (Extract 17, Appendix 5.2) illustrates how social categorization in Pakistan is largely determined by access to types of schools. As evident from the transcript (Extract 17), those who have the means to manage the high cost of education in private schools are socially constructed as “educated” (line 12). By implication the majority of people whose children study in public sector schools are viewed as “non-educated”. The transcript (line 16) further illustrates that the poorest of the poor

turn to public sectors school: “only the poor came to us; those who cannot afford to send their children to private schools.”

As stated above, the head teacher explains that SC is attended by children of people who belong to the poorer segments of the community. However, the manner in which he said ‘*ghareeb*’ (poor) suggested that he was not referring to just their economic status—he implied that these people were also ‘poor’ in a social and educational sense. The evidence comes from his very meaningful description of the community from where the students at SC are recruited (line 16). He laments that ‘these people’ are given ‘everything free’ and then from his assessment about the future role of this community, whom he describes as ‘*nasoor*’ (line 18), meaning tumor, for the society. The teacher argues that the poor do not understand the benefits with mother-tongue education (line 22) and claims that the experimentation of the mother-tongue education failed because of them. According to him, parents would write to him asking him to provide teaching in Urdu (line 23). So the justification for the Urdu-only teaching in the school was related to their demands. Although he makes a case for himself as being sympathetic to the local languages as he does not put restrictions on their use in the school (line 20), the manner in which he described the community and put forward the argument that their languages are not developed— saying that ‘there has been no work done’ (line 22), repeated twice in two lines— suggested that he was not as sympathetic to the local languages as he was claiming to be.

7.2.6 Everyday Interaction and Ethnicity

I found a strong link between everyday interactions in different within the school and the ethnicity of the social actors. As can be seen in extract 16 in appendix 5.3 (lines 1- 20), the primordial concept of ethnicity as static and reified is clearly in evidence here. I illustrate this

point by referring to the discourse of the teachers who were inspecting cleanliness at the morning assembly. One teacher stated sarcastically notes, “The Pathans do not have the tradition of polishing their boots” (line 11). In this event there was also very vocal and explicit articulation of ethnic sentiments. However, these sentiments are also expressed in more subtle ways and at times silently. Another teacher referred to them as ‘sons of owls’ (line 10) while a third added that ‘they never polish their shoes and they never clean their teeth’ (line 11).

Although the second and third teacher did not use the commonly used ethnic label, their articulation of the word ‘they’ in this episode implicitly referred to the Pathans as ‘an ethnic community’ and to the popular perceptions about them. Notice that after the word ‘they’ (lines 17-18) there was a judgmental remark about parenting in the community—‘they have no one to look after them’—which in effect dismissed the parents as being uninterested in the child. Similarly in Extract 18 (line 20) one teacher asked smilingly, what the parents would know since they all ‘hail from villages’. The implication seemed to be that the parents are uneducated and know very little about education.

While there are multiple causes or reasons why teachers hold their students in contempt, this data shows teachers exploiting of the primordial concept of ethnicity vis-à-vis their pupils in order to establish their domination over them.

In order to explore the origins of these teachers’ discourses and find reasons for the articulation of such explicitly negative views regarding the pupils’ ethnicity, I interviewed Mr. Akbar who is a Social Studies teacher in SC. As illustrated by Extract 24, the problem appears to be rooted in the wider social, political and economic status of the local actors. Mr. Akbar argues that the federal government does not give institutional spaces to local languages on the grounds

that these do not have the capacity to be used in teaching and learning. As a result, he says, the feeling of alienation keeps growing in the community.

I also found that he believes the problem has its origin in the history of the language-in-education policy of the country which imposed “irrelevant” (line 7) languages through education. Such moves were made mainly for economic and political reasons (line 7). The result of the language-in-education policy of the country is that pupils are considered as having “no worth in society” and also as “being a burden” (line 7).

7.2.7 Interactional Practices and Social Class

Rampton et al (2008) state that ‘social class’ points to a very broad principle of organization in capitalist societies. The ‘principle of inequality’ (2008: 287), refers to the manner in which the distribution of both material and symbolic resources is structured. Rampton and colleagues show that class is often used as a means of domination, and is the source of conflict and suffering. Hence I argue that there is social stratification in Pakistan which is based on the ability of individuals and communities to access valuable language resources. I illustrate this point with my observation of an English language class at SC followed by a debriefing session with the teacher.

Let’s call this teacher Mr. Tarang who is a native speaker of Pashto. During his English lesson I observed that while translating the English text into Urdu for the purpose of teaching, Mr. Tarang avoided using the common language shared between him his students (see Extract 34 in Appendix 6.2). My debriefing session with him revealed (Extract 21 Appendix 5.3) links between the pupils’ L1 and their social class. Mr. Tarang argued that it was primarily because of a lack of access to a powerful language [English] that the majority remained consigned to an

inferior social position where they could only remain as servants of the powerful elites of the country: “we are the servants of their parents... and our children will become the servants of their children” (line 7 Extract 21 in Appendix 5.3). I discovered that Mr Tarang was very critical of the ideology of a national language and the manner in which language-in-education policy is constructed and implemented in Pakistan (line 5). I also found that there were unwritten rules (line 1) that compel people to conform to the institutional order of Urdu-only in public sector schools whereas access to proper English language learning was available only to students of private, elite English-medium schools that charge tuition fees far beyond the means of the majority of Pakistanis. As a result, language proficiency in state-supported languages emerges as one of the most important determining factors in the creation of social classes. While in lines 7, Extract 21, clarifies his view on how English is linked to the creation of the elite class in Pakistan, it is important to mention and illustrate that the process of class creation is also embedded in everyday discursive practices in institutional settings. One of the key findings of the present work is that it has provided some insights into the processes of class creation and the stigmatization of the local languages in everyday discursive practices in concrete settings in current Pakistani society.

To conclude this section of the chapter, I summarize some of the common interactional patterns observed: they include absence of spontaneous communication between students and teachers, teacher-initiated chorusing, chanting, rote learning, and memorizing the language. While the interactional practices in schools are more or less the same, the major difference amongst all the four research sites is the inequality in the access provided to linguistic resources such as prestigious varieties of English and Urdu. Linked with these linguistic inequalities is the difference in the material conditions of the schools and the social actors who participate in their

activities. Students are categorized by their teachers on the basis of their academic performance in the class but they also take into account their linguistic background. They seem to categorize their pupils based on the languages they bring to the school. Reified concepts of ethnicity and class are taken into account by teachers while categorizing their students.

Linguistic studies in colonial and post-colonial settings inform that the ritualized ways in which participants draw on linguistic resources to collaborate or contest the interactional and institutional order of the school have consequences for the construction of social categories and for the use of those categories as ways of organizing the distribution of resources through education. They also inform us that:

‘the interactional and institutional orders in multilingual settings are in fact unified. Both may be traversed by a number of different, possibly competing, possibly contradictory sets of interests and ideological orientations. Communicative and organizational practices are usually the management of tension between the authority of the dominant language and the solidarity of the vernacular; between pedagogical commitments to group work and assessment pressure to monitor student performance; between valuing community-based knowledge and facilitating access to school-based knowledge’ and that the ‘relationship between what happens in the educational settings and what happens elsewhere’ (Heller and Martin-Jones,2001:420).

I find that while the classroom discursive practices had similarities with the classes of Peru, KwaZulu (Hornberger and Chick, 2001) Nairobi (Bunyi, 2001) and Jaffna (Cangarajah, 2001) in terms of classroom interactional patterns, in this study in Pakistan I have found there is a manifest stigmatization of local languages and literacies and a clearly visible differential positioning of learners in relation to their access to powerful languages.

7.2.8 Bridging Gaps Between Policy and Practices

In this section, I discuss the monolingual language-in-education policy of the country. As can be understood from the data presented in 8.1, the fundamental issue is the imposition of a monolingual language-in-education policy in Pakistan, whether it be through Urdu or English.

I illustrated through the data analysis presented thus far that classroom interactional practices at all the four research sites were acutely restricted by the imposition of non-indigenous languages for teaching and learning. While in some of the classes that I observed, I noted that there were opportunities for students to contribute to classroom discussions, but in the majority of them the ability of both teachers and students to take a constructive part in teaching and learning was severely limited; instead, they adopted mechanical text-mediated interactional patterns and strategies. In a reference to one of the consequences of a monolingual language-in-education policy and practice, Martin-Jones (2007:175) states, “one consequence, well documented in decades of sociolinguistic research, is the devaluing or stigmatization of minority languages, regional dialects and the languages of colonized people whilst, at the same time, providing access to other highly valued forms of bilingualism.” I find Martin-Jones’ observations are very relevant and pertinent in the context of Pakistan as it underlines the ways in which the language-in-education policy of the country has historically stigmatized local languages and literacies by restricting their use in institutional settings. At the same time, we need to bear in mind that local social actors ‘on ground’ vary in their responses to language-in-education policies. In this study I have found that some teachers and the school management are major contributors in the creation of this regulatory regime, as well as in devaluing the local languages. I have also found that some classroom teachers negotiate the macro discourse in subtle and nuanced ways, often safeguarding their personal interests at the cost of pedagogy.

Historically, decisions on language-in-education policy in Pakistan have always been based on the total exclusion of local languages from the educational system. It is often argued that these languages are not developed to bear the burden of education and hence it is the national language which should be the medium of instruction while English is symbolically introduced as a subject from grade one. It has often been found that the state and transnational agencies make a controversial issue out of the medium of instruction in Pakistan. Journalists and scholars respond to this in a superficial manner without having examined the actual complex discursive practices of specific settings.

My data also suggest that policy decisions taken at the level of schools and the national government hugely impinge on the everyday interactional practices in classrooms. Although the constraints imposed by the policy of having an Urdu medium of instruction have definitely erected barriers between the teachers and students in which classroom interactions have been reduced to reading aloud from the textbook, performing chorus exercises and translating a foreign language into the national language, the real problem has little to do with the medium of instruction, whether Urdu or English, but rather has more to do with the management of linguistic resources and the complete absence of community involvement in the development of a language policy for schools in Pakistan. To sum up, while text-mediated classroom interactional practices ultimately reduce the possibility of the students benefitting from their teachers indigenous knowledge and experiences, these practices are used by the teachers as a strategy to prevent loss of face. The language barrier also emerged as perhaps the greatest hurdle in establishing a warm relationship between the teachers and their students in all the four studies I report in my work.

Chapter 8: Discursive Responses to the Language-in-Education Policy of Pakistan

Overview

This chapter attempts to address the question of how pupils, teachers and parents become socialized into a school's language practices in classrooms, at school functions and at the social spaces in the school. It specifically aims to address the following sub-questions:

- Under what conditions do we find strategies of collaboration or contestation?
- Under what conditions may these strategies be more or less successful?

In order to answer this question, I analyze the relevant discursive practices observed and audio-recorded in all of the four schools. I complement the analysis with ethnographic details that I recorded in my field notes.

Following Cummins (2003: x), I argue that individual educators are not powerless, although they frequently work in conditions that are oppressive for both them and their students. While they rarely have complete freedom, educators do have choices in the way they structure the patterns of interactions in the classroom. They determine for themselves the social and educational goals they want to achieve with their students. They are responsible for the roles they adopt in relation to culturally diverse students and communities.

Introduction

Linguistic studies in post-colonial educational contexts (Chick and Hornberger, 2001, Arthur, 2001, Bunyi, 2001, Ndayipfukamiye, 2001, Lin, 2001 and Chimbutane, 2009) show that using languages of the erstwhile colonial powers as the medium of instruction in former colonies is a reality, and that in the educational context ex-colonial languages sit on top of the linguistic hierarchy. It is reported that in these countries access to the ex-colonial language and the post-

independent nation-building language clearly leads to the creation of a social hierarchy and also the marginalization of local languages and literacies.

Arthur's study (2001:58-75) of two primary schools—one where Ikalanga is the language of the local community, and the other where the national language Setswana is used in semi-rural locations in northeastern Botswana—reveal hierarchical language values attributed to Ikalanga and Setswana. She shows how patterns of bilingual interaction contribute to the creation of local hierarchies of languages and to the reproduction of power relationships between English, Setswana and other, even more marginalized languages. Similarly, Bunyi (2001) carried out a study in two schools in Kenya, one in a rural area where people were speakers of the local language Gikuyu and the other in an urban neighborhood where the lingua franca English was being used, and showed how learners were differently positioned with respect to their access to English. As Bunyi notes, (2001: 99) '...schools in Kenya define children on the basis of the linguistic and cultural resources that they bring from home... because English is the legitimate language within the Kenyan education system, children's knowledge of English and their ability to speak and write it has become the norm on which teachers' expectation are based.' A cursory look at the findings of yet another piece of research in a post-colonial context would illustrate the point more clearly. Ndayipfukamiye (2001) carried out a study in a rural and an urban school in Burundi where the Kirundi language is central to post-independence nation-building and French is the language of the ex-colonial power. The study showed that the elite of the society master French while, for the majority of the Burundians French remains a dream. He also noted the wide difference in the working conditions and socioeconomic background of the teachers and students in rural and urban school settings in Burundi.

The three studies referenced above show that it is mainly a small segment of society that exerts a disproportionate influence in policy formation and implementation. They also show that the ascendancy of ex-colonial and national languages is largely due to social and political interventions which safeguard the interest of a few over those of the majority. Evidence of the processes involved in the construction of linguistic hierarchy and the marginalization of local languages and literacies for the purpose of imparting formal education is found in these studies. However, as these researchers have also shown through close attention to multilingual classroom discourse:

The imposition of language-in-education is primarily accomplished in and through interaction. The institutional order is always indeterminate, since it is interactionally constructed. Heller (1999) and others have stressed that there are always possibilities for exercising agency and for challenging and even modifying the institutional and social order. At the same time, it is clearly not possible to argue that the practices of teachers and learners are completely unconstrained. It is necessary to see them as socially positioned, and, at the same time, showing agency, navigating constraints and actively responding to the possibilities open to them in particular school and classroom sites (Saxena and Martin-Jones, 2013:6)

As stated at the outset of this chapter, I consider local actors powerful in their local spheres of influence and believe that they make use of their authority to serve multiple interests. I do not see them as passive victims of the unsound and unjust policies that serve the interests of the elites, the institutional regime and the wider socioeconomic order. In short, while I acknowledge the existence of sedimented/regimented structures and the historical processes

underpinning them, I also underscore the role of local actors and explore the many ways in which they aid in creating and sustaining these structures or subverting or challenging them.

I organize this chapter thematically as follows: monitoring the pupil's linguistic production in the classroom (9.1), the socialization processes of pupils in the schools' language environment (9.2) and separation of linguistic resources (9.3).

8.1 Monitoring Pupils Linguistic Production

In this section I describe and analyze the classroom practices of two classes observed and audio-recorded in SC. The classroom discussed below is ten grade Urdu language class conducted by a teacher, called Mr. Ishaq, was a native speaker of Punjabi. His class was comprised of eighty-one boys of whom sixty-four spoke Pashto as their first language, seven Brahvi, six Urdu, one Punjabi and two Persian.

While talking to me before class, Mr. Ishaq informed me that his students came from nearby villages in which both the local teachers and the pupils communicated in Pashto for in-class teaching/learning despite the Urdu-only policy of the country (line 3, Extract 32 in Appendix 6.1)). The manner in which Mr. Ishaq interpreted the past institutional experiences of boys who had studied in their L1 suggested that he did not value that practice and in fact interpreted it negatively because he believed that when the national policy was Urdu-only then it was only right that everyone should subscribe to it. He described how collaboration with the policy of Urdu-only had been achieved by the ex-headmaster of SC. He had constituted a surveillance team comprising boys from each section of the school whose job was to note down the names of those who spoke in Pashto, Brahvi or Balochi in the school premises; fines were levied on those who were found guilty of breaching the school's Urdu-only rule (line 9). As a

result of this monitoring, the boys were afraid to speak in their L1 in the school. While narrating this, Mr. Ishaq made it clear that he was in complete agreement with the implementation of such strategies because, as he reasoned, the boys would ultimately learn those languages from their own respective environments and thus it was Urdu only that ought to be taught at school (line 9). Thus teachers' collaboration with the compulsory implementation of the monolingual norms was explicitly stated.

Extract 33 shows Mr. Ishaq in his classroom teaching Urdu to grade ten students. Mr. Ishaq did not know what lesson he was supposed to teach. In order to avoid loss of face, he questioned the students instead and asked them to name the lesson they were going to learn that day. In effect, his question reversed the situation from a potential face-loss to a winning position as he put the students in a position of being tested, requiring them to name the lesson he was going to teach. He acted as if by asking the students the subject of the lesson he was only checking their attentiveness to classroom activities (lines 1-3). Mr. Ishaq wanted to teach a lesson on *Khushamat* (flattery) so he asked a question "which lesson is on flattery?" (line 1). All the boys unanimously answered that they had covered this lesson before (line 2). In the end, he exercised his authority by asking them to open their books at the lesson on *Khushamat* (line 3). A comment made by one of the students in (line 2) 'sir we wrote the words and meanings' revealed that one particular lesson had been limited to just writing words and their meanings. Mr. Ishaq confirmed this in (lines 5), asserting that a lesson meant just learning words selected by the teacher and understanding their meanings. The teacher borrowed a book from a student and started the lesson but not without first sharing with them the ground rule of having 'complete silence' in the classroom (line 1). In the remainder of the lesson (Appendix 6.2, Extract 33), the teacher read out words he considered difficult and then explained their meanings to the class.

The pupils mostly remained silent. In short, Mr. Ishaq was able to get his students to collaborate in implementing the ground rules of the class by successfully keeping them quiet during the lesson, using the authority invested in a teacher by the institution and the wider society.

The episode clearly demonstrates the agency of a teacher in orchestrating the interactional order of the classroom. The selection of the lesson, the mode of production and its reception by the pupils were completely in the hands of the teacher. While Mr. Ishaq was situated in a context where he could claim that Urdu-only instruction was being compulsorily implemented, his classroom decisions seem to contribute to giving him yet more power. He does not want to share the floor with his pupils and avoided a mode of organization where spontaneous interaction is possible.

The next class I examine here further illustrates the ways in which teachers acquire collaboration from pupils at the level of classroom. This was a grade ten English lesson taught through the medium of Urdu by Mr. Tarang one of the most senior teachers of the school, a native speaker of Pashto, who was critical of the school's Urdu-only policy. Mr. Tarang started the lesson by giving pupils instructions in Urdu to open their books on page 35. He then started to read the lesson aloud, slowly and carefully, while his students followed the text in their books. After having read the first paragraph he asked his students to underline the difficult words (lines 1, Extract 34 in Appendix 6.2). He then started to reread the same paragraph but this time with relatively longer pauses between the lines (lines 2). In this reading, Mr. Tarang emphasized certain words, repeating them aloud and then pausing for a few seconds: 'leather worker' (line 21), 'infected' (line 22), 'miserable' (line 22). The emphases acted as a signal for the students to note the difficult words in the paragraph. A boy offered to give the meanings of these words (line 33) but Mr. Tarang cut him off and continued the routine exercise of reading and emphasizing

the difficult words till the end of the paragraph (lines 26; see full Extract 34 in appendices 6.2). While the students were busy writing down the words emphasized by Mr. Taranga, he very quietly spoke to me about the pedagogical steps (lines 13-15) he had taken: step one, reading aloud the lesson and identifying the difficult words, step two, explaining the meaning of the difficult words, step three, instructing the students to copy the difficult words from the textbook onto their notebooks and finally, writing the meanings of these words on the chalkboard from where the students copied them to their notebooks.

Both teachers opted for firm structuring of the lesson. They controlled the participation framework largely by choosing to recite and translate. What was missing from this way of orchestrating the class was any spontaneous flow of interaction. All avenues for students to enter into any meaningful interaction or to contribute to learning were effectively blocked. The teachers' strategy of reading aloud and self-selecting difficult words and writing their meanings on the board helped them to fill interactional spaces of the classroom which otherwise might have provided opportunities to students to ask questions, and thereby threaten their authority and perhaps cause a loss of face. As a result, classroom strategies were restricted to just teachers reading aloud and students copying the written words from the book and their meanings from the board. Hence collaboration is the only way for students to survive in such classes.

8.2 Socialization Processes in the School Language Environment

In this section, I describe and analyze the socialization processes at work in my research sites.

8.2.1 Socialization of Students

The ground rule of SA stipulates that pupils are not to speak in any language other than English. This is shown in (Extract 26 below, lines 31-33). In order to improve the English language skills of the students, teachers keep reminding them to enrich their vocabulary. As an implicit policy, teachers respond with ‘pardon’ or ‘sorry’ (line 29) each time students speak in their home languages and this acts as a prompt for them to shift to English. The school has made English literature a compulsory subject in order to improve the English language skills of the students. Students are asked by their teachers not to consider any language ‘bad’ (line 37) and respect Urdu as it is the national language. Outside the classroom, pupils would often code-switch between English and Urdu while conversing with their peers. However, they ‘dare not’ (line 59) speak in Urdu with the teachers and the headmistress. In fact, Urdu language teachers have to request pupils to respond in Urdu while attending their classes. With the lower status staff and cleaners, pupils speak in Urdu-only. The point I wish to reemphasize is that teachers play an active role in upholding the English-only language policy of SA by not responding to students when they use any language other than English while in theory they ask their pupils to respect all languages. My discussion on language socialization in a school environment brings into focus the socialization aspects in the larger community of SA. One teacher participating in my study argued during a group discussion that the use of Urdu language had become ‘taboo’ (line 69) in the community of SA and shared with the group a real life experience of her daughter’s. The event unfolded as follows: the teacher’s daughter, let’s call her Yusra, went to a private club in Karachi (See also Extract 26, lines 70-91 below). As was her norm, Yusra was talking to her siblings in Urdu. Nearby was a group of children who were talking to one another in English only. Yusra attempted to socialize with them and asked them the name of their school.

The group replied with exaggerated pride, referring to SA. When Yusra informed the group that she too was studying in the same school, at first they did not believe her because they had heard her speak in Urdu. However, Yusra noticed that soon thereafter the group welcomed her amongst them (lines 67-96). This episode provides evidence of the manner in which valuable linguistic resources are distributed through private schools in the country. It also shows the social implication of not having access to such institutions as well as their role in giving a new identity to social actors on the basis of language. As Yusra did not display her English language skills in public, the group she interacted with had doubts about whether she had access to a powerful, elite school of the country.

In short, Extract 26 shows that all the teachers in SA speak in English regardless of the subjects they teach. The ability to speak in English seems to be a job requirement in SA and English-only the practiced language policy. Put differently, SA largely functions as a monolingual English-speaking island in a multilingual Pakistan. It is easy for people from this 'island' to cross over to the national mainland but regardless of where they are, their access to the country's prestigious institutions of higher education is virtually guaranteed because of their superior linguistic resources. The majority of Pakistani children who study in institutions like SB, SC and SD differ widely from the small minority who go to elitist schools like SA—while the former end up being suitable for just the lower tiers of the local economy, groomed products of the latter become valuable human resource for Pakistan's thriving corporate world as also for the transnational and non-governmental organizations.

In SC, the dominant language Pashto is used only outside the classrooms (see Extract 29-35 in Appendix 7.2). The language in the classroom was Urdu-only as shown in section 8.1. The process of language socialization can be judged by the following vignette (Extract 89 d in

Appendix 8): On the last day of my fieldwork, I asked the headmaster if I could be of any help to the school. He asked me to hold a workshop for his teachers on any topic of my choosing. On the suggestions of some new faculty members, it was decided that I would conduct the workshop on teaching English pronunciation through the use of phonetic symbols. But for this I needed a dictionary so that I could print the phonetic symbols for the workshop participants. A frantic search for a dictionary was launched; starting from the staffroom and extending to the school library, different classes, and the staff office and finally even to the principal's office. But to no avail. I asked if there was a bookstore in the vicinity of the school or even an Internet facility but I was told there were none close by. In the end, a faculty member took me on his motorcycle to consult a dictionary in the Balochistan High Court in Quetta. During the 5 kilometer ride from the school to the court, the teacher informed me that they had never needed a dictionary in the school because teachers did not feel the need to consult one. It is a telling example of language socialization of children in SC—the type of school where a majority of the Pakistani children receive their education. It is also a reflection on the role of teachers, school management and the centralized public education system of Pakistan.

I further illustrate the socialization of pupils and teachers in SC by referring to another rich point. This becomes clear in the following vignette (Extract 89 b in Appendix 8) which unfolded like this: On the second day of my fieldwork in SC, I came across two boys running towards the entrance gate of the school. I was curious because it was school time and the boys

should have been in class. On inquiry, the boys informed me they were going to the entrance gate of the school to perform guard duty. They said this duty was performed on a rotational basis and that they were required to watch the gate during school hours because of the ongoing suicide bomb attacks in the country and the targeted killing of people working in the educational sector. I asked a teacher about this who informed me that students were assigned gate-duty on account of security concerns but also to keep a check on boys who tried to run away from the school. The purpose of illustrating these practices is to argue that the many decisions taken every day at the level of the classroom and the school are perhaps as significant in understanding policy as discourse analysis of policy documents.

In SD, the prevalent learning style, and space and time management all appeared to be strategies intended to block spaces for spontaneous communication. As Extract 90 d in Appendix 8 shows, all 120 pupils ate slept and memorized lessons at a fixed time and in a designated space in this school. Teachers monitored them to check if they were sleeping or not. Each hour of the day was fixed for a pre-determined activity. For the teaching and learning activity, pupils in groups sat on the floor in a single large hall, each group forming a circle around its respective teacher. I counted a total of ten groups, each made up of ten boys and a teacher who was reading the lesson aloud even though the adjacent group was sitting just a few inches away. The constant hum made by the combined voices of all the teachers and students in the hall made it impossible for the pupils to have any communication amongst themselves or for the teachers to communicate with their pupils. The only communicative pattern I observed was chanting. One

function of the chanting was to cover up any individual voices or identity that which could challenge the order. It was like ten chorus groups singing different songs in one hall.

The social order of the institution and the social disparity between the teachers and the students is also illustrated by the following vignette: I was invited by teachers (Extract 90 d) for lunch. I joined them for the meal which was laid in the same hall where classes were held. When I told the teachers that I wished to wash my hands they waved to two boys who were standing with a portable washbasin and a towel to attend to me. I noticed in the remaining days of my field visit that the teachers would not go to wash their hands in the washrooms because it was their students' responsibility to provide them this service *in situ*. Throughout the meal, the boys kept standing silently to deliver food and to perform other housekeeping chores. The point I am trying to make here is that there was a systematic scheme that reduced the chances of contestation while the central strategy was to keep the pupils constantly busy translating and memorizing the lesson (see illustrative examples in Extract 64 and 65 in Appendix 7.3; Extract 36 in Appendix 6). The more the pupils spent time memorizing, the fewer were the chances of any deviation from the interactional norms of the institution that had invested teachers with power and authority.

In SB, where the English-only policy had only recently been introduced I received some complex responses from teachers. In the discussion captured in Extract 50, all three teachers held the view that it was not possible to implement an English-only regime in the school but their explanation gave me an insight into the complex ways in which social actors respond to policy change. Ms. Sadia noted, 'their language is strange... how can they learn English when they do not understand Urdu?'. She seemed to be implying that speakers of Balochi language must first learn Urdu in order to learn English. The linguistic hierarchy is so clearly constituted here and

we know from the study of literature that linguistic hierarchy is primarily reflective of social hierarchy (e.g. Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001). Speakers of the Balochi language are at the bottom of this hierarchy whereas speakers of Urdu are placed higher. Ms.Nasreen remarked that all the teachers were anxious over the change in policy (line 7) and would remain so for some time. What was perhaps more insightful was the comment made by the third teacher—‘when we know English, we will work for them’—implying that they were working in a school like SB because they had no English language skills but once they learnt that language the doors of other private elite schools would open for them. As these teachers were unable to teach in English, which they conceded was a deficiency; they continued to work on low wages for SB although making an appearance of upholding the institutional norms of English-only. It was interesting to note that while all the teachers were worried about the new policy, they were not prepared to engage the management on this issue. Instead, they appeared to have accepted the notion promoted by the management that they were deficient in their linguistic resources and that proficiency in English could be achieved.

8.2.2 Parents’ Socialization in the School Environment

As most parents do not engage with teachers on a regular basis, they are likely to infer the language practices of an institution from the signs on display in the school environment. Often the gatekeepers of schools like SA and SB, i.e., the head teachers, are relatively more fluent in English than the other teachers and as I have already shown will not desist from speaking in English with all parents regardless of their language preferences. Some teachers often capitalize on the linguistic disparity between themselves and the parents to cover their dereliction of responsibility in not regularly updating the parents on their children’s progress. The key event in

which parents and teachers interact with one another is the face-to-face parent-teacher meeting. I illustrate here how a teacher in SA capitalized on linguistic difference and used it as a compensatory mechanism by referring to one of the parent-teacher meetings (Extract 83 Appendix 8). The meeting was organized to discuss the preparation of grade nine children who were to sit for the GCSE examination in a few months' time. The management sequenced the meeting by allotting each parent a number. All twelve parents sat in one classroom, and the teacher discussed with each parent in turn his or her child's preparation for the forthcoming examination. The teacher strictly adhered to speaking only in English. One direct effect of this strategy was the reduced participation of the parents in the parent-teacher meeting as shown in lines 29, 33, 34 and 37 in Extract 83. None of the parents could question the teacher on any aspect of their child's progress and except for saying a 'thank you', they largely remained silent.

8.3 Contestation and Collaboration

The next transcript focuses on the discursive response to the English-only policy by Ms. Jameela, a sports teacher in SB. She spoke Balochi as her first language and could also speak good Urdu albeit with a Balochi accent. She had memorized a few fixed English expressions in order to retain her job in SB and had also learnt Urdu. Ms. Jameela studied in a public sector school and on completing her schooling got married at the age of sixteen. As her husband's income was not sufficient to meet the basic needs of her seven children, Ms. Jameela was compelled to find work. She took a job in this school as it was situated in her locality. She knew most of the children studying in this school as a majority of them came from the same *goth* (shanty area) as her. One important reason for Ms. Jameela to work for this school was that it provided free education for one of her children. During my field visits to the school, I developed a good

rapport with her. I found her very committed to her job. During my informal conversations with her I discovered that she was the lowest paid teacher in the school. Ms. Jameela seemed confused about her low salary because the school management had asked her to improve her English at the time of the annual appraisal.

I noticed during fieldwork that Ms. Jameela would speak to the children in Balochi when she was not being observed by the school management but switched to giving instructions in English whenever she realized she was being monitored. As (Extract 28) shows, her use of English consisted of one- or two-word utterances like “go on”, “come here” and “very good” which can be seen as linguistic resources for survival tactics in an unfavorable policy environment.

While it is difficult to say whether Ms. Jameela’s tactics can be taken as an example of either collaboration or contestation to the linguistic norms upheld by the school management, it definitely offers the insight that collaboration and contestation with the policy is never a constant thing. While the language regime of school impinges on the strategies of social actors within it, their responses may be variable as they shift positions and their stance towards policy is not constant. However, Ms. Jameela’s switching to English reveals an important aspect of the institutional life in present-day Pakistan where local languages are still constructed as inadequate for communication between pupils and teachers. Ironically, backstage communication practices were largely in local languages. Seen at the micro level, Ms. Jameela’s language practices were survival mechanisms to protect her job. But linking her local practices with the macro level we can see how powerful actors in society can exploit the less powerful by creating myths about language deficiency and categorizing people on the basis of linguistic and cultural resources.

8.3.1 Separation of Linguistic Resources

The separation of languages—local, national and the language of the former colonial power—were evident in this study in different domains of school life. As we have already seen, local languages such as Pashto, Balochi, Sindhi and Brahvi were blocked from use in educational institutions in all four research sites. Where social actors used the local languages either out of habit or by choice, they were inhibited from doing so because of the social norms developed at the level of the schools that did not accommodate these languages. The national language, however, was considered legitimate both for the purpose of teaching and learning and for engaging in the daily cycle of communications at school. The English language was considered more powerful and prestigious in three of the four schools covered in my study, the exception being SD where actors capitalized on building links between Arabic and Islam. While English was highly valued by the non-elite, private school (SB), the government Urdu-medium schools (SC), there was a great deal of ambiguity as to how English language teaching was possible given the level of competence of teachers in these institutions. In the absence of a required minimum proficiency to teach English, the policy statement that introducing English in these schools was a means to reduce the social divide seems like mere rhetoric, especially in the light of the carefully designed or selective distribution of powerful languages in the country. A separation of the linguistic resources is usually taken as an ahistorical and an apolitical phenomenon in a school setting as research based on a particular model of bilingual education. In the Pakistani context languages are separated across schools and it is assumed that this is normal, appropriate and neutral. However, scholars (Heller and Jones-Martin 1996, 2001, Corson, 1999, May 2005) inform us that the separation of linguistic phenomena is neither apolitical nor

ahistorical. In fact they are deeply embedded in the social and economic powers of the social actors.

To conclude, my research has shown that social actors at the level of the school seem to engage in collaboration using a variety of means. At the level of the classroom, translation and recitation seem to be their main strategies. At the level of the school management, the knowledge that job options for the teachers are limited provides the impetus to reinforce the policy. The element of profit seems to be the guiding principle for those in management. For ordinary teachers compliance is a means of achieving job security

The everyday institutional discursive practices in my research sites were similar in many ways to those of other post-colonial countries outlined above such as South Africa, Peru, Botswana, Burundi, Kenya, Malta, and Hong Kong where local actors contributed significantly in different and complex ways, to maintaining the social disparity by institutionalizing linguistic differences. While I acknowledge the impact of the wider socio-political factors, the political economy and the history of relationship between different ethnolinguistic groups in Pakistan, like those working within the critical interpretive paradigm, I consider that the fundamental problem lies with local actors who often misuse the power invested in them by the institutional regime by policy at different levels and the culturally defined roles of teachers and students.

At a macro level, while the majority of the Pakistani students and teachers have been successfully deluded into believing that one nation, one people and one language is the solution to all the problems that the country confronts, the elite group of Pakistan's polity continues to maintain, as always, its access to quality English-language teaching as well as to the national language. It is important to note here that post-colonial nationalism in Pakistan has been a mix of religion and corrupt democratic rules. The central power has resided with the military that has

ruled the country for over four decades in the six and a half decades since independence. In between long spells of military rule came weak democratic governments which often relied on the military help to introduce policy changes. Ever since independence in 1947, many policy documents were prepared on the question of the medium of instruction in the country, yet the colonial linguistic inheritance continues to be sustained by the power elites by virtue of which local languages are considered incapable of bearing the burden of education. As this study has shown, it's only a small segment of the Pakistani society which gains a mastery over both English and Urdu. Children from this elite minority are bilingually trained in English and Urdu from their very early years whereas those who are required to confront issues such as transition from a regional to the national language end up possessing poorer linguistic resources, with little or no skills in the powerful languages of the country.

Chapter 9: Legitimate Language in Multilingual Schools

Overview

In this chapter I aim to address the question of how the languages of pupils, teachers and parents are valued/legitimized or constrained by a school's overt and covert language practices. In order to do this I subdivide the question into three as follows:

- What counts as a legitimate language in educational settings and what does not?
- What values are attributed to local languages and literacy in schools?
- What are the ways in which these processes unfold in the schools' daily routine?

In the end, I discuss the reasons why certain discursive practices are legitimized in some schools but not in others.

The chapter comprises two sections. In the first section, I present a detailed analysis of the languages on display in school environments (9.1); the values attributed to local languages and literacies (9.2); ambivalence towards local languages and literacies (9.2.1) followed by a discourse of deficit (9.2.2). The second section examines the process of legitimizing language practices in the daily life in school (9.3); language choice (9.3.1); turn-taking (9.3.2) and then a discussion on the rationale for legitimizing certain discursive practices in school (9.4) followed by social distinction and upward social mobility (9.4.1) and constructing monolingual orders: the consequences (9.4.2)

The argument I pursue in this chapter is that the legitimization of languages in educational settings is not just rooted in the socio-political conditions involving a struggle for power and the defining of social identities but that it is also driven by the market demand of

languages in the wider society; social actors promote languages for their commercial, social and political interests by contributing to such demands.

As discussed in detail in chapter 4, I draw on Bourdieu's (1977) concept of 'legitimate language' in order to investigate the role of different languages in multilingual settings. First, I examine the languages that are displayed in a school environment and also those which are not visible. I argue that such an examination offers opportunities to understand the social hierarchy of the school and the complex ways in which institutional order is maintained through the use of languages in different settings. I also contend that the display of languages is one of the ways of legitimizing them in specific settings. This discussion also offers us opportunities to explore the links between legitimized linguistic practices and the wider socioeconomic and political order of the society in which schools are located. Not only will this examination inform us about the relative strengths of each language, it will also reveal the latent ideologies, historicity, personal, group and institutional interests and their roles in relation to language use. In other words, I do not see the display of languages in school environments as asocial, apolitical and ahistorical. In fact, I view the practice as a manifestation of the socioeconomic and political struggles amongst ethnolinguistic groups in which the languages of some groups receive official sanction while others are relegated for use within unsanctioned, interactional spaces.

Second, I examine the language choice and turn-taking patterns in classroom discourse as both are 'central to the norms that help us understand the ideological content of life at school. I will also explore proposed by Heller (1996) to 'whom do the language choices apply and under what conditions' (Heller, 1996: 144).

9.1 Languages on Display in School Environment

In all of the four multilingual research sites, the



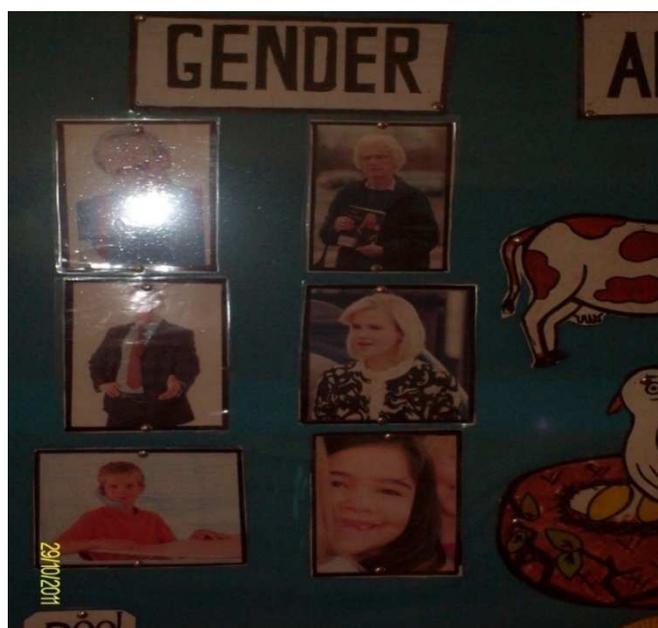
Pre-primary Classroom Soft Board of SB [Taken on 29/10/2011]

languages displayed on the notice boards, corridors, playgrounds and entrances were either English or Urdu. Nearly all the notices were displayed in a single language while on bilingual signboards; the languages were shown as clearly separate entities. All official displays, i.e., notices and signboards used the standard form of the language. However, some instances of the use of non-standard varieties and bilingual graffiti were also noted. A critical examination of the content of the languages on display gives an insight into the complex ideologies at work behind the official and non-official signage. The effort invested for the creation of institutional monolingualism in one of these four bilingual/multilingual educational contexts becomes evident when one sees the items displayed on the notice board (See photograph above and appendix, 7a) in the pre-primary classroom of SB. In the photograph above their educational function is the reinforcement of the lexical items taught to children in their early years of schooling as can be seen from the sub- titles of the board and the lexical items displayed beneath:

‘My spell list’ comprising nouns: cat, ball, top, jam, sun, dog, toy, Sam, Tom and Kate, Electronic and Non- Electronic Appliances and Green Vegetable. During my many visits to this classroom and interactions with 3-year old pupils, parents and their teachers, it became quite

clear to me that probably none of the pupils would understand the meanings of terms like ‘Spell list’, ‘Electronic and Non-Electronic Appliances’ and ‘Green Vegetable’. However, it seemed that the function of a monolingual, English-only board was to symbolically reinforce the ideological claims of the English-medium school. These classrooms are often visited by parents who come to drop off and collect children, and so it appears that the board was placed to add value to the school’s assertion of raising children in an English-language environment. In other words, the monolingual, English-only board serves to underpin the promises made by the school, and by implication assure parents of a promising future for their children since proficiency in English is widely acknowledged as being essential for a successful career in Pakistan. Such displays are pervasive in educational institutions in the country and are evidently an important part of the marketing strategies that aim to give parents an indirect message of an English-only environment in the school. In addition to the monolingual nature of the board, it is also interesting to note that the names, clothing and faces of the characters on display are mostly Western: the names Tom and Kate, their faces and their attire represent a culture that has no relation to the children in this class and the wider region. This therefore can only be seen as a display of a foreign culture to which the children are expected to aspire. At a broader level, the import of the material either literally or directly from Western sources point to colonialism/dependent economic relations and at local level, it brings out the implicit socioeconomic interests of the school management as the local community tends to get trapped by such marketing strategies.

The display of foreign faces along with monolingual, English titles helps create a false impression that English is the language of instruction. Let us examine another board



Primary Class Room Soft Board of SB [Taken on 29/10/2011]

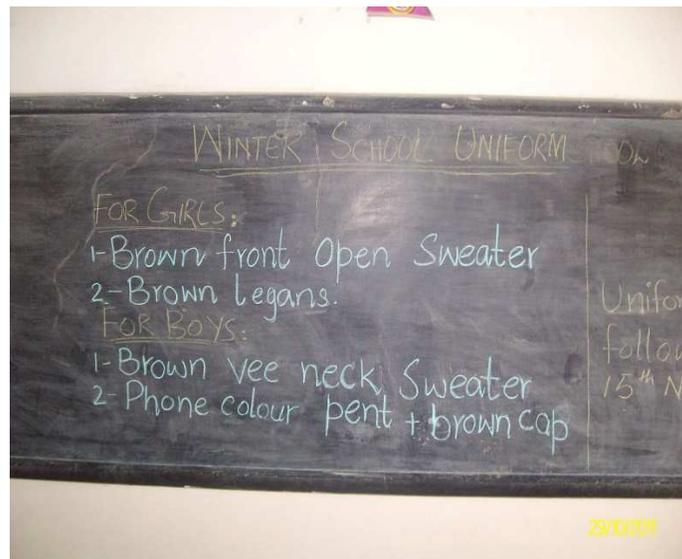
displayed in a primary classroom at SB. The title of the pictures on the board suggests that its pedagogic function is to teach young children the meaning of the word 'gender'. The female gender is depicted in three individual pictures of women of different ages, and opposite them are pictures of males of comparable ages. All six pictures are of Western men and women. This display seems to be motivated by commercial interest because the depiction of Western faces in combination with the presentation of English language skills become a strong selling point for the school. It would seem that such a grouping is aimed to give hope to parents who dream of their children going to Western countries but for which learning English is a prerequisite. As SB is a fee-charging school and there are a number of competitors in the locality, the display of foreign faces seems more like a marketing strategy than a source for learning.

As indicated in earlier chapters, at SB, the use of English is considered very important by the school administration, community, pupils and teachers. During my informal interactions with the school head, teachers and students of different sections of SB, I realized that much work was being put into achieving the aim of creating an 'English environment' in the institution. The term

‘English environment’ meant that everyone was required to use only English for all kinds of communication. Code-switching and code-mixing was taken to be an indication of limited proficiency in English-speaking skills and was thus discouraged. The mark of higher proficiency was the ability to speak in English without any code-mixing. In order to act as a role model, the head teacher strictly followed the policy of English-only. I spoke to her on a number of occasions with my habitual code-switching between English and Urdu and realized she accepted this probably because of my professional association with a prestigious English-language university which meant I could speak in monolingual English if I wanted to and it was just bad speaking practice, rather than ability, that precluded monolingualism. However, teachers and students were not supposed to ‘pollute’ their English by mixing it with any other language. As a result, they worked towards the creation of institutional monolingualism in which only English and Urdu were considered worth displaying. The use of English and Urdu seemed to be the only legitimate language practice in this school’s setting. The commercial interest of the owners of the school seemed to be the central reason behind the construction of legitimate languages. If students did not speak in English, they simply would not get a response until they switched to English. In many ways the implicit commercial interest behind legitimizing English and Urdu comes from the demand for bilingual education in Pakistan where particularly English is a requirement for passing examinations, getting white collar jobs and rising to a higher social position. However, at the school level, the policy of English-only is primarily a marketing strategy in which the language has been commodified.

Thus, pupils are subjected to an overwhelmingly overt display of the school’s language policy of English-only, although ironically the limited competence of the teachers in English is the central problem that the management of SB is dealing with. Despite careful policy

formulation and the constant vigilance to ensure its implementation to turn multilingual speakers into monolinguals, the manifestation of a bilingual medium seems to creep into the seemingly monolingual English-only signboards. For instance, note the instructions posted on the blackboard, probably written by a teacher for parents and children, regarding the school's winter uniform. In form, it appears to be English (See the photograph below and appendix, 7c), i.e., 'pents' for pants, 'Vee' for a V-neck, 'legans' for leggings and 'phone' for (the color) fawn, but it also reflects the bilingual medium or one variety of English in Pakistan in which there is heavy borrowing including that of spellings from other local varieties. However, my ethnographic research drew my attention to the facts that the school management equates the social meanings of such bilingual practices with limited proficiency in English. Here the form seems to subscribe to the management's requirements while deviations from the standard form seem to achieve the purpose of communication because such spellings and borrowings are well accepted by people.



Primary Class Room Chalk Board of SB [Taken on 29/10/2011]



Displayed outside the Principal’s Office of SB [Taken on 29/10/2011]

I came across only one bilingual sign, in Urdu and Arabic, in the environment of all four schools. It was hung at the entrance of SD (Appendix 27, b).



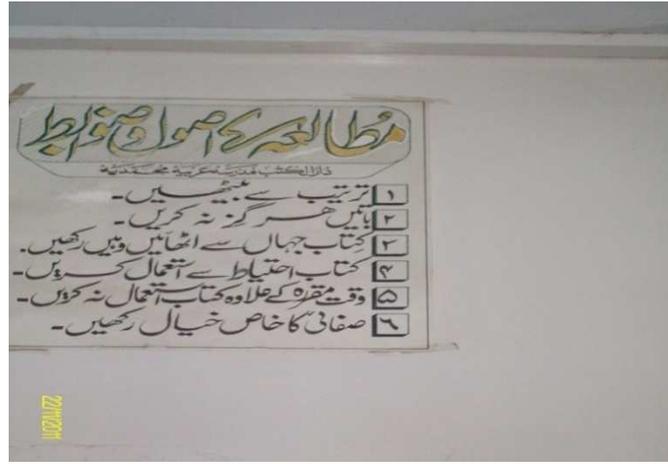
On the Entrance of SD [Taken on 22/10/2011]

In this sign, the orthographic representation of the Arabic and Urdu scripts invites one to reflect on the politics of script and social identities in the subcontinent before partition in 1947. It is well known in linguistic literature that Hindi and Urdu are represented as a “typical” case of digraphia or as an “extreme” case of digraphia’ (King 2001: 43). While both languages are essentially variants of the same language and in their written forms they are thus classified as a ‘typical’

case of digraphia, the great visual differences that have been created between the two makes them simultaneously an ‘extreme’ case of digraphia. As a result, Hindi written in the Devangari script and Urdu in the Perso-Arabic script came to be indexical of religious identities of Hindus and Muslims respectively. As King notes, ‘the immediate visually iconic associations are: Hindi script= India, South Asia, Hinduism; Urdu Script [Perso-Arabic] =Middle East, Islam. Scholarship in digraphia tells us that visual differences are often a reflection of socio-political struggles involving religious and ethnic divergence and a desire to create cultural distance. Accordingly, King notes ‘script tolerance, alas, is no more common than tolerance itself’ (2001: 44). In nineteenth-century India, graphemic conflict emerged as a battle for power and the imposition of social identities eventually leading to violence (Ahmed, 2008: 1164). The British colonial government’s decision through Act 29 of 1837 to replace Persian with Urdu/ Hindustani as the official language of the courts in the North-West Provinces and parts of Central Provinces of India gave rise to the Hindi movement of the nineteenth century which ‘argued that the Persian script (and by implication the Urdu language) was defective in that anything written in it was susceptible to multiple readings, thus encouraging fraud and forgery... that the Devangari script, by contrast, was perfect in all respects’ (Ahmed, 2008: 1164). The key point is that the politics of Hindi-Urdu digraphia embedded in the political struggles of nineteenth-century India still has its iconic representation in the signs displayed in schools which constitute and legitimize the traditional Muslim identity with the Perso-Arabic script.

Although the board in the photograph above displayed the ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’ of performing ablution the font size was too small to be read. In the text itself, it was the Arabic language which came first followed by Urdu. On the one hand, the hierarchy of Arabic and Urdu

was clearly maintained by virtue of the order in which these languages appeared, on the other hand both languages seemed to represent the social order of the institution manifested by enforcing the traditional link -between form and religious identity. As this board is displayed in a religious school, it draws more legitimacy/ power by an overt display of these linkages. It should be noted that such institutions are established to promote Islamic values and in this case it is evident that the signs actors produce play with the orthographic representation of such values by displaying Arabic and Urdu in Perso-Arabic script even though they ignore all the languages spoken by the pupils and teachers in this school. In SD, English is made to appear as the language of the non-Muslim West, its use bordering on being *haram*, i.e., a sin, an act that displeases God. The school works to create the impression that it is the responsibility of all Muslims to learn Arabic, and tries to suppress the use of English and the local languages of its pupils through various methods: teachers never code-switch between English and Urdu during school hours. I noticed that teachers even avoided using terms which have been borrowed from English and have now become a permanent part of the Urdu lexicon, such as ‘photocopy’, ‘team’, ‘class’, etc. As part of the its policy of using just Arabic and Urdu, there is an ubiquitous presence of notice boards and signs in all possible spaces in the school in these two languages which manifest the process of legitimizing languages that are not representative of the languages spoken by its teachers and students. The point becomes clear by the close examination of a handwritten chart hung in the library of SD (Appendix 7 c)



Inside the Library of SD [Taken on 22/10/2011]

The graffiti on the toilet wall of SD and SC brings out the socio-political tensions which the schools attempt to suppress.

The notice stipulates the rules and regulations for using the library. The orthographic resemblance between Arabic and Urdu has been achieved by using the Perso-Arabic script. Just below the heading of the notice (Rules and Regulations for use of the Library) written in Urdu is script written in Arabic. Although the pupils of DM realize that ‘Arabic has no value outside the madrassah’ (Extract 38 lines 71-72) and that ‘everywhere English is used’ (Extract 37 lines 47-48), it seems they are obliged to learn Arabic and Urdu only. As a result, many of the students go on to learn English after graduating from the madrassah.

In order to understand the rationale underpinning such a strict rule of not using English in the school, I spoke to Moulana Abdul Rehman (Extract 49), a teacher at SD, who seemed to be a well-travelled person. Mr. Rehman held the view that English was not an international language. Drawing on his own experiences of having travelled to Niger and Thailand, Rehman challenged the myth that English was essential for a country’s development and supported his argument by giving the example of Germany, China, Turkey and France as nations who progressed without the help of English (Extract 49, lines 6). When I asked him specifically about the no-English

policy of the school, he linked it to the practices of his elders (Extract 49, line 4) and to colonial history, 'because Englishmen were our rulers...that is why English has become a very good language'. While interpreting Rehman's position on language use in DM, I see its significance in the context of history since that is often ignored in discussing contemporary language practices and because of which certain language practices are legitimized and then taken for granted. While the recall of history is an important facet of Rehman's position, I also find problematic the purist's disapproval of attempts to understand the complexity of contemporary sociolinguistic dynamics of post-colonial Pakistan in which English is no longer seen as the "language of the rulers". It has entwined with the local languages and culture and may no longer be perceived as the language of the colonial masters. In the face of a substantial body of empirical findings (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, Cheshire, 2002., Kachru, 1997, Kirkpatrick, 2008 Schnider, 2007, Seidlhoffer, 2009) showing that English has spread around the world with diverse forms, varieties, accents, norms, acceptance and ownership, it seems that Rehman's view represents English through the perspective of those oppressed by the language of the colonial masters only. Given the changes in the role of English as a world language with a 'pluricentric' base (Seidlhoffer, 2009: 236) i.e. English belongs to all those who use it, it becomes difficult to accept the colonized perspective as the sole explanation of the spread of English in Pakistan. As the students in SD pointed out, they use English for a variety of purposes in their everyday lives.



Hung in the corridor of SC [Taken on 17/4/2011]



Back wall of the classroom at SC [Taken on 16/4/2011]

The graffiti on the toilet wall of SD and SC brings out the socio-political tensions which the schools attempt to suppress.

The first signboard, produced and supplied by the Ministry of Education of the province, is written in Urdu. The script represents the ideology and power Urdu is invested with through official sanction. Written in monolingual Urdu, the board informs that 'knowledge is the signpost on the road to heaven'. The whole space of the board is used up by the single, official language of education. Underneath is multilingual graffiti written in English and Pashto claiming a

separate country for speakers of Pashto which is the dominant language of the north of the province. It is interesting to note that the only space Pashto gets in the school is in the form of graffiti or in the conversations between students and teachers outside the formal settings. (See Extract 43-45).

Monolingual English signboards were visible in other schools in this study with some differences in the variety of English that was used. One prominent feature of signboards hung in SA is the accuracy in the use of standard English and the effort to assume and project an international character for the school. The display in the next photograph (See also appendix 19 d, SA)



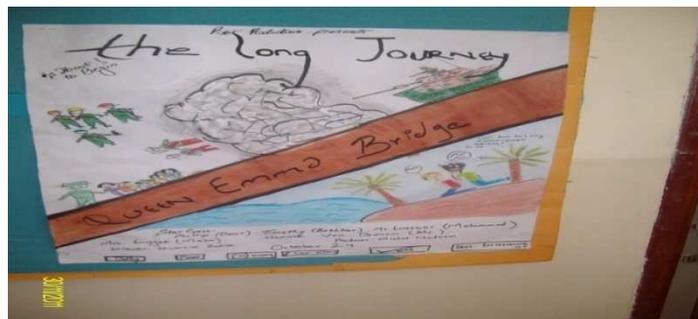
Hung in the central lobby of the School (SA) [Taken on 30 November 2011]

titled ‘Bullying’ is an imported signboard as the name of the publisher that appears on the bottom right suggests. I came across many such boards in the school purposefully displayed to give the impression that the school had an international character. The faculty comprised of locals who were bilingual and biliterate and who were paid wages in the local currency. The school charges a fee nearly as much as that of any international school. The gap between the payment of international teachers and local teachers is met by the international character of the school environment. The signboards in the school perform important social and symbolic functions and the use of valuable linguistic resources were perhaps the selling point of these

boards. In fact, the sign of SA gave no indication of their local character or content. In the photograph below, it was just the currency (Rs) which stands for rupees could give the reader a clue that the school is located in a South Asian country.



Parent-Teacher Conference Room (SA) [Taken on 30 November 2011]



Hung in the central lobby of the School (SA) [Taken on 30 November 2011]

During an interview I carried out at SA, a girl remarked that she was getting an education so that she could get a job in Barclays Bank. This shows that pupils clearly understand the vision, mission and objective of English medium schooling. Another student remarked that he had many options to pursue. The point I am trying to make here is that in SA, students gain access to prestigious linguistic resources and there is no ambiguity about the functions and meaning of education in their lives. The notice displayed in the parent-teacher conference room in the photograph above reminds parents not to allow their children to bring gadgetry in to the

school. The penalty of Rs.1000 for retrieving confiscated items is a large amount for most other sections of Pakistani society but for the community of SA it is of little consequence. This shows the disparity in the material conditions of the parents and also demonstrates the differences in the value of linguistic resources institutions are meant to produce.

Studies of linguistic landscapes (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, Gorter, 2008, Ben-Rafael et al, 2008, Shohamy, 2006) tell us that they serve important informational and symbolic functions because they are markers of the relative power and status of linguistic communities inhabiting given territories. It has also been empirically documented that ‘the prevailing language of public signs may sometimes be the language of a dominant minority’ (Bourhis and Landry, 1997: 26). Although the concept and epistemologies of linguistic landscape research is different from that of the current project, the dynamics and the meanings of the visible forms seen in the linguistic landscape of cities do not seem to differ much from those found in school environments. The forms of the languages emerge as iconic representations of the identities of social actors and their aspirations, as also reflecting the power struggle between different groups and above all a manifestation of the commodification of the languages and the interests of certain social actors. Urdu written in the Perso-Arabic script seems to sediment the traditional links between script and religious identity and hence emerges as the sole legitimate language that merits display in certain school environments such as the public school and the Madrassah. The display of English is intended to perform more of a symbolic function—that of creating an impression of an English-learning environment—and has little to do with achieving any communicative or pedagogic objectives. The relationship between the language display and the actual discursive practices found in classrooms seem to have a complex relationship which is dependent on the position of

the social actors in the institutional hierarchy, their roles and responsibilities and their individual beliefs about the use of languages in the educational settings.

9.2 Values Attributed to Local Languages and Literacy in School

During my field visit to SB I met Ms. Nasreen who is an English language teacher at that school. She was a very enthusiastic participant in my study and invited me to observe her English language class. Conversations with Ms. Nasreen gave me a clear indication of her being up-to-date with the current vocabulary of the ELT world, and during the course of my field work she informed me about the ELT training she had received in Pakistan. I sat in Ms. Nasreen's class and noticed that she had put in an extra effort to make her grade ten students speak in English-only by using self-written material. During my post-class debriefing with Ms. Nasreen, I realized that she was of the view that her Balochi students, parents and their ancestors were 'totally uneducated' (Extract 53 line 23) and that the 'Balochis have no manners of speaking' (Extract 53 lines 30-31). I probed further to understand the role of languages in her assessment of children and their parents and realized that their inability to speak the national language, i.e., Urdu and the official language English had a role to play in her evaluation: 'no...no...they are not even able to speak Urdu' (Extract 53 line 32). Ms. Nasreen dealt with this deficit in their discourse by making it explicitly known to her students that they were not to speak in their home language in school (lines 35-39) and by cautioning them: 'I forbade him strictly at that time' (lines 48-54).

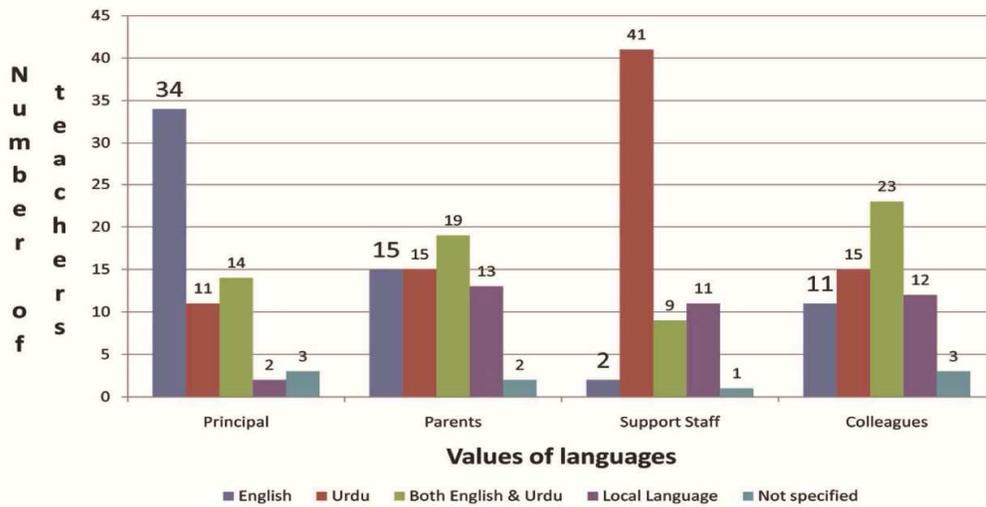
Ms. Nasreen's observations on local languages matches with the findings of the data gathered in response to question twelve of the questionnaire (see Appendix 2, doc): 'What language / languages do you use while interacting with the following persons?' Out of the total

65 respondents (vertical axis), a majority showed a clear choice of languages in their everyday use in schools. English and Urdu were dominantly used with the head of the institutions whereas local languages were used with support staff. However, with colleagues and parents, there was not such a clear language preference. Instead, a mix of different languages use was reported. (Table 61 a)

Similarly in response to questions ten and eleven of the questionnaire: ‘which language/languages do you encourage pupils to use at school and outside, a clear majority indicated that they encouraged the use of English in school. About 1% of the teachers encourage the use of local languages in school (Table 61 b). The pattern was not so different outside the school where children were encouraged by teachers to use either English and/or Urdu with local language use being reported least. In response to question fourteen of the questionnaire: ‘Which language/languages do parents of your pupils prefer for their children to have command?’ a good majority, thirty six respondents out of the total sixty five, reported both English and Urdu whereas nineteen reported only English. Less than five reported Urdu and local languages. In the light of the above data, it is very clear that the local languages were not institutionally supported by the schools. Teachers did not encourage learners to use them inside or outside schools. Likewise, parents aspired for their children to master English and Urdu only. By implication, teachers and parents preferences showed a language hierarchy in which local languages came at the bottom and English and Urdu at the top.

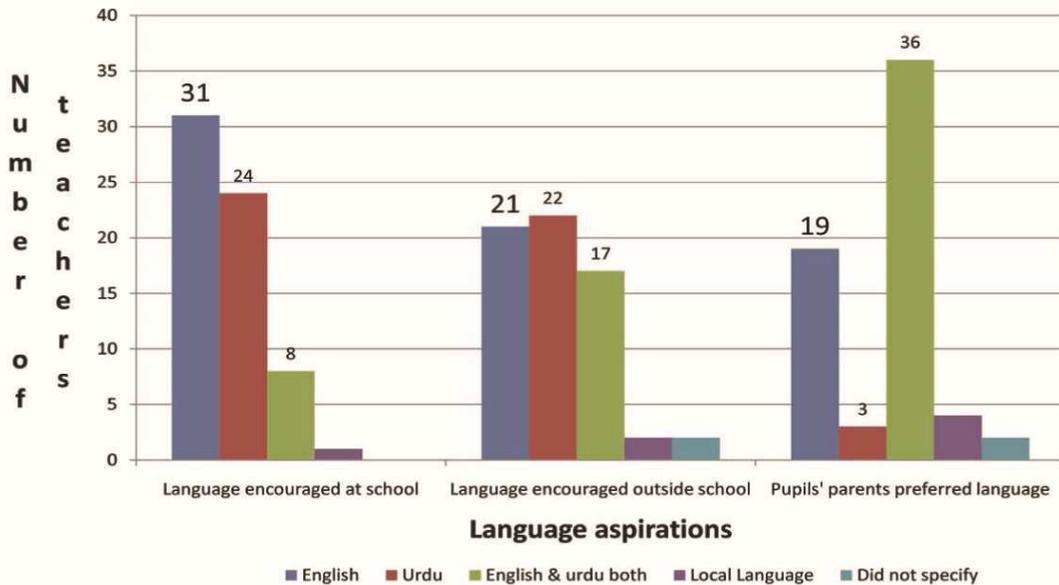
61 a)

Values attributed to local languages and literacy in schools



61 b)

Parents and teachers language aspirations



The above charts show that local languages were used by teachers mostly to speak to the support staff while it was English and Urdu which are used when speaking with the principal, amongst colleagues and with the parents (Table 61 a). Similarly, the pupils' and parents' preferred languages were also English and Urdu (Table 61 b). However, the language encouraged outside the school shows little difference between English, Urdu and local languages. By implication, the local languages were not institutionally supported and this is also evident from data gathered through the questionnaire which shows the highest level of encouragement for English at 31 percent, followed by 24 percent for Urdu and 8 percent for local languages and literacy.

9.2.1 Ambivalence towards Local Languages

The ambivalence verging on negativity towards local languages and literacies surfaced several times during my conversations with teachers in all the research sites. On the one hand, social actors attached importance in theory to local languages but, on the other hand they show a negative attitude towards these languages. For instance Ms. Saadia, a grade six to ten English language teacher in SB, found it a 'superficial thing that we only speak English' (Extract 50 line 96), yet she has never felt that her students were multilingual: 'I have not had such sort of experience... but there are some students who are really Balochi' (lines 144-147). By "really Balochi" Ms. Saadia probably meant what Ms. Nasreen had observed in her remarks about the parents and ancestors of her Balochi students being uneducated. When I probed further about the value of local languages and literacy in school, Ms. Saadia noted: 'we do not celebrate even Urdu... you think local languages should be celebrated?' (lines 150-152). The point Ms. Saadia makes here can be taken as a fine example of language hierarchy in which it is English that is celebrated in the school. After English come Urdu and then other languages.

The values of local languages and the shifting positions of the different actors associated with the four schools become even clearer when one takes into account the conversation I had with a junior teacher of grade five students at SB. Ms. Sana, who is currently studying for a post-graduate degree in TESOL, thinks that the school is not an English-medium institution in a true sense, as it fails to meet her expectation that everyone in such a school should use English only: ‘because if the teachers are not communicating in English wholly and solely... then how can we say that it is an English medium school?’ (Extract 52, Lines 13-16). Ms. Sana was not expecting a job offer from this school as she thought her ability to converse in English was limited. However, soon after joining she started to believe that she was a ‘perfect teacher’ (line 21). When asked about the language practices of her students outside the class, Sana noted critically ‘you believe me, sometimes (they use) Punjabi as well’ (line 26), illustrating the low value of Punjabi in the institutional domain of its speakers. However, during the course of the same conversation, Ms. Sana unexpectedly took a strong position against English which she thought had become the yardstick of an individual’s success: ‘what the hell is going on in Pakistan? ...our standard of [evaluating] a person’s competence has become only [his proficiency in] English’ (lines 46-49) and she linked this to the ‘post-colonial impact... the colonial... we are mentally slaves of foreign countries...the Englishman...’ When I pointed out that the Englishman has long gone (lines 68-80), Ms. Sana acknowledged that the problems lies within the system: ‘you are right...but I think... we are responsible especially in the present situation of Pakistan’ (lines 81-82). Towards the end, Ms. Sana took a more sociolinguistically informed position when she said: ‘we should accept English with errors... with mistakes...wrong English...50 percent English [and] 50 percent Urdu with Punjabi.’

The conversation illustrates not only the linguistic hierarchy and the negativity towards local values and literacies but also the multiplicity of positions and shifting stances that local practitioners adopted towards the policy. The insight I draw from the examination of the data is that value positions with regard to local languages are not permanent and to a large extent depend on the socioeconomic and personal benefits that accrue to the social actors. In short, social actors respond to language policy in complex ways and their interpretations of the policy keeps changing depending upon the contingencies of the situation.

Whereas the monolingual English policy of the school has been made mandatory by the school, it is interpreted by individuals in different ways. One such example comes from a grade eight Urdu language teacher, Ms. Mubashir in SB (Extract 48, Lines 1-2). In a conversation with me, Ms.Mubashir was critical of the school's expectation that children were to be taught all subjects in English—even Urdu was expected to be taught in English. Contrary to the policy of the school to use English numerals for writing dates on the blackboard, Ms.Mubashir made it a point to deliver her lessons in Urdu and write the dates in Urdu numerals (lines 2). When asked about the process and the rationale for this policy change, Ms. Mubashir informed me that the language policy of the school was changed in isolation and without any involvement of the teachers (Extract 48, lines 4), rather they were given a six-month notice to shift to English if they wished to retain their jobs. She was of the view that the commercial interest of the school was the main driving force for this policy change. According to Ms. Mubashir, the school administration believed that by shifting to English only, more students would seek admission to the school and that the quality of education would improve. However, Ms. Mubashir's individual language policy of teaching Urdu through Urdu and using Urdu numerals to write the dates on the blackboard can be taken as an example of the creation of an agentive space , even in

the context of a top-down policy. It also shows that institutional policy changes when it moves from one level to another from the school management to the individual classroom and the actors respond to policy in different ways.

The two students of SB whom I spoke to about the newly introduced policy of English-only brought important insights into the role of English in the broader social settings in Pakistan. They seemed to recognize the fact that English was a requirement for admission into prestigious educational institutions and for also employment and believed there was little point in rejecting this reality. Both students (Extract 46 and 47) showed an understanding of the domains of language use in the country—for institutional use it was English or Urdu and for communicating with members of the family, especially grandparents, the medium was the local languages. The socioeconomic benefits of speaking in English can be judged by reference to the following statement made by Ms Meher Murad (Extract 46, lines 8-10):

“When you seek admission in any school or you go to any hospital...when we speak in English then the first impression is the last impression...at some places if you talk in English you immediately get the admission.”

9.2.2 The Discourse of Deficit

Teachers and school heads such as those in these studies are confronted daily with the problem of creating a school environment in which everyone speaks in English. According to the headmistress of the kindergarten section in SB, Ms Farzana (Extract 80 lines 7-15), teachers are ‘not very competent and qualified’ because they are unable to pronounce English words correctly. She thinks that ‘society respects you when you speak in English’ (lines 36-37). In the classroom, I found a junior teacher Ms. Kulsoom teaching the Urdu characters to pre-primary

age pupils in English (Extract 58). I found that the pupils and their teacher were having an obvious problem in communicating in English especially as the pupils seemed very confused about following the teacher's instructions in English for writing the Urdu letter names. Yet, the teacher did not make use of the commonly shared language for teaching. In the debriefing session afterwards, Ms. Kulsoom explained the rationale for her in-class language practices. She thinks that the societal perception of Urdu language teachers is not good: 'I did not want to show myself at the level of [an] Urdu teacher as the common perception of [an] Urdu teacher is very low' (Extract 59 Lines 5). Ms. Kulsoom further explained that when people see a teacher using Urdu, they consider her a lesser professional than those who teach in English and it was because of this that she did not use any local languages in the classroom (lines 7).

The obvious victim of the whole societal perception was the learner. I realized that this pedagogic concern of mine was shared in some ways by the head teacher, Ms. Zubeida, who displayed a keen understanding of what went on in the classroom. She highlighted the pedagogic procedure by taking the case of Social Studies for which the textbook is written in monolingual English. Ms. Zubeida described the usual classroom procedure as follows (Extract 55 lines 16-24) 'what happens... she[teacher] reads out each line...gives line by line meaning...once the meaning of the key words is given...then they move to question and answer... in the whole process there is no communication.' The central problem is that 'most of the students read out the text [in English] they do not comprehend' (lines 28-32). Although Ms. Zubeida identified the problem very precisely, she thought that by enforcing the English speaking rule, the school could overcome the problem. To these ends, the one policy decision that the school had taken was that they had 'forbidden [the use of] Urdu in [the] school environment'. Ms. Zubeida's advice to her

teaching staff was therefore that, regardless of whether students understand, they must speak to them in English all the time (lines 59-65).

9.3 Constructing Legitimacy in the Daily Life of the Schools

The processes involved in legitimizing languages such as English, Urdu and Arabic are found deeply embedded in everyday language practices in and outside the classroom, and at daily events in the schools. I approach the question of legitimacy by examining two aspects of the communicative processes at the research sites: language choice and turn-taking. While the question of language choice is 'primarily a question of form, of the how of speaking (as opposed to who or the under what circumstances), turn-taking is a question of both how and of who, a question of legitimate user of the legitimate forms using those forms as they should' (Heller, 1996:144).

9.3.1 Language Choice

Language choice emerges as the most charged domain in the discursive practices examined in all the four research sites. At SD, it is clearly Arabic and Urdu which were considered very important by the school and the parents. These languages were promoted by the school in a variety of ways which include the exclusion of other languages from use in everyday communications, in and out of the class, and in the selection of teaching material and the language examinations. As indicated in earlier chapters, at SD, it was held that Arabic is the language of Muslims, the language of the Prophet and the holy scripture while Urdu too had a

special place by virtue of being the language of the Muslims of South Asia. English was considered the language of non-Muslims and the West; therefore every effort was made to avoid its use. The other languages were not taken into account as they were categorized as regional languages, hence not significant for the purposes of teaching and learning.

At SC, Urdu was considered the sole legitimate language for all purposes because it was the national language of the country. It was widely believed in SC that one single language is necessary to establish the identity of the Pakistani nation. It was held and promoted that all the nations of the world have at least one language as their national language; therefore, Urdu should be the national language of Pakistan as it played a key role in the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Here, English was not considered the language of the West or Christians as it is also an official language of Pakistan.

In SB, proficiency in English was considered an essential prerequisite for attaining upward mobility and financial security. The thing which stood out is that much time and effort was being put into turning the school into an English-only institution. The school administration had introduced a new policy according to which all teachers and students were required to shift to English-only in six months. Those who found it difficult to meet the policy benchmark remained under great pressure. Urdu was given some marginal importance but the local languages were seen as primitive and backward and were often considered as a reflection of the uneducated families to which the pupils belonged. The school made a conscious effort to keep people with a relatively higher proficiency in English in the forefront during school functions.

At SA, English remained the only legitimate language. It was widely viewed as a resource—an asset that ensures employment in the best organizations and a prerequisite for

further education inside and outside the country. It was not perceived as the language of the former colonizers or that of England or the USA but as the language of the world. Urdu was also given importance as children were often reminded to speak in Urdu as well. Code-switching between English and Urdu was found to be a common practice both inside and outside classrooms at SA.

Underlying these diverse language ideologies, the common thread was the concept of bilingualism as a clearly delineated pair of fully developed monolingualities. Efforts were being made to develop and promote languages separately. Mixing of languages was considered bad. In other words, a purist attitude toward languages was widely held in all the settings in which attempts to preserve neat and clean boundaries between languages were made.

Consequently at SD, as with other research sites, teachers worked towards promoting institutional monolingualism or a monoglossic bilingualism in which languages were treated as separate entities. Heller's (1996) point about language choice as a charged domain becomes clear when we examine the language use of SD students. For example, when a group of twelve pupils were having a discussion about the places they would visit the next day (Extract 63), none of the utterances were made in any language other than Urdu. It is important to mention here that words and expressions like **jamat** 'team' (line 1), **jamat jis tarha bun key jaatihai** 'the way it often goes' (line 1), **rai** 'opinion' (line 3) and **ammer sahib** 'the leader of the seminary' (line 10) are not often used in conversation; rather their equivalent in English have become a part of everyday Urdu spoken in Pakistan. However, since the equivalent expressions are borrowed from English, these were not used by the students of SD. Similarly the classroom language practices of Moulana Mati-ur-Rehman (Extract 64) show that the legitimate languages to be used for teaching and learning are either Urdu or Arabic. Nowhere in the lesson was a single word of

English used. The entire lesson was delivered in monolingual ‘pure’ Urdu. He read out Arabic text and translated it into Urdu (lines 15-18). Exactly identical language practices were found in the other classes (Extract 65) where the teacher, Mr. Afzal, was giving a lesson on the Prophet’s Companions. Urdu-only with Arabic read aloud is probably the dominant pattern. The classroom language practices in DM and the pupils’ meeting illustrate the underlying conceptions of language-use in DM where importance is given to the association of languages with religion. The use of language seems to flow from religious conceptions in which certain languages are considered legitimate owing to their historical association with religions. Code-mixing and code-switching was avoided hence, monolingualism was upheld in SD.

As stated above, SB recently introduced an English-only language policy which required everyone to speak in English only. An examination of the debriefing session of Ms. Saadia’s lesson and a group discussion with three teachers brings out the role of languages in SB. Ms. Saadia was an English language teacher who spoke to everyone in English. I saw her talking to her students outside the class (Extract 68, line 1-2). In this exchange with the students, Ms.Saadia was negotiating the lesson for the day with her students by arguing that they had to do the same lesson again (lines 9-10). During her monolingual English language lesson, I found that Ms. Saadia was mostly using fixed expressions to sustain her lesson ‘should we... shall we... we have to...’ (lines 13-16) and question-answer patterns of communication ‘what is noun (line 36)’, ‘what else, what remains’ (lines 34-35), and excessive repetition of single words such as ‘adjectives, conjunction, interjection, preposition’ (lines30-34). I could see that it was obviously very difficult for her to sustain the class in English but she did not make use of other languages as this was not expected of teachers in SB. As a result, the lesson on tenses was reduced to asking and recalling the definitions of parts of speech and the tenses (lines 63-68). In my

debriefing session with Ms. Saadia, I asked her about the minimal participation of students in the lesson and her policy of sticking to English-only. Ms. Saadia was of the view that her students followed her lesson as she had not used any difficult English words. She did not see any particular reason for the low student participation in her class (Extract 67 line 18). In my understanding, if Ms. Saadia had given spaces to other languages in her class, there might have been a greater chance of having a meaningful discussion on the topic she was covering in that lesson.

I explored the question of language choice in the textbooks used by teachers of SB. These textbooks, the bulk of them imported from abroad, were mainly written in either monolingual English or Urdu. I argue that the selection of the text has strong links with the perception that English is associated with development, a myth that SB promotes. The teachers in the group discussion (Extract 69) noted that they had to teach children about Trafalgar Square, Hyde Park, the London Eye (Extract 69 lines 23-25) and everything about Singapore which added to the difficulty for the students as they were required to grasp and comprehend excessive information (lines 6-15). Reflecting on the content of the grade ten English lesson in SB, Ms. Saadia also noted that she had to ask her students to make-believe that they were in Europe because the names of all the characters in her lesson were European (lines 33-37).

Language choice in SA is quite well defined. Its students, teachers and staff were comparatively speaking a lot more proficient in using English for academic and non-academic purposes. As stated above, SA did not represent English as the language of outsiders but rather as a resource. The morning assembly (Extract 66) shows the language practices of a sports teacher (lines 6-12), the head teacher (lines 18-28) and the students of grade six. All gave an oral presentation on the concept of ownership to the rest of the school children gathered at the place

of assembly . While audio-recording their near-perfect utterances in English, I thought to myself that the accuracy and proficiency of these children and their teachers in the use of English was extremely different from what I had observed at all the other research sites. I therefore took up this matter with the head teacher and in an hour-long discussion with her tried to understand the reasons for the linguistic disparity between these children and those from the other schools (Extract 79).

9.3.2 Turn- Taking

By examining turn-taking in classroom discursive practices in the research sites, one finds how a legitimate language is constructed. The type of a turn-taking pattern most often was sequential turn-taking on a unified floor (Heller, 1996:151). The ways of constructing and sustaining sequential turn-taking did not seem to differ much from one research site to another as a teacher-oriented, transmission mode of teaching predominated. This mode of classroom interaction was shaped, to some extent, by class size and the layout of classroom furniture in each setting. However, the sources of legitimacy were more complex than the mode of teaching and the seating arrangement of the classroom. I will focus more on the implicit sources of legitimacy that teachers employed to construct and sustain the sequential turn-taking found in these classrooms and I argue that the definition of legitimate language and legitimate speaker-hearers was largely a function of the implicit, unstated powers invested in teachers. In many ways, it seemed to lie at the intersection of personal, institutional and broader societal perceptions on teaching and learning.

The dominant pattern was like this: every person took the floor in turn and everyone participated in the same discussion; the teacher regulated the sequence by selecting which student was to speak next and could interrupt the turn; the teacher evaluated the contributions of the learners in a variety of ways, often by repeating their contribution aloud which was understood to be an indication that the contribution was positive. The teacher not only regulated the sequential turn-taking but also exercised control over the form of the language: monolingual utterances seemed to be the only legitimate form in the classroom discourse. Teachers made sure that all the classroom time was spent on the content of the textbook and the flow of the discussion revolved around it.

In DM, a great deal of emphasis was placed on reading out the textbook written in Urdu and Arabic and translating the Arabic text into Urdu. This was done primarily to help learners memorize the Arabic lines. One such example is that of Mr. Afzal's class (Extract 65) in which he gave a lesson on the lives of the Prophet's Companions. I reached the venue for this class a few minutes earlier and found myself in an embarrassing situation, having woken him up from his siesta. In a few minutes, the boys had brought their wooden desks and had sat on the floor around Mr. Afzal. I could see that Mr. Afzal's eyes were still half shut but he gave the command to read (Extract 65, line 1). One of the boys stood up with the book in his hand and read out the text while the others kept their eyes on their books. Mr. Afzal interrupted the reading by stressing a point (line 7). The student repeated the sentence spoken by Mr. Afzal immediately afterwards and continued reading (line 9). The student was interrupted twice by Mr. Afzal (line 7, 11), interjecting with sentences in Arabic followed by their Urdu translation. I noticed that Mr. Afzal had memorized these lines very well as he was speaking from memory without having to look at the text.

By examining the interactional order of Mr. Afzal's class, we see two important dimensions of legitimacy: one, that Mr. Afzal makes use of the power invested in him by the institutional order of SD in which the teacher has the sole authority to select, interrupt and maintain the course of classroom interaction. Two, Mr. Afzal's rote-learned Arabic insertions deliver more power to him, and as a result he emerges as the legitimate controller of the turns that pupils take. The use of a foreign language, especially one that is upheld by the school and society as the language of the Holy Quran and the Prophet Muhammad, seems to be Mr. Afzal's main source of legitimacy.

In other classes observed at SD, the use of Arabic by the teacher seemed to have created a knowledge gap between the teachers and the students. This gap was then filled by the translation made by the teacher. I did not see any discussion on the translated text or any question-answer sessions and there was not a single episode of students getting an opportunity to talk to one another. Let us examine the process in some more detail to understand the mechanism that sustains the sequential order of turn-taking followed by Moulana Mati-ur-Rehman (Extract 64). He is a Mufti which roughly equates to the rank of full professor in a Western university. He was giving a lesson on "*Aqida*" (faith) to a group of students sitting around him on the floor. Throughout the lesson, the teacher dictated the lines from the text. He read aloud a chunk from the book in Urdu and gave a pause for students to take that down in their notebooks. Although he said in the beginning of the class that, 'we were talking...' (line 1), implying that the current class was the continuation of the previous discussion, I discovered later that 'discussion' in SD means reading aloud and taking notes. Looking closely at the argumentative content of his teaching, he proved and disproved arguments by drawing on Quranic verses (lines 3-6). As stated

earlier, reiterating religious injunctions in the classroom particularly through the use of Arabic expressions seemed the dominant method of legitimizing Arabic and Urdu.

At the level of specific classrooms, the legitimacy of a particular language is constructed and sustained through the use of sequential turn-taking by teachers which can be more or less strictly controlled. However, legitimacy is perhaps also linked to the institutional order where the meaning of teaching and learning, and the roles and responsibilities of teachers and students differ widely from one pedagogic culture to another. In SD, rote-learning, note-taking and silence seem to be interpreted as attributes of a good student and decent manners. Students were not expected to ask questions or talk to each other during the lesson and if they did speak up, it was only when the teacher signal led to them that they should do so, and their utterance had to be in the right form, i.e., either Urdu or Arabic. Repeating the text after the teacher, reading aloud and note-taking were taken as the students' means of contribution to class discussions. As both teachers had studied in similar institutional orders, they seemed to know the appropriate patterns of interactions in class and the roles of students and teachers. At a much broader level, their legitimacy was drawn from societal norms treating teachers as the final authority in religious schools such as SD; because they could quote the Holy Quran, they were accorded great respect and were considered pious Muslims and good individuals who served the cause of Islam. The key point that I am making here that the definition of legitimate language, speaker and hearer played out in a classroom discourse is also embedded in personal, institutional and societal values which actors draw on in legitimizing their positions and roles.

The conventions of sequential turn-taking differed in some respects in the other school settings since pupils were given the chance to make oral contributions to the lesson. However, the mechanism for sustaining sequential turn-taking was differentiated in some clear ways in

other schools. Take SB in example, for this school, Mr. Kamal gave a lesson on Ideology to a group of forty students, twenty-five boys and fifteen girls. These students have had early English medium education in different schools in the country and often such students go for higher education to both national and foreign universities. In the classroom, I saw a very different set of classroom interactional patterns in terms of the students' efforts to contest teacher authority by employing the privileged use of interruptions and self-selections (Extract 70 Lines 18-19). As soon as Mr. Kamal started the lesson, he was contested, 'excuse me sir' (line 9). He ignored the interruption and tried to shift the attention of the class to the board work. To maintain the order of the class, he started to write down the students' contributions on the blackboard (lines 25-62). The strategy of writing the students' utterances on the board saved Kamal from facing the students directly. Despite this, he was challenged by a student who wanted to argue that religion should also be considered part of the definition of ideology (line 63). Mr. Kamal handled the discussion by making use of the power invested in him by virtue of his traditional role of teacher, 'this discussion [lesson] is out of the ambit of today's discussion' (lines 68-70). The episode shows us that while actors do draw on the powers associated with their traditional roles to regulate the sequential order of turn-taking through a variety of strategies, they are also often challenged. In this case, the student contestation was also linked to the institutional policy of delivering a lesson in monolingual English. During my informal conversations with Mr. Kamal I found out that he was not comfortable in speaking English. He informed me that he had studied in Urdu medium contexts throughout his academic career and had had limited exposure to English. However, the institutional policy of English-only put him under pressure to engage with his students in English at length. Lines 26-36 illustrate the problem Mr. Kamal faced due to the policy of English-only. I also observed that Mr. Kamal was not an isolated case but a great

number of teachers in Pakistan face a similarly awkward situation in which they are expected to reinforce the monolingual institutional norms and bear in mind that code-mixing and code-switching would be interpreted as a sign of lack of proficiency in languages.

9.4 Rationale for Legitimizing Certain Discursive Practices in Schools

As I noted in the discussion above, different discursive practices were legitimized in each school: in SD it was Arabic and Urdu whereas in SC it was Urdu-only with surface level English. In SB, the aim was to make English-only the legitimate language while at SA, it was English and Urdu. None of the schools made use of other languages in their everyday institutional lives. In other words, there was considerable linguistic disparity between the learners and teachers in these schools. The students of SC were taught in the national language Urdu only. Theoretically they were also taught English as a subject. The proficiency of the students in these languages was found to be very limited. The students and teachers of SD seemed to be totally alienated from English as its use was discouraged on ideological grounds. However, it was found that the students were comparatively more fluent in the Urdu language than the students from other schools. They had developed some ability to read Arabic script and had acquired limited skills in translating Arabic to Urdu. The students and teachers of SB were bilingual in English and Urdu to a limited extent. Most of the teachers and students were not able to use English with ease and comfort. A significant difference in the language proficiencies of teachers and students was found in SA where almost every person in the setting was a fluent speaker of English and Urdu and in many cases an additional language as well.

In this section I discuss the reasons for legitimizing particular discursive practices in these settings. I draw on classroom data and interviews with different social actors including pupils, parents, teachers and school management in all the four research sites. The argument I pursue is that linguistic differences are fundamentally a reflection of political, social and economic dissimilarity amongst the social actors and that schools play an active and decisive role in creating and sustaining the socioeconomic disparity within the multilingual population of Pakistan.

9.4.1 Social Distinction and Upward Mobility through Bilingual Education

A higher degree of bilingual education and the development of biliteracy in English and Urdu seem to be accessible to people belonging to that segment of society who understand the value of this bilingual education and have the financial resources to afford the cost of educating their children in institutions like SA. The parents, head teacher and students of SA I spoke to (Extract 84, 85, 79) are fluent speakers of English, Urdu and other regional languages. The status of the community can be judged by the nature and extent of their social network in the country. Mr. Ghaffar, the father of a child studying in SA, noted the higher social position of his family (Extract 85, lines 33-40). Mr. Ghaffar comes from a feudal family, and is the owner of urban properties and agricultural land. He is well-travelled and takes his children to foreign countries on holiday (lines 8-12). His home language background is multilingual, about '85 percent English with little bit of Urdu' (lines 24-25). Mr. Ghaffar's primary reason for placing all three of his children in SA is to groom them for a higher station in life. Mastery over English seems to be the important aspect of this grooming as he noted with great pride: 'oh my God, they [the

children] have improved a hell lot of it...if you call my children and they start speaking [English] with you... they are hundred and ten times. I should say they are million times better' (lines 63-69). As a result, Mr. Ghaffar sees a bright future for his children. His eldest is going to study Psychiatry in Kuala Lumpur, the middle one is also going to study abroad and the youngest one is going to stay with him until he moves out of the country. He is prepared to pay a tuition fee ten times higher than what he is paying presently because he believes that the quality of education his children are getting in this school is equivalent to what they would receive in the USA or UK (lines 90-102).

The relationship of bilingual education with social distinction and upward mobility becomes even clearer when I analyze the interview of Ms. Humaira whose daughter was studying in SA. Like Mr. Ghaffar, Ms. Humaira preferred English as the language for the interview. She had recently moved from Jeddah where her daughter had been studying in an American school. Her husband still sent money from Saudi Arabia. Two of her sons were studying in prestigious private universities in the country. On being asked what she thought would be her children's future, Ms. Humaira remarked 'very bright...also for my sons (...) generally the place [Pakistan] has a lot of potential (Extract 84, Lines 64-65). She also helps her maid's children with their studies in SC (lines 92-93). She had selected SA for her daughter because she had experienced firsthand the quality and system of education in SC school and felt that they had 'not much to offer' (line 39).

The examination of the above interviews shows us that how the social actors understand the value of bilingual education and how they are prepared to make a considerable financial investment in acquiring bilingual resources. It also shows that they recognize that bilingual resources are linked to or associated with access to other resources such as a superior social

status and admissions to prestigious institutions of higher education, both in-country and abroad. These parents do not see English against the backdrop of colonial history or the nationalistic discourse of Urdu being a national language. Instead, their central concern seems to be to prepare their children to attain upward social mobility and financial security for which English and Urdu are the most important resources.

The students of SA also show a clear understanding of the importance of acquiring valuable language resources which they recognize are vital for their future success and careers. Let's look at two students, Nida Tayyab, a female student of grade nine, and Asghar Naqvi (Extract 81, 82) a male student of grade nine when I spoke to them, both of them indicated that they preferred English as the language for the interview (Extract 8, 1 line 5, Extract 82, line 3). I found them to be very comfortable and fluent speakers of English. Nida wanted to work for Barclays Bank but at an overseas branch (Extract 81, line 12) while Asghar Naqvi had many career options open to him (Extract 82, Line 16). Apart from their skills in English, both were users of Urdu at home and valued their local culture and identity (Extract 82 lines 27-34).

The school, SA, understands the aspiration of the group they serve and work towards the bilingual development of the children. The classroom language practices are therefore geared to the development of bilinguality and biliteracy (Appendix 6, Extract 41). In the classroom conversation captured in this transcript shown the teacher asks her students to listen to a public performer known for his dual command over English and Urdu and urges against mixing the codes she says: 'he is good in English as well as in Urdu' (Extract 41 line 61). Her classroom practices show that not only is she a proficient user of English but she also knows when to use Urdu words: 'beta' (line 34) is used here as a term of endearment to help create a personal bond between her and her students. The administration recognizes that both languages, i.e., English

and Urdu are important for the children's careers. In my detailed interviews with the head and vice principal of the school (Extract 79 and 80), I found that they were well aware of the market demands for bilingual education—'it is because of the demands of the parents' (Extract 80 lines 97-100)—and its impact on the future of their students—'of course the life chances for the students of English medium school are far greater and brighter' (Extract 80 lines 89-91). In order to meet the market demands of bilingual education, the school has introduced a clear-cut policy for hiring teachers and for the mandatory use of English on all occasions in school. Speaking skills in English is the most important criteria for hiring a teacher: 'language [English] comes first and then the basic knowledge of the subject' (Extract 80 78-81). The market demands for English can be gleaned by the anecdote recounted in Extract 80 about a pupil at SA who complained to his parents that he had been taught by the school maid after his teacher had left the school. The father reported this to the vice-principal, who on investigation found that a recently hired teacher had spoken in Urdu during class. Because of this, the boy mistook her for a maid (Extract 80 lines 102-115). The vice-principal went back to the teacher and told her that she must speak in English: 'she had to change her language practices...of course I did not tell her about the complaint' (Extract 80 lines 117-119). The quote not only shows us the differential in the social prestige associated with English and Urdu but also the school's effort in meeting the market demands of languages.

SA also attaches a great deal of importance to the national language—'I ask them to make their classes print [displaying Urdu orthography]... it is so difficult to get things that have Urdu written on them... right... even the packet of *Shan Masala* [a brand name of spices]...there are fewer things that have Urdu written on them...we ask children to accompany [their] parents [when they go] shopping for grocery and find out such things'—remarked the vice-principal (

Extract 79 lines 241- 252). School events such as dramas, debates and singing competitions were held in both English and Urdu. Teachers were also encouraged to speak in Urdu despite the parental pressure of speaking in English. The head of the school Ms Aine Arfin (Extract 79) was caught between the parental demands of English-only and her own position on languages. Ms. Aine Arfin, a perfect speaker of English, Urdu and Pashto recounted her personal and family linguistic trajectories and her exposure to the world outside, and how she came to realize the importance of multilingual education as opposed to English only (Extract 79 lines 166-195). She makes use of her position to resist the market pressure and keep her school bilingual in English and Urdu (Extract 79 lines 99-108). In my interview with her, I found her critical of the wider misconception in society in which English is taken as synonymous with education. She noted: ‘English is not education’ (line 158). She then implied that she made use of the agentive space available to her and told her teachers: “if the child is comfortable in Urdu... just speak in Urdu and have a proper conversation and do not insist ‘I will only reply if you rephrase and ask it in English’” (Extract 79 lines 133-138).

The vice-principal also expressed similar awareness of language in her interview with me. According to the vice-principal (Extract 80 lines 36-39) ‘society respects you when you speak in English... language tells about your personality, about your educational background, about the family you have come from’

The analysis of these interviews gave me important insights into the views of different social actors regarding languages in these bilingual settings. The market demands for English and Urdu seem to be the key factor in legitimizing English and Urdu and, in consequence, in regulating access to these resources. However, it is probably incorrect to assume that linguistic resources are equally available to all actors. The employment of bilingual and biliterate teachers

is perhaps one of the major strengths of SA because this helps the school in offering an empowering, bilingual and biliterate learning environment which grooms its students to enter the national and international labor market and academic institutions. In short, SA legitimizes English and Urdu because it shares the socioeconomic aspiration of the group it serves. Put differently, the school emerges as a partner which has the important responsibility of creating linguistic differences by arranging a different set of linguistic environments in the school. The school's vision, mission and everyday processes seem to *help* in achieving the goal of the community it is serving. In other words, the institution safeguards the interests of the group which has access to it.

9.4.2 Constructing Monolingual orders: the consequences

Unlike the policy at SA, SC and SD have been following nationalistic and religious ideologies where Urdu and Arabic have been designated as the eternal marker of people's identity. The everyday school processes are geared towards constructing and legitimizing monolingualism of the national language and Arabic despite the great demand for bilingual education.

In the government school (SC), where under the official medium of instruction and English has been theoretically introduced from grade one in all public sector schools, my ethnographic study of language use in the classroom and in different social spaces in the school revealed the complexity of language practices in SC. In the classroom, the language of teaching remained Urdu despite the fact that the majority of teachers and students shared a common resource i.e. Pashto. The teachers and students were bound to use Urdu because it is the national language of the country despite the fact that many students find it difficult. As the students of SC

noted in a discussion with me: ‘we find it [Urdu] extremely difficult’ (Extract 76 lines 17). Any attempt to use the Pashto language in the institutional setting, particularly in class, was looked down upon by the teachers even though they shared the same culture. The teachers did not ‘feel good’ (line 9) when students spoke in Pashto. The rationale for imposing such a regulatory regime became evident in an arrangement lesson which is commonly termed as ‘fixture’, given by Ms Tabinda, a grade twelve teacher of Urdu. She also provided me with a rich account of the nationalistic ideology of ‘one nation one language’. In this lesson which she was talking to her large class about the previous lesson she had taught. As it was an arrangement class, the students and teachers did not have any textbooks with them. Her argument unfolded as follows : all nations of the world such as Britain, France and Canada developed their national languages as they achieved territorial independence; in the case of Pakistan this has not been done despite all the institutional measures (Appendix 8, Extract 71 lines 11-29). According to Ms. Tabinda (lines 65-70), the biggest hurdle in making Urdu-only education mandatory is the interest of the power elites who have the resources to send their children for education to the UK or America. She argues that the use of the code-switching in English and Urdu revealed an “inferiority complex” (line 83). Although Ms Tabinda tried hard to engage the students in her discussion, I noticed that the majority of the students showed little enthusiasm over what she was saying.

In the post-lesson session, Ms Tabinda narrowed down the language issue to the level of ethnicity and class difference. She made insightful observations in which she argued that language is an important factor in the formation of social classes in the country. According to her ‘[the] rulers and [the] upper middle class send their children to institutions that endow them with powerful languages whereas the majority of Pakistani children can only dream about learning

these languages...look, English is a foreign language, we call it the language of [the] rulers' (lines 42-48.)

The key insight I draw from the examination of everyday language practices at SB is that language choice was considerably regulated through overt English-only policy expectations but also through the selection of monolingual English language textbooks.

The net result of the regulatory regime in each of the four schools seems to have been the creation of socio- linguistic difference amongst the students of different schools. The students of the state school studied under the strict nationalistic ideology which promoted Urdu-only whereas institutions like DM promoted monolingualism in conformity with the perceived historical link between the Muslim identity with Arabic and Urdu. SB and SA seem to have been responding more to the market demands for languages in the country. Whereas SB claims to be providing education through English language, a close examination of its discursive practices showed that this was not the case. The only type of school that provided bilingual education was SA where only a small section of the Pakistani society could afford to send their children.

To conclude, the languages on display in the different school environments showed a clear pattern: the standard varieties of English and Urdu (in Perso-Arabic script) were exhibited in the school environment but at the same time contradictions between the languages varieties made visible in official signage and language practices inside and outside the classroom were also noted. While the values associated with English and Urdu language were clear, there did not seem to be a simple correlation between the values attributed to these languages and proficiency in their use amongst different practitioners. Besides the unequal distribution of socially valuable/power languages, the overlap between standard languages, i.e., English and

Urdu and the local community languages was either not recognized or seen as a problem. In other words, instead of other languages being recognized as resources, they were widely seen as problems. In the absence of provisions for people to develop knowledge of their local languages through mainstream schooling, they ended up choosing state and school supported languages. As a result, it seems that the presence in the school of a diversity of languages was largely countered by imposing what Hymes calls ‘ a novel unity in the form of hegemony of one language or standard’ (1980: 22). The sources of the hegemony were ideological, historical and socioeconomic conditions of the particular social actors in these four schools and the interests of the power elites of the country.

As I have shown, the linguistic resources of teachers and students differed widely from one school to another. While all the students and teachers who participated in the study were multilinguals, their proficiency, comfort, ease and confidence in speaking English and Urdu were found to be very different. All the students, teachers, management and community members of the private, elite English-medium school (SA) seemed to know how and when to use English. This constructed for them a separate social class position in which they were capable of translating their linguistic resources into other forms of material and symbolic resources. Their school served the interests of these bilinguals by providing them with human and material resources through which both difference and distance could be created between them and the other school-goers. The school and the community paid great attention to the verbal skills of the children and worked for the development of their overall linguistic resources. In sharp contrast to the students of SA, the linguistic resources possessed by students in the other schools were not acknowledged in the same way. In fact they were stigmatized. Their schools do not seem to be interested in developing their linguistic resources. The teachers and school administrators

seemed to be under pressure from the school administration to create institutional monolingualism. Institutional monolingualism was fostered by the traditional classroom interactional patterns in SB, SC and SD where the interstices for extended interaction mediated by the teacher were negligible.

Chapter 10: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead

Overview

This chapter presents a summary of the main findings of this study and examines their implications for the field of language policy and planning, the language-in-education policy of Pakistan and bilingual education; it also draws attention to the limitations of the current study and suggests avenues for further research.

I organize this chapter into three sections. In Section 10.1, I present a summary of the general findings in the light of my research questions followed by a detailed summary of the findings organized under the headings of socioeconomic, socio-cultural and socio-political considerations. In Section 10.2; I discuss the implications of this study for language policy scholarship, the language-in-education policy of Pakistan and bilingual education. In section 10.3, I point to the limitations of the current study and suggest some areas for future research.

The central aim of the study was to investigate the discursive practices in schools in Pakistan and to explore how they intersected with the national and institutional language policy and actual practices in the classroom, social spaces in the school, the community and in the wider society. The other aim of the study was to examine ways in which social actors respond to policy in specific school settings.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on methods and perspectives from linguistic ethnography, sociolinguistics and post-structuralist theory, I investigated the actual language practices in four schools at three levels: classroom, institutional and community. For that, I used multiple sources for data collection and analytical frameworks.

The general findings of the study suggest that there is a clear contradiction between the language practices observed in schools and the policy at the government level. The language

practices of the research participants are more complex than they are assumed to be at the governmental policy level and in findings of survey-based research on language-in-education in Pakistan. Research participants draw on a variety of languages at different times and in different spaces in schools depending on a number of factors. The key insight of the analysis is that it is simplistic and naïve to associate people with just one particular language as they are known to have what Blommaert (2011) calls ‘truncated repertoires’ and draw on them in complex ways.

The study found that the position of some of the research participants on the role of languages-in-education is mostly ambivalent. Moreover, there was a mismatch between their views on the role of languages in education and their actual languages practices in school.

The use of local languages for formal education was largely considered a problem in these schools. In fact these languages and associated cultural values were regarded as deficient for use in formal teaching and learning. In addition, there was clear evidence of antipathy towards local languages and the participants in my study seemed to have accepted the argument that these languages need to be substantially developed if they are to be used for teaching and learning in formal schools.

Access to full bilingualism and biliteracy in the language of the former colonial power and the national language seemed to be restricted to those attending SA. The students in SB and SC were provided with bilingual education in English and Urdu only in theory despite the fact that there is widespread demand for bilingual education.

An analysis of the data gathered in this study shows that the linguistic repertoires of students are shaped in different ways in different types of schools and that there is a significant relationship between the nature and prestige of the linguistic resources of individuals/groups and the formal education options available to them. The findings helped me to destabilize the

argument about the home-school language gap which currently has ascendancy in Pakistan. Given the complex sociolinguistic realities in the country and actual discursive practices in schools, the home-school language gap does not appear to be the major problem as the institutionalized regulation of access to powerful languages seems to be shaping the chances of different groups of students, positioning them in different ways vis-à-vis the national political economy and the changing market demands for languages.

Regarding the choice of particular languages as media of instruction, my study has shown that historical legacies, and also socioeconomic and political interests, are the primary motivations. In turn, these choices have led to particular discursive practices in schools and those of particular ways of legitimizing and displaying school language policies.

In conclusion, I assert that different social actors such as school administrators, teachers and students are not passive recipients of a language policy; rather, they actively shape policy in their everyday institutional lives.

10.1 Socio-Political Considerations

I discovered that Pakistan's current language-in-education policy strongly resonates with British colonial language policies, in particular with regard to the language choice for school level education. Only English and Urdu are considered suitable media for teaching and learning in schools while all other languages are used for communication purposes in the wider society; this in effect establishes a language hierarchy. Another significant aspect of the legacy of the colonial language-in-education policy is that unequal access to powerful languages is ensured and regulated through parallel systems of schooling in the country. Schools that deliver bilingual

education and biliteracy in English and Urdu are accessible to a very small segment of Pakistani society.

The everyday language practices observed in the research sites show that the national education policy is based on little empirical evidence. It seems that the policy has not taken into account indigenous experiences, epistemologies and realities. It is also clear from the study of language practices at the school level in SA, SB and SC that the current language-in-education policy is severely limited with regard to public demands for bilingual education with English. The claimed introduction of English as a subject in the curriculum in all public schools seems to be no more than rhetoric as there is little evidence of the availability of teaching guidelines, teacher training programs and material resources for its implementation. More importantly, there is little evidence of the involvement of teachers and the community in the formulation of language-in-education policy.

I also found multiple and diverse reinterpretations of policy in all of the four research sites. In almost all of them, the head of the institution and classroom teachers seem to play a key role in reinterpretation and/or implementation of policy. My study of the semiotic representation of different languages and its intersection with the audio-recorded discursive practices showed a complex relationship between them. While the official languages on display conformed to the established language hierarchy and seemed to promote a monolingual language policy, the language practices observed in graffiti writing challenged the monolingual order. Likewise, spoken language practices also defied monolingual norms with frequent evidence of code-switching, code-mixing and hybridity. These spoken language practices were too diverse and varied to ascribe to just one broad function of 'resistance'. They may well have been below the level of awareness anyway.

While monolingual ideology was manifested in some ways at all levels—in the classroom, in institutions and in the wider society—it was contested/resisted/ or appropriated in a variety of ways depending on the interests of the groups and the institutions that serve them. It can be said that there was a clear mismatch between the stated and the ‘practised language policy’ (Bonacina, 2010).

I also found that larger socio-political categories such as ethnicity and class had bearing on the interactions that took place between the parents and the teachers and students and the teachers. Reified social categories about ‘Balochi’, ‘Sindhi’ or ‘Pathans’ seem to permeate everyday interactions both explicitly and implicitly.

10.2 Socio-Cultural Considerations

I found that SD was sustaining the legacy of the traditional madrassahs (a school where students study theology). These have been in existence since eighteenth-century India as spaces for teaching and learning. In these institutions teaching and learning is mostly done in Urdu with limited introduction to Arabic and Persian. In eighteenth-century India, Arabic, Persian and Urdu became the identity markers of the Muslim community and it is on this basis that they continue to be given importance in twenty-first-century Pakistan. Learning English is considered a threat to discursively constructed Islamic culture and values. The selected languages are taught with the aim of attaining a Muslim revival while English is associated with Christianity and hence kept outside the doors of SD. During the course of my fieldwork for this study, I discovered that many students of madrassahs learn English after graduating from these traditional schools. While language practices at SD may be seen as means of sustaining Arabic and Persian languages,

they seem to contribute to the distancing of madrassahs students from the languages and knowledge resources that would enable them to participate in wider social spheres in Pakistan.

The language use in all the research sites shows that local languages are not seen as valid resources for formal education. I found explicit examples of contempt towards local languages and cultures, and forced implementation of monolingual language norms in the four different multilingual settings. The use of local languages outside the classroom settings and the multilingual graffiti gives rise to a fundamental question about the effectiveness of monolingual education policy. The widening gap between the community and the schools is something policy makers/educators/administrators seem to have given little attention to. As a result, local literacies, knowledge and cultural values are not capitalized on for formal teaching-learning. The institutional use of local linguistic resources and cultures could, however, enable teachers and learners to capitalize on them legitimately and enrich the learning of the so-called 'national language' and 'official language' of the country. At present, the role of parents seems largely restricted to providing material resources to children for their school education. However, by introducing local languages and literacies, participation of the parents can be made more meaningful and their latent literacies can be capitalized upon for imparting formal education to their children.

10.3 Socioeconomic Considerations

The socio-economic status of parents is an important factor in determining the schools where their children go. The parents of the students SA lived in affluent neighborhoods and those members who were interviewed held high positions in public and private organizations. The

parents of children in the other schools chosen as research sites were less affluent with SD being the poorest.

I also found that the parents of children in SA sought an education for their children that would prepare them for career jobs in foreign countries or in transnational/multinational organizations working in Pakistan. In some ways, the presence of multinational organizations in Pakistan has further intensified the struggle amongst young Pakistanis to attain higher bilingual education in English and Urdu. As a result, educators have institutionalized their interests in the form of private schools with ‘international standards’. Teachers in these schools work hard to produce competent bilinguals and biliterates, in English and Urdu, and give little consideration to teaching the local languages.

The trend towards the commodification of English and the subsequent shift towards English-only instruction are resisted at the individual and group level who formulates their own language practices. For instance, as I showed in an earlier chapter, that a teacher at SB resisted the introduction of the English-only policy which required her to teach Urdu language through the medium of English. She continues to teach Urdu through the medium of Urdu and writes the dates on the blackboard in Urdu numerals. I also found explicit and organized resistance to any use of English by the teachers in SD where teaching and learning is mostly in Urdu and Arabic with some basic introduction of Persian. These forms of resistance should be taken into account while formulating language-in-education policy at individual and institutional level. Whereas teachers respond to the mandatory implementation of institutional monolingualism in a variety of ways, they show an incisive understanding of the social and economic interests of the school owners and the impact these interests have on their own lives.

In conclusion, the imperatives of a globalized economy, national policy and institutional regimes seem to considerably limit language choices in education and define the value of specific languages. At the same time, there are always spaces at the interstices of institutions where it is possible for teachers and students to exercise agency, engaging in their own preferred language practices or asserting their own language values. If this local/global dynamism was recognized, it could be used as the basis for formulating a multilingual education policy that would profitably draw on local languages.

10. 4 Significance of the Study

In this section I claim that this study has contributed to research in three areas: language policy, language-in-education policy in Pakistan and bilingual education.

10.4.1 Implications for the Field of Language Policy

In Chapter 2, I considered the changing and diverse empirical foci and emphases of scholars in the field of language policy and planning. Beginning from a macro level empirical focus with a preoccupation to solve language related problems of the decolonized nations by offering models and taxonomies, to the examination of the role of ideology, power and inequality with focus on government and institutional levels, the empirical foci shifted towards microscopic examination of lived-policy experiences using socio-anthropological approaches. In the critical interpretive approach, the micro-empirical foci was the same with an added emphasis on the close study of the interactional patterns in classrooms and linking them to macro-historical processes and their role in creating asymmetrical power relations.

I also argued in Chapter 2 that school and classroom based of policy implementations paid little attention to the examination of official and unofficial signage and the wider semiotics of school settings. In Chapter 10 I showed that the languages on display in a school environment are not neutral but reflective of asymmetrical power relations embedded in the history, politics and ideologies undergirding them. I have also tried to show the mismatch between the monolingualism of the official signage on display and the actual discursive practices. The power relationship and differential values attributed to languages can very well be studied by taking into account the texts and signs in a school environment. While the study of the linguistic landscape has been touched upon by Shohamy (2006), her proposal remains programmatic with scant methodological guidelines. I have attempted to operationalize the notion of linguistic landscape in school settings and have examined its local meanings and variation. I have shown that it is invisible interests, ideologies, values of languages, wider politics and the social order that get played out in the display of languages.

10.4.2 Implications for Language-in-Education Policy in Pakistan

I have shown in Chapter 4 that research on language-in-education policy in Pakistan is largely survey-based and I have argued that it is inadequate for a comprehensive understanding of language policy in concrete settings. I also have shown gaps and inconsistencies in the statistical accounts given by *Ethnologue*, the national census data and international studies on specific languages in education in Pakistan.

In Chapters 8, 9 and 10 I have demonstrated how an ethnographic perspective to the study of language policy in education can help establish/explore links between situated encounters, socioeconomic circumstances of individuals and institutional regimes. In particular

these chapters show that power, legitimacy, ethnicity and class are constituted interactionally in the specific context of communication and in everyday school routines. I have also attempted to show that the links between social categorization and linguistic repertoire are constructed in and through discursive practices in the institutional contexts and that they have a dialectic relationship, i.e. co-constructive and hence dynamic. Thus social categorization is not a static, permanent reality but rather it evolves, changes, modifies and gets reified through prevalent interactional norms and practices.

I have shown that predominantly monolingual assumptions dominated language-in-education policy in the four different research sites with differences in the choices available to the different social actors in relation to context, development, media and content. I have also shown that classroom interactions, language practices at official events and languages on display in school environments are profoundly linked to social categorization processes. Government claims that the so-called bilingual education, Urdu with English policy, provides equal access to predominant languages appears nothing more than rhetoric in light of my examination of the actual language practices in four schools.

I have shown how access to linguistic resources is organized/ regulated by developing alternative educational provision in the private sector leading to the construction of asymmetrical power relations amongst different ethnolinguistic groups. I have also shown that teachers and school administrators are not passive recipients of language policy; they are perhaps the most important and active shapers/interpreters of policy. Although this might appear to be a naïve assertion for academics, it is important to note its significance in the context of research on language-in-education in Pakistan. This is the first thesis that shows the significance of the

researcher's firsthand engagement with the subject of investigation, showing policy-in-action in different school settings.

10.4.3 Implication for the Field of Bilingual Education

I have shown in Chapter 4 that the subject of bilingual education has emerged as a major field of study in its own right and that it has been approached from a variety of interdisciplinary perspectives. By examining language-in-education programs in all the four research sites, I have also shown that language-in-education is not simply a politically neutral instructional phenomenon but rather is implicated in competition amongst groups over gaining access to material and symbolic resources. In the light of this study, I would argue that it is probably more important to examine the outcome of such programs in terms of language orientations, social relations and the consequences of biliteracy and bilingual education in the lives of the learners rather than following the traditional categorization of idealized bilingual education models and program types. I have demonstrated that the full development of bilingual education and biliteracy is carefully controlled and accessible to the elites only.

In the schools in this study, most teachers and school administrators seem to follow the language-as-problem approach in which local languages are considered a problem. In circumstances such as these bilingual education is often taken as a method/approach to give students access to prestigious. However, I have also shown that the situation regarding the development of bilingual education programs in Pakistan is more complex than conceptualized by the linguistic human rights paradigm. While the shift from local languages to powerful languages was the common basis of the programs that were examined in this study, achieving the promised objective of full bilingual and biliteracy development for all students is very remote.

The differences in the language-in-education programs already in place may not just be attributed to their positioning within the broader education system of Pakistan but to every aspect of the school process in terms of ‘context, content, development, media’ (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000).

I have also shown that models of bilingual education suggested by Pakistani experts mainly draw on linguistic human rights arguments/conceptualizations of bilingual education without supporting them with empirical evidence. I have also compared local bilingual programs with current global trends in bilingual education. Here I have shown that the transition model predominates in most bilingual education programs in the world despite empirical findings in support of enrichment models in which languages are seen as resources and are used simultaneously for all educational purposes. Finally, in this chapter I have shown that the phenomenon of unequal access to different types of bilingual education is rooted in the educational and cultural history of South Asia where religious, socioeconomic status and social hierarchy largely determine the kind of bilingual education given to its inhabitants. I have shown that in colonial times a universal English policy was neither envisioned nor considered practical in terms of serving the interests of the empire. As a result, bilingual programs with English were made available to a very small section of the population which then seems to have stratified Pakistani society in terms of segmenting people into groups who were allowed or denied access to bilingual programs. This historical trend in the shaping of bilingual education has not undergone much change in post-colonial Pakistan. I have also shown that the new globalized economy has increased the demand of the elites for access to bilingual education programs with English, more so because they recognize the importance of English and literacy in English in the context of an international job market.

10.5 The Way Forward

The current study has made an attempt to address the relationship between the languages on display in the school environment and the language practices observed inside and outside the classrooms. I have extended a critical linguistic ethnographic approach in school and classroom based research by using the framework of linguistic landscape which does help to illustrate the historical, political and ideological undergirding micro processes. I did not find the framework very useful in examining the relationship between languages on display and the spoken languages in schools. This limitation or challenge is also observed by Rampton (2012:5) who states ‘that sign, practice and ideology are all quite easy to deal with separately or in pairs but handling the dialectics, i.e., the unstable mutual interaction is not that easy.’ This suggests that one of the future directions for linguistic ethnographic research in LPP should be the development of conceptual frameworks that could help us understand the relationship between the written and oral forms of a language.

As I was primarily interested in theorizing real-life discursive practices in schools and the ways in which different social actors contribute to them, I particularly focused on these practices and did not take into account the use of languages in wider society. I suggest it would also be worthwhile for LPP studies in Pakistan to investigate language use in various community contexts. I also realize that in order to adequately address the social implication of bilingual education in the lives of learners, there is a need to further explore the intersection of the shaping of the linguistic repertoires of social actors and educational outcomes, as well as their placement in the labor market. To accomplish them, longitudinal research is necessary.

As the study did not deal specifically with British colonial language-in-education policy, I only reviewed the existing accounts on this subject. I have shown that these are largely based

on discourse analysis of policy documents and government reports. The limitations of these documents stem from the fact that they were produced by people in power who often ignored the experiences of their subordinates. Focused, empirical investigations into the experiences of the locals with British colonial language-in-education policy in concrete settings in the nineteenth century would complement the existing accounts though this would be a challenge in historical research. It would be interesting to see how the ideologies of British colonial language-in-education unfolded in time. A comparison between the years of the British Empire and the current global trends towards the commodification of languages would be illuminating particularly in the context of the new labor markets created by the presence of transnational/multinational companies in Pakistan.

Returning to language-in-education scholarship in Pakistan, I emphasize that this study is the first attempt to engage with the real-life discursive practices in the country's institutions. Following this study, I suggest an ethnographic perspective to the study of language-in-education, with real-life language practices as its basis, would help develop a better understanding of the role of languages in educational institutions in Pakistan. Reliance on statistical accounts cannot offer an in-depth understanding of the complex phenomena associated with language use in specific settings.

Although I have chosen to study four schools, I do not have any notion of their representativeness. I see them as a set of unique cases studied in-depth. As a result, I do not claim any generalization and do not suggest that the research findings are applicable to the entire country. There is, however, a great need for detailed empirical investigation of this kind in other settings so that we can build a fuller picture of the multilingual realities of language-in-education in Pakistan.

References

- Abbas, F., Aslam, S., & Rana, A. M. K. (2011). Code-mixing as a communicative strategy among the university level students in Pakistan. *Language in India: Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow*, 11(1), 95-108.
- Ahmad, R. (2007). Scripting a new identity: The battle for devangari in nineteenth century India. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40(2008), 1163-1183.
- Alderson, J.C. (1992). *Validating Questionnaires*, CRILE Working Papers 15, Lancaster: LAMEL, Lancaster University. [On-line]
<http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/groups/crile/docs/crile15alderson.pdf>
- Annamalai, E. (2005). Nation-building in a globalised world: Language choice and education in India. In A. M. Y. Lin & P. Martin (Eds.), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice* (pp. 20-37). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Arthur, J. (1996). Code switching and collusion: Classroom interaction in Botswana primary classroom. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 17-33.
- Backstrom, P. C., & Radloff, C. F. (Eds.). (1992). *Sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan*. Volume 2: Languages of Northern Areas (pp. 1-412). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics. [On-line]
http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/32840_ssnp02.pdf
- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.). London: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Bakhtin, M. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays*. (C. Emerson, & M. Holoquist, Eds & Trans). Austin, TX: University of Austin Press.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination*. (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Basu, V. (2003). Be quick of eye and slow of tongue: An analysis of two bilingual schools in New Delhi. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research and practice in multilingual settings* (pp.35-70). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baumgardner, R. (1993). *English language in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, E., Amara, M. H., & Trumper-Hecht, N. (2006). Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: the case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 7-30.
- Berger, P. & Luckman, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Blench, R., & Dendo, M. (2000) *Language death in West Africa*. Paper given at the round table on language endangerment. Bad Godesborg.
- Block, D. and Cameron, D. (Eds.) (2002) *Globalization and language teaching*. London: Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. (2012). *Chronicles of complexity: Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscape*. Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies. 29. Retrieved from <http://www.tilburguniversity.edu/research/institutes-and-research-group/babylon/tpcs/>
- Blommaert, J. (February 24, 2011). *Globalized repertoires: Toward a new notion of linguistic subject*. Plenary at 33rd Annual Ethnography in Education Research Forum, Graduate School of Education. University of Pennsylvania USA.

- Blommaert, J., & Huang, A. (2010). *Semiotic and spatial scope: Towards a materialist semiotics*. Working papers in Urban Language & Literacies # 62. Retrieved from www.kcl.ac.uk/Idc
- Blommaert, J. (2007). On scope and depth in linguistic ethnography. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 682-688.
- Blommaert, J. (2006). *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide* [On-line] <https://www.jyu.fi/hum/laitokset/kielet/fidipro/en/courses/fieldwork-text>
- Blommaert, J. (2005). Situating language rights: English and Swahili in Tanzania revisited. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 390-417.
- Blommaert, J. (2001). The Asmara declaration as a sociolinguistic problem: Reflections on scholarship and linguistic rights. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5(1), 131-155.
- Blommaert, J. (1999). *Language ideological debates*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bonacina, F. (2012). Researching practiced language policies: Insights from conversational analysis. *Language Policy*, 11(3), 213-234.
- Bonacina, F. (2010). *A conversation analytic approach to practiced language policies: The example of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France*. Unpublished Phd thesis, The University of Edinburgh, UK.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16 (6): 645-668.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. P. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London, Newbury Park, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002a). *World English: A study of its development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002b). Class, ethnicity, and language rights: An analysis of British colonial policy in Lesotho and Sri Lanka and some implications for language policy. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 1, 207–34.
- Bunyi, G. (2001). Language and education inequality in primary classrooms in Kenya. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 78-100). Westport, Connecticut, London: Ablex
- Calvin, R. R., Decker, S. J., & Hallberg, D. G. (Eds.). (1992). *Sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan* (Vol.1): *Languages of Kohistan* (pp.1-262) Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics. [Online] http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/32836_SSNP01.pdf
- Cambell, L., & Gordona, V. (2008). Ethnologue: Languages of the world (Review). *Language*, 84 (3), 636-641.
- Cameron, D. (2001) Globalization and the teaching of ‘communication skills’. In D. Block and D. Cameron (Eds.) *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 67-82). London: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, A.S. (2005). Accommodating tensions in language-in-education policies: An afterword. In eds. A.M.Y. Lin & P. Martin (Eds.), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice* (pp. 194-201). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2000). Negotiating ideologies through English: Strategies from the periphery. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English* (pp. 121–32). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Canagarajah, A. S. (1995). Functions of codeswitching in ESL classrooms: Socialising bilingualism in Jaffna. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 6(3), 173-195.
- Cheshire, J. (2002). Who we are and where we're going. In P. Gubbins & M. Holt (Eds.), *Beyond boundaries: Language and identity in contemporary Europe* (pp. 19–34). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Chick, J. K. (2003). Constructing a multicultural national identity: South African classrooms as sites of struggle between competing discourses. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23, 462-478.
- Chick, J. K. (2001). Constructing a multicultural national identity: South African classrooms as sites of struggle between competing discourses. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 17, 27-45.
- Chick, J. K. (1996). Safe-talk: Collusion in apartheid education. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 21-39). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chick, J. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (2001). Co-constructing school safe time: Safe talk practices in Peruvian and South African Classrooms. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 31-55). Westport, Connecticut, London: Ablex Publishing.
- Chimbutane, F. (2009). *The purpose and value of bilingual education: A critical, linguistic ethnographic study of two rural primary schools in Mozambique*. Unpublished Phd thesis, University of Birmingham, UK.
- Coleman, H., & Capstick, T. (2012). *Language in education in Pakistan: Recommendations for policy and practice*. Islamabad, Pakistan: British Council.

- Coleman, H. (2010). *Teaching and learning in Pakistan: The role of language in education*. Islamabad, Pakistan: British High Council.
- Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corson, D. (2000). Freeing literacy education from linguistic orthodoxies: A response to R. Hasan's The disempowerment game: Bourdieu and language in literacy. *Linguistics and Education*, 10(4), 411-423.
- Corson, D. (1999). *Language policy in school: A resource for teachers and administrators*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.
- Coulmas, F. (2002). Language policy in modern Japanese education. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 203–224). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Creese, A. (2011). Making local practices globally relevant in researching multilingual education. In F. M. Hult & K. A. King (Eds.), *Educational linguistics in practice: Applying the local globally and the global locally* (pp. 41-55). Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Creese, A. (2008). Linguistic ethnography. In K. A. King & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, (2nd ed., Vol 10): *Research methods in language and education* (pp. 229-241). New York: Springer
- Cummins, J. (2008). Teaching for transfer: Challenging the two solitudes assumption in bilingual education. In J. Cummins & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 5): *Bilingual education* (pp. 65-75). New York: Springer.

- Cummins, J. (2003). Foreword. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research and practice in multilingual settings* (pp. vii-xi). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success of language minority students. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework*. Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University.
- Davies, A. (1996). Review article: Ironising the myth of linguisticism. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 17(6), 485–96.
- Davis, K. A. (1999). The sociopolitical dynamics of indigenous language maintenance and loss: A framework for language policy and planning. In T. Huebner & K. A. Davis (Eds.), *Sociopolitical perspectives on language policy and planning in the USA* (pp. 67–97). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Decker, K. D. (1992). Languages of Chitral. In R. R. Calvin, S. J. Decker & D. G. Hallberg (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan* (pp. 1-252, Vol. 5). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics. [Online] http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/32840_ssnp02.pdf.
- Duchêne, A. and Heller, M. (2012). Pride and profit: Changing discourses of language, capital

- and nation-state. In A. Duchêne and M. Heller, M. (Eds.), *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit*. (pp.1-21). New York: Routledge.
- Durrani, M. (2012). Banishing colonial specters: Language ideology and education policy in Pakistan. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 1(27), 29-49.
- Edwards, A. D., & Westgate, D. P.G. (1994). *Investigating classroom talk* (2nd ed.) (Rev and extended). London: The Falmer Press.
- Edwards, J. (2001). *The ecology of language revival. Current issues in language planning*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Erickson, F., & Shultz, J. (1982). *The counselor as gatekeeper: Social interaction in interviews*. New York: Academic Press.
- Erickson, R., & Mohatt, G. (1982). Cultural organization of participation structures in two classrooms of Indian students. In G. Spindler (Ed.) *Doing the ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action* (pp. 132-74). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Erickson, F. (1996). Ethnographic microanalysis. In S. L. McKay & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language teaching* (pp.283-306). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1976). *Bilingual education: An international sociological perspective*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J. A. (1974). Language modernisation and planning in comparison with other types of national modernisation and planning. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Advances in language planning* (pp. 79-102). The Hague: Mouton.

- Fishman, J. A. (1972). Domains and the relationship between micro-and macrosociolinguistics. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics* (pp. 435-453). New York: Holt Reinhart and Winston.
- Fishman, J. A. (1968). Language problems and types of political and sociocultural integration: A conceptual postscript. In J.A. Fishman, C. A. Ferguson & J. Das Guptas (Eds.), *Language problems of developing nations* (pp. 491-498). New York: John Wiley.
- Fishman, J. A., Ferguson, C.A., & Das Guptas, J. (1968). *Language problems of developing nations*. New York: John Wiley.
- Freeman, R. (2007). Reviewing the research on language education programs. In O. García & C. Baker (Eds.), *Bilingual education: An introductory reader* (pp. 3-18), Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Freeman, R. (2004). *Building on community bilingualism*. Philadelphia, PA: Calson.
- Freeman, R. (1998). *Bilingual education and social change*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fill, A., & Mühlhäusler, P. (Eds.). (2001). *The ecolinguistics reader: Language, ecology, and environment*. New York: Continuum.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- García, O., Skhutinabb-Kangas, T., & Torres-Guzman, M. E. (Eds). (2006). *Imagining multilingual schools: Languages in education and glocalization*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Garfinkel, (1972) Remarks on ethnomethodology. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Blackwell.

- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1976). *New rules of sociological method*. London: Hutchinson.
- Gorter, D. (2006). Introduction: The study of the linguistic landscape as a new approach to multilingualism. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 1-6.
- Government of Pakistan.(2011).*Population census organisation*.Islamabad: Statistics Division, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Statistics. [On-line]<http://www.census.gov.pk/>
- Government of Pakistan.(2010-2011). Ministry of Finance.Pakistan economic survey. Islamabad, Pakistan: Author.
- Government of Pakistan.(2009). *National education policy*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Author.
- Government of Pakistan.(2001).*Census*. [On-line] www.census.gov.pk
- Government of Pakistan.(1973).*Constitution of Pakistan*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Author.
- Government of Pakistan. (1951). *Census*.Manager of Government Publication.
- Grosjean, F. (1985).The bilingual as a competent but specific speaker-hearer.*Journal of Multilingualand Multicultural Development*,6(6), 467–477.
- Grosjean, F. (1982).*Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*.Cambridge, MA:Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1982).*Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallberg, D. G. (1992). Pashto, Wanechi, Ormuri. In R. R. Calvin, S. J. Decker&D. G. Hallberg (Eds.),*Sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan* (Vol 4, pp. 1-175). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics. [On-line]http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/32847_ssnp04.pdf

- Hammarstrom, H. (2009). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th Edition. [Review of thereference volume]. P. M. Lewis (Ed.), SIL International, Dallas, 2009.
- Hammarstrom, H. (2005). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 15th Edition*[Review of the reference volume] R. G. Gordon, Jr. (Ed.), SIL International, Dallas.*LINGUIST LIST*, 16(2637), 1-26. [On-line] <http://www.ling.ed.ac.uk/linguist/issues/16/16-2637.html>.
- Harris, R., Leung, C. and Rampton, B. (2002) Globalization, diaspora and language education in England.In D. Block and D. Cameron (Eds.) *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 29-46). London: Routledge,
- Haugen, E. (1983). The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In J. Cobarrubias& J. Fishman (Eds.), *Progress in language planning:International perspectives*(pp. 269–90). Berlin: Mouton.
- Haugen, E. (1973). The curse of Babel.In M. Bloomfield & E. Haugen (Eds.), *Language as a human problem*(pp. 33-43). New York: W. W. Norton.
- Haugen, E. (1966). Linguistics and language planning.InW.M. Bright (Ed.).*Sociolinguistics*(pp. 50-71). The Hague: Mouton.
- Heller, M. (2011).*Paths to post-nationalism: A critical ethnography of language and identity*.Oxford Scholarship [On-line] <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.lancs.ac.uk>
- Heller, M. (Ed.). (2007).*Bilingualism: A social approach*. London: Palgrave.
- Heller, M. (2006).*Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography* (2nd ed.). London: Continuum.
- Heller, M. (2003).Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity.*Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7 (4), 473-492.

- Heller, M. (2002). Globalization and the commodification of bilingualism in Canada. In D. Block and D. Cameron (Eds.), *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 46-63). London: Routledge.
- Heller, M. (1999) (First edition). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. New York: Longman.
- Heller, M. (1996). Legitimate language in a multilingual school. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 139-157.
- Heller, M. (1994). *Crosswords: Language, education and ethnicity in French Ontario*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heller, M., & Martin-Jones, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*. Westport/London: Ablex.
- Hobsbawn, E. (1990). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J.F. (1995). *The active interview: Qualitative research methods series 37*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Hornberger, N.H. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 24-41). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hornberger, N.H. (2005). Opening and filling up implementational and ideological spaces in heritage language education. *Modern Language Journal*, 89(4), 605-609.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2003). Introduction continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework. In Hornberger, N. H. (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research and practice in multilingual settings* (pp. xii-xxxiii). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Hornberger, N.H. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language Policy*, 1(1), 27-51.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1995). Ethnography in linguistic perspective: Understanding school processes. *Language and Education*, 9(4), 233-248.
- Hornberger, N.H. (1991). Extending enrichment bilingual education: Revisiting typologies and redirecting policy. In O. García (Ed.), *Bilingual education: Focusschrift in honor of Joshua A. Fishman* (Vol. I, pp. 215-234). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1990). Creating successful learning contexts for bilingual literacy. *Teachers College Record*, 92(2), 212-220.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research*, 59(3), 271-296.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1988). *Bilingual education and language maintenance: A southern Peruvian Quechua case*. Providence, RI: Foris Publications
- Hornberger, N.H., & Johnson, D.C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(3), 509-532.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Skilton-Sylvestor, E. (2003). Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research and practice in multilingual settings* (pp.35-70). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality*. London: Tylor and Francis.
- Hymes, D. (1980). *What is ethnography? Language in education: Ethnolinguistic Essays*. Washington, D.C: Centre for Applied Linguistics.

- Hymes, D.H. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hymes, D. (1968). The ethnography of speaking. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Readings in the sociology of language* (pp. 99-138). The Hague: Mouton.
- Jaffe, A. (1999). *Ideologies in action: Language politics on Corsica*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Jeffery, D. (1999). *Sindh survey month November 1996*. Unpublished report.
- Johnson, D.C. (2010). Implementational and ideological spaces in bilingual education language policy. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 13(1), 61-79.
- Johnson, D.C. (2009). Ethnography of language policy. *Language Policy*, 8, 139-159.
- Kachru, B. B. (1997). World Englishes and English-using communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 17, 66-87.
- Khan, K. R. (2004). Classroom bilingual discourse: Problems and prospects. In S. Mansoor, S. Meraj & A. Tahir (Eds.), *Language policy, planning and practice: A South Asian perspective* (pp. 175-186). USA: Oxford University Press.
- King, R. D. (2001) The poisonous potency of script: Hindi and Urdu. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 150, 43-59.
- Kloss, H. (1969). *Research possibilities of group bilingualism: A report*. Quebec: International Centre for Research on Bilingualism.
- Khubchadani, L. (2008). Language policy and education in the Indian subcontinent. In S. May & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 1): *Language policy and political issues in education* (pp. 369-381). New York: Springer.
- Krishnaswamy, N., & Krishnaswamy, L. (2006). *The story of English in India*. Delhi: Foundation Books.

- Kubota, R. (2002) The impact of globalization on language teaching in Japan. In D. Block and D. Cameron (Eds.) *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 13-28). London: Routledge,
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 16*(1), 23-49.
- Lewis, M. P. (Ed). (2009). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (16th ed.). Dallas: SIL International. Retrieved from <http://www.ethnologue.com/>
- Li Wei & Martin, P. (2009) (Eds.). *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 12*(2).
- Li Wei & Wu, C.-J. (2009). Polite Chinese children revisited: Creativity and the use of code switching in the Chinese complementary school classroom. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 12*(2), 193-211.
- Lin, A.M., & Martin, P. W. (Eds.). (2005). *Decolonisation, globalization: Language-in-education policy and practice*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters
- Lin, A.M. (2005). Critical, transdisciplinary perspectives on language-in-education policy and practice in postcolonial contexts: The case of Hong Kong. In A. M. Y. Lin & P.W. Martin (Eds.), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language in education policy and practice* (pp. 38-73). Clevedon: New Perspectives on Language and Education.
- Lin, A.M. (2001). Symbolic domination and the bilingual classroom practices in Hong Kong. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 139-168). Westport, Connecticut, London: Ablex Publishing.
- Lin, A.M. (1996). Bilingualism or linguistic segregation? Symbolic domination, resistance and code switching in Hong Kong schools. In Introduction to the special issue on education in

- multilingual settings: Discourse, identities and power. Part I: Constructing legitimacy. *Linguistic and Education*, 8, 49-84.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2008). Bilingual education and socio-political issues .In J. Cummins & N. H. Hornberger (Eds), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*(2nd ed., Vol. 5).*Bilingual Education* (pp. 35-50). New York: Springer.
- Mahboob, A. (2009). English as an Islamic language: A case study of Pakistani English. *World Englishes*, 28(2), 175-189.
- Mansoor, S. (2009). Regional languages of Pakistan: Issues and concern for language planning in higher education. In S. Mansoor, A. Sikandar, N. Hussain& N. M. Ahsan (Eds.),*Emerging issues in TEFL: Challenges for Asia*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Mansoor, S. (2005).*Language planning in higher education: A case study of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Mansoor, S. (2003).*Language planning in higher education: A case study of Pakistan*.Phd Thesis. University of Reading, UK.
- Mansoor, S. (1993).*Punjabi, Urdu, English in Pakistan: A sociolinguistic study*. Karachi: Vanguard Books.
- Mariam, D. (2012).Banishing colonial specters: Language ideology and education policy in Pakistan.*Working papers in educational linguistics*, 1(27), 29-49.
- Martin, P.W. (2005). Safe language practices in two rural schools in Malaysia: Tensions between policy and practice. In A.M.Y. Lin & P. Martin (Eds), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice* (pp. 74-97).Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Martin-Jones, M. (2011).Language policies, multilingual classrooms: Resonances across continents. In M. F. Hult&A. K. King (Eds.),*Educational linguistics in practice: Applying*

- the local globally and the global locally* (pp. 3-15). Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Martin-Jones, M. (2007). Bilingualism, education and the regulation of access to language resources. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 161-182). London: Palgrave.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (2003). Bilingual resources and funds of knowledge for teaching and learning in multi-ethnic classroom in Britain. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(3-4) 267-282.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (2001). Turn-taking and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse: insights from primary schools in England. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 117-138). Westport, Connecticut, London: Ablex.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (1996). Turn-taking, power asymmetries, and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 105-123.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Heller, M. (1996). Introduction to the special issue on education in multilingual settings: discourse, identities, and power. Part I: Constructing legitimacy. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 3-16.
- May, S. (2008). Introduction to volume 1: Language policy and political issues in education. In S. May & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 1): *Language policy and political issues in education* (pp. 229-241). New York: Springer.
- May, S. (2005). Language rights: Moving the debate forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 319-347.

- May, S. (1997). School language policies. In S. May & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (Vol. 1): *Language policy and political issues in education* (pp. 229-240). New York: Springer.
- McDermott, R.P., & Aron, J. (1978). Pirandello in the classroom: On the possibility of equal educational opportunity in American culture. In M. C. Reynolds (Ed.), *Future of education for exceptional children: Emerging structures* (pp.41-64). New Jersey: Routledge.
- Mehan, H. (1984). Language and schooling. *Sociology of Education*, 57, 174-183.
- Mejía, A-M.de (2002). *Power, prestige and bilingualism: International perspectives on elite bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Mishler, E. G. (1986). The analysis of interview narratives. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct* (pp. 22-44). New York: Praeger.
- Mitchell, D.E., Destino, T., Karam, R.T., & Colón-Muniz, A. (1999). The politics of bilingual education. *Educational Policy*, 13(1), 86-103.
- Mohanty, A. K (2006). Multilingualism of the unequals and predicaments of education in India: Mother tongue or other tongue? In O. García, T. Skutnabb-Kangas & M. E. Torres-Guzmán (Eds.), *Imagining multilingual schools* (pp. 262-283) Clevedon, Buffalo Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Mustafa, Z. (2011). *Tyranny of language in education*. Karachi: Ushba Books.
- Ndayipfukamiye, L. (2001). The contradictions of teaching bilingually in postcolonial Burundi: From Nyakatsi to Maisons en Étages. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 101-115). Westport, Connecticut, London: Ablex Publishing.

- Patrick, D. (2007). Language endangerment, language rights and indigeneity. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 111-134). London: Palgrave.
- Pennycook, A. (2002). Language policy and docile bodies: Hong Kong and governmentality. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 91-110). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. London and New York: Longman.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Qadir, S. A. and Rasul, S. (2009). Code-mixing in Pakistani newspaper: A sociolinguistic analysis. *Kashmir Journal of Language Research*, 12(1), 25-49.
- Rahman, T. (2011). *From Hindi to Urdu: A social and political history*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, T. (2010a). *Language policy, identity and religion: Aspects of the civilization of the Muslims of Pakistan and North India*. Islamabad: Pakistan: Al- Noor Printers.
- Rahman, T. (2010b). "Who's afraid of Urdu and Urdu?" TEDX Lahore. Retrieved from <http://tedxlahore.com/talks/>
- Rahman, T. (2009). Language policy, language death and vitality in Pakistan. In S. Mansoor, A. Sikandar, N. Hussain & N. M. Ahsan (Eds.), *Emerging issues in TEFL: Challenges for Asia*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, T. (2004). *Denizens of alien worlds. A study of education, inequality and polarization in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

- Rahman, T. (2004). *Language policy and localization in Pakistan: Proposal for a paradigmatic shift*. [On-line] <http://www.apnaorg.com/research-papers-pdf/rahman-1.pdf>
- Rahman, T. (2002). *Language, ideology and language learning among Muslims of Pakistan and North India*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, T. (1999). *Language, education and culture*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, T. (1996). *Language and politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, T. (1990). *Pakistani English: The linguistic description of a non-native variety of English*. National Institute of Pakistan Studies Monograph Series. Islamabad: Quaid-e-Azam University.
- Ramanathan, V. (2002). What does “Literate in English” Mean? Divergent literacy practices for vernacular-vs. English medium students in India. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 59 (1), 125-151.
- Rampton, B. (2012, June). Rampton, B. (2012, June). Linguistic ethnography: What and why? [Lecture & Discussion]. Key concepts and methods in ethnography, language and communication. Five-day residential course. London: King’s College London.
- Rampton, B. (2010). Linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics and the study of identities. In C. Coffin, T. Lillis & K. O’ Halloran (Eds.), *Applied linguistics methods: A reader* (pp. 234-250). London: Routledge/ Open University.
- Rampton, B. (2007). Neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 584-607.
- Rampton, B. (2006). *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. London: Cambridge University Press.

- Rampton, B. (1998). Speech community. In J. Verschueren, Jan-Ola Ostman, J. Blommaert & C. Bulcaen (Eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics 1998* (pp. 1-30). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Rampton, B., Harris, R., Collins, J., & Blommaert, J. (2008) Language, class and education. In S. May & N. H. Hornberger (Eds), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (2nd ed., Vol.1): *Language policy and political issues in education* (pp. 71-82). New York: Springer.
- Rampton, B., Tusting, K., Maybin, J., Barwell, R., Creese, A., & Lytra, V. (2004). UK linguistic ethnography: A discussion paper [online]. www.ling-ethnog.org.uk
- Rashka, C., Sercombe, P., & Chi-Ling, H. (2009). Conflicts and tensions in code switching in a Taiwanese EFL classroom. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 12(2), 157-171.
- Rasul, S. (2008). Language hybridization in Pakistani media: Redefining ideology. *Kashmir Journal of Language Research*, 2(1), 14-43.
- Rench, R., Hallberg, D. G., & O' Lary, F. C. (1992). Hindko and Gujari. In R. R. Calvin, S. J. Decker & D. G. Hallberg (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan* (Vol 3, pp. 1-304). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics. [On-line] http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/32846_SSNP03.pdf
- Ricento, T. (Ed.). (2006a). *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ricento, T. (2006b). Theoretical perspectives in language policy: An overview. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 3-9). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

- Ricento, T. (2006c). Language policy: Theory and practice-An introduction. In T. Ricento(Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*(pp. 10-23). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ricento, T. (2000).Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning.*Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(2), 196-213.
- Ricento, T., &Hornberger, N.H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427.
- Robbins, D.(2000). Bourdieu on language and linguistics: A response to R. Hasan'sThe disempowerment game: Bourdieu on language and literacy. *Linguistics and Education*, 10(4), 425-440.
- Roberts, C. (2007).Part one: Issues in transcribing spoken discourse. [On-line] www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/education/research/methods.html
- Rubin, J. &Jernudd, B. (Eds.). (1971).*Can language be planned? Sociolinguistic theory and practice for developing nations*. Honolulu: East-West Center and University of Hawaii Press.
- Ruíz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning.*NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15-34.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E., &Jafferson, G. (1974).A simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking in conversation.*Language* 50, 696-735.
- Saxena, M and Martin-Jones, M.,&. (2013). Multilingual resources in classroom interaction: Ethnographic and discourse analytic perspective. *Language and Education*, 27 (4), 285-297.
- Schneider, E. (2007).*Post Colonial English*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2009). Common ground and different realities: World Englishes and English a lingua franca. *World Englishes*, 28(2), 236-245.

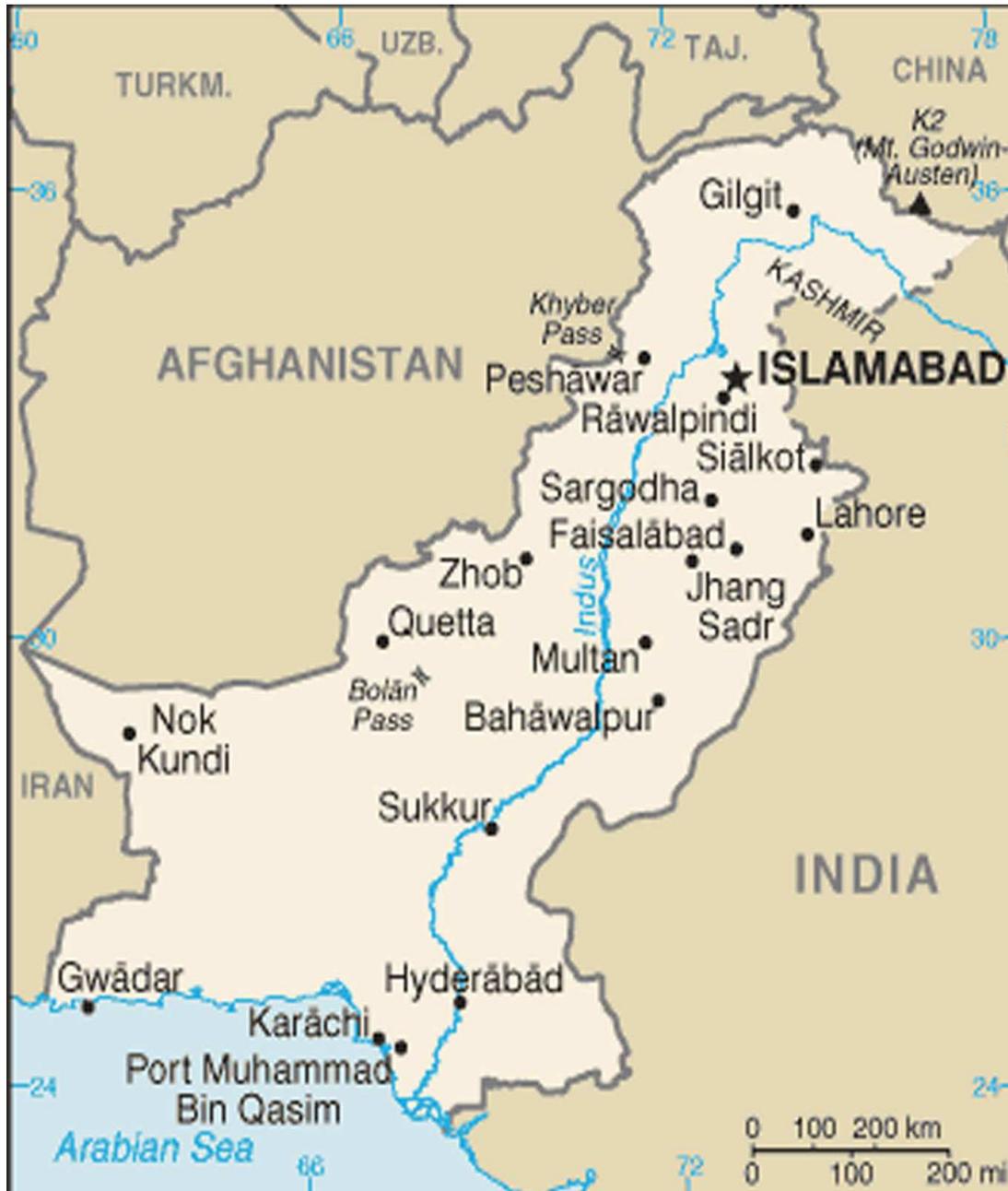
- Shamim, F. (2011). English as the language for development in Pakistan: Issues, challenges and possible solutions. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Dreams and realities: Developing countries and the English language* (pp. 291-309). London: British Council. [On-line]
<http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/Z413%20EDB%20Section14.pdf>
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York: Routledge.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2008). Language rights and bilingual education. In J. Cummins & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 5): *Bilingual education* (pp. 117-131). New York: Springer.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education: Or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1998). Human rights and language wrongs: A future for diversity? *Language Sciences*, 20, 5-27.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Phillipson, R. (Eds.). (1994). *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1981). *Bilingualism or not-the education of minorities*. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.
- Sonntag, S. K. (2002). Minority language politics in North India. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 165-178). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Spolsky, B. (2008). Investigating language education policy. In K. King and N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 10, pp. 27-39). New York: Springer.

- Spolsky, B. (2007). Towards a theory of language policy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 22(1), 1-14.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B., & Shohamy, E. (2000). Language practice, language ideology, and language policy. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and pedagogy: Essays in Honour of A. Ronald Walton* (pp. 1-41). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Street, B.V. (1996) Literacy and power? *Open Letter*, 6(2), 7-16. Sydney, Australia: UTS
- Talmy, S., & Richards, K. (2011). Theorizing qualitative research interviews in applied linguistics. [Special Issue] *Qualitative Interviews in Applied Linguistics: Discursive Perspectives*. *Applied linguistics*, 32(1), 1-5.
- Talmy, S. (2011). The interview as collaborative achievement: Interaction, identity, and ideology in a speech event. [Special Issue]. *Qualitative Interviews in Applied Linguistics: Discursive Perspectives*. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 25-42.
- Tien, C.-Y. (2009). Conflict and accommodation in classroom codeswitching in Taiwan. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2), 173-192.
- Tollefson, J.W. (2008). Language planning in education. In N.H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol.1: pp. 3-14). New York: Springer.
- Tollefson, J.W. (Ed.). (2002a). *Language policies in education: Critical issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Tollefson, J.W. (Ed.). (2002b). Introduction: Critical issues in educational language policy. In *Language policies in Education: Critical Issues* (pp. 3-16). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Tollefson, J.W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. London: Longman.
- Trueba, H.T. (1979). Bilingual-education models: types and designs. In H. T. Trueba & C. Barnett-Mizrahi (Eds.), *Bilingual multicultural education and the professional: From theory to practice* (pp. 54-73). Rowley: Newbury House Publishers.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) 2010. *The real wealth of nations: Pathways to human development* (Human Development Report 2010 - 20th Anniversary Edition). Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2010/chapters/>
- Viswanathan, G. (1989). *Masks of conquest: Literacy studies and British rule in India*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- World Bank. (2010). *Key development data & statistics*. [On-line] <http://data.worldbank.org/>

Appendices 1: Maps

Map 1: Pakistan and Neighboring Countries



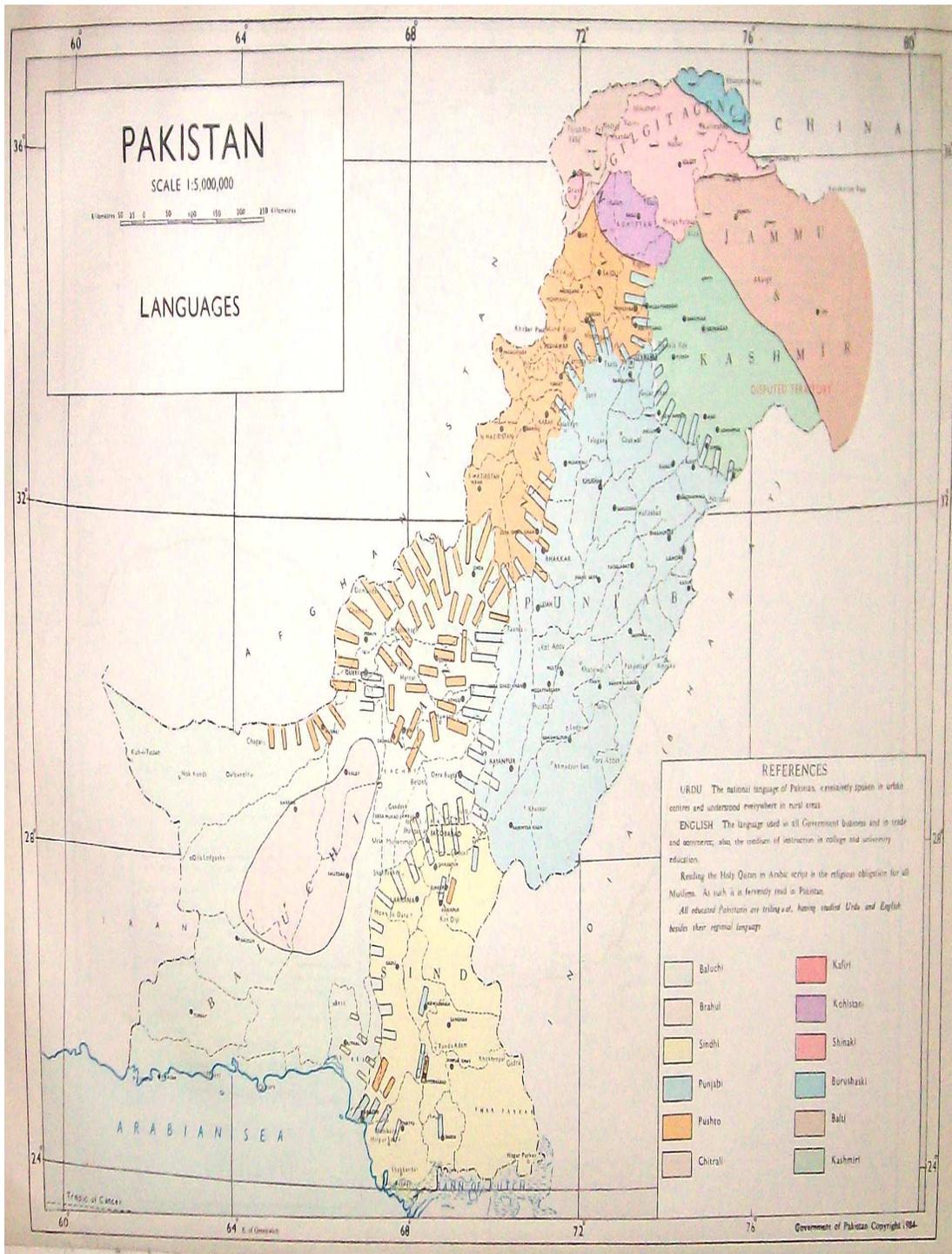
<http://www.lib.utexas.edu> [Accessed December 9, 2011]

Map 2: Pakistan and Neighboring Countries



<http://www.mapsofworld.com> [Accessed December 9, 2011]

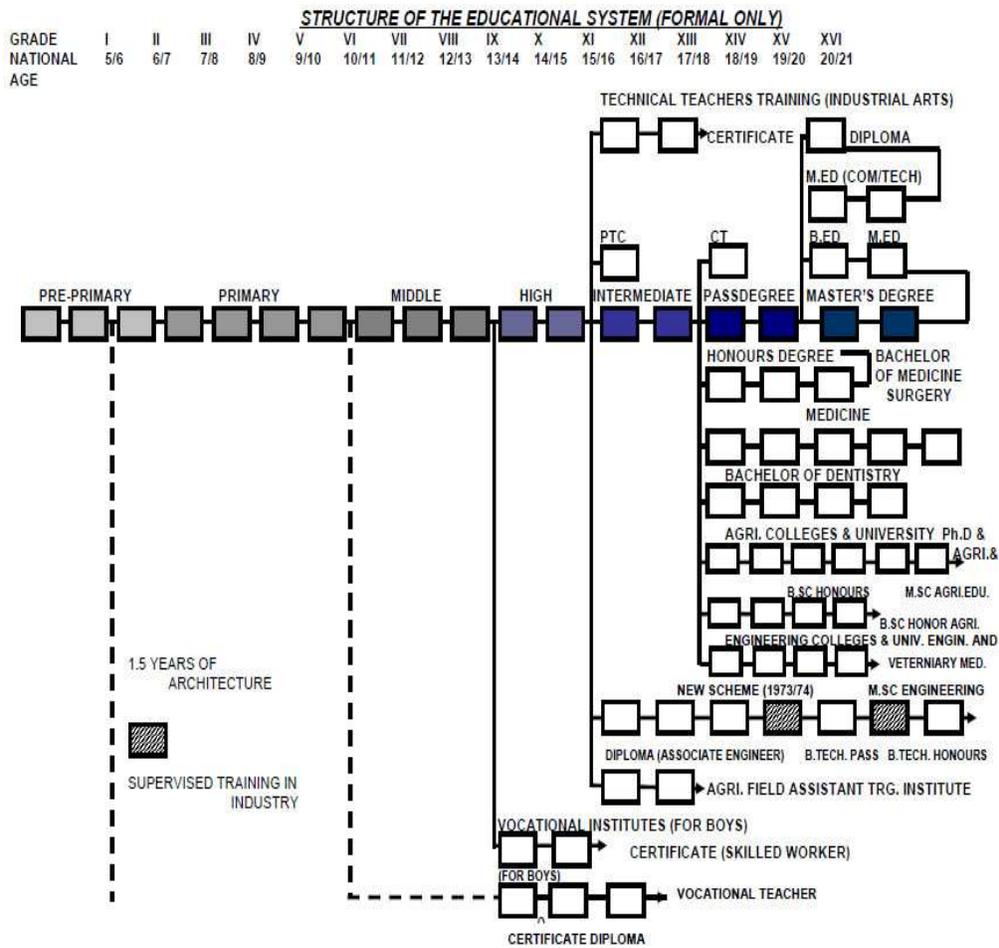
Map 3: Linguistic Map of Pakistan



From: Atlas of Pakistan, (1985, P.64) Director Map Publication Survey of Pakistan

Appendices 2: Education System in Pakistan

Figure 1: Diagram of the National Education System



<http://www.ibe.unesco.org> [Accessed December 9, 2011]



The British Association for Applied Linguistics

Recommendations for good practice in Applied Linguistics student projects

BAAL (The British Association for Applied Linguistics) has developed guidelines for applied linguists in their relation to the profession, colleagues, students, informants, and sponsors. The recommendations are relevant to professional applied linguists, and the core recommendations identified here apply as much to a student doing an essay for an undergraduate course as they do to a professor managing a large funded project. The numbers at the end of each section of this document refer to the corresponding section in the full "Recommendations", available at <http://www.baal.org.uk/goodprac.pdf>

1. **General responsibility to informants** . You should respect the rights, interests, sensitivities, and privacy of people who provide you with your data ("informants"). You should think about and respect all aspects of identity including their culture, gender, and age. On the basis of this, try to anticipate any harmful effects or disruptions to informants' lives and environment, and to avoid any stress, intrusion, and real or perceived exploitation. [6.1]
2. **Obtaining informed consent**. You must get permission from anyone who provides you with data, whether spoken or written. To do this, you should let informants know anything about your project that might affect their willingness to participate: what your objectives are, what you will need from them, how much time it will take, and how you will keep their identities confidential, if that is necessary. When informants are under 16, you also need their parents' permission too. [6.2]
3. **Respecting a person's decision not to participate** . Informants have a right to refuse to participate in research, even if they said at the outset that they would. It is best to plan your project so that it does not depend entirely on the consent of one or two people. (6.3)
4. **Confidentiality and anonymity**. If you have not been given the right to identify participants, they must not be identifiable in any way (confidentiality) and in particular you must not use real names (anonymity). You should try to anticipate ways identities might accidentally be revealed:

by including identifying details, pictures, or moving images, playing voices, or allowing unauthorized access to data on your computer or in your files. (6.4)

5. Deception and covert research. Deception is unacceptable because it violates the principles of informed consent and the right to privacy. When linguists do not want informants to alter their usual style of speech, and anticipate they might do so if they know the purpose of the study, it may be defensible • to tell them the general purpose of the research without revealing specific objectives • to ask them to agree to be deceived at some unspecified time in the future (for instance, if there is going to be a role play)
• (if there is no alternative) to explain the research immediately after gathering the data, and ask for permission then. But if they do not give permission then, you will have to destroy the data without using it (and they may be very angry).

While deception is unacceptable, distraction is generally ethical. Distraction might involve introducing multiple activities into a study to prevent informants monitoring themselves, or asking them to tell about an event in their lives, when what you are interested in is not the story but its form. (6.5)

6. Sponsors and users . If your academic project is done in co-operation with an agency, group, or company in the community, you must usually provide an account of your work that is useful to the user. In turn, they must understand that you have to be evaluated on your work as an academic product, and must meet academic deadlines and standards. (7) This document is copyright BAAL, 2000 - permission to copy is granted provided acknowledgement of BAAL is given.

From: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk> [Access March 4, 2011]

a) Urdu version

جناب پرنسپل

میں آغا خان یونیورسٹی، کراچی کے مرکز میں انگریزی زبان کا سینئر انسٹرکٹر رہا ہوں، ان دنوں میں برطانیہ کی Lancaster یونیورسٹی میں اطلاقی زبان سے متعلق پی ایچ ڈی کر رہا ہوں، اپنے پی ایچ ڈی مقالہ کے لیے میں بے ہوشی میں اپنی تحقیق (ریسرچ) کے لیے آپ کی اجازت چاہتا ہوں۔ اس تحقیق کے ضمن میں میں کمرہ جماعت اور کمرہ جماعت باہر زبان کے طریقوں کا مطالعہ ہوں، میری اس تحقیق کا مقصد ایسی راہیں تلاش کرنا ہے جس کے تحت شاگرد، اساتذہ اور والدین پاکستان کے اسکولوں میں زبان کے ماحول سے بہتر طور پر آگاہی حاصل کر سکیں۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ یہ مطالعہ موجودہ دور میں تعلیمی پالیسی میں رائج زبان کی بہتری میں معاون ثابت ہوگی اور پاکستان میں اسکولوں کی سطح پر اس پر عمل درآمد کیا جاسکے گا۔

میری اس تحقیق میں کمرہ جماعت اور اس سے باہر جیسے کینٹین، کھیل کے میدان میں مشاہدہ اور آڈیو ریکارڈنگ اور اس میں متعلقہ شرکاء (اساتذہ، شاگرد، والدین/سرپرست اور شعبہ تعلیم کے نمائندگان) کے انٹرویوز شامل ہوں گے۔

میری یہ تحقیق اطلاقی زبان سے متعلق برطانوی ایسوسی ایشن، Lancaster یونیورسٹی اور متعلقہ آغا خان تحقیق بورڈز کے مشروط اخلاقی معیار کے مطابق مکمل ہوگی۔ میری اس تحقیق شامل تمام افراد کی مکمل رضامندی درکار ہوگی اور میں یقین دہانی کراتا ہوں کہ تحقیق کے عمل کے تمام مراحل میں معیار پر پورا نہ اترنے والے افراد کا نام ظاہر نہیں کیا جائے گا۔

شرکاء میں کسی کے نام نہیں پہچانے جائیں گے، تحقیق کے دوران کی جانے والی تمام ریکارڈنگ میں خود اور میرے چند معاونین جو transcriptions کے میرے ساتھ ہوں گے ان تک محدود رہے گی۔

تحقیق کے عمل میں کسی بھی موقع پر ہر شریک کو یقین حاصل ہوگا کہ اگر وہ مناسب نہیں سمجھتا تو آڈیو ریکارڈنگ نہ کرے اور اس عمل سے دستبردار ہو جائے۔

تحقیق کے بعد میں آپ کے اسکول سے متعلق حاصل شدہ نتائج کی سموری ہر سطح کے ان تمام حکام کو ارسال کروں گا جو اس عمل میں شریک رہے۔ میں اساتذہ اور والدین/سرپرستوں کے ساتھ اجلاس کا اہتمام کروں گا جس میں اسکول کے مطالعہ اور تحقیق کے نتائج پر تبادلہ خیال کیا جائے گا۔

مزید برآں، اگر مجھے آپ کے اساتذہ کو انگریزی پڑھانے کے حوالے سے کسی سیشن میں مدعو کیا گیا تو میرے لیے آپ کے اسکول آنا باعث مسرت ہوگا۔

آپ کے تعاون کا شکریہ۔

نقطہ

محمد علی خان

b) English version

Dear Principal

04 April 2011

I am writing to ask permission to conduct my research at Bay View High School. I am a Senior Instructor at Centre of English Language, The Aga Khan University, Karachi. I am now doing my PhD in Applied Linguistics at Lancaster University, in the United Kingdom. This work will form the basis for my PhD dissertation.

In this research I am studying language practices in classrooms, outside classrooms taking into account the institutional and societal contexts of their production. My aim is to explore the ways through which pupils, teachers and parents become socialized into School's language environment in Pakistan. I expect this study to contribute in diagnosing and improving the current language-in-education policy, its development and implementation at the level of schools in Pakistan.

The research will involve observation and audio recording of classroom communicative practices, outside classrooms such as canteen, playground as well as interviews with some relevant participants (teachers, pupils, parents/guardians and education representatives).

The study will be conducted fully within the ethical standards prescribed by Lancaster University, by the British Association of Applied Linguistics and by relevant Aga Khan research boards. All people involved will need to give their full informed consent, and I will ensure unqualified anonymity at all stages of the research process and when reporting the findings. No participants will be identified by name, and all recordings will be transcribed and listened to only by myself and a very limited number of assistants who will help me with the transcriptions. Participants will be informed about their right to ask not to be audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the research process if they feel appropriate to do so.

In return I will send the summary of the main findings to your school and to all levels of education authority directly involved in the study. I will also arrange meetings with teachers and parents/guardians from the schools studied with the view to presenting and discussing the research findings. Moreover, since you have invited me to conduct a session for your teachers on Teaching English through Phonemic Symbols, I would be glad to do it while I am at your school.

Thank you for your collaboration.

Yours Faithfully
Muhammad Ali Khan

Consent Forms

Letters granting consent were received from all four schools. They have not been included here so as to preserve confidentiality.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'M' and 'A' followed by a horizontal line extending to the right.

Muhammaad Ali Khan

Doc 5 a, b: Letter of permission sent to teachers

a) Urdu version

محترم استاد

میں اپنی تحقیق کے حوالے سے آپ کی مدد کا خواستگار ہوں۔ میں آغا خان یونیورسٹی، کراچی کے مرکز میں انگریزی زبان کا سینئر انسٹرکٹر رہا ہوں، ان دنوں میں برطانیہ کی Lancaster یونیورسٹی میں اطلاقی زبان سے متعلق پی ایچ ڈی کر رہا ہوں۔
اداہ جاتی اور سماجی تناظر میں اس تحقیق کے ضمن میں میں شفیق احمد خان شہید اسکول زبان و بیان کا مطالعہ کر رہا ہوں تاکہ اس کے ذریعے مزید موثر انداز میں پاکستان کی تعلیمی پالیسی پر عمل درآمد کیا جاسکے۔ میری اس تحقیق کا مقصد ایسی راہیں تلاش کرنا ہے جس کے تحت شاگرد، اساتذہ اور والدین پاکستان کے اسکولوں میں زبان کے ماحول سے بہتر طور پر آگاہی حاصل کر سکیں۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ یہ مطالعہ پاکستان کی تعلیمی پالیسی میں زبان کے نفاذ کے حوالے سے معاون و مددگار ثابت ہوگا۔

میری اس تحقیق میں مشاہدہ، سوالنامہ اور کمرہ جماعت کے اندر اور باہر ہونے والی بات چیت کی آڈیو ریکارڈنگ کے ساتھ ساتھ انٹرویوز بھی شامل ہیں جو 30 منٹ سے زائد کے نہیں ہوں گے۔ میرے اس مطالعہ کا مقصد کام اور کارکردگی کا فیصلہ کرنا ہرگز نہیں لہذا آپ بلا تکلف اپنا کام کر سکتے ہیں۔
میری یہ تحقیق اطلاقی زبان سے متعلق برطانوی ایسوسی ایشن، Lancaster یونیورسٹی اور متعلقہ آغا خان تحقیق بورڈز اور بشمول تمام شرکا (اساتذہ، شاگرد اور والدین/سرپرست) کے مشروط اخلاقی معیار کے مطابق مکمل ہوگی۔ میری اس تحقیق شامل تمام افراد کی مکمل رضامندی درکار ہوگی اور میں یقین دہانی کرتا ہوں کہ تحقیق کے عمل کے تمام مراحل میں معیار پر پورا نہ اترنے والے افراد کا نام ظاہر نہیں کیا جائے گا۔ شرکا میں کسی کے نام نہیں پہچانے جائیں گے، تحقیق کے دوران کی جانے والی تمام ریکارڈنگ میں خود اور میرے چند معاونین جو transcriptions کے میرے ساتھ ہوں گے ان تک محدود رہے گی۔ تحقیق کے عمل میں کسی بھی موقع پر ہر شریک کو یہ حق حاصل ہوگا کہ اگر وہ مناسب نہیں سمجھتا تو آڈیو ریکارڈنگ نہ کرانے اور اس عمل سے دستبردار ہو جائے۔ اس تمام مطالعہ کے شریک اساتذہ کو مکمل آزادی ہوگی وہ اسی زبان میں بات کریں جو وہ اپنی کلاس میں یا اس سے باہر استعمال کرتی ہیں۔ تحقیق کے بعد میں آپ کے اسکول سے متعلق حاصل شدہ نتائج کی سمری ہر سطح کے ان تمام حکام کو ارسال کروں گا جو اس عمل میں شریک رہے۔ میں اساتذہ اور والدین/سرپرستوں کے ساتھ اجلاس کا اہتمام کروں گا جس میں اسکول کے مطالعہ اور تحقیق کے نتائج پر تبادلہ خیال کیا جائے گا۔
اس کے ساتھ ہی اگر آپ نے درخواست کی تو میں انگریزی تلفظ سکھانے کے سیشن کا انعقاد بھی کروں گا۔
مجھے آپ کی بھرپور شرکت اور اہم معلومات کی فراہمی کی توقع ہے جس سے ملک میں تعلیمی زبان کی پالیسی کا مستقبل بہتر بنانے میں مدد ملے گی۔

آپ کی جانب سے وقت دینے کا شکریہ اور میں آپ کی جانب سے اس کورس کی تکمیل کے لیے مدعو کیے جانے کا منتظر ہوں۔

فقط

b) English version

Dear teacher _____

I am writing to ask if you could help me with my research. I am a Senior Instructor at Centre of English Language, The Aga Khan University, Karachi and I am now doing my PhD in Applied Linguistics at Lancaster University, in the United Kingdom. This work will form the basis for my PhD dissertation.

In this research I am studying language practices in schools taking into account the institutional and societal contexts of the development and implementation of Language-in-education policy of Pakistan. My aim is to explore the ways through which teachers, pupils and parents become socialize into school language environment. I expect this study to contribute in diagnosing and improving the current policy and implementation of language-in-education policy of Pakistan.

The research will involve observation, administration of a questionnaire and audio recording of communicative practices in and outside your classroom as well as few interviews with you of no longer than 30 minutes. Thus, apart from the interviews, the research will not take you substantial extra time. The study is not intended to judge the adequacy of your work or your communicative performance, so feel free to conduct your work in an unconstrained and natural way.

The study will be conducted fully within the ethical standards prescribed by Lancaster University, by the British Association of Applied Linguistics and by relevant Aga Khan University research boards. As well as all people involved (teachers, pupils and parents/guardians), you will need to give your full informed consent, and I will ensure unqualified anonymity at all stages of the research process and when reporting the findings. You will not be identified by name, all recordings will be transcribed and listened to only by myself and a very limited number of assistants who will help me with the transcriptions. You have the right to ask not to be audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the research process if you feel appropriate to do so.

Teachers participating in similar studies have found the exercise worthwhile, reporting that they have a chance to reflect on their own language uses in their own classrooms and outside. Therefore, your participation may support you in taking forward your work. In return I will send a summary of the main findings to your school. I will also arrange meetings with teachers and parents/guardians from your school with the view to presenting and discussing the research findings. Apart from that, as requested by most of you, I will be conducting a session on Teaching English Pronunciation through phonemic symbols

I expect your participation to provide important inputs that may help to shape the future of Language-in-education policy of the country.

Thank you very much for your time and I look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Muhammad Ali Khan

a) English version

Statement of Consent

I,, hereby accept to take part as a participant in the study conducted by Mr Muhammad Ali Khan on Language-in-education policy of schools in Pakistan. I confirm my understanding of the purpose and processes involved in the study. I also understand that I will not be identified by name at any stage of the research process and that I have the right to ask not to be video and/or audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the study if I feel appropriate to do so.

.....
(Signature of the participant)

(date/month/year)

Statements of Consents

Statement of consent were received from all those participating in this study.
These have not been included here so as to preserve confidentiality.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'M' and 'A' followed by a long horizontal stroke.

Muhammad Ali Khan

Table: 1: Summary of classes observed and audio recorded at SB, SA, SC and SD

(All names listed below are fictitious names and have been used to preserve confidentiality).

Table I: Summary of classes observed and audio recorded at SB, SA, SC, SD

Teacher	Lesson Nr of lessons and duration	School
Ms Shaista	2 (80 min)	SB
MsFaiza	1 (40 min)	SB
Ms Kulsoom	1 (60 min)	SB
Ms Fatma Gul	1 (45 min)	SB
Ms. Tehmina	1 (45 min)	SB
Ms. Tabinda	1 (60 min)	SB
Ms. Fatima	1 (45 min)	SB
Mr. Kamal	1 (45 min)	SB
Moulana Mati-ur-Rehman	2 (120 min)	SD
Moulana Khalid Amin	1 (60 min)	SD
Moulana Abdur Rahim	2 (120 min)	SD
Moulana Afzal	1 (60 min)	SD
Moulana Shafeeq-ur-Rehman	1 (60 min)	SD
Mr. Ishaq	1 (45 min)	SC
Mr. Tarang	1 (45 min)	SC
Mr. Salim	1 (45 min)	SC
Totals	18 (975 min)	

Table 2: Debriefing sessions with teachers observed at SB,SA, SC and SD

Name / Group	Role	Language of Interview
Ms.Sadia	Grade 6 to 10 English language teacher at SB	English & Urdu
Ms. Faiza	Class teacher primary one at SB	Urdu
Ms.Kulsoom	Class teacher Pre-Primary	English
Ms. Fatma Gul	Grade 9 History, English and Citizenship Teacher at SA	English
MS. Tehmina	Grade 9 & 10 Islamiat and English	English

	Language teacher at SB	
Mr.Tarang	Class teacher and English language teacher at SC	Urdu
Mr.Ishaq	Grade 10,Urdu language teacher at SC	Urdu
Ms.Tabinda	Grade XII Urdu language teacher at SB	Urdu
Group of 4 teachers	Class teacher/Urdu language teacher/ Art teacher	Urdu
Ms. Amna	Class teacher of primary at SB	Urdu

Table 3 a: School management, teachers, parents and pupils interviewed and audio recorded at SB,

Name / Group	Role	Language of Interview
Mr,Afzal	Principal (Morning shift)	English
Ms.Zubeida	HeaSDistress Primary Section	English
Mr.Nasir	Principal (Afternoon Shift)	Urdu
Ms.Andaleeb	Incharge ,Secondary school	Urdu
Ms.Sadia	Grade 6 to 10 English	English
Ms.Sana	Grade 5 teacher	English
Ms.Nasreen	Grade 10 English language teacher	English
Ms.Zakia	Grade 8 English language teacher	English
Mr.Asad	Grade 10 Islamiat teacher	English
Ms.Mubashir	Grade 8 Urdu language teacher	Urdu
Ms.Talat Ejaz	Grade 10 Urdu language teacher	Urdu
Ms.Talat	Mother	Urdu
Ms. Murad	Father	Urdu
Mrs.Ghafoor	Mother	Urdu
Ms.Farah	Mother	Urdu
Mr. and Mrs. Kiyani	Parents	Urdu
Ms.Mehar Murad	Pupil	Urdu
Ms.Tooba Ejaz	Pupil	Urdu

Table 3 b: School management, teachers, parents interviewed and audio recorded at SA

Name / Group	Role	Language of Interview
Aine Arfin	Principal Middle School	English
Ms.Ghazala	HeaSDistress Primary	English
Ms.Uzma	Coordinator English Language	English
Ms. Saira Azmat	Director	English
Ms.Farzana	HeaSDistress, Kinder Garten	English

Ms.Nazia Siddiqi	Curriculum and Co-curricular Coordinator	English
Ms.Fatima Gul	Teacher	English
Ms.Tehmina	Teacher	English
Mr.Tariq	Part Time Teacher	English
Ms.Yusra	Teacher	English
Ms.Huma	Teacher	English
Ms.Mehnaz	Montessori Directors	English
Ms.Tabinda Karim	Teacher	English
Ms.Erum	Mother	English
Mr. Ghafoor	Father	English
Mrs Humaira	Mother	English
Ms.Nida Tayyab	Pupil	English
Mr. Asghar	Pupil	English

Table 4: Meeting attended and audio recorded in schools

Group Involved	Nature	Language used	School
Pupils	Planning for preaching Islam	Urdu	SD
Parents and teachers	Parent- teacher	Urdu	SB
Parents and teachers	Parent – teacher	English	SA

Table 5: Pupils interviewed and audio recorded at SB, SA, SC and SD

Group Involved	Role	School	Language of interview
Mr.Mehar Murad	Student	SB	Urdu
Ms.Tooba Ejaz	Student	SB	Urdu
Ms.Nida Tayyab	Student	SB	English
Mr.Asghar Naqvi	Student	SA	English
Group of 3 pupils	Students	SC	Urdu
Mr.Rizwan	Student	SD	Urdu
Mr.Osama	Student	SD	Urdu

Table 6: Parents interviewed at SB,SA, SC and SD

Name/Group	Role	School	Language of interview
Mr.and Mrs. Kiyani	Parent	SB	Urdu
Mrs.Ghafoor	Parent	SB	Urdu
Mr.Bashir	Parent	SB	Urdu
Mr. Ghaffar	Parent	SA	English
Mrs Humaira	Parent	SA	English

Mr.Shah	Parent	SC	Urdu
Mr.Zahir	Parent	SC	Urdu
Mr. Khalid	Parent	SD	Urdu
Mr. Naseer	Parent	SD	Urdu

Table 7: Events attended and audio recorded at SB,SA,SC and SD

Type	Name /Group	School
Sports	Group of 20 pupils and a teacher	SB
Independence day celebrations	All pupils & all teachers management and staff	SB
Morning Assembly	All pupils & all teachers management and staff	SB
Morning Assembly	All pupils & all teachers management and staff	SA
Morning Assembly	All pupils & all teachers management and staff	SC

Table 8 a, b: School management, teachers, parents and pupils interviewed at SD

Name	Role	Language of Interview
MoulanaAbd-ur-Rehman	Teacher	Urdu
Mr.Osama	Student	Urdu
Mr.Rizwan	Student	Urdu

Table 8b: School Management, teachers, parents and pupils interviewed at SC

Name	Role	Language of Interview
Mr.Ansari	Principal	Urdu
Mr.Ishaq	Teacher	Urdu
Mr.Sajid	Teacher	Urdu
Mr.Tarang	Teacher	Urdu
Mr.Shah	Father/School Canteen Worker	Urdu
Mr.Zahir	Father	Urdu
Mr.Bilal	Student	Urdu
Mr.Jameel	Student	Urdu
Mr.Khayyam	Student	Urdu

Table 9: **Transcription Conventions**

Character Format

<i>Italics</i>	<i>translations of Urdu/Pushto/ Arabic/ Persian into English</i>
Normal	transcription for English and Urdu utterances
Bold	transcription for P/A/ P utterances
Capital Letters	initial capitals (only used for proper names, language names, place names, titles, and months/days of the week)

Symbols

*	indicates louder speech than usual
(...)	indicates that part of the episode transcribed have been omitted
((text))	contextual information
(xxx)	(xxx) completely unintelligible utterance
(xxx) “ ”	reading from the text books, writings on chalk boards, farewell party titles
[word or text]	word, phrase or text not uttered but implicit in speaker’s speech

Representation of Other Features

...	pause: the number of dots indicates the relative length of each pause
^ expects	raising intonation followed by an oral gap that a speaker (e.g. teacher) the listener(s) (e.g. pupils) to fill with a syllable, a word or phrase
!	emphasis: marked prominence through pitch or increase volume

Participants

S:	non identified student
Ss:	several or all students speaking simultaneously
R:	researcher
T:	teacher

Table 10 Questionnaire

Language-in-Education Policy Questionnaire

Introduction

I am a doctoral researcher at the department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, UK. For my PhD research, I am looking at the language policy and practices in representative schools of Pakistan. The purpose of the survey is to better understand the language-in-education policy of Pakistan. This is not a test so there are no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers and you don’t even have to write your name on it. I am interested in your personal opinion. Please give your responses sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of investigation. Thank you very much for your help.

1. What subjects/subjects do you teach in School?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
 - d. _____

2. Which Level do you teach? (please put a tick mark)
 - a. Primary _____
 - b. Middle _____
 - c. Secondary _____
 - d. High Secondary _____

3. What is your school teaching experience? (please put a tick mark)
 - a. 0 to 5 years _____
 - b. 6 to 10 years _____
 - c. More than 10 years _____

4. Please tick the highest level of your educational Qualification?
 - a. Ph.D _____
 - b. Masters _____
 - c. Bachelors _____
 - d. Alim-e-Din _____
 - e. Other (please specify) _____

5. What is the medium of instruction in your school?
 - a. English only _____
 - b. Urdu only _____
 - c. English & Urdu _____
 - d. Others (please specify) _____

6. In which Language/Languages do you perform the following tasks in your school? Please select the numbers from the below and write the number given against the tasks?

	1. English only	2. Urdu only	3. English and Urdu	4. Others (please specify)
• Teaching:				
a) main lesson content				_____
b) classroom management				_____
c) explanations				_____
d) reply to pupils questions				_____
e) giving instructions				_____
• Planning:				_____
• Greetings:				_____
• Board work:				_____
• Class Test:				_____
• Feedback on Pupils work:				_____
• Parent-Teacher Meeting:				_____
• Report Writing:				_____

7. Does your school have written languages policy?
 - a. Yes _____
 - b. No _____

If it does, please say briefly what you believe it to be?
 If no, how would you describe the language policy of your school?

8. Do all or nearly all the students have the same home language?

- a. Yes _____
- b. No _____

9. a) Please list the home language / languages of your pupils and say approximately what proportion speaks each?

- a. _____,
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____

10. Which language / languages do you encourage pupils to use at school? Please give reasons:

11. Which language / languages do you encourage pupils to use outside school? Please give reasons:

12. What language / languages do you use while interacting with following persons? Please select the numbers from the box below and write the number in the given against the tasks?

1. English only 2. Urdu only 3. English and Urdu 4. Others (please specify)

- a. Principal _____
- b. Parents _____
- c. Support Staff _____
- d. Colleagues _____

13. In which language do pupils mostly use at the following: Please select the numbers from the below and write the number in the given against the tasks?

1. English only 2. Urdu only 3. English and Urdu 4. Others (please specify)

- a. Note taking _____
- b. Answering Teachers Questions _____
- c. Peers (class fellows) _____
- d. School Canteen _____
- e. Playground _____
- f. Formal School functions _____
- g. Convocations _____
- h. Library _____
- i. Greetings _____

14. Which language/languages do parents of your pupils prefer for their children to have command? (please tick mark)

- a. English only _____
 b. Urdu only _____
 c. English & Urdu _____
 d. Others (please specify) _____

Thank you very much for your help.

Muhammad Ali Khan m.khan@lancaster.ac.uk

If you wish to have the summary of this study sent to you, please write your e-mail id here: _____.

I would like to invite a few volunteers to follow up interview, please raise your hands if you are interested to take part in it.

Appendices 4: Research Sites

Research Sites

Table 10: Teachers in SB in Karachi in 2011

Name	Gender	First language	Teacher training (years)	Teaching experience (years)	Grade taught
Ms. Faiza	F	Urdu	-	11	6 to10
Mr. Afzal	M	Urdu	1	11	6 to10
Ms Sana	F	Urdu	1	11	6 to10
Ms. Nasreen	F	Punjabi	1	20	6 to10
Ms. Ambreen	F	Urdu	No	7	7 to 9
Ms. Farah	F	Urdu	No	7	7 to 9
Ms. Talat	F	Urdu	1	6	6 to10
Ms. Sarwat	F	Urdu	No	20	10
Ms. Zakia	F	Urdu	2	22	3,4,5
Ms. Kulsoom	F	Urdu	1	22	3,4,5
Mr. Nasir	M	Urdu	1	27	3,4,5
Mrs. Gafoor	F	Urdu	1	10	6
Ms. Shaista	F	Urdu	No	3	6

Table 11: Teachers in SA in Karachi in 2011

Name	Gender	First language	Teacher training (years)	Teaching experience (years)	Grade taught
Ms Fatima Gul	F	Punjabi	-	13	6 to 10
Ms Tehmina	F	Urdu	-	18	6 to 10
Ms Fatima	F	Punjabi	-	5	11 and 12
Ms Yusra	F	Punjabi	-	6 months	4 to 6
Ms Rizwan	F	Urdu	-	5	8 to 10
Ms Huma	F	Urdu	-	10	11 and 12
Ms Tabinda Kiran	F	Punjabi	-	20	11 and 12

Table 12: Teachers in SC in Quetta in 2011

Name	Gender	First language	Teacher Training (years)	Teaching Experience (years)	Grade taught
Mr Salim	M	Sareiki	1	21	6 to 8
Mr Sajid	M	Punjabi	1	7	6 to 10
Mr Tarang	M	Pushto	1	23	6 to 10
Mr Ishaq	M	Punjabi	1	21	6 to 10
Mr Akbar	M	Balochi	1	15	6 to 10

Table 13: Teachers in SD in Karachi in 2011

Name	Gender	First language	Teacher training (years)	Teaching experience (years)	Grade taught
MoulanaKahlid Amin	M	Urdu	1	20	6,7,8
MoulanaShafeeq-ur-Rehman	M	Urdu	1	13	4,5,6
MoulanaAbdurRehman	M	Urdu	1	13	4,5,6
Mufti Mati-ur- Rehman	M	Urdu	1	12	4,5,6
MoulanaAfzal	M	Urdu	1	10	4,5,6

Appendix 5: Relationship between Language-in-education Policy and Everyday Language Practices in Schools

5.1: Common Classroom Interactional Practices in Schools

Extract 1: English Language Class at (SC, 17-5-2011)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | Mr S. [Urdu] | چلیں سارے لڑکے صفحہ نمبر سات کھولیں..
come on boys open your book to page seven.. |
| 2 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "my family consist of six members" .. |
| 3 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | میرا خاندان چھ لوگوں پر مشتمل ہے.. |
| 4 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "(consists of).. members ..my family consists of six members" |
| 5 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | (مشتمل ہونا).. رکن کتنے آدمی ہیں.. میرا خاندان چھ افراد پر مشتمل |
| 6 | Mr S. [reading, English] | " I have one brother.. my name is Amna.. and my brothers name is Abid.. my father is a doctor" .. |
| 7 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | میرا ایک بھائی ہے.. میرا نام آمنہ ہے.. میرے بھائی کا نام عابد ہے.. (میرا والد ڈاکٹر ہے.. میرا باپ ڈاکٹر ہے).. |
| 8 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "(he is known as Dr. Umer).. my mother's name is Aisha.. she is a house wife.. my grand parents dadi amma and dada abbu live with us.. my dada abbu is an old man" .. |
| 9 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | (وہ ڈاکٹر عمر سے پہچانا جاتا ہے اس کا نام ڈاکٹر عمر ہے).. میری ماں کا نام عائشہ ہے.. وہ گھریلو عورت ہے یعنی گھر کا کام کاج کرتی ہے.. میری دادی امی اور دادا ابو ہمارے ساتھ رہتے ہیں.. میرے دادا انجی بوڑھے آدمی ہیں عمر رسیدہ ہیں بڑی عمر کے ہیں.. |
| 10 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "he is 70 years old.. my dadi amma is also an old lady.. (she is quite healthy and).. my dadi amma is also an old lady.. she is very loving and kind" .. |
| 11 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | ان کی عمر 70 سال ہے.. میری دادی امی بھی بوڑھی ہیں.. لیکن وہ صحت مند اور چست ہیں.. (صحت مند) چست وہ بہت محنتی اور محبت کرنے والی ہیں.. |
| 12 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "every night before going to bed.. she tells me different but interesting stories.. she never forgets to give me sweets and rewards for my good deeds" .. |
| 13 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | ہر رات سونے سے پہلے.. (وہ مجھے دلچسپ اور مختلف کہانی سنانے کے لیے کہتی ہیں).. وہ اچھے اعمال کے انعام کے طور پر وہ مجھے مٹھائی دینا نہیں بھولتی.. وہ انعام میں مجھے مٹھائی دینا نہیں بھولتی.. جب میں کوئی اچھا کام کرتی ہوں تو میری دادی امی انعام کے طور پر مجھے مٹھائی دینا نہیں بھولتی.. |
| 14 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "she teaches me how to recite the Holy Quran.. my dadi amma is very regular in her prayers.. and tells me to say my prayers every day" .. |
| 15 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | وہ مجھے قرآن پاک کی تلاوت کرنا سکھاتی ہیں.. میری دادی امی نماز کی بہت پابندی کرتی ہیں باقاعدگی سے نماز پڑھتی ہیں روزانہ باقاعدگی سے.. اور روزانہ مجھے نماز پڑھنے کیلئے کہتی ہیں روزانہ مجھے نماز پڑھنے کیلئے کہتی ہیں.. |
| 16 | Mr S. [reading, English] | "she is kind and generous.. my brother Adil is younger than me..he studies in class three.. he is very naughty and careless.. he loves to play with my doll.. i always help and guide him in his studies.. we play together and share our toys.. we all love one another" .. |
| 17 | Mr S. [translating, Urdu] | وہ مہربان اور سخی طبیعت کی ہیں generous means سخی میرا بھائی عادل مجھ سے چھوٹا ہے.. وہ تیسری کلاس میں پڑھتا ہے.. میں اسکی مدد کرتی ہوں اور پڑھائی میں اسکی مدد کرتی ہوں.. ہم ایک ساتھ کھیلتے ہیں اور میں اسے اپنے کھلونوں میں شریک کرتی ہوں.. (شریک کرنا) ہم ایک دوسرے سے محبت کرتے ہیں.. |

- 18 Mr S. [reading, English] "one another and each other^ we are happy family... my father is a child specialist.. he spends most of his time looking after sick children" ..
- 19 Mr S. [translating, Urdu] (ایک دوسرے سے) (جب وہ لوگ ہوں) (جب دو سے زیادہ ہوں) ہم خوش باش ہیں خوش باش خاندان ہیں.. میرا والد بچوں کا ڈاکٹر ہے.. ان کا اکثر وقت بیمار بچوں کی نگرانی میں گزارتا ہے ..
- 20 Mr S. [reading, English] "he does not charge any fee from poor patients" ..
- 21 Mr S. [translating, Urdu] غریب بیمار لوگوں سے مریضوں سے فیس نہیں لیتے ہیں..
- 22 Mr S. [reading, English] "he gives them medicine free of cost.. my mother is an educated lady.. she looks after my grand parents.. and helps me and my brother with our home"
- 23 Mr S. [translating, Urdu] وہ انہیں فری میڈیسن دیتے ہیں دواؤں کا کوئی بیس نہیں لیتے.. بغیر پیسے کے دوائی دیتے ہیں میری ماں پڑھی لکھی خاتون ہیں.. وہ میری دادی امی اور دادا ابو کی دیکھ بھال کرتی ہیں.. (وہ ہماری مدد کرتی ہیں) وہ میرے اور میرے بھائی کے کام کرنے میں مدد کرتی ہیں..
- 24 Mr S. [reading, English] *listen carefully.. you will learn it by heart.. it is not difficult lesson*
- 25 Mr S. [translating, Urdu] غور سے سنو.. تم اس کو یاد کر لو گے.. یہ سبق مشکل نہیں ہے
- 26 Mr S. [reading, English] "my family consists of six members.. i have one brother..my name is Amna.. any my brother's name is Abid..my father is a doctor" ..
- 27 Ss. [translating, Urdu] میرا خاندان چھ لوگوں پر مشتمل ہے.. رکن کتنے آدمی ہیں.. میرا خاندان چھ افراد پر مشتمل.. میرا ایک بھائی ہے.. میرا نام آمنہ ہے.. میرے بھائی کا نام عابد ہے.. وہ ڈاکٹر عمر سے پہچانا جاتا ہے اس کا نام ڈاکٹر عمر ہے..
- 28 Mr S. [reading, English] "my mother's name is Aisha.. she is a house wife.. my grand parents dadi amma and dada abbu also live with us.. also my dada abbu is an old man.. he is seventy years old"
- 29 Ss. [translating, Urdu] میری ماں کا نام عائشہ ہے.. وہ گھریلو عورت ہے یعنی گھر کا کام کاج کرتی ہیں .. میری دادی امی اور دادا ابو ہمارے ساتھ رہتے ہیں.. میرے دادا ابھی بوڑھے آدمی ہیں عمر سیدہ ہیں بڑی عمر کے ہیں.. ان کی عمر 70 سال ہے..
- 30 Mr S. [reading, English] "my dadi amma is also an old lady.. she is very loving and kind..every night before going o bed.. she tells me different but interesting stories.. she never forgets to give me sweets and rewards for my good deeds" ..
- 31 Ss. [translating, Urdu] میری دادی امی بھی بوڑھی ہیں.. وہ اچھے اعمال کے انعام کے طور پر وہ مجھے منائی دینا نہیں بھولتی.. وہ انعام میں مجھے منائی دینا نہیں بھولتی.. جب میں کوئی اچھا کام کرتی ہوں تو میری دادی امی انعام کے طور پر مجھے منائی دینا نہیں بھولتی..
- 32 Mr S. [reading, English] "she teaches me how to recite the Holy Quran.. my dadi amma is very regular in her prayers.. and tells me to say my prayers every day" ..
- 33 Ss. [translating, Urdu] وہ مجھے قرآن پاک کی تلاوت کرنا سکھاتیں.. میری دادی امی نماز کی بہت پابندی کرتی ہیں باقاعدگی سے نماز پڑھتی ہیں روزانہ باقاعدگی سے.. اور روزانہ مجھے نماز پڑھنے کیلئے کہتی ہیں روزانہ مجھے نماز پڑھنے کیلئے کہتی ہیں..
- 34 Mr S. [reading, English] "she is kind and generous.. my brother Adil is younger than me..he studies in class three.. he is very naughty and careless.. he loves to play with my dolls" ..
- 35 Ss. [translating, Urdu] وہ مہربان اور نیک طبیعت کی ہیں generous means میرا بھائی عادل مجھ سے چھوٹا ہے.. وہ تیسری کلاس میں پڑھتا ہے.. وہ بہت شرارتی اور وہ بہت غیر محتاط ہے.. وہ میری گڑبائیوں کے ساتھ کھیلتا پسند کرتا ہے...
- 36 Mr S. [reading, English] "i always help and guide him in his studies.. we play together and share our toys.. we all love one another" ..

- 37 Ss. [translating, Urdu] میں اسکی مدد کرتی ہوں اور پہنچائی میں اسکی مدد کرتی ہوں .. ہم ایک ساتھ کھیلتے ہیں اور میں اسے اپنے کھلونوں میں شریک کرتی ہوں .. ہم ایک دوسرے سے بہت محبت کرتے ہیں ..
- 38 Mr S. [reading, English] "we are a happy family.. my father is a child specialist.. he spends most of his time looking after sick children.. he does not charge any fee from poor patients.. he gives them medicine free of cost" ..
- 39 Ss. [translating, Urdu] ہم خوش باش فیملی میں خوش باش خاندان ہیں .. میرا والد بچوں کا ڈاکٹر ہے .. ان کا اکثر وقت بیمار بچوں کی نگرانی میں گزرتا ہے .. غریب بیمار لوگوں سے مریضوں سے فیس نہیں لیتے ہیں (مریض) (غریب) وہ انہیں فری میڈیسن دیتے ہیں دواؤں کا کوئی پیسہ نہیں لیتے .. بغیر پیسے کے دوائی دیتے ہیں ..
- 40 Mr S. [reading, English] "my mother is an educated lady.. she looks after my grand parents.. and helps me and my brother with our home work"
- 41 Ss. [translating, Urdu] میری ماں پرچی لکھی خاتون ہیں .. وہ میری دادی اور دادا ابوی دیکھ بھال کرتی ہیں .. (وہ ہماری مدد کرتی ہیں) وہ میرے اور میرے بھائی کے کام کرنے میں مدد کرتی ہیں ..
- 42 Mr S. [reading, English] "my family consist of six members..^my family consists of six members^.. i have one brother^.. my name is Amna^.. and my brother's name is Abid^" ..
- 43 Ss. [translating, Urdu] :میرا خاندان چھ لوگوں پر مشتمل ہے .. :میرا خاندان چھ افراد پر مشتمل ہے .. :میرا ایک بھائی ہے .. :میرا نام آمنہ ہے .. :میرے بھائی کا نام عابد ہے ..
- 44 Mr S. [reading, English] "my father is a doctor.^ my mothers name is Aisha^.. she is ahousewife^.. my grand parents dadi amma and dada abbu also live with us^.. also my dada abbu is an old man^.. he is seventy years old^" ..
- 45 Ss. [translating, Urdu] :میرا والد ڈاکٹر ہے .. میرا باپ ڈاکٹر ہے .. وہ ڈاکٹر سے پچھتا جاتا ہے اس کا نام ڈاکٹر عمر ہے .. میری ماں کا نام عائشہ ہے .. وہ گھریلو عورت ہے یعنی گھر کا کام کاج کرتی ہے .. میری دادی امی اور دادا ابو ہمارے ساتھ رہتے ہیں ... :میرے دادا ابھی بوڑھے آدمی ہیں عمر سیدہ ہیں بڑی عمر کے ہیں . ان کی عمر 70 سال ہے ..
- 46 Mr S. [reading, English] "my dadi amma is also an old lady^.. she is very loving and kind ^.. every night before going to bed^..she tells me different but interesting stories^.. she never forgets to give me sweets and rewards for my good deeds^" ..
- 47 Ss. [translating, Urdu] میری دادی امی بھی بوڑھی ہیں .. لیکن وہ صحت مند اور چست ہیں .. ہر رات بستر پہ جانے سے پہلے اور ہر رات سونے سے پہلے وہ دلچسپ اور مٹھاب کہانیاں سناتی ہیں .. جب میں کوئی اچھا کام کرتی ہوں تو میری دادی امی انعام کے طور پر مجھے مٹھائی دینا نہیں بھولتی ..
- 48 Mr S. [reading, English] "she teaches me how to recite the Holy Quran^.. my dadi amma is very regular in her prayers^.. and tells me to say my prayers every day^.. she is kind and generous^.. my brother Adil is younger than me^" ..
- 49 Ss. [translating, Urdu] وہ مجھے قرآن پاک کی تلاوت کرنا سکھاتی ہیں .. میری دادی امی نماز کی بہت پابندی کرتی ہیں باقاعدگی سے پڑھتی ہے روزانہ باقاعدگی سے .. اور روزانہ مجھے نماز پڑھنے کیلئے کہتی ہیں وہ مہربان اور سخی طبیعت کی ہیں generous means سخی ... میری بھائی عادل مجھ سے چھوٹا ہے
- 50 Mr S. [reading, English] "he studies in class three^.. he is very naughty and careless^.. he loves to play with my dolls^.. i always help and guide him in his studies^..we play together and share our toys^" ..
- 51 Ss. [translating, Urdu] وہ تیسری کلاس میں پڑھتا ہے .. وہ بہت شرارتی اور بہت غیر محتاط ہے .. وہ میری گڑبوں کے ساتھ کھیلا پسند کرتا ہے .. میں اسکی مدد کرتی ہوں اور پہنچائی میں اسکی مدد کرتی ہوں .. ہم ایک ساتھ کھیلتے ہیں اور میں اسے اپنے کھلونوں میں شریک کرتی ہوں ..

52	Mr S. [reading, English]	"we all love one another^.. we are a happy family my father is a child specialist^.. he medicine free of cost ^" ..
53	Ss. [translating, Urdu]	ہم ایک دوسرے سے محبت کرتے ہیں .. ہم خوش باش فیملی ہیں خوش باش خاندان ہیں .. میرا والدین بچوں کا ڈاکٹر ہے .. ان کا اکثر وقت بیمار بچوں کی نگرانی میں گزرتا ہے .. غریب بیمار لوگوں سے مرلیضوں سے فیس نہیں لیتے ہیں .. وہ انہیں فری میڈیسن دیتے ہیں دوواؤں کا کوئی پیسہ نہیں لیتے ..
54	Mr S. [reading, English]	"my mother is an educated lady^..she looks after my grand parents^.. and helps me and my brother with our home work"
55	Ss. [translating, Urdu]	میری ماں پڑھی لکھی خاتون ہیں .. وہ میری دادی امی اور دادا ابو کی دیکھ بھال کرتی ہیں .. وہ میرے اور میرے بھائی کے کام کرنے میں مدد کرتی ہیں ..

Extract 2: A grade six lesson on Jihad Holywar, (SD, Maulana Abdul Rehman, 30-7-2011)

1	Mr. M. [reading, Urdu]	امام ابوحنیفہ رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ سے روایت ہے کہ سریا میں جو اصل تعداد ہے وہ سو ہے <i>it has been narrated by Abu Hanifa that the size of the small battalion is one hundred</i>
2	Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic]	"وقال الحسن اقلها اربع مائه"
3	Mr. M. [translating, Urdu]	امام حسن نے فرمایا کہ سریا کی کم از کم تعداد چار سو (400) ہے چار سو .. سمجھے گئے .. <i>it has been narrated by Abu Hanifa that the size of the small battalion is one hundred four hundred .. have you got it..^</i>
4	Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic]	"اقل الحیش اربعمه الآف"
5	Mr. M. [translating, Urdu]	لشکر کی کم سے کم تعداد چار ہزار ہے .. <i>and the size of the large battalion is.. four thousand</i>
6	Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic]	"لان فيه تعريضهن على الضياع الفضيحة"
7	Mr. M. [speaking, Urdu]	سمجھے گئے .. لہذا اگر سریہ ہے تو اس کے ساتھ <i>have you got it..^ therefore if there is a small battalion</i>
8	Mr. M. [speaking, Urdu]	عورتیں نہ جائیں .. سمجھے <i>then women should not accompany them.. have got it..^</i>
9	Mr. M. [speaking, Urdu]	گئے .. کیوں کہ اس میں اس بات کا طمینان نہیں ہے کہ لوگ بچ جائیں گے یا کہ سارے کے سارے لوگ ختم ہو جائیں گے .. ہو سکتا ہے کہ غالب <i>because there is a no guarantee that soldiers come back alive or dead .. it is a possibility</i>
10	Mr. M. [speaking, Urdu]	آجائیں .. اتنا اطمینان نہیں ہے <i>that they dominate.. but we are not sure..</i>
11	Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic]	"لان فيه تعريض المصاحف على الاستخفاف"
12	Mr. M. [translating, Urdu]	اس لئے اس میں قرآن پاک کو بے حرمتی کے لئے پیش کرنا ہے .. اگر عورتوں کو ساتھ لے جائیں گے تو گویا اپنے عورتوں کو ضائع کرنے کیلئے پیش کر دیا <i>because it mean offering disrespect to the Quran taking women to the battle field means losing them</i>
13	Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic]	"وانهم يستخفون بها مغايظ المسلمين"

- 14 Mr. M. [translating, Urdu] وہ لوگ قرآن پاک کی بے حرمتی کرتے ہیں مسلمانوں کو غیظ و غضب دلانے کیلئے .. اور ایسے میں قرآن پاک بھی نہ لے جائیں اگر تھوڑے لوگ .. ہمیں .. کیوں کداس میں کیا ہے
they disrespect Quran in order to instil fears in muslim.. and embarrassment.. and in such cases Quran should also be not taken if the battalion comprises fewer people.. because what is in there^
- 17 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "لاتسافروا بالقرآن فی الارض العدو" ^
- 18 [a student who remains standing throughout the lesson with his book in his hands] وہ قرآن کی تذلیل کریں گے
they will disrespect Quran..
- 19 Mr. M. [explaining, Urdu] قرآن پاک کو گویا بے حرمتی کیلئے پیش کرنا ہے .. اس لئے کفار
it means to offer Quran to them to disrespect..
- 20 Mr. M. [explaining, Urdu] لا اعتبار .. ان کا اگرچہ مسلمانوں سے یہ لوگو پوشیدہ ہاتھ بڑھاتے ہیں .. اور مسلمانوں کو اپنی چیزیں پیش کرتے ہیں .. حقیقت میں اندر سے سارے مسلمانوں کے سارے دشمن ہوتے ہیں .. بلکہ آج تک مسلمانوں نے جن کافروں سے دوستی کی ہے مسلمانوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوا .. یہ بات سمجھ میں آ جانی چاہئے ..
because the non believers are not trustworthy.. although they shake hand with muslims secretly..and they give their possessions to muslims.. but in reality all of them are enemies of muslims..in fact till now all those muslims who have had friendship with non believers have never benefitted.. they only had to incur losses..
- 25 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "ولو دخل المسلم اليهم لانس بان يحمل"
- 26 [pointing toward the text book speaking in urdu] دیکھو کتنی پرانی کتاب ہے کتاب حدیث .. اس وقت سے یہ بات اس میں لگی ہوئی ہے .. کتنے سو سال پرانی کتاب ہے .. چھ سو سال پرانی کتاب ہے .. کفار جو قرآن پاک کی عفت تخفیف کرتے ہیں .. مسلمانوں کو غیظ میں ڈالنے کیلئے .. اور آج بھی کرتے ہیں .. آپ ﷺ نے ایک ارشاد فرمایا تھا دشمن کی زمین میں قرآن پاک لے کر سفر نہ کرو (...)
kitab-e-hidaya .. so old this book is since that time this thing is written in it.. it is hundreds of year old book..six hundred years old book.. non believers disrespect our holy book Quran.. so that Muslim come under their pressure.. and they do it even today our prophet Muhamd peace be upon him said do not take Quran to the land of enemies(...)
- 30 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "لان الظاهر عدم التعرض " يوفون بالمهد"
- 31 [a pupil standing with the book reads] "مسلمان امان لے کر ملک میں چلا گیا"
muslim negotiate peace and then go to the land of non believer..
- 32 Mr. M. [explaining, Urdu] اس میں کوئی حرج نہیں ہے .. امان لے کے گیا ہے تو اس کا مطلب ہے ویزا لے کے گیا ہے ..
there is no problem with that.. if taken permission it means they have taken visa
- 34 S. [reading, Urdu] " مگر اس کیلئے بھی شرائط ہیں .. کہ قابل بھروسہ ہو .."
but there are conditions for that as well whether they are trustworthy..
- 37 Mr. M. [talking, urdu] بالکل .. ایک دفعہ ہماری جماعت کا جانا ہوا .. تو انہوں نے ویزا فوراً دے دیا .. Thailand کے بزرگوں نے بتایا کہ ویزا تو مل گیا لیکن Combdia نہ جاؤ .. اس لئے کہ جو بھی جماعت جاتی جاتی ہے اس کو وہ پہلے قید کرتے ہیں ۔ اور پھر deport کر دیتے ہیں .. ویزا اس لئے دیتے ہیں تاکہ ان کو فیس مل جائے .. یہ بھی دیکھنا پڑے گا کہ آگے آپ کے ساتھ کیسا سلوک کیا جائے گا .. مگر دیکھ لو کہ وہ تو مکیسی ہے .. وعدہ کو پورا کرتی ہے ۔

exactly ..once our team went to Thailand.. they got the visa immediately but our elders of Thailand told us that that we should not go to Combodia..because they give the visa first and then they take hostage and then they deport.. they give visa because they want to get visa fee.. we should see how we are treated by them.. they must see what type of nation they are.. whether they fulfill their promises

- 39 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "والمحاضر يخرجون في العسكر العظيم لاقامته عمل يليق بهن"
- 40 Mr. M. [translating, urdu] ظاہر تو یہی ہے کہ وہ تصرف نہیں
but it should be seen that whether they
- 41 Mr. M. [translating, urdu] کریں گے.. لیکن دیکھ لیا جائے کہ یہ قوم ایسی ہے کہ وعدہ کو پورا کرتی ہے یا نہیں..
are a nation that fulfil its promises or ..not..
- 42 [reading out from the book] "بوڑھی عورت بڑے لشکر میں جاسکتی ہے"..
older women can accompany battalion..
- 43 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "اما التواب فقرارهن في البيوت ارفع للفتنته"
- 44 Mr. M. [reading, urdu] ہاں.. بوڑھی عورت لشکر عظیم میں جاسکتی ہے..
yes.. older women can go in greater battalions..
- 45 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "لائمهم يستدل به على ضعف المسلمين"
- 46 Mr. M. [translating, urdu] وہ آسان کام کر سکتی ہیں.. کھانا پکانے
they can do small chores.. like cooking
- 47 Mr. M. [speaking, urdu] جی
yes
- 48 [reading out from the book] بیماروں کی تیمارداری کرنا
they can take care of sick
- 49 Mr. M. [explaining, urdu] بعض اعمال ایسے ہیں جو بوڑھی کر سکتی ہیں.. مثلاً کھانا پکانا اور جناب پانی لالاکر بھر رہی ہیں.. اور زخم پر پٹی کر رہی ہیں..
there are some works that old women can do .. for example .. cooking food.. fetching and storing water.. and healing the wounds..
- 52 [pupils listen silently]
- 53 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "الاعند الضرورة"
- 54 [reading out from the book in urdu] "اور جو جوان عورتیں ہیں ان کے لئے اپنے گھروں میں ٹھہرے رہنا بہتر ہے.. فتنے کو دودھ کرنے والا ہے.. جوان عورت گھر میں
رہے جہاد میں صرف وہ عورت جائے گی جو بوڑھی ہو.. جو شباب ہے وہ نہیں جاسکتی"..
and young women it is advised that they stay home.. holy wars will be participated in by older women..those who are sexually active should not go..
- 58 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "ولا يستحب احراجهن للمباحثه"
- 59 Mr. M. [translating, urdu] جہاد کے موقع پر عورتوں کو اپنے ساتھ مباحث یعنی ہم بستری.. جیسے میاں بیوی ہم بستری کے لئے جائیں یہ بہتر نہیں ہیں.. کیونکہ
مجاہدین پھر اس میں مشغول ہو جائیں گے.. سمجھے گئے^
during war cohabitation with women.. the way husband and wife do.. is not good..
because then the warriors will get engrossed in this act.. have you got it.^
- 63 Mr. M. [reciting, Arabic] "فان كاحتوا لا بد مخرجين فبا الاءاء دون الحرائر"
- 64 S. [speaking, urdu] اگر بہت ہی ضروری ہے..
if absolutely necessary

- 65 [reading from the book] ہاں اگر بہت ہی
if it is very
- 66 Mr. M. [explaining, Urdu] ضروری ہو.. اللہ تعالیٰ نے انسان کیلئے یہ خواہش رکھی ہے.. اس خواہش کیلئے.. اسکو پورا کرنے کیلئے راستہ رکھے ہیں.. جب اللہ تعالیٰ کے دین کو پھیلانے کیلئے محنت کرنے والے تھے تو اس نزل میں.. باندیوں کا بھی دور تھا ہے.. باندیوں کا جو دور تھا.. "آپ لوگوں کو پتہ ہے کہ باندیاں کس کو کہتے ہیں" .. ان لوگوں کو تو پتہ ہے.. اور لوگوں کو بھی پتہ ہوگا..
essential to cohabit.. then Allah has kept ways for man to fulfil his need.. when warriors would work hard to spread the words of Allah.. in those times there used to be a system of slave women..do you know ..who slave women were..
- 72 [pointing towards the researcher, speaking in urdu] مسلمان جب کسی جگہ پر حملہ کرے.. ٹھیک ہے.. اور حملہ کرنے کے بارے میں گفتگو ہو چکی ہے.. حملہ کیوں کریں گے.. پہلے ان کو اسلام کی دعوت دیں گے.. اگر وہ اسلام کی دعوت سے منحرف ہو جائیں تو پھر انہیں دعوت دینے کی کوشش کریں گے اور نہیں مانتے تو پھر کیا کریں گے..
when muslims attack some place.. o.k.. we have talked about attack..why to attack.. first we invite them to accept islam..if they reject the invitation of becoming muslim then they should be given second invitation and if they do not accept it even then so what we will do..^
- 73 [pointing towards pupils, speaking in urdu] اب تم [لا دین] ہمیں جزیہ دو.. جزیہ کا مطلب یہ ہوتا ہے کہ تم ہمیں tax دو اور ہم تمہاری حفاظت کریں گے.. اور اگر یہ لوگ جزیہ دینے کیلئے بھی تیار نہ ہوں.. نہ ایمان لائیں اور نہ جزیہ دینے کیلئے تیار ہیں.. اور جب ان کے پاس دلائل بھی آچکے ہیں.. اب کہہ رہے ہیں کہ ہم لڑے گے.. تو لڑائی کے بعد ان کی عورتیں اور ان کے جو دوسرے لوگ جنہیں جو بچھ جائیں گے وہ مسلمانوں کے غلام بن جائیں گے.. ٹھیک ہے.. عورتیں باندی بن جائیں گی اور مرد غلام بن جائیں گے..
now they should give us muslim tax.. means you [non believers] give us money and we will protect you.. and if they are not agreed to pay tax even.. despite the fact that they have been given reasons for it.. so after war..their women and their other alive people will also become slave and men as well.. and then the religious leader of the time will divide them and whoever get a slave women.. he will become the owner of that women.. which
- 74 Mr. M. [speaking, Urdu] اس کے بعد امام اس کی تقسیم اس طور سے کریں گے اور جب جس کے حصہ میں باندی آجائے گی.. وہ اس باندی کا مالک بن جائے گا.. یعنی کہ اب وہ باندی اس کے لئے حلال ہو جائے گی.. مگر اس سے پہلے کچھ شرائط ہیں وہ یہ کہ وہ باندی یہود و نصارا کی عورت ہو.. بت پرستوں کی نہ ہو عورت.. اس کا بدن پہلے صاف کر لیں.. اتنی مدت گزارے تاکہ اس کو غیض آجائے.. تاکہ اس کا بدن پاک ہو جائے.. پھر اسکی ملکیت میں ہوگی.. اس کے ساتھ ایسا سلوک کیا جائے کہ وہ مسلمان ہو جائے (...)
means that the slave women will be the legal right of that man.. but there are some conditions or that.. that the slave women should be Judo-christians... they should not be idol worshipper.. the body of this slave women should be cleaned..there should be time enough for her to have at least three monthly menstruations so that her body is clean.. then she is the possession of that muslim.. she should be treated as muslim (...)

Extract 3: A grade 6 lesson, English novel, "Lisa goes to London" (SB, Ms Shaista, 29-7-2011)

1	Ms. S. [speaking, Urdu]	chapter one .. آج سے ہم یہ ناول پڑھیں گے
		<i>from today we will read the novel.. chapter one</i>
2	[pupils take out the books]	
3	Ms. S. [speaking]	کیا اسکی self reading ہوگئی ہے؟
		have you done the self reading?..
4	Ss. [chorus]	no miss
5	Ms. S. [speaking]	تمام بچے chapter one پڑھئے..
6		<i>all of you read chapter one..</i>
	[pupils read out silently]	
7	Ss. [chorus]	میں نے پڑھ لیا..
		<i>miss i have read..</i>
8	Ms. S. [speaking]	wait for others
9	Ms. S. [speaking]	ڈکشنری کہاں ہے میں بھی بھول گئی....
		<i>where are your dictionaries.. i have also left mine..</i>
10	Ms. S. [speaking]	ok.. so all of you have done..
11	Ss. [chorus]	yes miss
12	Ms. S. [speaking]	yes Daniyal tell me the summary..stand up and tell the summary.. close your books
13	[a boy stands and reads out from his note book]	(xxx) "لیزا نے اپنے ہاتھ میں ایک letter پکڑا ہوا تھا.. اس نے اپنے mum dad سے بولا.. یہ خبر سنیں.. یہ بہت wonderful ہے.. اس کے father نے پوچھا کہ what is the news کہہ کر کیا ہے.. تو بولی کہ the organizers are offering a free trip to London لندن جانے کا مفت موقع دے رہے ہیں.."
		<i>(xxx) "Liza was carrying a letter in her hand.. she told her mum and dad..listen to this news.. this is wonderful.. her father asked what the news was.. she said that the organizers were offering me a</i>
14	Ms. S. [speaking]	.. book.. close o.k
15		<i>close your book.. o.k.. what was the competition about..</i>
16		..؟ کس چیز کا تھا؟
17	Ss. [chorus]	short story competition
18	Ms. S. [speaking]	o.k.. fine.. sit down..
19		where is London.. continent.. i want
20		to know the continent?..
	[speaking to the particular pupil]	

21	Ms. S. [speaking]	کوئینٹ کا نام بتاؤ.. <i>tell me the name of continent..</i>
22	Ss. [chorus]	city.. یا Continent continent or city..
23	Ss. [chorus]	continent is England..
24	Ms. S. [addressing the whole class]	لندن itself کیا ہے... town... country ہے... city... ہے؟ <i>London itself... is it a town.. a country or a city?</i>
25	Ss. [chorus]	مس سٹی ہے.. <i>miss it is a city..</i>
26	Ms. S. [speaking]	تو اسکی country کا کیا نام؟ <i>then what is the name of its country?..</i>
27	Ss. [chorus]	miss England..
28	Ms. S. [speaking]	o.k. good..
29	Ms. S. [speaking]	پاکستان کون سے براعظم میں ہے؟ <i>in which continent Pakistan is located?...</i>
30	Ms. S. [speaking]	ایران کون سے کوئینٹ میں ہے؟ <i>which continent is Iran in?..</i>
31	Ss. [speaking]	مس ایشیا میں..
32	Ss. [chorus]	<i>ms in Asia..</i>
33	Ms. S. [speaking]	o.k move to chapter second.. [all reads chapter two silently]
34	Ms. S. [speaking]	done.. everyone..!
35	Ss. [chorus]	<i>yes miss..</i>
36	Ms. S. [speaking]	o.k. now close your books .. ok.. yes
37		Sehrish.. give me the summary of chapter
38		number two but in English..
39	S. [reading from the note book]	"it is monday... Liza is at Heathrow airport
40		at London.. a.. young woman waiting for Liza
41		named Daina.. she took Liza to the hotel"
42	Ms. S. [speaking]	o.k .. fine.. yes Daniyal Ahmed..
43		summary of this chapter..
44	S. [reading from the note book]	" it is Monday.. Liza is at Heathrow airport
45		Heathrow airport London.. a young woman

- 46 [fumbles while pronouncing English names] waiting for Liza named Diana hello Liza.. i am"
- 47 Ms. S. [speaking] کیا بولا تھا کہ summary کرتے ہوئے ڈائیاگ نہیں بولتے.. Heathrow ایئرپورٹ کہاں ہے
did not i tell you that while summarising we do not write dialogues..
- Ms. S. [speaking] where is Heathrow airport?
- 48 Ss. [chorus] لندن میں
in London
- 49 Ms. S. [speaking] کراچی کے ایئرپورٹ کا نام کیا ہے؟..
what is the names of Karachi airport?..
- 50 Ss. [chorus] جناح ٹرمینل
Jinnah terminal
- 51 Ms. S. [speaking] آپ کو پتہ ہے کہ ہمارے ملک میں چند انٹرنیشنل ایئرپورٹ ہیں.. اور کراچی کا اس میں خاص ہے.. اور ہم لوگ کہاں رہتے
.. ہیں
you know that in our country these are a few international airports.. and there is one in Karachi... and where do we live..
- 52 Ss. [chorus] ملیر میں
in Malir
- 53 Ms. S. [speaking] تو ہمارے پاس ایک تفریح کا مقام ہے جو کہ ہمارا ایئرپورٹ ہے..
so we have a picnic resort which is our airport..
- 54 Ms. S. [speaking] آپ کے پاس تمام shopping malls کہاں ہیں؟
where are all the shopping malls?..
- 55 Ss. [chorus] بہت دور..
very far..
- 56 Ms. S. [speaking] فرسٹ چیپٹر میں ایک ورڈ تھا.. "short" شورٹ کی superlative degree کیا ہوتی ہے؟..
there was a word in chapter one "short"..what is the superlative degree of "short?"
- 57 Ss. [chorus] مس کیا ہے؟..
ms what?..
- 58 Ms. S. [speaking] what is the superlative degree of "short"?..
[all silent]
- 59 Ss. [chorus] ms small
no ms shortest
- 60 Ms. S. [speaking] superlative... good... کیا ہوتی ہے you know comparative تو پتہ ہے..
good..you know comparative. superlative is the quality of anything whether it is good or bad..

61	Ms. S. [speaking]	<i>what is superlative degree..</i>
62	Ms. S. [speaking]	کسی بھی چیز کی اچھائی ہو یا برائی <i>the good or bad of anything</i>
63	Ms. S. [speaking in English and translating in Urdu]	<i>and now... would any one tell me the names of ten cities of Pakistan.. start..</i> .. شروع ہو جائیں.. بتائے گا 10 cities کوئی بھی مجھے پاکستان کے کوئی.. اچھا اب name کے
64	Ms. S. [speaking]	<i>stand up..</i> .. کھڑے ہو جائیں..
65	[students take turn and tell the names of the cities]	<i>Karachi.. Lahore.. Hyderabad...Sukkar.. Multan</i>
66	Ms. S. [speaking]	جزل نالچ کو کیا ہو گیا ہے۔۔
67		<i>what has happened to the general knowledge</i>
68	Ms. S. [speaking]	اچھا اب اگلا چپٹر پڑھیں.. <i>now move on to the next chapter..</i>
69	[she picks a piece of chalk and write a phrase on the board]	سب خاموشی سے پڑھیں۔۔ "a young man" <i>everyone reads silently</i>
70	Ms. S. [speaking]	اس جملے کا متضاد کیا ہوگا "a young man" <i>what is the opposite of this phrase "a young man"</i>
	[pupils raise their hand in excitement]	
71	Ss. [chorus]	<i>ms a old man</i>
72	Ss. [chorus]	<i>no.. no.. an old man</i>
73	Ms. S. [speaking]	<i>good.. what is the time</i>
74	Ss. [chorus]	<i>12:30</i>
75	Ms. S. [speaking]	اچھا چلیں چپٹر 3 پڑھیں..
76		<i>now lets read chapter three..</i>
	[pupils read silently]	
77	Ms. S. [speaking]	<i>o. k summary of chapter 3..</i>
78	S. [reading from the note book]	"Liza and Diana are now looking out
79		of the window.. Liza is taking a lot of
80		pictures of Hyde park"
81	Ms. S. [speaking]	<i>o.k fine.. and now you.. chapter</i>
82		<i>number three summary</i>
83	S. [reading from the note book]	"Liza and Diana are ... is in hotel..
84		he was looking throughout window..
85		out of window in Liza room.. Diana
86		was say.. he was

87	Ms. S. [speaking]	Diana is he..
88	Ss. [chorus]	Diana is she
89	Ms. S. [speaking]	she
90	Ss. [chorus]	she.. this is a Hyde park..
91	[pointing at another student]	o.k fine.. now you
92	S. [reading from the note book]	"Liza and Diana in the Liza room.. they saw at the window.. they saw at a Hyde park.. this is a wonderful view.. photography is Liza's hobby"
93	Ms. S. [speaking]	o.k.. sit down (...) pack up your bags..
94		اچھا ایک بات اہم ہے.. اس چپٹر میں دو چیزیں <i>one thing is important.. in this chapter there are two</i>
95	Ms. S. [speaking]	.. اہم ہیں.. ایک Hyde park اور (xxx) کل آپ لوگ مجھے بتائیں گے کہ Hyde park کیا ہے.. کہاں ہے.. اس کا نام یہ کیوں رکھا گیا ہے <i>important things.. one is Hyde park and (xxx) tomorrow you are going to tell me what Hyde park is.. where is it .. why is it called Hyde park..</i>

Extract 4: A grade 11 lesson on Oral Communication Ms Fatima (SA, 20-7-2011)

1. Ms F: hello.. we are going to do some
2. public speaking exercise today.. not in
3. a Pakistani English.. ((she picks up the chalk
4. and writes)) my high school life.. ok
5. .. if you want to improve your English..
6. you should watch BBC and CNN a
7. friend of mine had an amazing accent..
8. i asked her how she picked up.. she
9. said watch CNN.. o.k.. now who
10. will speak..
11. S: i used to be.. i used to enjoy my
12. school life.. i used to be the most naughtiest
13. person in my class
14. Ms F: would you please pay attention to
15. your pronunciation.. and speak full sentences
16. S: in my school I used to be the naughtiest

17. person in my class.. also... we had a
 18. group of four.. what we used to do is
 19. .. ah.. our school used to start at eight..
 20. i used to go by bus.. reach my friend
 21. place at ten to eight and he used to live
 22. almost beside school
 23. we had chai wala hotel and we four used have to chai paratha
 24. .. our school time.. used to vary
 25. from 8.30 to 9.00 .. we were the black listed
 26. students.. and i was the one who never
 27. used to study.. i was the one who never
 28. studied.. no private lessons.. and i got the best grades
 29. Ms F: wow..
 30. Ms F: who is going to speak now.. anybody
 31. else
 32. S: we had a very good experience.. we were not
 33. friends but then become close.. seven or
 34. eight of us.. we are now friends.. we
 35. are like group and our group name is (xxx)
 36. at first we were not that much close.. you
 37. know.. we start loving each other and then
 38. we had lots of fun.. we studied together..
 39. lots of outing and then we used to organize
 40. events likes farewell.. it is fun to be a
 41. part of high school (...)

Extract 5: Debriefing session with Ms. Fatima Gul at (SA,20-7-2011)

1. R: during the history lesson i saw that
 2. you were very particular about the right
 3. pronunciation of the words
 4. Ms FG: i am an English teacher also ((
 5. laughs)) but we do it as practice whether
 6. we are English teachers or not.. we have
 7. got to (xxx) all areas.. we keep an eye on

8. their writing as well..

9. R: that is fine but i would like to

10. understand the reasons for giving so

11. much importance for pronouncing English

12. words correctly and you also showed them

13. conventional Pakistani pronunciation of the

14. words.. do you think it is very important

15. Ms FG: alright.. pronunciation is important

16. because you have got to teach the children.. then

17. this is a language and there is a beauty

18. in it..

19. R: hm.. hm

20. Ms FG: If you are speaking it properly.. if you

21. are not[speaking it properly] it does not flow

22. out in that beautiful way.. so ((seem to

23. get a reason to justify)) and it is my

24. job as a teacher to tell them that this

25. word is pronounced this way

26. R: yeah.. yeah..

27. Ms FG: and generally how Pakistani people

28. correcting English of other.. children do

29. sometimes also.. you know there is a lot of

30. bullying done on it also

31. R: hm.. hm..

32. Ms FG: because if you do not know how to

33. pronounce words correctly.. children make

34. fun of those students.. so generally

35. R: so there is a social element attached

36. to how one pronounces English words..

37. Ms FG: ((with great emphasis)) of course there

38. is.. for example our actress Meera.. everybody

39. makes fun of her [because of her Pakistani way

40. of pronouncing English words]

41. R: am sure you know very well that

42. English pronunciation varies from region to

43. region .. country to country.. so which
44. standard do you follow and ask your
45. pupils to follow
46. Ms FG: ((without any hesitation)) the
47. British system..
48. R: you mean British standard pronunciation
49. Ms FG: yes..
50. R: some people say that based on people
51. pronunciation one could tell a lot
52. about them
53. Ms FG: yes.. my students value me a lot
54. and they get influenced by me and one
55. reason is that when i speak I speak
56. correctly [pronouncing English words]

Extract 6: Interview with Yusra, a grade 8 teacher of Geography (SA, 21-7-2011)

1. R: (...) how would you describe the language
2. policy of your school
3. Ms Y: they want all the students to speak
4. in English because it is an English - medium
5. school and you know English is an international
6. language.. so we want kids to speak in English..
7. R: how do you socialize them into school
8. language environment because children come
9. from diverse linguistic backgrounds
10. Ms Y: yes.. you know the parents.. there are
11. different.. different kinds of languages spoken
12. at home.. but kids these days.. the media..
13. the books.. i think they are well aware of how
14. to speak English.. and in our branch we
15. have grade 8 and 9s.. we have girls who
16. are actually grown up..
17. R: hm.. hm
18. Ms Y: we do not have to make them learn English

19. R: do you speak any other language in
20. school..
21. Ms Y: yeah. Not really.. but at times.. when
22. teaching..i might speak a few words in
23. Urdu..
24. R: a few words.. in a lesson of say
25. ...
26. Ms Y: forty minutes.. we mostly remain
27. English only
28. R: are the parents happy with this
29. policy of school
30. Ms Y: yes, they are very happy.. this is the
31. reason.. they are sending their children
32. to us because what lacks in them (parents) they do not want their children to be
33. lacking in it..
34. R: that is the main reason..
35. Ms Y: yeah, that is the main reason..
36. R: thanks very much for your time

Urdu New Setting\combine\image.jpg not found.

5.2: Pupils Categorization by their Teachers

Extract 7: Parent teacher meeting of a pupil of grade I at (SB, 29-9-2011)

CT= Class teacher, GKT= General Knowledge teacher, UT= Urdu teacher, IT= Islamiat teacher, F=Father

- 1 CT یہ مسکان کے father ہیں اور اس کی progress کے لئے آئے ہیں
this is Muskan's father and he is here to discuss his child's progress..
- 2 CT you are general knowledge teacher.. you
are Urdu teacher.. you are Islamiat
teacher and i am the class teacher
- 3 CT [talks to father] آپ مسکان کے father ہیں.. میں مسکان کے attitude کے بارے میں کچھ کہنا چاہتی ہوں.. وہ بہت زیادہ خاموش
رہتی ہیں.. وہ کسی سے بات نہیں کرتی..
*you are Muskan's father.. i would like to say something about Muskan's
attitude first.. she remain quiet most of the time .. she does not talk to anyone..*
- 4 F صحیح ہے
that is right
- 5 GKT مسکان کے ساتھ جو میں نے problem face کی ہے وہ یہ کہ بچی بہت quiet ہے.. بولتی نہیں ہے.. کئی دفعہ یہ سمجھ
میں نہیں آتا کہ بچی کو سمجھ میں آ رہا کہ نہیں
*the problem i face with her is that she is very quiet .. she does not speak..at
times i do not understand whether she is getting me or not*
- 6 F جی
yes
- 7 GKT رٹا ہوا جواب تو سنا دیتی ہے.. مگر کلاس میں گفتگو نہیں کر پاتی..
*she gives the rote learnt answers but she is unable to participate in classroom
discussion..*
- 8 F مس پہلے یہ صحیح تھا مگر اب اس کا شوق ختم ہو رہا ہے.. وہ تو آپ لوگوں کے خوف سے وہ اسکول آ جاتا ہے..
*miss she was fine earlier but now her interest is fading .. it is because of
teachers' fear that she comes to school..*
- 9 UT اردو میں ٹھیک ہیں مگر جواب کبھی دیتی ہیں اور کبھی نہیں..
she is ok in Urdu but she sometimes responds and sometime does not..
- 10 GKT بچی کلاس میں چھپتی ہے.. میں اسکو کہتی ہوں بیٹا آپ کلاس میں آگے بیٹھیں مگر وہ نہیں بیٹھتی..
*she tries to hide at the back of others.. i keep telling her to sit in front but she
does not*
- 11 CT اعتماد کی کمی
lack of confidence
- F جی.. ہم لوگ کوشش کریں گے
yes.. we will try

12 IT اسلامیات میں ٹھیک ہیں مگر shapes بنانے میں مشکل ہوتی ہے..
she is fine in Islamiyat.. but she has some problem with drawing shapes..

Extract 8: Post Parent teacher meeting with teachers at (SB 29-9-2011)

CT=class teacher, GKT=General Knowledge teacher, UT=Urdu teacher, IT= Islamiyat teacher,

- 1 R مسکان۔۔ زبان کے اعتبار سے کس طرح کے خاندان سے آتی ہے؟
from what language background does Muskan come ?
- 2 CT بلوچی.. یہ لوگ گھر میں بلوچی بولتے ہیں.. ان لوگوں کو یہی Language problem ہے.. اس اسکول میں زیادہ تر lower middle کلاس کے بچے آتے ہیں.. ان لوگوں میں تعلیم زیادہ نہیں ہوتی..
Balochi.. they speak Balochi at home this is their language problem.. most of the children in this school come from lower middle class.. they are not educated..
- 3 GKT اب آپ مسکان کے والد کی مثال لے لیں.. وہ یہاں پر gate keeper ہے.. اب اندازہ لگائیں کہ ان کے گھر کا کیا ماحول ہوگا.. یہ تو اردو صحیح سے نہیں بول سکتے..
let's take an example of Muskan's father..he is a gate keeper here.. now you can..very well imagine the language environment at home.. they even can not speak Urdu properly..
- 4 R معاشی طور پر بہت کمزور ہوتے ہیں.. زیادہ تر..
they are financially challenged
- 5 GKT most of them..
- 6 R hm hm
- 7 GKT اس علاقے میں زیادہ تر بلوچی.. رہتے ہیں ماں باپ بلوچی میں بچوں سے گفتگو کرتے ہیں حتیٰ کہ میٹنگز میں بھی..
in this area.. most of the families are Balochi.. parents speak in Balochi..children also talk in Balochi even in meetings
- 8 UT ہم ان لوگوں کو سمجھاتے ہیں کہ آپ لوگ بچوں سے اردو میں بولا کریں..
we ask parents to speak in Urdu with their children..
- 9 GKT ان کا اصل مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ یہ لوگ اردو نہیں سمجھتے
the main problem with these people is that they find it difficult to understand Urdu
- 10 R ان کی زندگی پاس کے کیا اثرات ہوتے ہیں..
what are the consequences of not knowing Urdu and English on their lives..

- 11 CT rare cases ہوتے ہیں جو کہ اعلیٰ تعلیم کی طرف جائیں
few of them end up getting higher education
- 12 IT زیادہ تر اپنی دکانیں کھولتے ہیں... یا دبئی وغیرہ میں چھیرے بن کے جاتے ہیں..
most of them open up their shops.. or they go to Dubai as fishermen..
- 13 UT فشنگ یا گارڈنگ میں زیادہ تر کرتے ہیں..
most of them either become fishermen or gardeners..
- 14 GKT ایک بلوچ بچے کے والد آئے اور بحث کرنے لگے کہ ہم لوگ بچوں کو اردو انگریزی میں کیوں نہیں پڑھاتے.. کہنے لگے کہ
"آپ لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ English medium ہے.. تو آپ لوگ English میں اردو کو پڑھایا کریں"
a father of a Baloch child come to me one day and demanded that Urdu language be taught in English as our school is English medium.. "why do not you teach in English.. because you claim that you are English medium school".. he said
- 15 GKT میں نے کہا کہ ایسا ممکن نہیں ہے.. آخر میں مجھے کہنا پڑا کہ آپ کا مونٹ مذکر اردو میں صحیح نہیں ہے
i told him that it was not possible..enough was enough i had to point out his masculine and femanine errors in Urdu

Extract 9: Parent teacher meeting of a pupil of grade 2 at (SB, Ms. Amna, 29-11-2011)

T=Teacher, M= Mother

- 1 T علیز کی Progress بہت better ہوئی ہے.. کافی Improvement آئی ہے.. بس تھوڑا سا کلاس میں سمجھنے
2 میں ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ جب presentation کے درمیان کچھ پوچھ لیتی ہوں تو علیز انور nervous ہو جاتی ہیں.. اگر علیز
3 سے پوچھو "Aliza stand up give me answer" .. اگر understand نہیں کر پائیں تو بیرونی ننگتی ہیں..
4 کوئی cross question نہیں ہے shy.. ہو جاتی ہے..
Aliza progress is getting better.. there is a lot of improvement.. the only thing is that when i am presenting in the class and ask her she gets nervous.. if i ask Aliza that "Aliza stand up give me answer".. if she does not understand she begins to cry..she does not cross question.. she is very shy..

M : [remains silent throughout]

Extract 10: Defriefing session with Ms. Amna after parent teacher meeting (SB, 29-9-2011)

- 1 R آپ علیزا کے بارے میں گفتگو کر رہی تھیں.. کیا علیزا کا کوئی خاص مسئلہ ہے یا ایسے بچے ہوتے ہیں جنہیں سمجھ میں نہیں آتا
- you were talking to Aliza's mother about her classroom behavior.. is she a particular case or you often have such students who do not understand you..*
- 2 T کئی بچے Aliza کی طرح ہوتے ہیں..
- there are often such children..*
- 3 R اسکی کوئی خاص وجہ..
- any particular reason for that..*
- 4 T دیکھئے ہمارے پاس اس طرح کے بچے آتے ہیں.. علاقے کی وجہ سے بہت سے مسائل ہوتے ہیں..
- look we have such kind of children coming.. we have problems due to our location..*
- 5 R کس طرح کے مسائل ہوتے ہیں
- what sort of problem..*
- 6 T یہ جو کچھ بچے ہمارے پاس ایسے ہیں جن کی اردو pronunciation بھی بالکل صحیح نہیں ہوتی۔ یہ ایسا علاقہ ہے جہاں بہت زیادہ پڑھے لکھے نہیں ہوتے.. بلوچی آرہے ہوتے ہیں۔ سندھی بھی
- it is not a very educated locality.. we have children coming whose Urdu pronunciation is not even correct.. you know Balochi children come in.. even Sindhi..*
- 7 R آپ کس طرح سے ان مسائل سے deal کرتی ہیں
- how do you tackle with these challenges..*
- 8 T ہم والدین کو میٹنگ میں بتاتے ہیں کہ بچے اس طرح کی غلطیاں کرتے ہیں.. اردو میں مذکر اور مؤنث کی بہت غلطیاں ہوتی ہیں.. ہم یہ بھی بولتے ہیں کہ گھر کا ماحول بھی تبدیل ہونا چاہئے۔۔۔ صرف کلاس کے ماحول سے تو فرق نہیں پڑے گا
- we tell parents in these meetings about pupils' error.. they often make masculine feminine mistakes.. we also tell them that there should be changes in home language environment.. only classroom language practices are not enough*
- 9 R گھر میں آپ کس طرح کی تبدیلی چاہتی ہیں.. زبان کے اعتبار سے.. اردو ہونی چاہئے۔۔۔ معیاری اردو کا استعمال ہونا چاہئے ماں باپ کس زبان کو اہمیت دیتے ہیں..
- what changes in the home language environment do you suggest.. it should be Urdu.. standard Urdu should be practised which language do parents give preference..*
- 10 T انگلش..
- English..*

Extract 11: Address by the Head Mistress to primary students on the occasion of independence day celebration at (SB,14-8-2011)

1. Hom: asalamalikum and good morning to
2. all of you.. and happy independence day..
3. to all of you.. students this is the day
4. when we celebrate.. the day of independence
5. .. for our country.. and what does that
6. mean to us.. that we all have to think..
7. realize and reflect upon.. you as students
8. have greater responsibility to see Pakistan
9. .. flourishing day by day.. and how will
10. that... realize.. that is your
11. hard work.. with your endeavors and
12. with your good studies.. i would not
13. take much of your time but on this day
14. .. i would like you to just think for a
15. minute.. just think for a minute..
16. what can we do for Pakistan as students
17. .. what does Pakistan need from you..
18. what does Pakistan need from us.. it
19. only needs our sincerity.. our honesty
20. and our loyalty to the country.. and
21. i think this is the age where you can
22. learn all these values which you should
23. inculcate in your lives..so with these
24. good habits and with your hardwork..
25. i believe that we celebrate many
26. such occasions where we really proud
27. .. where we feel ourselves proud whenever
28. we see our flag hoisting.. this flag should
29. keep on hoisting because this is our
30. identity.. this flag is here.. we are here..
31. the flag is high.. we are high.. so i
32. would just request all of you.. work
33. hard.. work for Pakistan and as
34. Pakistan goes ahead.. you would also

35. achieve lots and lots of success in
 36. your life with Pakistan.. thank you
 37. very much.. long live Pakistan.
 38. Ss: ((claps))

Extract 12: Morning Assembly at (SA,18-7-2011)

ST=Sports Teachers, HT=Head Teacher, S1-S7=Pupils participating in presentation

1. ((pupils and teacher gather in the
 2. verandah of the building. Pupils stand
 3. in rows facing a platform on which
 4. their sport teacher dressed in pants shirt with
 5. a tie holds a microphone))
 6. ST: ((speaking on a microphone)) (xxx)
 7. attention.. stand at ease.. attention..
 8. stand at ease.. now complete silence..
 9. at ease ((pupils respond to the instructions
 10. by changing their standing posture))..
 11. hand by the side.. ready for the
 12. national anthem
 13. Ss: ((sing national anthem accompanying
 14. the recorded musical played from
 15. the stage))
 16. St: good morning boys and girls
 17. Ss: good morning sir
 18. HT: ((walks to the platform and takes the
 19. micro phone)).. um.. it is very important
 20. that you ignored the last few days (xxx) out
 21. here were packets of French fries.. and
 22. i can not imagine why any body would
 23. eat and leave it in the ground.. next
 24. time I walk out i am going to (xxx) o.k..
 25. also we are off for Eid ((religious festival))
 26. whole week ((ss applause)) very excited
 27. you all have a great Eid.. ah.. have fun..

28. alright have a wonderful holidays

29. ST: please sit down.. we have a presentation

30. Ss: ((sit and watch the presentation))

31. ((two pupils carry a model of a house

32. and stand by the platform and presenting

33. students stand near the stage))

34. S1: good morning teachers and fellow

35. students.. today is our presentation about

36. ownership ((very confident while

37. addressing the gathering)) look at this

38. paper house and guess who this house

39. belongs to.. let see who can guess!

40. S2: ((a student from the group of presenters

41. gets onto the stage and takes the microphone))

42. one sunny morning not very long ago..

43. a lady went for a walk.. as she strolled

44. along the cool morning air she suddenly

45. stopped.. in front of her was a very

46. beautiful house.. she stood by the

47. house and suddenly a man stopped and

48. said ((gets on to the stage))

49. S3: good morning.. i can see you like

50. this house

51. S4: yes.. very much.. beautiful!

52. S3: i am glad you do because the

53. house in mine..

54. ((S5 takes the microphone))

55. S5: i can see you are having a good

56. look at this house..i can see you are

57. interested in it

58. S4: yes.. i am

59. S5: pleased! Because it is mine.. ((S6 onto

60. the stage with microphone))

61. S6: the lady was bewildered because

62. two people said that the house was

63 theirs.. ((S7 onto the stage))

64 S7: hello.. are you renting the

65 house

66 S4: yes i am very much.. i is beautiful

67 S7: i am glad you are because it is

67 mine

69 S4: ((addressing S3,S4,S5 and S7)) excuse

70 me.. are you all relatives .. you all say

71 the house in yours..

72 S3: the house is mine because i am the

74 builder ((gives the microphone to

74 S4))

75 S4: the house in mine because i bought

76 it .. i am the owner

77 S5" the house is mine because i live

78 in it.. i am the tenant

79 S6: now the lady understood that the

80 builder.. the owner.. the tenant

81 were all speaking the truth.. all of

82 them owned the house but in different

83 ways.. ownership is not only about

84 things that we buy and possess.. we

85 share ownership with many people..

86 S2: the house for teachers and students

87 is our school.. we all own it but in

88 different ways (xxx)

89 S6: if we share our school.. then we

90 should keep our classes clean and

91 make it a happy place by saying no

92 to any form of behavior.. violence

93 and negativity

94 S2: ladies and gentlemen i ask you once again

95 whose is the house

96 Ss: everyone

97 H.T: that was absolutely superb class 6..

- ms we have read..*
- 9 Ms S [pointing the boy to stand up] اہلم آپ بتائیں کتنا پڑھا ہے
Aslam you tell how much have you read..
- 10 Ss : (گھبراتے ہوئے) مس ہم نے 20 چھپڑ پڑھ لئے ہیں..
((nervously)) ms i have read twenty chapters..
- 11 Ms S: .. وٹھ پین ٹویو مائی وانف.. مائی چائلڈ ..
stand up رہیجہ .. what happen to you my wife.. ah.. my child..
- S [student stands up silently]
- 12 Ms S: مجھے نہیں پتہ تھا کہ میری کلاس آٹھویں میں آکر نخرے کرنے لگی گی.. کس کا دل نہیں چاہتا (xxx) آپ جیسے بچے ایسا کریں گے.. مجھے بہت زیادہ برا لگا.. کیا مسئلہ تھا.. کچھ یاد کرنے میں مشکل تھی.. پچھلے سال سے میں تمہیں بول رہی ہوں.. میں تمہارا تمہاری دوسری بہنوں سے موازنہ نہیں کر رہی
i do not know why my class has started giving excuses.. no one wishes to do any thing.. a child like you behaves like that.. what is the problem..do you find anything..difficult in memorising.. since last year i have been asking you.. i am not comparing you with your sisters
- 13 Ms S: اچھا کتاب کو دیکھیں..
lets have a look at the book..
- S [students begins to read the book]
- 14 S : مس اچھی لگی..
.it is nice.
- 15 Ms S [pointing at the title cover] آئسکریم کی طرح ہے نا.. کون سے آئسکریم کے رنگ کی ہے .. کس کو پسند ہے پستہ آئسکریم..
is it not like the colour of an ice-cream.. which ice-cream colour is it..does anyone like Pista ice-cream
- Ss (xxx)
- 16 Ss : مس وینلا.. مس کوکوٹ آخری دفعہ آپ نے چاکلیٹ کب کھائی تھی .. مس یاد نہیں ہے..
ms Vanilla.. ms Coconut when did you eat the Chocolate last time...: do not remember..
- 17 Ms S: *ok.. now open your book*
- S [students open the book and read silently]
- 18 Ms S: *ok.. tell me the time.. is it twelve o clock*
- S [students opens the book and read silently]
- 19 Ss : مس بارانچ گئے ہیں..
ms it is twelve already..

- 20 Ms S *remaning work will be done tomorrow..*
 کل باقی کام ہوگا.. آج کے دن آپ کا کیا کام ہے کہ آپ لوگ چھپڑون یونٹ ون پڑھنا شروع کر دیں.. بہت چھوٹا سا
 ہے.. مگر بہت meaningful اس کو پڑھ لیجئے.. اس کا مطلب پتہ ہے کہ self reading ہے..
today you have to read chapter one unit one..it is a very small chapter .. but it
is very meaningful.. read it.. you know the meaning of self reading..
- 21 Ss: *..مس نہیں معلوم..*
we do not know..
- 22 Ms Ss *no discussion*
 S [reads silently]
- 23 Ms S *have you done.. how many students*
are left.. ok.. now.. you have three minutes
are left..to dito discuss it..discuss it..
- 24 Ms S *..ہم نے ابھی گروپ نہیں بنائے ہیں.. آپ لوگ چار چار کے گروپ میں discuss کریں.. کوئی سوال کوئی پوائنٹ..*
کوئی چیز مشکل ہے تو آپس
we have not made the groups yet.. sit in a group of four and discuss it..any
question.. any point or any difficult
 [pupils read out the text in groups]

Extract 14: A Kinder Garten Lesson on Animals, (SB, Ms Faiza, 10-8-2011)

- 1 Ms F *ok.. now we are doing animals :*
 [shows pictures of animals]
what is this..^
- 2 S *cows.. goat..*
- 3 Ms F *very good.. they are animals.. they*
are living things
- 4 Ms F *..^ لیونگ کیا ہوتے ہیں*
- 5 Ms F [translating, English] ** what are living things..^*
- 6 [asking students to watch poster
 silently]
- 7 Ms F *the ones that breathe.. they drink water..*
- 8 Ms F [translating, urdu] *جو سانس لیتے ہیں.. جو پانی پیتے ہیں.. اور پھر وہ بڑے ہو جاتے ہیں۔*

- Ms F ہوتا food یہ ان کا.. ہوتا ہے soil دیتے ہیں۔۔ اس میں water اس میں.. کو بنایا ہے plant جیسا کہ اللہ نے اس
fruits..^ میں کیا آجاتے ہیں.. ہوتا ہے grow پانی دیتے ہیں پھر یہ آہستہ آہستہ daily پھر آپ.. ہے
- 9 Ms F [translating, English] *the way Allah has made this plant..we water it.. it has got soil in it..it is its food.. then we water it everyday .. then it grows slowly.. what grows on it.. fruits^*
- 10 Ss [chorus] fruits
- 11 Ms F from where come mangoes..^
- 12 Ms F [translating, urdu] :ہنگو کہاں سے آتا ہے..^
- 13 Ss [chorus] from trees
- 14 Ss [speaking in urdu] tree سے آتا ہے۔
- 15 Ms F both trees and animals are living things..
- 16 Ms F [translating, urdu] trees بھی لیونگ ہوتے ہیں اور animals بھی..
- 17 Ms F what are we.. we need food..look our body moves ((waves her hand))
- 18 Ms F [translating, urdu] اور ہم کیا ہیں.. we need food..دیکھیں.. ہمارا جسم ہلتا ہے ((اپنے ہاتھ کو ہلا کر دیکھتے ہوئے))
- 19 Ms F ہم لوگ بھی بڑے ہوتے ہیں.. اس ہی طرح سے animal بھی living thing ہوتے ہیں..
we also grow .. in the same way animals are also living things..Allah has made many animals.. one is jungle animals..
- 20 Ms F اللہ تعالیٰ نے بہت سارے animal بنائے ہیں.. ایک ہوتے، jungle animals، jungle میں کون
کون سے ہوتے ہیں..^
Allah has made many animals.. they are all jungle animals what are jungle animals..^
- 21 Ss: زبرا.. ہاتھی.. شیر.. چیتا
tiger.. lion.. elephant.. zebra..
- 22 Ms F کچھ animals ایسے ہوتے ہیں جو ہمارے^
there are animals that
- 23 Ss ساتھ رہتے ہیں..
live with us^
- 24 Ms F ((جانوروں کے چارٹ کی طرف اشارہ کرتے ہوئے)) یہ سب کون سے جانور ہیں..^
((pointing to the chart)) what are these animals..^
- 25 S dog.. cat..
- 27 Ms F where is sheep..
- 28 S sheep.. sheep^ sheep.. sheep^:
you know Allah has given him such body that ..
- 29 Ms F [translating in urdu] آپ کو پتہ ہے اللہ میاں نے اسکی ایسی body بنائی ہے.. اس سے نا پھر sweater بنائے جاتے ہیں.. سردیوں کے
لئے blankets بنائے جاتے ہیں.. جو animals ہمارے ساتھ رہتے ہیں ان کو pet animals کہتے ہیں^

you know Allah has given him such body that we can make blankets.. which..
animals that lives with us we call them pet animals^

- 30 S
[get up from their seats to greet
another teacher who comes into the
class]
pet animals
good morning teacher
- 31 T
good morning.. sit down please..
- 32 Ss
thank you teacher
- 33 Ms F
آج آپ لوگ اپنے اپنی بتائیں گے کہ pet animal کیا mummy کو.. اپنے brother کو.. اور اپنے
sister کو father کو کھوتے ہیں..
today you are going to tell your father and mother.. to your brother..and to
your sister what pet animals are..

Extract 15: Debriefing session with Ms Faiza, a Kinder Garten teacher at (SB, 10-8-2011)

- 1 Ms F
میں نے بہت غلطیاں کی ہیں.. مگر آپ نے مجھے باور نہیں کرایا..
i made a lot of mistakes.. but you did not point it out..
- 2 R
میرا خیال ہے آپ نے کوئی غلطی نہیں کی
i think you have not made any mistakes
- 3 Ms F
نہیں سر مجھے اپنے.. تلفظ کا خوب اندازہ ہے..
no sir.. i am well aware of my English pronunciation..
- 4 R
آپ کی کلاس میں بچے.. مختلف زبانیں بولنے والے تھے.. آپ کو مشکل نہیں ہوتی.. آپ کس طرح اسکو
handle کرتی ہیں
children in your class come from..diverse linguistic backgrounds.. do not you
find it difficult.. how do you handle the demands of a multilingual class
- 5 Ms F
سر یعنی ان کو ہم اس ہی طرح سے بتاتے ہیں.. خود ہی ہم لوگ بتاتے ہیں کہ بیٹے اس طرح سے کہیں.. اس طرح سے
بولنے زیادہ اچھا ہوتا ہے.. ظاہر ہے کچھ بچے بلوچ ہوتے ہیں..
sir we tell them.. we ourselves tell them ..that children this is a better way of
saying things.. obviously we have Baloch children as well..
- 6 Mr R
جی جی:
hm.. hm..
- 7 Ms F
جب بچے اپنی علاقائی زبانیں یا گھر کی زبان میں بولتے ہیں تو ہم ان کو روکتے نہیں ہیں.. مگر ہم ان کو جواب انگریزی
یا اردو میں ہی دیتے.. ہم ان کی باتوں کا جواب اپنی زبان میں بار بار دیتے ہیں... ہی تو ایک نہ ایک دن سمجھ جاتے ہیں..

- the home language we do not stop when they speak regional languages or Urdu.. we reply in our them..but we respond to them in either English or and we keep doing it till the time they understand..language
- 8 Ms F کبھی کبھی روک بھی دیتے ہیں..جب بہت زیادہ (xxx)
- at times we stop them speaking in their languages..
- 9 R سبق میں آپ نے کئی جگہ انگریزی ہی کے الفاظ بار بار دوہرائے.. آپ وہاں یہ اردو کے الفاظ بھی استعمال کر سکتی تھی.. اس کی کوئی خاص وجہ تھی..
- during the lesson you deliberately used English words time and again.. you could have used words of Urdu as well in place of them.. was there any particular reason for it..
- 10 Ms F سر یہ انگلش میڈیم اسکول ہے اور ماں باپ انہیں انگلش سیکھنے کیلئے بھیجتے ہیں..
- sir this is an English medium school and parents send them to us because we teach them English..
- 11 R جی جی.
- hm.. hm
- 12 Ms F بعض اوقات تو تمہیں والدین کو بھی سیکھنا پڑتا ہے.. بچے اکثر کلاس میں پیالہ اور چمچہ مانگتا تھا.. بریک کے درمیان.... ایک "پیالہ دو دو.. چمچہ دو دو.." کئی دفعہ سکھانے کے spoon and bowl کہنا نہیں سیکھا.. پھر ہم نے ماں باپ کو بولا یہ تو پتہ چلا کہ گھر میں اس طرح بولا جاتا ہے.. پھر ہمارے ہیڈ مسٹر نے ماں باپ کو بولا کہ آج کے بعد آپ لوگ پیالہ اور چمچہ نہیں بولیں گے..
- at times we have to teach parents.. a child would always say in Urdu "piala" (bowl) give.. and chamcha..(spoon) during the break me piala and chamcha" ..(bowl and spoon) despite teaching spoon and bowl.. then i called the parents and discovered that they used words piala and chamcha" ..(bowl and spoon) then our head mistress advised them to say spoon and bowl at home instead of piala and chamcha..(bowl and spoon)

5.3: Relationship between Pupils Categorization and their Ethnicity and Class

Extract 16: Morning Assembly at (SC 15-5-2011)

ST= Sports teacher, IT= Islamiat teacher

- 1 IT [speaking , urdu in microphone] تمام لڑکے اپنی لائن برابر کریں.. بازو ایک دوسرے کے کندھے پر رکھیں.. پیچھے ہوتے جائیں.. درمیاں میں فاصلہ رکھیں.. خاموشی کے ساتھ کھڑے ہو جائیں.. باتیں نہیں.. آسان باش.. ہوشیار.. آسان باش.. ہوشیار..
- boys.. stand in straight lines..put your hands on the.. shoulders of the boy in front of you .keep a distance between yourselves.. no noise.. do not talk among yourselves.. stand at ease.. attention..stand at ease.. attention..

- 2 IT *بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ "حضور" کا ارشاد ہے کہ... جو شخص 100 مرتبہ لا الہ الا اللہ پڑھا کرے.. حق شانا ہو قیامت کے دن.. ایسا روشن چہرے والا اٹھائیں گے.. جیسا کہ 14 رات کا چاند ہوتا ہے.. اور جس دن یہ تسبیح پڑھے.. اُس دن اُس کے عملا والا.. وہ وہی شخص ہو سکتا ہے.*
- "in the name of allah the most merciful the most beneficent".. Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him has said.. any person who recites there is no god but Allah 100 times a day.. by the grace of god on the day of judgement..his face.. will be luminous like the full moon.. and the day he recites this.. that day only that person will be better than him.. is the one who..*
- 3 IT *جو اس سے بھی زیادہ پڑھے.. افضل حضور مقدس ﷺ کا ارشاد ہے.. جو شخص 100 مرتبہ لا الہ الا اللہ صلعم رسول پڑھا کرے.. حق شانا ہو قیامت کے دن اُس کو ایسا روشن چہرہ والا اٹھائیں گے.. جیسا کہ 14 رات کے دن اور جس دن یہ تسبیح پڑھے.. اس سے افضل وہی شخص ہوتا ہے.. جو اس سے بھی زیادہ پڑھے.. متعدد روایات سے یہ بات ثابت ہوتا ہے.. کہ لا الہ الا اللہ کے لئے بھی نور ہے.. اور چہرے کے لیے بھی نور ہے اور یہ تو مشاہد ہے کہ جو نیک لوگ.. کلمہ کی کثرت *ما حول ہوان کا چہرہ دنیا میں نورانی بن جاتا ہے..*
- recites this even more than he has.. our most holy prophet peace be upon him of said.. the person who recites.. 100 times there is no god but Allah and Allah..by the grace of the Muhammad peace be upon him Almighty on the day of judgement his face will shine like the full moon.. and the day he reads this.. no one will be superior to him for that day..except for him who has read this even more than he has.. it is evident from many sources that..the recitation of "there is no god but Allah" is beneficial for the soul..and it is beneficial for the face.. it is a valid observation that pious people who recite the kalima often* they have a luminescent face..*
- 4 IT *حضور کا ارشاد ہے کہ . بچے کو شروع میں جب وہ بات کرے.. بولنا سیکھنے لگے.. لا الہ الا اللہ محمد یاد کرو.. اور جب کسی کا مرنے کا وقت آئے.. تب بھی لا الہ الا اللہ کی تلقین کرو.. جس شخص کا اول اور آخری تو پڑا رسال تک دنیا..*
- Prophet Muhammad peace be upon said.. when a child begins to talk.. when he learns to speak.. teach him to recite the kalima.. and on his death bed..remind him again [to recite it]..person whose beginning and end is [the kalima].. for a thousand years this world" ..*
- [Assembly sings national anthems]
- 5 ST *آسان باش.. ہوشیار آسان باش.. ہوشیار پاک سرزمین شاد باد.. کشور حسین شاد باد.. توشان عزم عالی شان .. ارض پاکستان.. مرکز یقین شاد باد.. پاک سرزمین کا نظام.. قوت آخوت عوام.. قوم ملک سلطنت.. پائندہ تابندہ باد.. شاد باد منزل مراد.. پرچم ستارہ و بلالہر ہر ترقی و کمال .. ترجمان ماضی شان حال.. جان استقبال.. سایہ خدائے ذوالجلال..*

stand at ease.. attention.. stand at ease.. attention.. blessed be the sacred land..happy be bounteous realm.. symbol of high resolve..land of Pakistan.. blessed be thou citadel of faith.. the order of this sacred land..is the might of the brotherhood of the people.. may the nation.. the country.. and the state shine in glory everlasting.. blessed be the goal of our ambition.this flag of the crescent..and the star leads the way to progress and perfection.. interpreter of our past.. glory of our present.. inspiration for our future.. symbol of Almighty's protection:..

6 ST

تمام لڑکے اپنے جگموں پر کھڑے ہو جائیں اور کلاس انچارج صاحب سے درخواست کی جاتی کہ وہ تمام بچوں کا صفائی check کرے اور ہمارے ساتھ اس کام میں مدد کرے

all boys keep standing in your places and persons in-charge of class persons please help in the cleanliness inspection

[the teachers enter the grounds for cleaning inspection]

7 IT

تلاش لو ان لوگوں کا.. یہ کیا ہے بیٹا.. لاؤ گیند کے ساتھ کیا ہے.. چلو باہر نکلو

search all of them.. what is this son.. lets see what else you have with the ball.. get out

8 [slapping him on the face]

* ادھر آؤ ادھر آ ادھر.. اسلحہ ہے.. بھی موبائل ان کا اسلحہ ہے..

come here..here here..do you have any arms.. the cell phone is their armament

[exasperated]

9 IT

* اسلحہ ہے نہیں ^ * کہتا ہے.. * اسلحہ ہے ہے .. * کہتا ہے بوٹ پالش .. میں نے کہا پٹھان لوگوں میں بوٹ پالش کا رواج نہیں ہے.. فٹبال کھیلو، کرکٹ کھیلو جو تا پھینکو.. کان پکڑو # بھائی کان پکڑو..

*do you have any weapons^ * so he says.. * he has weapons he does..*he talks of boot polish..i said the Pathans do not have a tradition of boot polish..play cricket.. football.. and throw them away. [boot]. *take hold of your ears! brother I say take hold of your ears..*

10 IT

اپنے کان کہیں ایسا نہ ہو کہ کسی استاد کے کان نہ پکڑے.. * اوے کان پکڑو والو کے پٹھو (ناراض ہوتے ہوئے) یہ رکشے کا انڈینا ایک ایک کاوا کو.. * بیچ پیٹھے تو کبھی یاد آئے چلو شاپاش.. او پہلو ان تم نے ہم کو بہت او پہلو ان تم نے ہم کو بہت تنگ کیا ہے.. قسم سے تم نے ہم کو بہت تنگ کیا ہے.. تمہارا اس دن باپ کو بھی ہم نے بولا تھا.. تمہارا باپ کے پاس گیا.. اس نے بولا چلو چلو ابھی ہم کیا کرے خدا قسم.. شکر کرو اس نے یہ نہیں بولا کہ ہم نے 50,000 روپیہ دیا ہے.. اسکو گولی مروانے کے لئے.. یاد ہے اس دن ایک بیچے کا باپ آیا اور کہا.. کہ ہم نے 50,000 روپیہ دیا.. ایک آدمی کو اپنے بیچے.. کو گولی مروانے کے لئے.. بولا ادھر تو نہیں آیا ادھر آئے تو گولی مار دو..

tell him to hold his ears may it not happen that he gets hold of a teachers ears..
 I say take hold of your ears.. you sons of owls.. ((speaking with great anger))
 stick a rickshaw antenna i n each of them.. *when they sit on the bench they will
 remember..come on excellent *oh you wrestler.. you have been giving me a
 tough time for long .. by god you have troubled me long.. that day i told your
 father.. i went to your father..he said go away what am i to do by god..be
 grateful he did not say i have given 50 000 rupees..to have him killed..do you
 remember the day a father came and said..i gave 5000 rupees.. to a man for
 my child..to a man for my child.. to have him killed.. he said has he come here
 if he comes here shoot him..

ST:[blows on the whistle]

11 IT

دانت تو ایک کے بھی صاف نہیں کیا کروں * انگریز آئے گا ہم لوگوں کو بولنے کے لئے.. یا ڈاکٹر بولے گا دو چیزوں کا
 یہاں تو رواج ہی نہیں ہے.. نہ جو تے پالش کرتے ہیں.. اور نہ دانت صاف کرتے ہیں.. کان نہیں پکڑتے ہیں.. چار چار
 مارے گا اگر کان نہیں پکڑتے ہو.. تم لوگوں کو پتہ نہیں ہے.. اسکول کتنے بجے لگتا ہے.. تم لوگوں کو سزا کس لئے دیا ہے..
 not one of them will clean their teeth..*will the English come here to tell you
 people.. or will doctors..there are two traditions that have no practice here..
 they never polish their shoes.. and they never clean their teeth..if you people
 don't hold your ears.. i will thrash you four times each if you don't take hold of
 your ears.. do you people not know.. what time school starts.. why have you
 been punished

12 S

(Ss: صفائی کا (گھبراتے ہوئے))
 for cleanliness ((clearly anxious))

13 T

اپنے بال دیکھو ہمارے بال دیکھو..
 look at your self and look at me..

14 S

سر ہم صفائی کر رہا ہے
 sir we do clean everyday sir

[pointing to his uniform]

15 T

کچھ تو مسئلہ ہے اس کا رنگ دیکھو اور ساتھ والے کا colour دیکھو.. *چلو ایک جگہ کھڑے ہو جاؤ ہاتھ اوپر کرو.. سر آئے گا
 پھر تم لوگوں کو بتائے گا.. آپ چائے پیئیں گے..
 there must be a problem look at the colour of your uniform and look at his
 ((pointing to the boy next to him))..*come on all of you stand in one place and
 put your hands up..let sir come he will teach you.. would you like some tea..
 ((to the researcher))

16 R

نہیں شکریہ..
 no thank you..

- 17 T یہ جو ہمارے بچے گورنمنٹ اسکول میں ہوتے ہیں.. ان کی کوئی look after نہیں ہے.. والدین صرف پیسے دے دیتے ہیں.. اور کہتے ہیں جاؤ.. گھر میں شور نہیں کرو استاد کے پاس جاؤ شور کرو۔
these children who come to government schools.. they have no one to look after them.. the parents only give them money.. and tell them to go.. do not make noise in the house go to the teacher and create a ruckus..
- 18 R hm hm
hm hm..
- 19 T ایک دفعہ بڑا دلچسپ واقعہ ہوا.. ہماری strike تھی.. تو ادھر ہم بیٹھے ہوئے تھے تو ایک بندہ آیا.. میں ((دوسرے اساتذہ سے)) discuss کر رہا تھا کہ دیکھو ایک مہینہ.. ہو گیا.. کسی کو کوئی فکر نہیں.. کہ ہمارے بچے نہیں پڑھ رہے ہیں.. کسی نے پوچھا نہیں.. ایک دن ایک بندہ آیا.. اور کہتا ہیکہ یار یہ آ پکی strike.. کب ختم ہوگی.. میں نے کہا شاہد ہفتہ لگے گا.. دوسرے دن وہ پھر آ گیا.. تیسرے دن پھر آ گیا.. یہ ہی اس کے الفاظ تھے.. کب ختم ہوگی.. ہم لوگوں نے اسے ساتھ بیٹھا یا.. چائے پلائی
once a very interesting thing happened.. we were on strike.. we were hanging around here when a man came up to us.. i ((turning to address the other teachers present)) was telling my colleagues that a month.. has passed.. and no one is concerned.. that their children are not being educated..no one has come to inquire.. then one day a man came.. and said when will this strike.. finish.. I said perhaps in a week.. the next day he showed up again.. he came again the third day.. he repeated exactly what he had said.. when will it end.. so we got acquainted with him.. we sat with him.. offered him tea..
- 20 T اور اس سے باتیں کی.. ساتھیوں کو میں نے کہا.. کہ شکر ہے بچوں میں 1200.. سے کوئی تو والد آیا.. ہمارے پاس کتنی اچھی بات ہے تو اس سے تھوڑا سا تعلق بن گیا.. ساروں کے گناہ ہم نے دھوئے.. میں نے اس سے کہا.. کہ آپ کو اتنی فکر کیوں ہے.. کہتا ہے میرے بچے ہیں.. تین بیٹیاں ہیں اور ۲ بیٹے.. سارے گورنمنٹ اسکول میں پڑھتے ہیں.. سارا دن گھر کے اندر ہیں.. ماں کو اتنا تنگ.. کیا ہوا ہے یہ چیز توڑو چیز توڑ.. گھوم رہے ہیں.. پھر رہے ہیں.. اس کی ماں ٹھہر وز بوتی ہے.. کسی طریقے سے جاؤ.. اور ماسٹر سے پوچھو.. کہ اسکول کب کھلے گا.. میری جان چھوڑے.. میں نے کہا کہ میں تو بہت خوش تھا.. کہ آپکو education سے بہت لگاؤ ہے.. کہتا ہے education سے لگاؤ گاؤ کچھ نہیں ہے.. ادھر یہ پوزیشن ہے..

and talked to him.. i said to my colleagues.. thanks be to the Lord that out of the 1200 children here.. at least one father showed up.. he came to us what a good thing this is.. we have washed ourselves of all sins.. i said to him.. why are you so concerned.. he says I have seven children.. three daughters and four sons.. they are all in government schools.. all day long they are home.. breaking that.. idling annoying their mother.. like a whirlwind breaking this away.. wasting time.. their mother tells me every day.. go somehow.. and ask the teacher.. when will school restart.. so I can have some peace..i said i was very happy ..that you cared so much about education.. he said.. i have no concern with education.. this is how it is here..

Extract 17: Interview with Mr Ansari, (Principal of SC, 18-5-2011)

- 1 R (...) بہت شکریہ...ہے بتائیے.. کہ آپ جس اسکول میں سربرہ ہیں.. اس اسکول کی language policy کو آپ کس طرح بیان کریں گے.
- (...) *thank you very much.. please tell me.. how would you describe the language policy that as principal of your school.. of your school..*
- 2 Mr A نے ministry of education میں پاکستان یہاں language policy تو ہمارے یہاں # actually determine کر دی.. اور جو ہمارے اسکول میں.. mostly اسکول میں وہ.. اردو میڈیم ہیں اور اردو زبان ہی استعمال ہوتی ہے.. ہمارے institution میں بھی گورنمنٹ کے ادارے انگلش میڈیم بھی ہیں.. [English] لیکن وہ بہت تھوڑے ہیں.. بہت ہی limited ہیں.. جیسے بلوچستان میں تین یا چار ہیں.. جہاں English medium ہے.. وہاں انگلش (xxx) ورنہ اردو ہی استعمال ہوتی ہے..
- actually # the point is that the language policy here in Pakistan is determined by the ministry of education.. which in our school.. mostly in all schools.. Urdu is used as the medium of instruction Urdu is the language used.. in our institutions also in government institutions there are a few english medium [schools].. but they are a few.. they are limited in numbers..just as in Balochistan there are three or four.. where there is English medium..there English (xxx) or Urdu is only used..*
- 3 R یہاں کے بچے کس background کے ہوتے ہیں..؟
- what is the background of the children who come here?..*
- 4 Mr A بہت ہی lower کلاس کے بچے ہیں.. lower class سے آتے ہیں lower middle class سے آتے ہیں.. جو بہت غریب ہیں ہمارے سرکاری اسکولوں میں تقریباً یہی صورت حال ہے..
- the children are from a lower class.. they are from the lower middle class they are very poor the situation is same in our government schools.*

- 5 R جی کیا زبان ہوتی ہے زیادہ تر بچوں کی..
yes.. which is the first language for the majority of children..
- 6 Mr A پشتو زبان (xxx) تو اس میں 70 to 80% بچے پشتون ہیں..
: Pushto (xxx) in this school 70% to 80% children speak Pushto..
- 7 R تو وہ کون سے طریقے ہیں.. جن کے تحت وہ Urdu اس ماحول میں ڈھلے ہیں..
in that case what methods do you employ.. to help them adjust in this milieu..
- 8 Mr A اردو تو ہمارے یہاں پہلی جماعت سے پڑھائی جاتی ہے.. as a compulsory subject پڑھائی جاتی ہے.. تو وہ بڑے familiar ہوتے ہیں.. اردو وہ جانتے ہیں کیونکہ وہ پڑھتے آرہے ہیں کیونکہ ہمارے یہاں national language بھی اردو ہے.. رابطہ کی زبان بھی ہے.. تو بچوں کو اردو آتی ہے.. تو اس ہی کو وہ استعمال کرتے ہیں.. اب تو انگلش کو بھی گریڈ 1 سے compulsory کر دیا ہے لیکن اب تک اس کا ابھی زیادہ اثر نہیں ہوا.. [کیونکہ ہمارا ٹیچر ٹرین نہیں ہے]..
Urdu is taught here right from class one.. it is taught as a compulsory subject.. so they are very familiar with it.. they know Urdu because they have been studying it also because here the national language is Urdu.. it is also the language of wider communication.. therefore children know Urdu..and they use Urdu.. now they have also made English compulsory from grade one but impact as yet this has not had a.. because our teachers are not [yet] trained [to teach English]..
- 9 R جی اچھا سر یہ بتائے کہ آپ نے کہا کہ language policy اوپر سے بن کر آتی ہے آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ اس میں تبدیلی کی ضرورت ہے یا اس میں teachers کو شامل کرنا چاہیے..
yes.. sir you said that the language policy was made from above.. do you think.. there should be some changes in it or that teachers should be inducted..
- 10 Mr A ہمارے یہاں سارا کچھ بدقسمتی سے ماضی میں.. ماضی میں، کیا اب بھی یہی صورت حال ہے.. کہ ہمارا system centralized ہے جو کچھ وہاں سے بن جاتا ہے.. وہ بن جاتا ہے.. ministry of education تھوڑا بہت contact کرتی ہے.. جب وہ پالیسی بناتی ہے.. اس کو consult کیا جاتا ہے objective بتائے جاتے ہیں.. لیکن فیصلہ میرے خیال میں اس کی روشنی میں نہیں ہوتا.. جو کچھ ان کے پاس جو کچھ پبلک یا ٹیچر سے آتا ہے.. وہ اس کی روشنی میں فیصلہ نہیں ہوتا کیونکہ اگر اس کی روشنی میں ((فیصلہ ہوتا)) تو یہ.. ساری چیزیں determine ہوتیں کہ language policy کیا ہوگی.. پالیسی (اعتماد کے ساتھ) area to area بنانی چاہیے کہ ہر area کو اس میں cover کیا جائے.. اسکے حساب سے ہماری یہاں ایک ہی طرح کی تعلیم ہے..

over here unfortunately every thing in the past.. why talk of the past even today the situation is the same.. our system is overly centralized.. whatever is decided there.. that happens.. the ministry of education.. makes some effort to contact us.. when they make the policy.. there is some consultation.. objectives are shared.. but in my opinion decisions are not made accordingly.. the input they get from public school teachers.. decisions are not made keeping these in view because if decisions were made in the light of [their recommendations]..these things would have been determined in the language policy what should it be.. the policy ((speaking very firmly)) should be made according to the needs of each area.. it should cover each region only then will we have a uniform system of education..

11 R

سر آپ نے کہا اس اسکول میں اور میں نے بھی غور کیا کہ یہاں پر اگر social class کی بات کریں یہاں پر ایک working class کے لوگ آتے ہیں.. دوسری social class کے بچے یہاں نہیں آتے ہیں.. آپ کیا سمجھتے ہیں وہ کیوں نہیں آتے ہیں یہاں

sir you said that in this school and i too observe that if we were to talk of social classes then only children from working class backgrounds come to your school.. children from other social strata do not come here to study.. why is this so in your opinion..

12 Mr A

دیکھیں ایسا ہے کہ جن کے والدین پڑھے لکھیں ہیں اور معاشی حالت بھی بہتر ہو وہ ان اسکولوں کی حالت تو دیکھ رہے ہیں ہمارے یہاں over crowded اسکول میں بچوں کا ہے ایک ایک کلاس میں 80 بچے ہیں جو پڑھے ہیں جو پڑھے لکھیں ہیں وہ تو سمجھتے ہیں.. کہ یہاں پہ teaching نہیں ہو رہی ہے مطلب یہ ہے کہ effective teaching نہیں ہو رہی ہے تو وہ لوگ اچھے اداروں کی طرف چلے جاتے ہیں..

look the thing is parents who are educated and have financial resources.. they see for themselves the conditions of these schools.. we are over crowded each class has some 80 children.. those who are educated.. the educated they know very well.. that there is no teaching here.. i mean effective teaching is not possible so these people turn to better institutions..

13 R

اُن کے پاس پیسے ہیں وہ چلے جاتے ہیں..

those who have money.. they go away..

14 Mr A

بالکل وہ لوگ private sector میں جاتے ہیں ان کی تعلیم تو ہم سے بالکل different ہے وہ O level کراتے ہیں A level کراتے ہیں.. انکار چنان زیادہ اس طرف ہوتا ہے..

absolutely.. they go to the private sector.. their way of education is very different from ours.. they offer O level and A level courses.. they go that way..

15 R

جی.. جی..

yes.. yes..

- 16 Mr A ہمارے یہاں تو یہ غریب لوگ آتے ہیں جو afford نہ کر سکتے چونکہ سرکاری اسکول میں فری ایجوکیشن ہے کتا ہیں even حکومت فری دیتی ہے کوئی فیس نہیں ہے اس لئے غریب یہاں آ کر پڑھتے ہیں ہیں..
only the poor come to us those who can not afford to send their children to private schools.. because education is free in government schools.. even the books are given free of cost by the government there are no fees that is why the poor come here to study..
- 17 R ان بچوں کا مستقبل کیا ہوتا ہے یہ جو 1200 بچے ہیں
how do you visualize the future of these 1200 students..
- 18 Mr A چند بچے آگے بڑھ جاتی ہیں مگر زیادہ تر معاشرے کا ناسور بن جاتے ہیں.. ان کا کوئی future نہیں ہوتا ہے..
a few might prosper.. but the majority will be a burden on society.. they have no future..
- 19 R اچھا سر میں نے ایک کلاس میں دیکھا کہ majority بچے پشتو بولتے ہیں ٹیچر بھی پشتو بولتا ہے پھر بھی وہ پشتو نہیں بولتا ..
i have noticed in your school.. that despite the fact that the majority of children and the teachers too speak Pushto they do not make use of their common language for teaching..
- 20 Mr A ٹیچر پشتو میں اس لئے نہیں پڑھاتا.. کیونکہ ہماری پالیسی نہیں ہے ہماری Urdu medium [سکول] ہے تو اس کو bound کیا ہوا ہے.... کیونکہ کتاب اردو میں ہی لکھی ہوئی ہے لہذا اردو میں ہی پڑھانی ہے.. اور اس کا امتحان بھی اردو میں ہوگا.. ہمارے بہت سارے ادارے ایسے ہیں جہاں پر پرنسپل صاحبان نے پابندی لگائی.. کہ کوئی اور زبان استعمال نہیں کی جائے گی.. لیکن میں نے ایسی کوئی پابندی نہیں لگائی..
the teacher does not teach in Pushto.. because this is not our policy..ours is an Urdu medium [school].. therefore the teacher is bound by it [the rules].. because the books are in Urdu therefore they must be taught in Urdu too.. and the examination will also be conducted in Urdu.. there are many schools where the principal restricts children from speaking any language other than Urdu.. but i have not imposed any constraints..
- 21 R اس پالیسی پر جو ادارے سے [باہر عوام کے] reaction ہیں.. ان کے بارے میں آپ کا کیا خیال ہے کیا بلوچستان کے لوگ اس پالیسی کو accept کرتے ہیں یا ان کے کچھ دوسرے خیالات ہیں...
how do the people [the society at large] react to this policy.. do you think the people of Balochistan accept this policy or do their views differ..
- 22 Mr A معاشرے میں ہمارا جو پڑھا لکھا طبقہ ہے وہ تو یہ سمجھتا ہے کہ جی جو بچے جی زبان ہے اس میں اسکو پڑھانا چاہیے.. لیکن.. ہمارے یہاں اس پر کام ہی نہیں ہوا اس پر کام ہی نہیں.. زبانوں پر کام ہی نہیں ہوا.. ایک دفعہ آپ کی knowledge کے لئے بتا دو کہ غالباً

the educated section of our society.. understand that the child should be taught in his own language.. however.. there has been no work done in any of the languages..there has been no work done ..at all "languages have been ignored".. it so happened.. for your knowledge i would like to tell you that in the 80s.. teaching in the mother tongue was introduced here..

23 Mr A

یہ بات 80s کی ہے 49 80s میں یہاں پر mother tongue کرائی گئی تھی... زبانی بلوچی، برادی اور پشتو کتابیں بھی چاہیں گیں کچھ استاذہ کو کچھ training بھی دی گئی لیکن وہ تجربہ بہت بری طرح ناکام ہوا کیونٹی نے اس کو totally reject کر دیا.. شازش ہے کہ mother tongue میں تعلیم دی جائے..

books were published in Balochi.. Brahavi and Pushto and some teachers were also trained.. but the experiment failed totally.. the community rejected it totally..it was taken as a conspiracy against them that they should be taught in the mother tongue..

24 Mr A

عوام نے کہا.. کہ یہ تو [حکمران] اپنے بچوں کو England میں پڑھاتے ہیں.. کراچی میں پڑھاتے ہیں اور ہم غریب غرباء کو اردو سے بھی نکالنا چاہتے ہیں تاکہ کہیں ایسا نہ ہو کہ ہم national level پہ آجائیں.. وہ سوچتے ہیں کہ اگر بچہ پشتو میں پڑھے گا تو اس کی کہاں کھپت ہوگی.. تو انہوں نے نہیں پڑھا ماں باپ لکھ کہ [دیتے تھے ہم] اس کو نہیں پڑھے گے..

the people said.. that they [the ruling elite] send their children to England for education.. their children study in Karachi and for us poor people they want to restrict our children access even to Urdu so that our children will not be able to compete at the national level.. they believe that if our children are educated in Pushto only.. they will not be able to compete in the job market.. so the parents would write to us [saying].. that we do not want education in our mother tongue..

25 R

میں آپکا بہت شکر گزار ہوں کے آپ نے اپنا قیمتی وقت دیا..

thank you very much for giving me so much of your valuable time..

Extract 18: Interview with Mr Ishaq who teaches Physics to grade 10 students of (SC, 17-5-2011)

1 R

(..) آپ اپنے اسکول کی language policy کو کس طرح بیان کریں گے..

(...) how would you describe the language policy of your school..

2 Mr I

اردو ہے.. understanding.. یہ ہے.. کہ تمام مضامین اردو میں پڑھائے جائیں گے.. جو انہوں نے books دی ہیں.. وہ بھی اردو میں ہیں.. اُستاد اردو میں پڑھا رہا ہے.. مگر جہاں وہ اردو میں پھنستا (غصہ ہوتے ہوئے) ہے.. وہاں اس میں Pushto mix کر دیتا ہے.. اپنے لوگوں کو اس طرح سمجھا دے گا.. اور پچا سمجھے گا..

Urdu is.. the understanding is..that all subjects will be taught in Urdu.. the books they have sent to us.. those too are in Urdu.. teachers teach in Urdu.. but where they are stumped in Urdu ((in anger)).. there they resort to a mixture of Pushto [and Urdu].. this is how they explain things to their people.. and the child understands better..

3 R

آپ physics کس کس زبان میں پڑھاتے ہیں؟

which languages do you teach physics in..?

4 Mr I

اُردو میں.. میں جب practical کراتا ہوں.. تو اپنی کلاس میں سے.. چند ہوشیار بچوں کو چن لیتا ہوں.. ان ہوشیار بچوں کو میں practical کرواتا ہوں.. پھر یہ بچے [اپنے ساتھیوں] کو پشتو میں سمجھا دیتے ہیں.. میں ان ہوشیار بچوں سے کہتا ہوں.. کہ بچوں میں نے تو آپ لوگوں کو اُردو میں سمجھایا تھا.. آپ لوگوں نے پشتو میں کیوں سمجھایا.. بچے بولتے ہیں.. سر لڑکوں کو پشتو میں.. آسانی سے سمجھ میں.. آجاتا ہے..

in Urdu.. when i give laboratory lesson..then from my class.. i choose a few bright children.. i do the laboratory work with these bright children..these children then teach the other boys in Pushto..i tell these bright ones.. that children i taught you in Urdu..why did you explain in it [to the others]

Pushto..the boys say.. sir in Pushto the boys.. understand.. more easily..

5 R

جی.. آپ لوگوں نے mother tongue education بھی [شروع] کی تھی..

you people had started [imparting] education in the mother tongue as well..

6 Mr I

حکومت نے بگٹی صاحب ((سیاسی رہنما)) کے دور میں یہ شروع کیا تھا.. انہوں نے بلوچی بھی شروع کی.. پشتو وغیرہ بھی.. اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ جب ہم.. کسی کو روکتے ہیں.. یا یہ کہتے ہیں کہ آپ ((اپنی مادری زبان کا استعمال نہ کریں)) ایسا نہ کریں.. وہ اُردو میں پڑھائیں.. تو یہ لوگ کہتے ہیں.. کہ آپ ہمیں کیسے روک سکتے ہیں.. یہ ہماری مادری زبان ہے.. ہم اسکا استعمال کریں گے.. اکثر ہمارا ان لوگوں سے اختلاف ہوتا ہے.. کہ آپ بچوں سے جو مختلف زبانیں بولتے ہیں.. ان سب کے ساتھ اُردو میں بولے..

the government had started this in the times of Mr Bugti ((a nationalist political leader, who was assassinated)).. they introduced Balochi too.. Pushto.. and other languages also..the result was that when we.. stop anyone.. or else tell

them you should not do this [use their mother tongue].. teach only in Urdu..then these people tell us.. that how can you stop us..this is our mother tongue..we will use it.. we often come into conflict with these people.. we tell

them you speak to the students in different languages.. you should speak to them in Urdu..

7 R

کیا بچوں کے والدین اسکول کی language policy سے خوش ہیں..

are the parents happy with the language policy of the school..

وہ ((مسکراتے ہوئے)) دیہاتوں سے آتے ہیں.. ان کو کیا معلوم.. میں اکثر ماں باپ سے کہتا ہوں.. کہ اگر ان بچوں کو انسان بنانا ہے.. تو کوئی arts پڑھاؤ.. اپنے بچوں کو کسی language centre میں ڈالو.. اس کے بعد اسکول لے کر آؤ.. کیوں کہ درمیان میں کئی بچے ایسے ہوتے ہیں.. جن کو اردو بالکل سمجھ نہیں آتی.. اگر کوئی outsider ان سے آ کے پوچھے کہ کیا Urdu سمجھ میں آئی.. تو وہ کچھ نہیں بتا سکتے..

((smiling)) they come from villages.. what do they know.. i often tell the parents..if they want their children to become civilized human beings.. they should teach them an art.. put their children in some language centre.. after which they should bring them to school.. because around us are some children who do not understand Urdu at all.. if an outsider were to ask them if they understood Urdu..they will not be able to tell any thing..because they do not understand any thing(...)

Extract 19: Interview from a father and a mother from (SB, 27-7-2011)

M=mother, F=father, R= researcher

- 1 Mr F میرے تین بچے اس اسکول میں ہیں اور میں یہاں چوکیدار ہوں.
three of my children study in this school and i work here as a gate keeper..
- 2 Mr.R گھر میں آپ لوگ کون سی زبان بولتے ہیں..
: which language do you speak at home..
- 3 Mr.F گھر میں ہم بلوچی بولتے ہیں..
we speak Balochi at home..
- 4 Mr.R بچوں کو مسئلہ ہوتا ہے کہ گھر کی زبان کچھ اور اسکول کی زبان کچھ اور..
do children find it problematic that home language and the language of school is different..
- 5 Mr.F مسئلہ ہوتا ہے..
yes it is problematic..
- 6 Ms M میں نے بھی اردو اپنے بچوں سے سیکھا ہے.. پہلے تو میں اردو بالکل نہیں جانتی تھی..
i have also learnt Urdu from my children..i did not know it at all..
- 7 Ms M: بچے گھر آتے ہیں تو بولتے ہیں اس طرح بات کرو.. انگلش میں بولو.. میں بولتی ہوں بچوں میں تو پڑھی لکھی نہیں ہوں.. بچے بولتے ہیں کہ انگلش بولنے کے نمبر ملتے ہیں.. میں نے کہا بیٹا میں نے نہیں پڑھا ہے.. اگر آپ کچھ سکھا سکتے ہو تو ضرور سکھاؤ..

- when children are back from school tell me to speak in English.. i tell them look i am not literate i can not speak in English ..children say that they are given marks for speaking in English .. i tell them you can teach me i am ready tell them i am not literate and if..
- 8 Mr R آپ بچوں کے زبان کے مسئلے کو کس طرح حل کرتے ہیں..
how do you help your children with the language problem..
- 9 Mr F اسکول کے بعد ہم لوگ بچوں کو پانچ گھنٹے کیلئے ٹیوشن بھیج دیتے ہیں..
after school everyday we send our children for five hours private tutions..
- 10 Mr.F بعض اوقات تو میں ٹیوشن کی مس کو بولتا ہوں کہ بچوں کو اپنے ہی پاس رکھ لو.. اللہ کا شکر ہے اب کوئی مسئلہ نہیں ہے.. پہلے اسکول والے بولتے تھے کہ آپ کے بچوں کا زبان کا مسئلہ ہے
at times i would request private tutor to keep my children at her place..thank God there is no problem any more..
earlier the school would tell us that our children had language problem
- 11 Mr R کیوں
why
- 12 Mr F کیوں کہ بچہ لوگ بلوچی بولتا تھا..
because our children would speak Balochi in school..
- 13 Mr. R آپ کون کون سی زبانیں چاہتے ہیں کہ آپ کے بچوں کو بہت اچھی طرح آجائے.. بچوں کو بہت اچھی طرح آجائے..
which languages do you want your children to know very well..
- 14 Ms M میری تو خواہش ہے کہ وہ English اتنی اچھی بولیں
i wish they speak in English
- 15 Mr.R ایسا کیوں ہے..
why is it so..
- 16 Ms M: بس میرے کو جو انگلش بات کرتے ہیں.. میں اس کے منہ کو دیکھتی رہ جاتی ہوں.. میں بولتی ہوں.. میرے کو بھی ایسے English بات کرنی آجائے.. مجھے بہت اچھا لگتا ہے
people who speak in English .. i keep looking at their faces with wonder.. i tell myself.. i wish i could also speak in English
- 17 Mr.R: آپ کا بہت بہت شکریہ..
thanks very much indeed..

Extract 20: Interview with a father of grade 6 student at (SB , 28-11-2011)

F=Father, R=Researcher

- 1 F (...) میں یہ کہہ رہا تھا کہ ان لوگوں نے فیس پھر بڑھادی.. میں نے پوچھا کہ کس لئے .. تو کہنے لگے یہ کمپیوٹر چارجز ہیں.. حالانکہ ایک کلاس میں 45 بچے ہیں .. تو بچی کا نمبر آئے گا 45 منٹ میں آدھے گھنٹے کا ٹائم ہوتا ہے..
(...) i was saying that they have raised the tuition fee again.. i asked them the reason..they said that they were computer charges..although there are 45 pupils in one class..how is it..possible they get their turn on computer in a 45 minute class..
- 2 R تو انہوں نے کیا کہا..
what did they say..
- 3 F کہنے لگے کہ یہ تو compulsory ہے آپ کو دینے ہیں
they said that this was compulsory and we had to pay
- 4 R ہوں
hm hm..
- 5 F فیس بڑھاتے جا رہے ہیں.. سمجھ میں نہیں آتا.. اب بارہ سو فیس ہو گئی ہے..
they keep raising the fee.. i do not understand ..now the fee is twelve hundred a month..
- 6 F اچھا آپ بتائیں کہ کیا یہ لوگ سندھی ختم کر رہے ہیں
are they finishing Sindhi language
- 7 R مجھے نہیں معلوم
i really do not know
- 8 F دیکھیں سراسر اگر سندھی ختم کریں گے تو جو بچارے سندھی پڑھا رہے ہیں ان کی نوکری ختم ہو جائے گی.. وہ بچارے کب سے پڑھا رہے ہیں.. اگر ان کو آپ اچانک ہٹا دو گے تو نتیجہ کیا ہوگا.. میں یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ سندھی ختم نہ کی جائے تو اچھا ہے..
look sir if they stop teaching Sindhi then those who are teaching it will lose their jobs..if you remove them suddenly what will be the impact on these teachers.. i want that they continue teaching Sindhi language..

Extract 21: Debriefing session with Mr Tarang who teaches English to grade 10 students at (SC,17-5-2011)

- 1 Mr T (...) آپ نے بہت اچھا سوال کیا کہ میں نے اپنی کلاس میں پشتو کیوں نہیں استعمال کی اگرچہ میں بھی اور بچے بھی پشتو جانتے ہیں.. یہاں پاکستان میں ہماری جو قومی زبان ہے وہ اردو ہے.. تو ہمارا اسکول ٹیچر اس بات کا پابند ہے کہ وہ کلاس میں اپنے lesson کو اردو میں deliver رے.. مگر جہاں مشکل ہوتی ہے وہاں میں پشتو استعمال کرتا ہوں ((کافی محتاط ہو کے)) میں نے پشتو زبان کا استعمال اس لیے نہیں کیا کیوں کے حکومت کی طرف سے... یا اسکول کی طرف سے جو rules & regulation ہیں..

(...) you asked a very good question that why did i not.. use Pushto in my class even though i and the children know Pushto.. here in Pakistan Urdu is the national language.. so our school teacher is required to deliver his lesson in Urdu in the class.. but where i find it difficult i use Pushto.. ((very cautiously)) i did not use the Pushto language because.. either from the government ... or from the school there are rules and regulations..

2 R

میرا خیال ہے کہ ادارے کی پالیسی بھی کچھ یہ ہے..
in my opinion that is the institutional policy as well..

3 MrT

بالکل.. ادارے کی پالیسی یہ ہی ہے کہ آپ اپنی قومی زبان استعمال کریں..
certainly.. the policy of the institution is just that you use your national language..

4 R

: آپ اس پالیسی میں سیاسی عمل دخل دیکھتے ہیں..
do you see political interference in this policy..

5 Mr T

((سوال کی تعریف کرتے ہوئے)) ہمارے syllabus بدقسمتی سے وہ لوگ بناتے ہیں جو کہ بالکل معاشرے کے.. بچوں کے اسکول سے unaware ہیں.. this is the main cause.. میں ٹیچر ہوں اور مجھے کلاس کے اندر جو مسائل ہوتے ہیں.. یہ جو بچوں کے مسائل ہیں.. وہ مجھے معلوم ہیں.. تو میری یہ تجویز ہے کہ ان اساتذہ کو شامل کیا جانا چاہیے.. میں دسویں کے بچوں کو Threshing machine پڑھاتا تھا جو کہ بلوچستان میں کسی بچے نے.. کبھی دیکھی ہی نہیں کیونکہ بلوچستان میں اس کا استعمال ہی نہیں ہے.. میں تو یہ کہتا ہوں.. کہ معروضی حالات کو دیکھ کر پالیسی بنائی جائے.. بلوچستان میں پہاڑ ہیں.. معدنیات ہیں.. ان کے بارے میں پڑھایا جائے..

[complimenting the pertinence of the question]

our syllabi are unfortunately developed by those people who are completely unaware about the society about the.. unaware about children. schools.. this is the main cause.. i am a teacher and i know the problems that exist in a class.. problems that children have.. i know of these.. o my suggestion is that those teachers should be included.. i taught children in grade 10 about the threshing machine which no child in Balochistan.. has ever seen because it is simply not used in Balochistan.. i say that.. policy should be developed according to the contextual relevance.. there are mountains in Balochistan.. there are minerals.. this is what should be taught.

6 R

ہوں ہوں.. کہا جاتا ہے کہ اردو اس لیے قومی زبان بنائی گئی ہے کیونکہ یہ رابطہ کی زبان ہے.. آپ کا اس بارے میں کیا خیال ہے..
hm.. hm.. it is said that Urdu has been made the national language because it is the language of communication.. what are your views on this..

7 Mr T

(...) ہمارے جو politicians کے بچے ہیں.. وہ abroad میں ہیں.. یا وہ ہمارے پاکستان کے ایسے اداروں میں.. چاہے وہ مذہبی جماعت ہو.. چاہے وہ قوم پرست ہو.. جہاں اردو کا کوئی concept ہی نہیں ہے.. تو ہم نے یہ سوچا کہ ہم ان کے والدین کے غلام ہیں.. اور ہمارے بچے ان کے بچوں کے غلام ہوں گے.. کیونکہ ہمارے بچوں کو وہ موقع ہی نہیں مل رہا ہے..
(...) our politicians children.. are abroad.. or else they are in such institutions in Pakistan.. whether it be a religious party.. or nationalist.. where there is no concept of Urdu.. so i now believe that we are the servants of their parents.. and our children will become the servants of their children.. because our children are not getting those opportunities..

8 R

ابھی ایک دوست بتا رہے تھے کہ اساتذہ باقاعدہ پابندی لگاتے ہیں.. کہ بچہ بلوچی، براوی اور پشتو میں گفتگو نہ کرے..

(...) a friend was just saying that the teachers actually put restrictions.. that a child should not talk in Balochi Brahvi or Pushto..

9 Mr T

بالکل پابندی لگائی جاتی ہے.. اور fine بھی..

of course.. they restrict them.. and they also fine them..

Extract 22: Interview with Ms. Uzma, coordinator English language at
(SA, 20-6-2011)

1. MsU: it is totally an English medium school.
2. R: what do you mean by totally English
3. medium school..
4. MsU: except for Urdu we have everything
5. in English.. it is an O level school.. we
6. encourage a lot of extra curricular activities
7. so that the children not only learn English
8. in the classroom they should also learn
9. and enjoy English outside
10. R: hm..
11. MsU: we have plays.. dramas.. concerts
12. .. every year we do Shakespearian play..
13. and we would like you to see it and
14. you should see how are children grade
15. four.. five.. and six.. recite beautiful
16. pieces of Shakespearian verses..
17. R: really..
18. MsU: and they do it and they choose the plays
19. from the library.. we have a beautiful massive
20. library.. and we explain children
21. R: hm..
22. MsU: librarian has a big hand in it.. then
23. choose their own Shakespeare novel.. they
24. first go through revised version.. sorry
25. abridged version as well as the original..
26. they choose an extract .. bring it to the teacher..

27. this is what they act out on the stage..

28. R: what family background do children

29. mostly come from..

30. MsU: all very good..

31. good English speaking families..

32. probably all children converse in English

33. with parents

34. R: the school fee must be very high

35. MsU: not much really.. seven to eight

36. thousand a month.. roughly speaking

37. R: lets talk about governmental language - in

38. education policy..

39. MsU: i tell you one thing.. i am Pakistani to

40. core.. a very very loyal Pakistani.. and

41. i love my language .. there is no one in

42. the world who can speak Urdu.. probably

43. a few Indians.. we respect and we love

44. the language.. which is very important..

45. but I feel that the amount of Urdu that is

46. being done in school is quite enough..

47. R: hm.. hm..

48. MsU: because they have an Urdu background

49. .. they do not need to learn Urdu right

50. from the scratch as they need to learn

51. English

52. R: do they all come back from Urdu

53. background..

54. MsU: they are basically Pakistani people..

55. they are not foreigners..

56. R: I mean their home languages..

57. MsU: their home languages are naturally

58. Urdu.. English is their second

Extract 23: Interview with Ms. Tabinda Kiran, a grad 4 English language teacher at (SA,15-7-2011)

1. MsTK: (...) you know .. when children come to

2. our school we try to provide them lot of
3. opportunity to listen to correct English and
4. speaking English correctly through.. we
5. believe in immersion.. that it..

6. R: hm.. hm

7. MsTK: to immerse them into the situation
8. .. where they.. where they.. mean.. dip
9. in the situation.. they are exposed to the
10. language all the time..

11. R: i am really very interested with the
12. ways of immersion that you are following..

13. MrTK: actually we communicate in English
14. only.. o.k.. and .. then we encourage
15. parents to speak in English with children
16. at home as well.. but..

17. MsTK: yes.. not many of them

18. R: but not many of them do it..

19. R: when pupils deviate from the immersion
20. process.. how do you deal with them..

21. MrTK: in the beginning young kids do deviate..
22. they use their home language but later
23. on they get used to it..

24. R: what strategies do you use when they
25. deviate

26. MsTK: actually we do not point out at the
27. things.. instead of pointing out at a child
28. that you are doing something wrong.. we just
29. rephrase

30. R: you mean rephrase the utterance in
31. English

32. MsTK: oh.. yes..

33. R: that is one of the key strategies of
34. immersion

35. MsTK: yes..

36. R: what are the parents aspirations..

37. MsTK: of course English only..

38. R: Pakistan language in education policy

39. says that Urdu is the medium of instruction

40. and English is introduced as a subject

41. from class one now.. what are your views

42. on it..

43. MsTK: you know.. I will not comment on it but

44. I will only say that not giving children the

45. opportunity to learn English is not fair..

46. what is your view on it..

47. R: It may be that the society is multi lingual

48. like all other places of the world.. in our

49. multi lingual world.. there are languages which

50. are powerful these days.. though linguistically

51. they are not much differences in them..

52. but socio linguistically they hold different

53. powers.. it will be naïve to say that

54. Sindhi language is as powerful as German

55. .. the access and right exposure to powerful

56. languages make differences in the life

57. changes.. I think people should have

58. options to choose.. I do not want

59. imposition of any language on my children..

60. MsTK: you know most of the parents are wise

61. and they always want to give best to their children..

62. but here.. unfortunately they are not aware.. i

63. give one example from someone Ii know very well..

64. our tailor.. you know tailors earn a lot but they are

65. not literate.. o.k.. a tailor brought his child to

66. our school.. not this school another school..

67. that is also a good school.. English medium school

68. he talked to the head and said that

69. will my child speak English the

70. way your daughters do.. so here.. here English

71. becomes something else.. the form is not on

72. any other thing
73. R: you mean it is more of status symbol
74. MsTK: exactly..

Extract 24: An Interview with Mr. Akbar, teacher at (SC,19-7-2011)

- 1 R اسکول کی دیواروں پر بلوچ اسٹیوڈنٹ فیڈریشن کے بارے میں لکھا ہوا ہے.. اور اس پر چونا بھی پھرا ہوا ہے .. آپ اس کے بارے میں کچھ بتائیں
- the walls of the school have Baloch liberation federation written.. and attempts have been made to hide could you please tell something about it*
- 2 Mr.A یہ وہ آوازیں ہیں جن کو پاکستانی اسٹیبلشمنٹ ختم کرنا چاہتی ہیں.. وہ ان آوازوں کو مٹانا چاہتے ہیں.. فیڈریشن ان کو [بلوچ] نہیں مانتی ہے.. ان (بلوچ) کا مطالبہ ہے کہ مقامی زبان میں تعلیم دی جائے.. مگر وہ [حکومت] کہتی ہے کہ ان کی زبانوں میں capacity نہیں ہے.. بھائی جب زبان استعمال ہی نہیں کرنے دو گے تو زبانیں کس طرح آگے بڑھیں گی!
- these are the voices which the Pakistani establishment want to silence.. they the federation does not want to recognize them [Baloch] .. they [Baloch] want education in their mother tongue but government say this language lacks the capacity.. the point is is when you [government] do not allow people to use this language how will the language develop*
- 3 R معاشرے میں آپ اس کے کیا اثرات دیکھتے ہیں؟
- what do you see are the effect of this policy in society?*
- 4 Mr A . احساس محرومی ہے.. لوگ آزادی مانگ رہے ہیں.. یہ کوئی دھکی چھپی بات نہ نہیں.. زبان کے ساتھ معاشی اور ثقافتی مسئلہ جڑا ہوا ہے.. لوگوں کی شناخت مٹائی جا رہی ہے.. تہذیب مٹائی جا رہی ہے.. میڈیا کو دیکھ لیں.. بلوچی زبان کو فروغ دینے کیلئے کوئی پروگرام ہوتا ہے.. کیا ای وی پی ریڈیو پر اس کو اہمیت دی جاتی ہے..
- Mr A *feelings of alienations is growing .. people are demanding independance .. everyone knows it..people are losing their identity.. people are losing their cultural identity..look at the media.. how many of them show programmes to promote the Baloch language.. does the television or radio give it importance..*
- 5 R کونسے معاشی اور ثقافتی مسائل اس کی بنیاد ہیں؟
- what are the fundamental socio economic issues?*
- Mr A بلوچستان کے ذخائر جیسا کہ آپ کو معلوم ہے گیس.. کارپوریشن وغیرہ یہاں سے نکالے جاتے ہیں.. اور یہاں کے لوگوں کو کچھ نہیں ملتا.. وہ آج بھی سب سے غریب ہیں.. بلوچستان کی گیس سندھ اور پنجاب میں استعمال ہوتی ہے..

you know that Balochistan is rich in natural resources..such as natural gas.. copper etc.. these minerals are extracted to Punjab and Sind.. the people of Balochistan remain in protest..

6 R

اسکولوں میں جن زبانوں میں تعلیم دی جاتی ہے اس کے اثرات بچوں کی زندگی پر کیا ہوتے ہیں؟

what are the impacts of the languages taught in the school on the lives of pupils?

7 Mr A

ہمارے اسکولوں میں تین زبانیں پڑھاتے ہیں.. اردو عربی اور انگریزی.. ان تینوں زبانوں کو یہاں سے کوئی تعلق نہیں.. عربی تین سال پڑھاتے ہیں.. اس کا کوئی مطلب نہیں سمجھتا.. صرف زبانیں یاد کراتے ہیں.. عربی کا نام بھی اس صوبے میں نہیں تھا.. صرف ملاکو روڈ گارڈینے کیلئے اس زبان کو شروع کر دیا.. ضیاء الحق نے جہاد یوں کو خوش کرنے کیلئے عربی اسکولوں میں لازمی کر دی.. لہذا اب ملاکو نوکری مل جاتی ہے.. نہ بچوں کو انگریزی آتی ہے.. یہ اردو اور عربی.. پچھ کتاہ ہیں سچے کسی کام کے نہیں.. وہ معاشرے پر بوجھ ہیں..

our schools claim to teach three languages.. Urdu..Arabic and English.. all of them have no relevance.. Arabic is taught for three years.. no one knows its image..they make children memorize there languages.. there was not any Arabic in this province.. it was to please religious segments of the society.. Zia ul Haq [military dictator] made it compulsory in order to give jobs to the graduates of dini Madrasa.. as a result mullahs got jobs in schools.. the net result is that children are not good users of these languages.. they are completely destroyed.. they have no worth in society and they are a burden on society..

Extract 25: Interview with Ghazala, a head Mistress of a primary school (SA,19-7-2011)

1. R: which languages background children usually
2. come from
3. Ms G: we have children coming from surroundings..
4. from some villages as well..
5. R: do most of them speak Urdu and English
6. Ms G seventy percent children speak their
7. local languages
8. R: or potwari
9. Ms G: they call it pahai

10. Ms G: yes.. that is a mix
11. R: Is not it difficult to socialize them
12. into school language environment..
13. Ms G: not at all.. because people are
14. quite educated.. in everywhere .. in
15. houses there are graduate people..
16. R: how do you help them become a part
17. of school language environment.. what do you
18. do when they speak their home languages in
19. school..
20. Ms G: some time we do face this.. when children
21. come in play group and nursery.. because you
22. know in K.G. class.. when they come to K.G.
23. class.. they have been in the school for two or
24. three years.. so they know how to speak Urdu..
25. no problem.. but children are in pre-school or
26. nursery.. three to four years age children .. few
27. of them have this problem.. like they speak their
28. native language
29. R: how do you deal with them at that age..
30. Ms G: not a problem because you know we
31. speak Urdu with them and they do understand
32. Mr R: but Urdu is also a foreign language to them
33. Ms G: not at all.. no.. because they come from..
34. as i told you.. the education level is quite good.. in
35. every house.. i mean.. you can find a graduate..
36. one or two so.. i mean..
37. R: hm.
38. Ms G: so Urdu is, not an alien language to
39. them
40. R: hm..hm
41. Ms G: besides i am living in a city..
42. R: the government policy on language in
43. education says that Urdu is the medium of instruction
44. and English is introduced as a subject from

45. class one.. how do you see it

46. MsG: well.. Urdu has to be there because it is

47. our national language.. it has to be there .. we

48. like it.. we certainly understand it and we

49. communicate in it.. but English should be

50. given more importance

51. R: ok.. but what should be the right age for

52. introducing English..

53. MsG: the right age to introduce any language..

54. could be.. the earlier the better.. so it

55. could be three years.. it could be four years..

56. R: what does your personal experience

57. say on it..

58. MsG: actually i am working with educated

59. people.. you know.. the kids coming to me

60. at the age two and a half.. so.. mostly they

61. speak Urdu.. and they are sometimes understanding

62. English..

63. R: but majority of Pakistani children do not have an

64. access to school like yours..

65. MsG: ah ... well ... actually I was speaking

66. in the light of my experiences.. so... you know

67. what .. we need to change things..

68. R: hm.. hm..

69. MsG: you know.. the child in a government

70. school.. join it .. i do not know the right

71. age they join the school.. but I heard it is

72. three or four .. so.. I think teachers are

73. speaking in Urdu.. so Urdu could be alien to

74. them .. so why can we not.. why can we not introduce

75. English to them

76. R: thanks very much for your precious time

Appendices 6: Pupils, Teachers and Parents socialization into Schools Language Environment

6.1 : Strategies of Collaboration or Contestation

Extract 26: A group discussion with teachers on the processes of socialization in the school language environment at (SA, 24-7-2011)

1. R: the focus of discussion is the.. are there
2. ways through which pupils are socialized into
3. school language culture as the majority of
4. pupils come diverse ethnolinguistic background..
5. T: i teach Urdu and Islamiat and during the
6. class.. they are here [school] for only six hours
7. .. most of the time they are not here.. so they
8. pick up all sorts of phrases.. even though they
9. are speaking in English.. they do not use
10. proper English..
11. .. we keep reminding them
12. to improve their
13. vocabulary in English.. we
14. inculcate in them the sense of good English
15. and bad English..
16. R: hm..
17. T: during the school hours.. this is our
18. criteria ((expectation)) that they only
19. speak in English.. because all their
20. subjects are in English..
21. T: you know in order to improve their English
22. we have made English literature a compulsory
23. subject
24. T: since i teach social studies (xxx)
25. R: what do you do when pupils use home
26. language in classrooms..
27. T3: we do not encourage it..
28. T: what we do is.. we keep saying
29. "pardon" or " sorry" until they realize
30. that they have to speak in English..

31. .. they are not
32. allowed to use any language other than
33. English.
34. T: we Urdu teachers have a great problem..
35. because they do not switch .. they are so
36. used to speaking in English that we complain
37. that they do not speak in Urdu.. out of six
38. hours.. they get little time to speak in Urdu..
39. no matter how many times i remind them..
40. they still ask me questions in English..
41. R: how would you describe the language policy
42. of the school.
43. T: we do not undermine Urdu.. our policy
44. is not to undermine any language
45. T: we do not say that any language is
46. bad.. we tell them that Urdu is our national
47. T5: language.. it is of great importance..
48. both Urdu and English.. when they talk to
49. their peers outside the classrooms.. you know in
50. informal situation they use both [English and Urdu]
51. R: lets talk about the language practices
52. outside the classroom..
53. T: they switch according to the situation
54. .. if they are talking to us or to heaSDistress..
55. they know switches are not going to work..
56. but with minor staff.. cleaners they
57. speak in Urdu.. the point is that children
58. know who can understand what languages..
59. T: they dare not speak in Urdu with me
60. but at times when they want to discuss
61. something very personal.. they speak to me
62. in Urdu..
63. T: most of our children think in English..
64. because whenever they speak out they speak in
65. English and they are very comfortable in it

66. but you know when they are in different
67. situation they use different language..
68. T: i would like to say here that Urdu has
69. become a taboo language.. in our elitist
70. society in Pakistan.. if you go to any club in
71. Karachi.. you will note that children in these
72. clubs are speaking in English and they
73. do talk to children who do not speak in
74. English.. i had this experience because my
75. daughter.. was in a play ground.. in a
76. club.. there was a group of students..
77. group of girls.. they were constantly
78. talking to each other in English and my
79. daughter was not.. she was speaking
80. in normal Urdu.. my daughter went
81. up to them and she said .. "hello which
82. school are you from" .. they said.. "please
83. go away.. we do not want to talk to you..
84. my daughter said.. i just asked you about
85. your school..[with a great pride] " we
86. are in a convent of Jesus and Mary..
87. my daughter said.. "i am also in convent
88. of Jesus and Mary".. the next thing was
89. the smile from the group.. you realize
90. so much of a difference because she
91. was speaking in Urdu.. they did not
92. even want to her.. it is a kind of taboo
93. that is why most of the children put in extra
94. effort and they do want to show that look
95. we can speak in English.. this is the
96. sort of attitude we have about Urdu language
97. T: Grammar school students have the
98. same attitude and many other schools..
99. T4: it comes from parents.. they force on
100. children to speak in English.. i have seen

101. people at Macdonald's and KFC.. they are
102. encouraging children to speak in English
103. with waiters.. cleaners ((laughs))
104. T: a renowned scholar of Urdu Hafiz
105. Jalandri mentions.. basically Urdu is
106. treated as a half wife and English as
107. queen.. all our politicians.. all our
108. leaders.. speak Urdu.. but they think
109. in English.. they live in English ways..
110. they drink and eat like English men..
111. only at the time of getting votes.. do they
112. talk about regional languages..
113. T: i must say there is a strong myth in our
114. country about English and development..
115. i have been to many countries.. let me give
116. you example of Japan.. you can not even
117. survive in the roads of Tokyo where 78%
118. of income is from travels.. it is about
119. seven years ago.. you can not survive for
120. ten minutes without knowing their language
121. ..because nobody.. nobody.. will talk
122. to you in English even if they know it..
123. (xxx).. I had to learn their language.. we
124. as a nation has made it a stigma not
125. to speak in English.. i have seen may
126. successful nations without knowing
127. a.b.c of English..

Extract 27: Interview with Ms. Farah, a mother of a boy studying (SB 2-8-2011)

1. R: (...)you are a Punjabi speaker... do you
2. speak Punjabi with your children..
3. MsF: when they come from school.. they
4. talk to me in Urdu and i also reply them

5. in Urdu..
6. R: are you happy that they do not speak
7. Punjabi..
8. Ms F: no no.. i am very worried about that
9. that i did not do best for them.. this is
10. very bad.. sometime i tell them to speak Urdu
11. .. sorry i mean speak Punjabi but they do
12. not know .. they do not do..
13. R: why
14. Ms F: they do not like it.. really they
15. do not like it.. they think that this is
16. the language of hm... very low type of
17. persons.. why.. what is in their mind
18. that Urdu speaking persons are getting
19. better than Punjabi persons
20. R: so.. you regret it now..
21. Ms F: this is the actual thing.. i realize
22. .. when i sometime scold them in Punjabi..
23. they laugh.. ((laughs)) they understand..
24. R: thanks very much..

Extract 28: Children of Pre-school playing outside with Sport Teacher (SB, 3-8-2011)

1. Ms T: ((music plays and children are outside))
- Ss: ((talking to each other in Urdu))
2. go on the slide.. come here girls..
3. go on the slide.. hurry up.. one by
4. one.. very good.. very good.. ((
5. children takes the slide)) very good..
6. now go on the merry go round .. hurry
7. up.. Sana go on the merry go round
8. .. boys come here.. boys come here
9. .. go on the slide ((now boys take
10. the slide)) one by one

Extract 29: Students' farewell party at (SB, 30-9-2011)

SH1= student host, SH2= student host, U1= student moderator

1. SH1 (...) excuse me everyone.. could you
2. all please be seated.. this is the start of our programme
3. U1: good evening ((clapping from
4. the audience))
5. .. titles are the most anticipated
6. parts for every second year [outgoing
7. class] for any farewell party.. so
8. keeping up the tradition we have our first
9. set of titles
10. U2: first title in our list goes to the
11. personality who is the head of English
12. literary society.. she is an all rounder..
13. good at studies.. busy with co curricular
14. studies and what not.. till now you
15. people must have guessed this lady..
16. she is Anika of grade twelve and
17. her title is "she is all that" ((clapping
18. and applause))
19. SH2: the titles will be given by Urooj
20. and the i.t man Rafi.. i
21. U1: well following the all rounder is the
22. intelligent student of science society..
23. he is Ata ur rehman and his title is"
24. "computer is my darling"
25. please give a round of applause for
26. him ((applause))
27. U2: this title goes to Salman and his
28. title is the "keen eye photographer"
29. ((applause))
30. U1: girl who is decent quiet and
31. sweet.. non other than Ariba.. her
32. title is " silent

33. Worker" ((American pop music playS))
34. U2: the most popular boy.. among girls
35. U1: who could it be.. well there are many
36. lady killers here
37. U2: well this is Aga Fawad..and his title
38. is "ladies man"
39. U1: what comes to your mind when you think of
40. Arnold Schwarzenegger..
41. U2: strong man
42. U1: the next award is Arnold Schwarzenegger
43. award and the nominee are(...)
44. U1: have you ever heard of evil Kennival..
45. the darling motor bike rider (...)

Extract 30: Interview with Mr. Naseer a father of a pupil at (SD, 30-9-2011)

1. R: is rupees 4200 is suffieicient for a month R: تو 4200 روپے میں گزارا ہو جاتا ہے
2. Mr N: by the grace of Allah time is passing.. N: بس وقت پاس ہو رہا ہے.. الحمد للہ
3. R: how many children do you have R: آپ کے بچے کتنے ہیں
4. Mr N: six children ..by the grace of Allah.. one of Mr N: چھ بچے ہیں.. الحمد للہ.. ایک کی
5. them is married .. two kids are small.. شادی ہو گئی ہے.. دو بچے بڑھتے ہیں.. باقی چھوٹے ہیں
6. R: where do you live R: آپ کی رہائش کہاں ہے
7. Mr N: Bahawalpur R: بہاولپور
8. R: aright ...so your children live there ((R: اچھا.. بچے آپ کے وہاں رہتے ہیں
9. around 1200 km from Karachi)) ((کراچی سے تقریباً 1200 کلومیٹر))
10. R: and you.. R: اور آپ..
11. Mr N: i live here [in the kichen of a mosque] Mr N: میں یہاں رہتا ہوں [مسجد کے باورچی خانے میں]
12. i clean it..by the grace of Allah.. over there ((Bhawalpur)) i would صفائی بھی کرتا ہوں.. الحمد للہ.. وہاں
13. ((بہاولپور)) میں
14. get rupees 4200 but here i get 6000 rupees 4200 روپے ملتے ہیں مگر یہاں 6000 روپے ملتے ہیں
15. by the grace of Allah الحمد للہ
16. R: you have decided to send your children to R: بچوں کو آپ نے مدرسوں میں تعلیم دلوانے کا
17. madarsa.. why فیصلہ کیا.. کیوں

17. Mr N: the reason for sending them to Madarsa Mr N: مدرسے میں اس لئے
18. grace of Allah...is that we are muslims.. الحمد للہ ہم لوگ مسلمان ہیں..
19. and this is our environment.. to whatever کہ ہمارا تو ماحول ہی یہ ہے .. جتنا
20. extent it is possible for use we get our بھی ہو سکے گا ہم بچوں کو تعلیم دلوانے
21. children educated
22. R: you do not want them to get R: انگریزی تعلیم آپ نہیں دلوانا چاہتے
23. education in English
24. Mr N: over there [English medium school] .. we Mr N: وہاں تو [انگریزی اسکولوں میں] .. ہماری
25. do not have enough salary that we اتنی آمدنی بھی نہیں ہے کہ
26. meet their expenses.. we can not afford them.. وہاں کے اخراجات پورے کریں .. ہم زیادہ خرچ نہیں کر سکتے..
27. over here یہاں تو ((مدرسے میں)) بچے کو ہفتہ کے 4200 روپے ملتے ہیں
28. R: in my view it is primarily due to poverty R: میرے نظر میں غربت کی وجہ سے
29. that forces people to send their children to لوگ دینی مدارس میں
30. Dini Madaras.. as you have just mentioned بچوں کو بھیجتے ہیں .. جیسا کہ آپ نے بھی فرمایا
31. that you do not have resources کہ آپ کے اتنے وسائل نہیں ہیں
32. Mr N: yes((suddenly changing the attention)) actually Mr N: ہاں وہ تو ((فوری موضوع تبدیل کرتے ہوئے)) ہمارا جو زیادہ
33. our attitude is toward religion..as long as we تررجان ہے وہ دینی تعلیم ہے .. ہم جب تک
34. live we will get our children religious education زندہ رہیں گے بچوں کو یہ تعلیم دیں گے
35. Mr R: which languages do you speak with R: زبانیں آپ بچوں کے ساتھ کون کونسی
36. children بولتے ہیں
37. Mr N: Urdu and Saraeki ..our home language Mr N: اردو اور سرائیکی .. ہماری جو گھر کی زبان ہے
38. is Saraeki وہ سرائیکی ہے
39. R: it is often said regarding Sariki language R: سرائیکی زبان کے حوالے سے اکثر یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ اس زبان
40. that it has not been promoted in Pakistan.. کو پاکستان میں اہمیت نہیں دی گئی..
41. a lot of people are running بہت سارے لوگ سرائیکی زبان کی تحریک
42. Sariki language movement.. and for the بھی چلا رہے ہیں.. اور سرائیکی صوبہ
43. creation of separate Sariki province
44. Mr N:i have lived my life in mosques..i know Mr N: بس ہم نے تو زندگی گزار دی مساجد میں.. ہم کو تو مساجد
45. only about mosques..rest i do not know.. کا پتہ ہے.. باقی تو پتہ نہیں..
46. what is happening outside i have no idea حالات کا باہر کا پتہ نہیں
47. ((laughs)) i do not know what is ((مسکراتے ہوئے)) ہم کو پتہ نہیں
48. happening outside..my days are spent in باہر کیا ہو رہا ہے.. صبح سے شام
49. mosques..for a week or 10 days i go to my مساجد میں وقت گزار گیا.. ہفتہ دس دن کے لئے
50. home..i get very happy..i really become گھر جاتے ہیں..
51. so happy.. when i use my own language خوشی منا کر آ جاتے ہیں.. ہم تو بہت خوش ہوتا ہے

Extract 31: Interview with Mr. Khalid, father of a student at (SD, 28-8-2011)

- 1 R مجھے اپنے بارے میں بتائیے
tell me something about yourself
- 2 Mr K میرا نام خالد ہے.. میں الیکٹریشن ہوں.. اور میرے سات بچے ہیں.. کل ہم لوگ ۱۹ افراد ہیں.. ایک بچہ دینی تعلیم میں ہے اور باقی بچے اسکول اور کالجوں میں ہیں
my name is Khalid.. i am an electrician..and i have seven children..in all we are nine..one of the children study at Dini Madarsa and the rest go to schools and colleges
- 3 R بچے کو آپ نے دینی مدرسے میں کیوں داخل کرایا
why have you sent the child to Dini Madarsa
- 4 Mr K یہ ایک میرا رحمان تھا.. ایک میری تنہائی تاکہ مجھے رہنمائی مل سکے..
this was my interest .. a wish..so that i can get right guidance
- 5 R زبانوں کے اعتبار سے ہمارے معاشرے میں انگریزی زبان کا بہت چرچا ہے.. جن لوگوں کو انگریزی آتی ہے کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہ بہت ترقی کرتے ہیں تو آپ نہیں سمجھتے کہ آپ کا بچہ وہ ترقی سے دور رہ جائے گا
about languages in our society it is said.. that those who know English stand better chances so do not you think that your child will lag behind..
- 6 R نہیں ایسا کچھ نہیں ہے! انگریزی کوئی ایسی چیز نہیں ہے کہ جسکے نہ آنے سے کوئی لنگڑا یا لولا ہوا جائے گا اگر اس [بیٹا] کے پاس انگریزی نہیں ہے تو اسکو عربی پورا عبور.... آجائے گا.. عربی زبان بھی international زبان ہے.. میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ انگریزی نہ جاننے سے اس میں کوئی کمی واقع ہو جائے گی
no there is no such thing like that!.. English is not such a thing that if you do not know it you will become handicapped..if he [son] does not have English he will have complete mastery of Arabic language..i do not think by not knowing English he will have any difficiency
- 7 R میری رائے میں پاکستان کا سب سے بڑا مسئلہ غربت ہے..
i reckon poverty is the biggest problem of Pakistan..
- 8 Mr K ایسا ہی ہے..
exactly..
- 9 R آپ کے اپنے تجربات کیا ہیں..
what are your experiences..
- 10 Mr K غربت ایک حقیقت ہے اسے کیسے جھٹلائیں.. میری زندگی میں بھی غربت ہے مگر میں پھر بھی خوش ہوں.. مجھے جس حال میں میرے اللہ نے رکھا ہوا ہے اس حال کو تبدیل نہیں کر سکتے.. جو رزق اللہ رب العزت میرے لئے مقرر کر دیا ہے میری پیدائش سے ہزار سال پہلے وہ رزق مجھے ملے گا اور وہ اسکی [اللہ] مرضی اور اسکے طریقے سے ملے گا

poverty is a reality how can we deny it..poverty is there in my life as well but i remain contended..whatever conditions Allah has kept me in i can not change it..whatever food Allah has alloted for me for thousand years before my birth i will get it from his [Allah] permission the way he wants it

11 R

آپ عربی زبان کو بہت اہمیت دیتے ہیں.. اسکی کوئی خاص وجہ

you give a lot of importance Arabic language ..is there any particular reason for that

12 Mr K

بتایا تا کہ دین کی وجہ سے اسلام کی وجہ سے تاکہ مجھے اپنے مذہب کی ہدایت مل سکے وہ تو آپ کو کسی بھی زبان میں مل سکتی ہے
as i told you because of my faith..because of Islam so that i can get guidance from my religion that you can get from any language

13 Mr K

مدارس میں دینی تعلیم عربی اور اردو میں دی جاتی ہے

the mode of education in madarsas are Urdu and Arabic

Extract 32: Debriefing session with Mr. Ishaq at (SC, 19-4-2011)

1 R

آپ کے طلباء زیادہ تر گھر میں کون سی زبان بولتے ہیں؟

what language background do your pupils come from?

2 Mr I

زیادہ تر پشتو ہیں.. میں آپ کو گن کے بتاتا ہوں

mostly Pushto. . let me count and tell you exactly

[goes to his class to check]

3 Mr I

جی سر لکھیں.. کل بچوں کی تعداد 81 ہے.. ان میں سے 64 بچے پشتو گھر میں بولتے ہیں.. 7 لڑکے براہوی گھر میں بولتے ہیں.. لڑکے اردو بولنے والے ہیں.. ایک پنجابی اور بچے فارسی .. اکثر لڑکے ان میں پشتون علاقوں کے ہیں.. یہ گاون کے اسکولوں میں پڑھے ہوئے ہیں.. وہاں پر ان کا ماحول یہ تھا کہ ٹیچر بھی پشتو میں بات کر رہا ہے اور بچے بھی پشتو میں.. وہاں پشتو میں ہی چلتے آئے ہیں

yes sir write.. total number of pupils is 81.. out of which 64 speak Pushto at home.. 7 boys speak Brahvi..6 are Urdu speakers.. 1 Punjabi and two Persian most of the boys come from Pushto dominated areras.. they have studied in village schools.. where the environment was such that both teachers and pupils would speak in Pushto.. they use Pushto

4 R

سارا پرائمری

the whole of primary education

5 Mr I

پرائمری انہوں نے زیادہ تر وہیں [گاؤں] کی ہے.. کسی نے یہاں بھی کی ہے ..
most of them have done their primary from there [village]

6 R

مگر کتابیں اور پالیسی تو اردو میڈیم کی ہے

- 7 Mr I R: but the books and the language policy is Urdu medium
کتا ہیں تو اردو میں ہوتی ہیں مگر اساتذہ اس کو پشتو میں کر کے پڑھا دیتے ہیں
books are written in Urdu but teachers teach them in Pushto
- 8 R
مگر آپ کے اسکول میں ایسا نہیں کہا جاتا
but in your school it is not explicitly stated
- 9 Mr I
ہمارے یہاں ایک پرنسپل صاحب آئے تھے.. ان سے پہلے موجودہ پرنسپل [تھے.. انہوں نے بچوں کی ڈیوٹی لگا بیٹھی کہ جوڑ کا پشتو یا براہوی میں یا بلوچی میں بات کرے اس کو میرے [مجھے پرنسپل] کے پاس لے آؤ.. ان کا مطلب یہ تھا کہ پشتو بلوچی یا براہوی تو انہوں نے سیکھی ہی ہے.. چونکہ وہ مادری زبان ہے ان کی.. وہ گھر میں بیٹھ کر اپنے والدین کے پاس سیکھے گے.. ان کا تلفظ صحیح کر دانا ہے [اردو کا..] وہ ہر کلاس میں تین چار لڑکوں کو چھوڑ دیتے تھے کہ جوڑ کا اپنی زبان میں بات کرے اس کا نام لے آؤ.. پھر اس لڑکے پر وہ فائن کرتے تھے.. پھر بچے بڑے ڈر جاتے تھے کہ یہ اچھا نہیں ہے [اپنی زبان کا استعمال] اس روپے بھی کسی لڑکے کی جیب سے نکلتے تھے تو اس کا دوپہر کا کھانا تو گیانہ.. بریک ٹائم کا..
we had a principal .. the one before him [existing principal].. he put children on duty to monitor if any one spoke in Pushto or Brahvi or Balochi.. should be brought to him [previous principal].. his point of view was that boys would eventually learn.. these language Balochi or Brahvi .. because that is their mother tongue.. they will learn these at home.. their pronunciation should be corrected [of Urdu].. he would select three or four boys from each class and their jobs would be to write the names of those who would speak in his mother tongue.. then he would fine that boy.. then children would get frightened [to speak their languages in school] when the boy would lose ten rupees from his pocket then this boy could not buy his lunch.. during break time
- 10 R
انگریزی ان بچوں نے کب پڑھنا شروع کی
when did these boys start learning
- 11 Mr I
جب یہ لوگ چھٹی میں آئے
when they came in class six
- 12 R
مگر اب تو انہوں نے پہلی جماعت سے انگریزی شروع کر دی ہے
but they have introduced English from grade one
- 13 Mr I
بس تھوڑا سا ایسا ہی
that is just a show

6.2: Condition of Success or Failure of the Strategies

Extract 33: A grade 10 Urdu language lesson at (SC,20-4-2011)

- 1 T sit down.. نکالو کتاب.. کیا آج کا کام ہے ہمارا کون سا سبق ہے "خوشامد" کا ہے.. مکمل خاموشی
sit down.. take out your book.. what are we going to do today which lesson is
due "flattery". complete silence.
[all pupils sit down and take their
books out]
- 2 S سر پڑھ لیا تھا سر الفاظ معنی لکھے تھے
we have done it sir.. we wrote words and meanings
- 3 Mr T چلو یہ سبق نکالو خوشامد" کا.. کتابیں نکالو
o.k take out your books and open it at the lesson "flattery"
- 4 Mr T ((لڑکے کو اشارہ کرتے ہوئے کہ انہیں کتاب لاکے دی جائے، لڑکا اپنی کتاب استاد کو دیتا ہے)) کا کے زرا پکھا چلا..
oh you switch on the fan..
[pointing the boy to lend his text
book, the boy gives teacher his book]
- 5 Mr T صفحہ نمبر 19.. آواز کسی کی نہیں آئی چاہئے.. یہ سبق پہلے بھی ہم نے پڑھا تھا.. اس کے الفاظ معنی بھی لکھ لیئے.. تو آج
تھوڑا دو بارہ پڑھیں گے تاکہ سر [محقق] ہمارا طریقہ کار دیکھ لیں
page number 19.. complete silence in the class.. we have done this lesson
before.. we have written words and their meanings..so that sir [researcher]
could see our method of teaching
- 6 Mr T اس سبق کو تھوڑا پڑھتے ہیں.. پہلے میں پڑھتا ہوں.. مجھے بتاؤ اگر آپ نے پڑھنا ہے.. پہلے مجھے اس کا مطلب بتاؤ
let us read this lesson.. first i read..it and let me know if any one of you would
like to read out
o.k.. first tell me the meaning of flattery..
- 7 S جھوٹی تعریف کرنا
Ss: false praise
- 8 Mr T کسی کی جھوٹی تعریف کرنا.. شائباش بیٹھ جاؤ ((لڑکے کو اشارہ کرتے ہیں کہ سبق کو کھڑے ہو کر با آواز بلند پڑھے))
((با آواز بلند پڑھتے ہوئے)) "دل کی جس قدر بیماریاں ہیں ان میں سب سے مہلک خوشامد ہے"
to praise someone flashly.. good sit down ((points a boy to get up and read
aloud the lesson)) ((read aloud the text)) "of all the diseases of heart flattery
is the most dangerous"
- 9 Mr T "مہلک" کس کو کہتے ہیں
what do we mean by "mohliq"
- 10 S خطرناک

- [rise from his place to reply] *dangerous*
- 11 Mr T شہاباش
- good*
- 12 S "اس وقت انسان کے بدن میں ایسا وہ پیدا ہو جاتا ہے جو وبائی اثر کو جلد قبول کر لیتا ہے.. تو اس وقت انسانی مرض مہلک میں مبتلا ہو جاتا ہے.. اس ہی طرح جب انسان کو خوشامد کرنے کی بیماری لگ جاتی ہے.. تو اس کے دل میں ایسا مادہ پیدا ہو جاتا ہے" (....)
- [reading aloud the text] *"at that point in time human body develop a tendency in them which make them vulnerable to diseases.. similarly when human being become infections with the disease of flattery.. their hearts become vulner able to such diseases"*
- (....)
- 13 Mr T شہاباش بٹھ جاؤ بیٹا.. اول تو یہ ہوتا ہے کہ ہم اپنی آپ خوشامد کرتے ہیں اور اپنی ہر ایک چیز کو اچھا سمجھنا لگتے ہیں.. اور آپ اپنی خوشامد کر کے یہ دل کو خوش کر لیتیں.. پھر رفتہ رفتہ اوروں کی خوشامد کرتے ہیں.. اس چیز کا مطلب کیسے نکلیں گے..
- good sit down my son.. what happens first is that one begins to flatter oneself and we praise all our belongings.. and this is how we flatter ourselves.. and we gradually begin to do the some with others .. what is the meaning of this paragraph..*
- 14 S سرجی اگر کوئی ہماری جھوٹی تعریف کرتا ہے
- sir when someone praise us too much*
- 15 Mr T جھوٹی تعریف کیسے کرتا ہے؟
- how does someone do it?*
- 16 S سراج میں بولوں کہ آپ بہت اچھے آدمی ہیں.. آپ بہت اچھے استاد ہیں.. پھر اس کو خوشامد کہیں گے
- sir if i tell that you are a good person.. you are a wounderful teacher..then this will be called flattery*
- 17 Mr T بالکل اگر مجھ سے کوئی چیز ہتھیائی ہو.. یا مجھ سے کوئی چاہنے کی پیالی پینی ہو.. تو پھر اگر آپ کہیں گے کہ "سراج کتنے اچھے لگ رہے ہیں.. کیا بات ہے آپ کی.. تو ہوتا یہ ہے کہ انسان کا دل یقین کرنے لگ جاتا ہے.. پھر اس شخص سے تعلق پیدا ہو جاتا ہے.. جیسے تعلق پیدا ہوا پھر یاری دوستی شروع ہو جاتی ہے.. گھر آنا جانا شروع ہو جاتا ہے.. مگر یہ سب سے خطرناک دل کی بیماری ہے..
- exactly if you want to get something from me.. or you want me to offer you tea.. then if you say " sir how smart you look.. wow what a person you are"*
- then what happens is that human heart begin to believe such things .. then a connection is built with that person..home visits come later and friendship develops.. but this is the most dangerous disease of the heart..*

[the teacher keeps reading and talking

to his pupils in the reminder lesson]

Extract 34: A grade X English Lesson (SC, Mr. Tarang, 16-4-2011)

- 1 Mr. T 6 lesson number 35 صفحہ نمبر:
 ((reading aloud from the text book))
 "Louis was born on the fourth of January 1809..in a village in France.. his father was a leather worker.. Louis used to play in his father workshop.. and keenly observed what his father did.. Louis playfully hit a sharp needle with a hammer.. the needle slipped and struck one of his eye.. the doctors did their best but could not save his eye.. it became infected.. the infected ((extremely cautious with pronouncing each word carefully)) spread to the other eye and Louis became totally blind.. ((reading aloud the text again
- 2 Mr T [with bigger pauses] جو مشکل الفاظ ہیں اس کو underline کیجئے
Underline the difficult words. "Louis was born on the fourth of January 1809... in a village in France... his father was a leather worker... leather worker! Loius used to play in his father workshop and keenly observed what his father did... Loius play fully hit a sharp needle... a sharp needle! with a hammer .. hammer! the needle slipped and struck one his eyes... the doctors did their best but could not same his eye.. it became infected.. infected! the infection spread to the other eye and Loius became totally blind.. second para .. the life of a blind man was very miserable in those days.. miserable! he could not earn a living and was completely dependent on others... dependent! his only means of lively hood was to get (xxx) in streets.. means of livelihood!"..
- 3 S سر میں بتاؤ
 sir do i tell
- 4 Mr. T:[ignores pupils offer of telling the meanings of livelihood] .. very soon..Louis lost all idea of colour and shapes.. for him the world became dark.. seeing the condition of his son his father made him a condition of his son his father made him a adults! Loius disliked to be.. sympathised (xxx) sympathised! he began to stay home most of the time..one day a village priest paid a visit to Louis (xxx) that school blind were taught to read and write .. they were also taught trade knowing a trade world enabled the blind to earn money at school.. Louis was ten years old when he joined the institution.. at first he felt lonely and unhappy .. but soon he made friends.. he began to earn quickly.. he was able to read special books for the blind.. the books were heavy and had thick card board pages.. thick card board

pages! Louis read while using his finger finger tips! large imposed letters !
forming words! forming words! he became interested in music too especially at
piano.. in a short time he started playing upon those instruments very well..
instruments! he also learnt the art of making "(xxx) page number 38 ((pupils
turn the pages of their books)) "while Louis was studying in the institute a
French

5

صفحہ نمبر 38

army officer visited the school.. French army officer! he had invented a system
of reading for the soldiers at the farther posts.. invented! the system enable the
soldiers to read many (xxx) the principle of the school adopted this new system
for his blind student.. adopted! but the students found it difficult.. however
Louis believed that it could be improved and spent all his spare time
simplyfying the system.. simplyfing! continuous work affected his health.. he
sometime felt discouraged.. discouraged! but he never gave up.. (xxx) he
perfected the system of reading for the blind

6

blind بلا سٹڈ انڈھے کو کہتے ہیں

7

is a person without eye sight.. alphabet

8

alphabet! in order to test the system

9

Louis asked one of his teacher to give

10

dictation.. دیکٹیشن کہتے ہیں اسے کو

11

the word for dictation is imla.. (xxx) اب

12

اسکو لکھو۔۔ جلدی جلدی۔۔ شاباشا با۔

now write these.. hurry up .. hurry up..

good.. good ((pupils copy the difficult words from the text book to their note
books))

13

Mr T

ریڈی کر لیا.. مشکل الفاظ بتا دیا.. اب یہ لکھ رہے ہیں اور میں اردو میں لکھ دوں گا

i have made them read.. told them the meaning of difficult words.. now they
are writing down the difficult words and i will dictate them the meaning of
difficult words ((addressing the class)) to difficult words

14

Mr T

جو کام ہوتا ہے.. آج بھی وہی کام ہوگا.. کوئی نیا طریقہ کار ہوگا

write the difficult words.. we are working today the way we often do.. nothing
now will be done.. no new method is being used ((talking to researcher))

15

اس ہی طریقہ سے ہم ہر سال.. ہر دن.. ہر وقت کرتے ہیں

goes round the class to check pupils writing))

16

Mr T

شاباش شاباش گڈ گڈ۔۔ دیکھو زرا

- 17 *show me*
لفظوں جب شروع ہوتا ہے تو اس کو بڑا لکھتے ہیں جیسے آئی انفیکٹڈ ہے آئی بڑا لکھنا چاہئے۔ پہلے لیٹر ہے اسے بڑا لکھتے ہیں۔
- 18 *when we begin writing a new word we write capital letter for example in eye infected.. we should write eye with a capital.. the first letter should be written in capital*
[while looking at another boy's work] جب آپ ریف غلط لکھو گے نیٹ کا پی میں بھی غلط لکھو گی تو
- 19 *when you copy wrongly in your rough note pad you will do the same in your classroom note book ((teacher moves round the class and monitors their work)) have you done it*
ہو گیا
- 20 *Ss*
جی سر
- 21 *Mr T*
[goes to the front of the class, picks up his book] پہلا لفظ ہے leather worker چمڑے کا کارکن
- 22 *the first word is leather worker means those who work with leather.. ((pick up the chalk and writes on the chalk board)) leather worker*
ہمیر ہوتا ہے۔۔ infected متعدی ہو گیا یہ وبائی وبائی ہو گیا مایوس کن ہو گیا ہے۔۔ کوئی نیا کام نہیں ہو گیا نہ کوئی نیا طریقہ کار ہو گا اس ہی طریقہ سے ہم ہر سال
- 23 *the person who has picked up germs.. miserable write the different words .. we are working today the way we often do.. nothing new will be done.. no new ((teacher goes round the class method is being used ((talking to researcher)) is to check pupils*
سر ہم بتائیں
- 24 *do i tell you sir*
شبابش شبابش ((good writing
- 25 *herd.. herodt kratee hee dekhooz r lftz zb shroo hota hee toos ko bda lkhete hee jisee aii infektid hee.. aii bda lkhana chahete.. jehle letr.. jehse aise bda lkhete hee mirajoo bngk mihud hee aizee mi bhee aasan ho skta hee.. koshsh ee ki jae ke ksh ltrh see bngke ke zhen meen as cheer ko dal do ee cheer seeh jae.. one way traffic tonneen honi chahete ke meen pzhara ha hon apen ree hee.. ab meen*
good..show me when we begin writing a new word we write capital letter for example in eye infected we should write eye with a capital .. the first letter should be written in capital the teaching method i have can also be simplified.. the effort should be that how the content could be put into the head of the pupils.. the pupil should understand.. there should not be one way traffic that i read out and you listen.. now i will ask you as well..

آپ سے بھی پوچھو گا۔ کہ میں نے جو پڑھایا آپ نے کہاں تک achieve کیا۔ کتنا سمجھ گئے۔۔ یہ جو آپ کی achievement ہے۔۔ یہ میری کامیابی ہے۔۔ اگر میں پڑھا رہا ہوں اور آپ لوگ سمن یکمن بیٹھے ہیں یہ teaching way نہیں ہے۔۔ تو اس میں وہ لوگ بہتری لائیں

that what i have taught is understood by you to what extent.. how far you got it.. this achievement of yours is my success. if i teach and you remainsilent this is not appropriate teaching method.. so they brought improvement ((teacher continuiuos writing the word and meanings in Urdu on chalk board))

Extract 35: A grade 3 Persian Language lesson (Mr.Behzad at SD, 30-9-2011)

- 1 Mr B [reading Persian words from the book and translating in urdu] **باخلیلش.. خلیل کسے کہتے ہیں.. دوست.. باخلیلش اپنے دوست کے ساتھ.. آگے چلو**
- who do we call Khalil...Khalilash means with your friend*
- 2 S [reading Persian words from the book and translating in urdu] **نارنار کے معنی آگ..**
- naar means fire*
- Mr. B [speaking, urdu] **چلو آگے**
- move on*
- 3 S **کیا مولوی صاحب؟**
- what moulvi sahib?*
- 4 Mr B **آگ.. گلزار کے کہتے ہیں.. اس نے باغ بنا دیا.. چلوگی.. اس نے باغ بنا دیا.. اب ترجمہ کرو.. آگ کے کیا مطلب ہے.. کل نہیں کرایا تھا.. کل کا تکرار کیا ہے.. تو آگ کے کیا مطلب ہوتا ہے.. کیا کروایا تھا میں..**
- fire.. what do we mean mean.. did i not aan kay now you translate.. what did teach you yesterday.. did you practice yesterday.. lesson mean.. did you do the practice..aan kay..what does aan kay of*
- 5 [slaps in the face of the boy sitting in the front row] **تم کیا تکرار**
- 6 S (xxx)
- (xxx)
- 7 Mr B [reading from the book] **وہ زات کے جس نے اپنی نرمی کو ناپا کرنا اپنے دوست کے ساتھ.. آگ کو باغ بنا دیا.. اپنے دوست کیلئے.. اودو تو اس طرح بولتے ہیں.. کو آگ باغ بنا دیا..**
- it means the person who is soft hearted.. "with the friend turning fire into garden"..for a friend..this is how it is said in Urdu*
- 8 Mr R **has turned the fire into garden..**

- 9 S ((لکھتے ہوئے)) مولوی صاحب دوبارہ
[while taking note] *could you please repeat again*
- 10 Mr B لکھتے کیوں نہیں
why you do not write
- 11 S مولوی صاحب ہمیں یاد دہاتا ہے...
molvi sahib i do not forget [no need to write down]
- 12 Mr B: جب پوچھوگا تو یاد نہیں رہے گا
when i ask you will not remember it..
- 13 Mr B کس چیز کیلئے ترجمہ کر رہے ہے.. "آخداوندع"
"for what you are translating.." Akhudawanda
- 14 S وہ خدا جو کہ.. ہنگامہ سحر..
that god..what does..
- 15 Mr B ہنگامہ سحر کا معنی.. صبح کا وقت.. زیروز براو پر نیچے 1 اوپر نیچے کا کیا مطلب ہے.. تباہ کا کیا مطلب ہے..
*the meaning of Hangama-e-Sehar..it means morning..what is the purpose of
desh placed on these words..what is the meaning Tabah*
- 16 S مولوی صاحب ہم بتائیں کہ وہ خدا کے جس نے صبح کے وقت قوم لوط کو تباہ کر دیا..
do i tell that the God that has destroyed prophet Louth peace be upon him
- 17 Mr B ہوں.. وہ خدا نے جس نے لوط علیہ السلام کی قوم کو صبح تباہ کر دیا
has destroyed prophet Louth peace be upon him
- 18 S قوم لوط کو کس طرح لکھیں گے
how do i write "Quom-e-Louth"
- 19 Mr B قوم لوط تو فارسی میں اس کو اس طرح لکھتے ہیں
"Quom-e-Louth" is a Persian word and this is now it is written

Extract 36: A grade 8 lesson on "پردہ", concealment (SD, Moulvi Mati-ur Rehman, 30-9-2011)

- S:[reading aloud from the text book]
- 1 Mr K بس..
stop..
- 2 S [translating Arabic into Urdu] اے نبی آپ کہہ دیجئے اپنی بیٹیوں کو اور اپنی بیویوں کو وہ پردے کا کچھ حصہ اپنے جسم پہ ڈالیں (xxx) اللہ تعالیٰ بخشنے والا ہے اور مہربان ہے (xxx)
*oh prophet tell your daughter and your wives that they spread shawl across
their bodies (xxx) Allah is forgiver (xxx)*
- 3 Mr K اور جو مدینہ میں جھوٹی خبریں اڑانے والے ہیں۔۔
they are about to spread rumours in Madina

S [listen to the teacher silently]

4 Mr K

جھوٹی خبریں مدینے میں اڑانے والے ہیں۔۔

and those who are about to spread rumours in Madina

5 [reading Arabic from the book and translating in urdu]

"النخريتك بهيم" النخريتك بهيم " ہم آپ کو ان کے پیچھے لگا دیں گے ہم آپ کو اس کے پیچھے لگا دیں گے۔۔"

we will set you after them

S [listen silently]

6 Mr K

سابقہ آیات میں مسلمان مردوں اور عورتوں کو ایذا پہنچانے کا حرام اور گناہ کبیرہ ہونا و خصوصاً سید کونین صلی علیہ وسلم کی (xxx) کفر بیان کیا گیا ہے منافقین کی طرف سے مسلمانوں کو اور رسول پاک صلی علیہ وسلم کو دو طرح سے تکلیفیں پہنچائی جاتی تھیں.. ان آیات کے اندر ان دو تکلیفوں کا ذکر ہے.. اور ان دو تکلیفوں سے بچاؤ کا بھی ذکر ہے.. پہلی آیت ے اندر فرمایا

in previous verses it has been seen that hurting muslim women and muslim men will incur punishment and especially to the self of prophet (xxx) is a greater sin.. there used to be two kinds of trouble from the non believers.. in these verses these two kinds of troubles are discussed.. and also about the ways of overcoming them.. in the first verse

7 Mr.K [translating and explaining in urdu]

یا ایہا النبی قل لازواجک و بنتک و نساء المؤمنین یدفین علیحن من

8

"جلا بیہن"

oh prophet tell your daughters and your wives that

9

انے نبی انہی بیویوں سے اور انہی بیٹیوں سے اور مسلمانوں کی عورتوں سے کہہ دیجئے.. کہ اپنے جسم کو ڈھانپ لیں اس طرح سے کہ صرف بائیں آنکھ نظر آئے.. جس سے وہ ہر استدیکھ سکے.. لیکن یہاں تو دو تکلیفیں بیان ہوئی وہ مسلمانوں کو منافقوں کی طرف سے ایک تکلیف تو یہ تھی.. کہ منافقین مسلمانوں کی باندیوں کو چھینتے تھے کیونکہ اللہ تعالیٰ نے آزاد عورتوں کا پردہ الگ رکھا ہے اور باندیوں کا پردہ الگ رکھا ہے.. چہرہ کا ڈھاننا اور ہاتھوں کا ڈھانپنا.. وہ نہیں کر سکتی.. کیوں کہ باندیوں کی عام طور سے ضرورت ہوتی ہے کام کاج کی.. اس زمانے میں نظام ایسا ہی تھا.. کیوں کہ اگر وہ اپنے آپ کو ڈھانپنے رکھے گی تو کام کاج کیسے کریں گی.. تو آزاد عورت اور باندیوں میں فرق کیا.. پردے کے اعتبار سے.. آزاد عورت کو تو بغل ہی چھپا دیا اور باندیوں میں فرق کر دیا کیونکہ وہاں ضرورت تھی کام کاج کی اور انہیں اپنے آقا کی ضرورت کو پورا کرنے کیلئے باہر جانا ہوتا تھا.. اور جب وہ باہر جاتی تھیں تو وہاں منافقین ہوتے تھے.. منافقین ان سے چھیڑ چھاڑ کرتے تھے.. بعض اوقات [منافقین] وہ آزاد عورتوں کو بھی چھیڑتے تھے.. اس سے مسلمانوں کو اور رسول پاک صلی علیہ وسلم کو تکلیف پہنچتی تھی.. تو اللہ رب العزت نے قرآن کریم کے ذریعے مسلمانوں کی جو آزاد عورتیں تھیں.. کا تو یہ تدارک بتا دیا کہ وہ اپنے اوپر چادر ڈال لیں تاکہ ان کے خاندانی شرافت کی وجہ سے منافقین کام از کم اس کا لحاظ ہوگا کہ وہ ان کی چھیڑ چھاڑ سے بچ جائیں گے.. سمجھ گئے.. دوسری تکلیف وہ مسلمانوں کو اس طرح دیتے تھے کہ وہ افوا پھیلاتے تھے کہ مدینے پہ حملہ ہونے والا ہے.. وہ مسلمانوں کو خوف میں رکھتے تھے..

they spread shawl across their bodies in such a way that their left eye is visible ..so that they can see the way..but here two types of troubles are explained which muslims were subjected to by the non believers..one trouble was that non believers used to disturb the slave women of muslims because Allah has prescribed different sets of concealments for free and slave women..slave women are not supposed to cover their hands.. and face.. because slave women are meant to work with their hands ..in those times it used to be such a system..because if they kept themselves covered then how would they have worked.. so what is the difference between the slave and free women.. from the point of concealment^.. free women remain completely covered and slave women are not because they used to be the need of work to be done to please their masters and for that they had to go out ..and when they would go out non believers would disturb them..non believers would hoot them..at times they [non believers] would hoot free women as well.. this would hurt muslims and the prophet..so Quran has instructed free women..to cover so that people themselves so they would know that they were from respected families..so that non believers would know it and abstain from hooting.. the way they used to give the second trouble to muslims was that they would spread rumours in order to create fear among muslims..

[the remainder lesson continues with the teacher reading out Arabic and translating in Urdu]

Extract 37: Interview with Mr.Osama, a student of year 6 (SD, 29-7-2011)

- 1 R کچھ آپ اپنے بارے میں بتائے
please tell me something about yourself..
- 2 Mr O ابھی میں سال آخر میں ہوں میں.. میری عمر بیس سال ہے.. مدارس میں تو شروع ہی سے میرے والد.. چھٹی جماعت لگے ہوئے تھے میں ڈال دیا گیا.. پہلے میں نے.. اس لئے مجھے شروع سے مدرسہ حفظ کیا ((قرآن کو زبانی یاد کرنا))
now i am in the last year.. in grade six.. i am twenty year.. my father had been associated with madarsa for long.. he put me in it since the beginning .. first i did hifz ((memorising the holy Quran))
- 3 R کتنے عرصے میں کیا؟
how long did you do that?
- 4 Mr O دو سال میں
in two years
- 5 R کتنی عمر میں حفظ شروع کیا..؟
at what age did you start hifz..?

- 6 Mr O 10 سال کی عمر میں
at the age of 10
- 7 R اس سے پہلے کیا کیا تھا..؟
what did you do before that..?
- 8 Mr O دس سال سے پہلے اسکول میں پڑھا تھا.. چار کلاس تک..
before the age of ten i studied in a school.. till grade four..
- 9 R کس اسکول سے؟
from which school ?
- 10 Mr O علاقے میں ایک سرکاری اسکول سے..
in our locality there was a government school..
- 11 R یعنی کہ پہلے آپ نے چار کلاس تک اسکول میں پڑھا.. اس کے بعد دو سال آپ نے حفظ کیا اور اس کے بعد آپ اس مدرسے میں آگئے..
which means first you studied in a school till grade four.. then you spent two years in memorising the holy quran and then you got the admission in this dini madaras..
- 12 Mr O بالکل
exactly
- 13 R اس مدرسے میں کتنے سال پڑھ چکے ہو..؟
how long have you studied in this madarsa..?
- 14 Mr O ابھی میرا آٹھواں سال ہے..
this is my eight year in this madarsa..
- 15 R تو آپ اس مدرسے سے فارغ ہو رہے ہیں..؟
so you are graduating this year..?
- 16 Mr O ابھی اس مدرسے سے فارغ ہو کر دوسرے مدرسے میں جاؤں گا.. دو سال اور پڑھنا ہے..
after graduating from this madarsa i will go to other madarsa for further education.. i have to study for two years more..
- 17 R اب اس کے بعد کیا بن جائیں؟
what will you become afterwards?
- 18 Mr O: عالم بن جائیں گے..
religious scholar..
- 19 R گھر میں کیا زبان بولتے ہو..؟
what language do you speak in home.. ?
- 20 Mr O اردو میں ہی بولتے ہیں..
we use Urdu..
- 21 R مادری زبان کیا ہے..؟

- 22 Mr O what is your mother language..?
پشتو
Pushto
- 23 R پشتو آتی ہے..؟
you know Pushto..?
- 24 Mr O جب بالکل آتی ہے.. گھر میں پشتو بھی بولتے ہیں اور مدرسے میں یہاں تو اردو ہی چلتی ہے ((مسکراتے ہوئے))
نہیں....
of course i know.. we speak Pushto in our home as well and in madarsa only
Urdu is spoken here..((smilingly)) no..
- 25 R اسکولوں میں انگریزی اور اردو کی تعلیم دی جاتی ہے.. مگر یہاں پر انگلش نہیں سکھائی جاتی.. اور جب تم معاشرے میں جاتے
ہوں گے تو دیکھتے ہوئے کہ انگریزی بہت زیادہ ہے
in schools English and Urdu is taught..but here English is not taught.. and
when you go out in society you must be noticing the presence of English
everywhere
- 26 Mr O جی
yes
- 27 R کیسا محسوس کرتے ہو؟
how do you feel?
- 28 Mr O یکھنے کا دل چاہتا ہے [انگریزی].. ابھی ہر جگہ اصل میں انگلش چلتی رہتی ہے تو.. کچھ الفاظ بھی سیکھ جاتے ہیں.. بغیر
یکھے کچھ الفاظ سیکھ گئے.. جب کوئی مشکل لفظ آتا ہے تو اس کا معنی پوچھ لیتے ہیں..
i want to learn it [English].. now everywhere English is used .. i also have
picked up a few words.. without learning them properly .. whenever i come
across any difficult word i ask its meaning..
- 29 R اچھا
o.k
- 30 Mr O ویسے فارغ ہونے کے بعد سیکھنے کا ادارہ ہے.. میرا بھائی فارغ ہونے کے بعد ابھی سیکھ رہا ہے..
by the way after graduating i have plans to learn English.. my brother is
learning English after graduating from madarsa..
- 31 R مدرسے میں T.V نہیں ہے تم لوگ گانا بھی نہیں سنتے.... جب تم دوسرے بچوں سے ملتے ہو تو کیسا محسوس ہوتا ہے..؟
you do not have any television here..you do not listen to songs.. when you
meet with children outside how do you feel..?
- 32 Mr O ایک اجنبیت سے لگتی ہے..
i find myself a stranger..

- 33 R تم اس ماحول کا حصہ کس طرح بنے یہاں پھر دن بہت مصروف ہوتا ہے.. ہر گھنٹے میں کچھ نہ کچھ دکھا ہوتا ہے.. سبق دو دو طلبا کی چوڑیاں بنائی ہوتی ہیں.. جو سبق ہوتا ہے اس کو یاد کرنے نہیں.. اس کے بعد مطالعہ ہوتا ہے.. پھر دوسرے سبق کی تیاری ہوتی ہے.. چوبیس گھنٹے اس ہی طرح گزر جاتے ہیں
- how have you socialized into this environment over here the days are extremely packed.. every hour is planned for some task.. we do lesson.. after lesson we do taqrar.. pupils in twos sit together.. they revise the lesson and memorise it.. then we have reading hour.. afterwards we read for the next lesson .. this is how twenty four hours are spent*
- 34 Mr O
[laughs]
- 35 R گھر یاد آتا ہے.. تقریباً پوری زندگی گزارا ہے..
- you miss your home.. you have spent most of your life here..*
- 36 Mr O شروع میں ہوتا تھا.. مگر اب یہ احساس ختم ہو گیا..
- in the early days i would .. but now i have no much feelings..*
- 37 R اب یہی گھر لگتا ہے..
- now this looks like home..*
- 38 Mr O جی۔ اب اگر چھٹی پہ گھر جاتے ہیں.. تو وہاں دل نہیں لگتا.. دل چاہتا ہے کہ ہمیں واپس جائیں
- now if we go have on vacations.. we do not like our home.. i feel like getting back to madarsa*
- 39 R انگریزی زبان کے بارے میں تمہاری کیا رائے ہے..
- what are your views on English language..*
- 40 Mr O سیکھنا چاہئے.. ضروری ہے.. آج کل کے اعتبار سے ہر جگہ یہ ہے..
- we should learn it.. it*
- 41 R عربی زبان کے بارے میں تمہاری کیا رائے ہے.. یہاں پھر اتنا زور کیوں دیا جاتا ہے..
- how do you see Arabic language..why do think your Madarsa gives so much importance to it*
- 42 Mr O عربی تو اسلئے اہم ہے کہ وہ ہمارے دین کا حصہ ہے.. کیوں کہ قرآن عربی میں ہے.. ہمارا نبی عربی ہے.. سارا عربی کا سلسلہ ہے
- Arabic is important because it is a part and parcel of our religion.. because Quran is in Arabic .. our prophet was Arabic .. all our religious tradition is Arabic*
- 43 R کیا تم لوگوں کو عربی بولنا بھی سکھاتے تھیں؟
- are you taught how to converse in Arabic ?*
- 44 Mr O عربی تکلم کے لئے علیحدہ کورس کرنا ہوتا ہے..
- for speaking in Arabic we have another courses..*

- 45 R تم اپنی زندگی میں کیا کرنا چاہتے ہو؟
what are your plans for life?
- 46 Mr O بس یہی کام کریں گے.. دعوت اسلام کا..
i will only do the same work.. the job of a missionary of Islam.

Extract 38: Interview with Mr. Rizwan a student of year 4 (SD, 29-9-2011)

- 1 R کتنے سالوں سے آپ یہاں پہنچے ہیں؟
how long have been here..?
- 2 Mr Riz میں تقریباً چار سالوں سے یہاں ہوں..
for the last four years..
- 3 R اس سے پہلے آپ کہاں تھے؟
where were you before this place..?
- 4 Mr Riz اس سے پہلے میں اسکول پڑھتا تھا.. میٹرک کیا ہے اور میٹرک کے بعد یہاں آیا..
before i studied in a school..did matric and after matric i came here..
- 5 R اسکول میں اپنے تعلیم کس زبان میں لی؟
which language did you get your school education in..?
- 6 Mr Riz اردو میں..
in Urdu..
- 7 R کہاں پہ..؟
where..?
- 8 Mr Riz بگرام میں ((علاقے غیر میں))
in Butgram ((tribal area))
- 9 R آپ کی مادری زبان پشتو ہے؟
your mother tongue is Pushto?
- 10 Mr Riz جی..
yes..
- 11 R 9/11 کے بعد مدرسوں کے بارے میں بہت کچھ سننے کو ملتا ہے.. آپ کس طرح ان چیزوں کو دیکھتے ہیں..
post 9/11 a lot has been talked about madaras.. how do you see all this..
- 12 Mr Riz جو لوگ خیال رکھتے ہیں غلط خیال رکھتے ہیں.. مجھے تقریباً چار سال ہو گئے ہیں.. اس مدرسے میں جو ہیں لوگوں سے سنتا ہوں یہاں پہ اس کا عکس ہو رہا ہے..
the popular view is false.. i have been studying here for the last four years..
what i hear about it and what happens in reality is totally opposite..
- 13 R جب آپ بگرام میں تھے تو وہاں پشتو بولی جاتی ہوگی؟
when you were in Butgram Pushto must have been spoken there..?

- 14 Mr Riz جب بگرام میں تھے تو وہاں پشتو بولی جاتی تھی.. پھر وہاں پہ 2005 میں زلزلہ آگیا.. ہر چیز تبدیل ہوگئی.. ہمارا نام ضائع ہو رہا تھا تو ہمارے والد نے ہمیں یہاں بھیج دیا..
when i was in Butgram it would be pushto.. then there was a massive earthquake in 2005.. everything got demolished.. a lot of time was being wasted .. so my father sent me to this madarsa
- 15 R آپ کیا قرآن حافظ ہیں ((قرآن کو زبانی یاد کرنا))؟
are you a Quran Hafiz ((have you memorised Quran))?
- 16 Mr Riz جی
yes
- 17 R قرآن شریف کو زبانی یاد کرنا کیوں ضروری ہے.. اب تو ہمارے پاس قرآن CD پہ موجود ہے..
why is it so necessary to memorize Quran..when we have it in CDs..
- 18 Mr Riz علما کیلئے تو قرآن کو حفظ کرنا بہت ضروری ہوتا ہے.. کیوں کے.. ہمارے ساتھ جوڑے پڑھ رہے ہیں.. جنہوں نے حفظ نہیں کیا تو.. قرآن پاک سے جو دلائل نکلتے ہیں.. اور اس کو سمجھنا ان کے لئے کافی مشکل ہوتا ہے..
for religious scholar it is very importa .. because .. boys who are studying with us..and have not learnt Quran by heart..finding arguments from Quran.. and understanding them is very difficult for them..
- 19 R اس کے علاوہ کوئی دوسرا فائدہ حفظ کرنے کا..؟
any other benefit of learning Quran by heart..?
- 20 Mr Riz دین کے اعتبار سے اس کے فضائل بہت ہیں..
from a religious point of you it in full of bliss to memorize it..
- 21 R جی..
yes..
- 22 Mr Riz یہ تو اللہ کا ایک معجزہ ہے کہ چھوٹے چھوٹے بچے یاد کر لیتے ہیں
it is the miracle of Allah that even young children learn it by heart
- 23 R ابھی آپ کون کون سے مضامین پڑھ رہے ہیں؟
what subjects are you doing?
- 24 Mr Riz ہم فقہ پڑھ رہے ہیں.. اصول فقہ.. عربی گرامر.. عربی ادب
jurisprudance ..Arabic Grammar we are doing jurisprudance.. principle of Arabic.. literature
- 25 R تعلیم کے بعد آپ کیا کریں گے؟
what are your plans after finishing?
- 26 Mr Riz مفتی بنوں گا
i will be a religious authority
- 27 R میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ یہاں کی جو زندگی ہے وہ بہت مختلف ہے باہر کی زندگی سے.. ایسا لگتا ہے کہ یہ ایک جزیرہ ہے.. اس زمانہ میں مختلف ہیں.. اوقات مختلف

- what i notice and feel that life in here is totally different from the life outside..
the use of languages are different .. timings are different..
- 28 Mr Riz ہر کام کا ایک خاص وقت ہے.. بس وہ ہی کام کرنا ہے.. تقریباً صبح 4.30 بچے اٹھاتے ہیں.. ایک ساتھ سب سوتے ہیں.. ایک ساتھ کھاتے ہیں.. ایک جگہ پڑھتے ہیں.. اور ایک ہی جگہ پہ سب سوتے ہیں.
for every work there is a designated time.. only that work has to be done.. they wake us at 4:30 in the morning .. we sleep together.. we eat together.. we study together.. we all sleep at one place..
- 29 R آپ کو کیسا محسوس ہوتا ہے..?
how do you feel living here..?
- 30 Mr Riz بہت عجیب سا محسوس ہوتا ہے جب ہم باہر جاتے ہیں.. کیوں کہ جو کچھ باہر ہو رہا ہے یہاں پھر اس کا تصور بھی نہیں ہے.. آزادی.. موبائل فون کا استعمال.. لڑکیوں سے باتیں کرنا.. فلمیں دیکھنا ناممکن ہے.. مدرسہ میں ہم ہیں اور کتابیں ہیں..
feel myself very stranger when i go out.. because things happening in the society is unimaginable here.. liberty.. uses of mobile phone.. talking to girls.. watching movies is impossible.. in madarsa we are here with our books only..
- 31 R ان دنوں میں میں نے غور کیا ہے کہ طالب علم اور اساتذہ اردو بولتے ہوئے انگریزی کا کوئی بھی لفظ استعمال نہیں کرتے.. اس کی کوئی خاص وجہ ہے..?
i have noticed that teachers and pupils do not use a single word of English while conversing in Urdu.. is there any reason for that..?
- 32 Mr Riz کوئی وجہ تو نہیں ہے مگر یہاں یہ جو زیادہ زور ہے وہ عربی پہ دیا جاتا ہے.. یا اردو..
there is no particular reason for that but over here Arabic is given importance.. or Urdu..
- 33 R عربی زبان کی اہمیت کو کس طرح دیکھتے ہیں..?
how do you see the importance of Arabic language..
- 34 Mr Riz باہر کی دنیا میں تو عربی کی کوئی اہمیت نہیں ہے.. لیکن چونکہ ہم مدارس میں پڑھتے ہیں اور ہماری جتنی بھی کتابیں ہیں وہ عربی ہے.. ہمارا یہ شعبہ ہے..
Arabic has no value outside the madarsa.. since we study in madarsa and all our books are in Arabic .. this is our field
- 35 R حکومت کی جو زبانوں کی پالیسی ہے اس میں انگریزی اور اردو میں تعلیم دینے پھر زور دیا جاتا ہے.. اب اس کو کس طرح دیکھتے ہیں..?
the language in education policy of the country stress on English and Urdu.. how do you see this policy..?
- 36 Mr Riz آج کل انگریزی پر زور دیا جاتا ہے.. حال یہ ہے کہ بچوں کو اردو پڑھنی نہیں آتی.. کم از کم اپنی قومی زبان کو بھی اہمیت دینی چاہئیں.. یہ ہماری پہچان ہے.. انگریزی کی اہمیت سے انکار نہیں ہے.. مگر دوسری زبانیں بھی اہم ہیں..

- these days English is given importance..the situation is that children can not read Urdu.. at least they should give importance to our national language..which is our identity.. no one disagrees with the importance of English.. but our languages are also important..
- 37 R اس پالیسی کے کیا اثرات نظر آتے ہیں [انگلش]؟
what do you think on the consequences of such policies [English]?
- 38 Mr Riz زبان کے ساتھ ان کے رہن سہن بھی آئے گا.
with language their culture will also come..

Extract 39: A grade 8 lesson on length of mourning , (SD, Moulana Khalid Amin, 1-4-2011)

- 1 S [pupils read from the text book] جو حاملہ ہوتی ہیں.. ان کی عدت (xxx) ہوتی ہے.. عام عورت کی عدت چار مہینے [عدت] دس دن ہوگی..
for a pregnant women.. they have (xxx) .. for a normal women the period [mourning] is four month ten days..
- 2 Mr K [reading, Arabic] " وعدة الحرة في الوفاة اربعته اشهر و عشرأ "
- 3 Mr K [explaining, Urdu] آزاد عورت کی عدت وفات چار ماہ دس دن ہے آزاد عورت کی عدت وفات مثلاً زید اور اندکا نکاح تھا اور زید کا انتقال ہو گیا.. اب وہ عدت وفات گزارے گی.. اس عدت کو عدت وفات کہتے ہیں.. لیکن یہ عدت وفات ہے کتنی.. اس معاملے میں اصناف کا اختلاف رہا ہے.. اس میں بعض افراد تو یہ کہتے ہیں کہ بھتی عدت جو ہے.. دو طرح کی ہوتی ہے... عدت "دولا اور عدت "عصرا" ہے ایک عدت عصرا کا مطلب
for a free women the period of mourning is for four months mourning for example Zaid and Hinda are married and Zaid had died ..now Hinda will spend a period of time after Zaid death.. this period is called mourning period .. but how long should this period be.. in this matter experts have different opinions.. some of them say tha mourning period is judged based on the types of death.." the women who has lost her husband deaths are of two types ..one is called "daula" and the other is called "Hisra" the firstone is for one year mourning.. Hisra means
4 Mr K [explaining, Urdu] چار مہینے دس دن.. کئی حضرات فرماتے ہیں کہ عدت دولا جو ہے وہ عظمت ہے.. یعنی زیادہ ثواب یہ ہے کہ ایک سال گزارے.. چار مہینے دس دن کے بعد اجازت ہے.. لیکن بہتر کیا ہے.. عصمت
four months ten days.. many experts claims that mourning "daula" is better than mourning "Hisra"..means there are more rewards from Allah for daula because of one year ..after four months and ten days there is permission..but what is better^ ..where
5 Mr K [reading, Arabic] والذین يتوفون منكمو بذرون ازواج وصيته لازوجهم

6 Mr K [explaining, Urdu]

"جو لوگ تم میں وفات پا جائیں اس حال میں کہ وہ اپنی بیویوں کو چھوڑ کر مر رہے ہیں کیا ہے.. وہ ایک سال
ہے.. ۸.. ثواب زیادہ کس میں ہے.. کہ ایک سال.. سمجھ گئے ۸ دلیل ان حضرات کی کیا ہے.. قرآن کریم میں
ارشاد ہے جو اپنی بیوی کو چھوڑ کر مر جاتے ہیں.. وصیت کر کے جائیں متاعا الی الی الحول غیر اخراجا" یعنی
بیویوں کے لئے ایک سال کی وصیت کریں نہ نکلنے کیا ایک سال کی وصیت کریں..

*those of you who die leaving their wives and husband where lies greatness^..
that is one year..where lies more rewards from Allah ..one year.. have you got
it..^they argue based on Holy Quran those who die leaving their wives.. they
leave..a will " they should make recommendation*

7 Mr K [reading, Arabic]

متاعا الی الی الحول غیر اخراجا والذین یتوفون منکم و یذرون ازواجاً وصیتہ لازمہم
she does not come out of home for a year they should make recommendation

8 Mr K [explaining, Urdu]

وصیت کریں.. "متاعا الی الی الحول غیر اخراجا" ایک سال کی وصیت کرے اور ایک سال تک نہ نکلے.. "فان
مخرجن فلا جناح" اگر نکل جائیں تو کوئی گناہ نہیں اگر چار مہینے دس دن کے بعد وہ نکل والذین یتوفون منکم و
یذرون ازواجاً وصیتہ لازمہم" جائے (والذین یتوفون منکم و یذرون ازواجاً) جو لوگ تم میں وفات
پا جائیں اس حال میں کہ وہ اپنی بیویوں کو چھوڑ کر مر رہے ہیں تو کوئی حرج نہیں.. تو سمجھے میں آیا کہ ایک سال عظمت ہے
اور چار مہینے تو گزرتی ہی گزرنے ہیں.. تو ان حضرات کی دلیل یہ آیت ہے.. مگر احناف کا مذہب یہ ہے کہ.. اس چار
مہینے دس دن ہیں.. ایک سال ہے ہی نہیں.. کیونکہ پہلے ایک سال تھی.. پھر چار مہینے اشہر و عشرہ" "پھر چار
مہینے اشہر و عشرہ" یہ جو سال والی آیت ہے وہ منسوخ ہے.. "پھر چار مہینے اشہر و عشرہ" متلا کر کریں چار ماہ
دس دن

*for a year.. " one year of mourning so that if she comes out after four months
and ten days if she comes out after four months and ten days then there is no
problem..so we understand that one year mourning is better but four months
ten a days of mourning is mandatory ..so they argue based on this verse but
Hanafi belief that..mourning of four months ten days is needed ..one year is
not not relevant any more.. what we say that mourning after death used to
be one year..*

9 Mr K

چار مہینے والی آیت کی وجہ سے ایک سال والی آیت منسوخ ہو گئی.. ہم یہ کہتے ہیں کہ عدت وفات ایک سال پہلے ہوا کرتی
تھی.. اب نہیں ہوتی.. یعنی کس آیت نے دوسری آیت کو منسوخ کر دیا..

it is no more now..means one verse has cancelled the other verse

[the remainder lesson continues]

Extract 40: A grade 2 lesson on Geography, (SD, Molvi Abdul Rehman, 30-3-2011)

- 1 R چلو بھئی اپنی اپنی جگہ بیٹھ جائیں.. یہ جلدی سے بیٹھ جاؤ.. اپنی کتابیں نکالیں..
o.k sit at your own places.. go and get your books.. good..
- 2 Ss سرکاریاں لے آئیں.. کتاب لے کے بیٹھ جاؤ.. شاباش
do we get the note books.. as well
- 3 R کہاں سے.. مولوی شفیق صاحب سے جا کے پوچھو.. آؤ بھئی جلدی آؤ.. شاباش.. ہاں بھئی کل ہم نے براعظم
یورپ کے بارے میں پڑھا تھا..
from where..go and ask Maulana Shafeeq..hurry up.. good..so
yesterday we read about continent Europe..
- 4 Ss سرہم نے یورپ اور افریقہ کے بارے میں پڑھا تھا..
we read about Africa and Europe..
- 5 R چلو اب اپنی کتابیں بند کر لو.. چلو جلدی سے یورپ کو دوبارہ پڑھ لو پھر میں سوالات کروں گا
now close your books..first you quickly read lesson on Europe then i
will ask you questions
- Ss [revising the lesson]
- 6 R پورا ایک نعرہ پڑھ لو ذہن نشین کرتے ہوئے.. ((محقق سے گفتگو کرتے ہوئے)) میں ان کو کتاب سے ہٹ کر
بھی جغرافیہ پڑھاتا ہوں.. مثلاً ان لوگوں کو 70 سے زیادہ ممالک کے
read the entire text and memorize.. ((pointing towards the resercher)) i
have taught them geography beyond the text book as well.. for
example they know the names
- 7 R جی دارلخلافہ یاد کرادیے ہیں..
of capital cities of more than 70 countries.. yes
- 8 Mr M [talking to researcher] ((محقق سے گفتگو کرتے ہوئے)) یہ جو کتاب ہے وہ وفاق المدارس پاکستان نے چھاپی ہے اچھی کتاب
ہے.. پہلے میں نے ان کو اسکول کا نصاب بھی پڑھا.. یہ بہت دیا.. تیسری اور چوتھی جماعت کی کتاب بھی
پڑھادی..
this book is published by Wifak ul Madarsa Pakistan.. it is a very good
book.. first i taught them the curriculum of schools as well.. i taught
them.. the books of grade three and four..
- 9 R جی.. ((طلباء سے پوچھتے ہوئے)) براعظم یورپ کس براعظم کے ساتھ ملا ہوا ہے..
yes..((asking pupils)) which continent is boardered with continent
Europe..^

- 10 Ss ((سارے بچے ہاتھ اٹھاتے ہیں)) ہم جواب دیں گے.. ہم بتائیں .. ایشیا کے ساتھ ملا ہوا ہے..
[all pupils raise their hands] with Asia.. i will give the answers .. sir do i tell..
- 11 R براعظم یورپ کے شمال میں کون سا سمندر ہے..^
which sea is there in the south of Europe..^
- 12 Ss ((سارے لڑکے ہاتھ کھڑا کرتے ہیں)) سر ہم بتائیں.. بحر منجمد شمالی
(all boys raise their hands)i will tell sir..Arctic ocean
- 13 R براعظم یورپ کے جنوب میں کون سا سمندر ہے..^
which sea is there in the south of Europe..^
- 14 Ss بحر اقیانوس
Atlantic ocean
- 15 R براعظم یورپ اور براعظم ایشیا کو ملا کر کیا کہا جاتا ہے..^
what do we call when we combine continent Europe and continent Asia..^
- 16 Ss یوروایشیا
EuroAsia
- 17 R یوروایشیا (...) اچھا یہ بتاؤ کہ یورپ کے کون سے ممالک جزیرہ ہیں اور کون سے جزیرہ نما ہیں..^
EuroAsia (...) o.k now tell me which countries of Europe are islands
islands..^ and which look like
- 18 Ss سر ہم بتائیں ((ہاتھ کھڑا کرتے ہوئے))
do i tell ((pointing towards a pupil))
- 19 R چلو تم بتاؤ ((ایک طالب علم کی طرف اشارہ کرتے ہوئے))
o.k you tell ((pointing towards a pupil))
- 20 Ss انگلینڈ اور آئرلینڈ جزیرہ ہیں.. اور گریس جزیرہ نما ہے..
England and Ireland are islands.. and Greece is like an island..
- 21 R ((نظم و ضبط درست کرتے ہوئے)) ہے
((noise in the class)) who is hitting whom ((controlling the discipline
of the class))
- 22 Ss مولوی صاحب میں ڈنڈا لے کر آؤں
molvi sahib do i get a stick
- 23 R آپ نے کیوں ان کو مارا
why have you hit him
- 24 Ss مولوی صاحب میں نے نہیں مارا

- 25 R *moulvi sahib he is going to get the stick*
ادھر آؤ بھئی..
come here..
- 26 Ss مولوی صاحب وہ ڈنڈہ لینے جا رہا ہے..
molvi sahib he is going to get the stick..
- 27 R چلیے کتاب کھولیں اور افریقہ پڑھیں..
o.k lets open your books and read continent Africa..
- 28 Ss مولوی صاحب ہم پڑھیں گے.. ہم پڑھیں گے.. ((کتاب سے با آواز بلند پڑھتے ہوئے)) "افریقہ کو گھنے جنگلات اور جنگلی جانوروں کی وجہ سے آمدورفت میں مشکلات تھی... کچھ عرصہ قبل تک"
moulvi sahib((raising their hands)) i will read.. i will read..((reading aloud from the book)) "Africa had problems because of dense forest and wild animals a few decades ago" ..
- 29 R بس کچھ عرصہ قبل تک سے مراد بیس پچیس سال نہیں ہے.. ہو سکتا ہے 70 سال ہوں.. ابھی بھی افریقہ کی جب ہم گئے تھے 2001 میں.. نا نجر.. تو ہم نے سفر.. نیامے سے زندر.. تو سڑک نہایت خستہ حالت میں تھی.. ٹوٹی ہوئی سڑک.. ابھی ہمارے اساتذہ کا چاڈ.. کیمرن اور سوڈان جانا ہوا تو ان لوگوں کو 25 کلومیٹر کا سفر ایسا کرنا پڑا کہ انہیں گدھا گاڑی پہ سفر کرنا.. کرنا پڑا.. سمجھے گئے..
stop.. by few decades it does not means fifty or twenty years .. it may as well be 70 years.. even now there are countries in Africa where travelling is a problem..recently.. i went to Niger in 2001.. we travelled there..from Niamey to Zinder.. the road were in bad state .. mostly broken..recently our teacher went to Cameroon and Sudan they sometimes had to travel on donkey as far as 25 kilometres..have you got it⁸
- 30 R آمدورفت کیسے کہتے ہیں..
what do we mean by travelling..
- 31 Ss ایک جگہ سے دوسری جگہ جانا.. ((کتاب سے پڑھتے ہوئے)) "اس لئے اسے تاریک براعظم کہا جاتا تھا"
movement from one place to another..((reading aloud from the textbook)) "that is why continent Africa is called a dark continent"
- 32 R "تاریک" سے کیا مراد ہے..
what do we mean by "dark" ..
- 33 Ss اندھیرے میں.. سنسان
without light.. poorly habitat

- 34 R تاریک سے مراد یہ ہے کہ براعظم اندھیرے میں ہے۔ اس میں کوئی روشنی نہیں ہے۔ جب سورج کی روشنی ہوتی ہے تب لوگ اپنا راستہ دیکھ سکتے ہیں۔ اس میں کوئی روشنی نہیں ہے۔ یہاں چیزوں کو دیکھنا بہت مشکل ہے
by dark we mean continent Africa is in dark .. there is no light in it..
when there is sunlight then people can not see their way..there is no
light in it .. it is difficult to see things
- 35 S [reading out from the book] (کتاب سے آواز بلند پڑھتے ہوئے) "باقی دنیا کو افریقہ کے بارے میں معلومات بہت کم تھیں۔ مگر اب ایسی صورتحال نہیں کیوں کہ یہ بہت تیزی سے ترقی کر رہا ہے۔ افریقہ قدرتی وسائل سے مالا مال ہے۔"
"the rest of the world know very little about Africa ..but now the
conditions of Africa has changed because there has been development
in there ..Africa is rich in mineral resources"..
- 36 R قدرتی وسائل سے کیا مراد ہے
what do we mean by natural resources..
- 37 Ss زمین.. معدنیات
earth..minerals
- 38 R اللہ تعالیٰ کی طرف سے کوئلہ.. پیٹرول ((بقیہ سبق میں استاد اس ہی طرح سوال کرتے ہیں اور طلبہ جواب دیتے ہیں))
from Allah we get coal.. petrol ((the remainder lesson continues with
teacher asking questions and pupils replying))

Extract 41: A grade 9 Islamiat lesson on Ashrah-e-Mubashrah , the blessed companion of Prophet at (SA, Ms. Tehmina, 17-7-2011)

1. MsT: (...) and if there is any word that you do
2. not know how to write or if there is any sentence
3. in the test you are unaware of .. kindly raise
4. your hand and ask me..
5. S: (xxx)
6. MsT: because they were basically very ignorant..
7. you know Bedouin.. they did not
8. know actually how to behave socially and
9. morally but after the companionship of
10. our holy prophet they evolved themselves..

11. evolved means change themselves

12. S: ((raises her hand and the teacher approaches

13. her))

14. MsT: ((reads the textbook of pupils and

15. explains))

16. o.k.. this sentence is that they were insulted

17. .. first you tell me the meaning of "denouncing"

18. "they were insulted and abused" means

19. that they were beaten especially slaves ((

20. she reads the sentence from the book))

21. "they were insulted and abused.. beaten

22. and tortured many a times especially slaves

23. who were tortured almost to death but

24. non of them ever thought of denouncing has

25. will".. tell me what do you feel [understand]

26. after reading the full sentence.. you do not

27. have to know the meaning of each word..

28. read the text.. o.k.. then connect it to

29. the topic and get the meaning.. done..

30. great.. once you are through your work..

31. put your copy in your bag and just

32. open your text book on page 120..

33. Ss: (some put their note books in bags))

34. MsT: are you through beta (boy).. what

35. should you have in front of you.. now

36. i ask you questions.. o.k.. what are your

37. comments on ten blessed companions.. it is

38. important for you to remember the translation

39. of few Arabic words.. o.k.. now why were

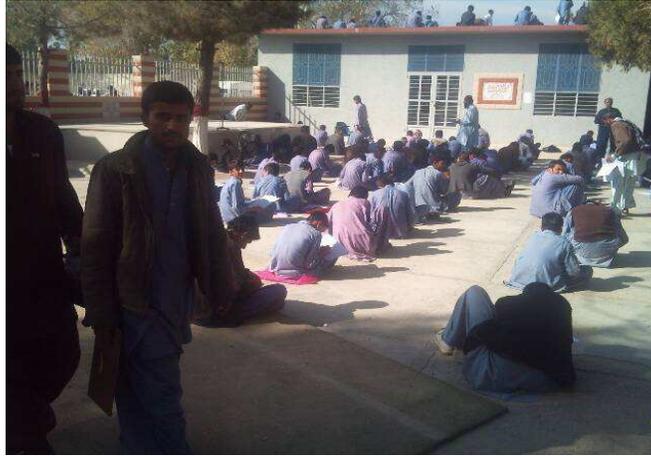
40. they ten blessed companion..

41. S: because they were distinguished people..

42. they were easily converts

43. Ms T: as he said that they were very
44. distinguished.. what was distinguished
45. about them.. in what ways.. were they
46. big general or colonels or were they very
47. very rich..
48. S: because their faith in Allah was great
49. Ms T: Yes
50. S: even in the worst circumstances.. they
51. did not dismay
52. Ms T: anyone else
53. S: they were always there to serve Islam
54. Ms T: (...) some of us are very rude.. we sometime
55. do not use words politely like our talk shows
56. S: Jasmine tonight ((a famous talk show in
57. which the anchor is known for using harsh words))
58. Ms T: she [anchor] shouts so much that.. ah..
59. your pitch and tone really mean something..
60. that is the reason why some people .. you must
61. go and buy Zia Moyeddin recitals. He
62. did some recitals on Shakespeare as well..
63. beautifully ((laying great emphasis)) done.. you
64. must see the tone and pitch of that man and
65. he is good in English as well as in Urdu o.k..
66. go and buy his cd.. promise you will enjoy it..
67. any age you still enjoy it and he is so good
67. because he knows how to talk.. he is so
69. powerful.. and he does not mix languages o.k
70. and he is proficient in both (...)

Extract 41 (a) Pictures Showing the material conditions of the success or failure at SC



Pupils writing test at SC Quetta [Taken Date April 16 2011]



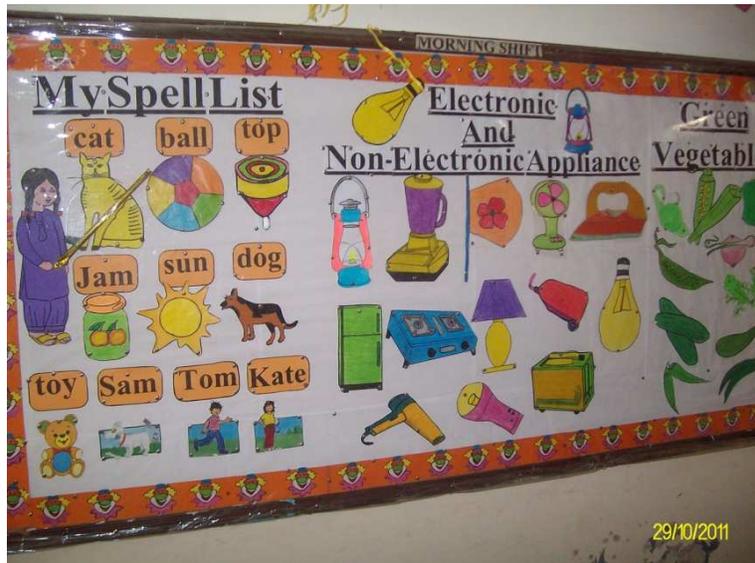
Toilet Facility at SC Quetta [Taken Date April 16 2011]



School Entrance at SC Quetta [Taken Date April 17 2011]

Appendices 7 a,b,c,d,e : Legitimate Languages in Schools

a) SB



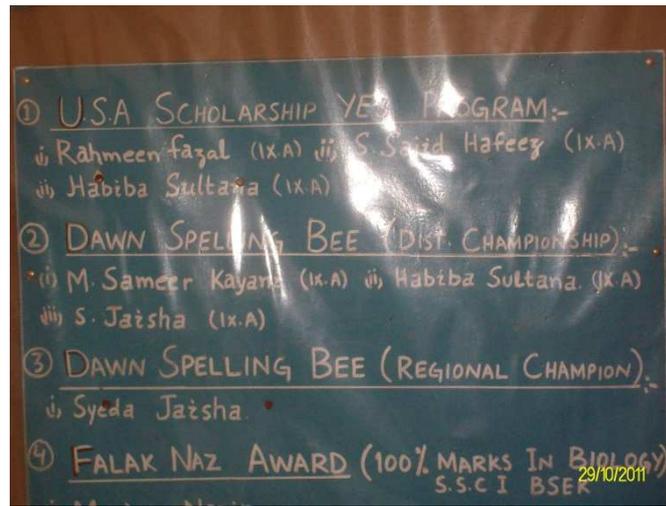
Pre Primary Class Room Soft Board in (SB) [Taken on 29/10/2011]



Primary Class Room Soft Board in (SB) [Taken on 29/10/2011]



Primary Class Room Chalk Board in (SB) [Taken on 29/10/2011]



Hung outside the Principal Office in (SB) [Taken on 29/10/2011]

b) SD

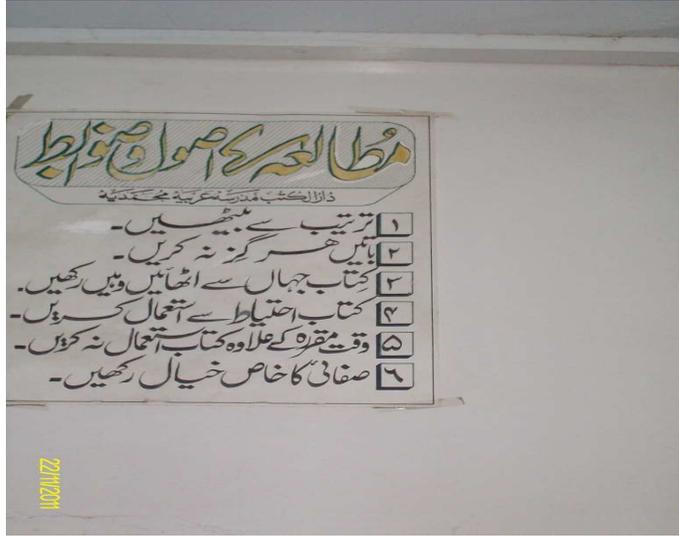


On the Entrance in (SD) [Taken on 22/10/2011]

Translation of the Sign (On the Entrance in SD, only headings)

1. The mandatory obligations of making ablution
2. The sunnah of ablution

3. The dont's of ablution
4. Conditions breaching ablution
5. The starting prayers of ablution
6. The middle prayers of ablution
7. The post ablution prayers

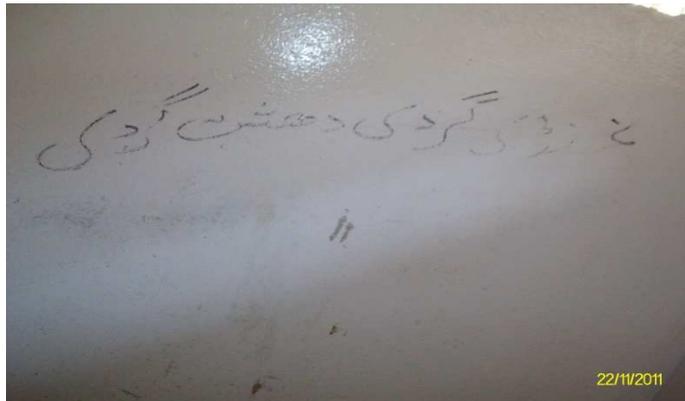


Inside the Library in (SD) [Taken on 22/10/2011]

Translation of the Sign (Inside the Library in (SD) [Taken on 22/10/2011]:

Rules and Regulation

1. Sit properly
2. Maintain Silence
3. Put the books to its place after using it
4. Use the book carefully
5. Do not use the book after the prescribed timings
6. Keep the library clean



Graffiti written on the toilet wall in (SD) [Taken on 29/10/2011]

Translation of the Sign (Graffiti written on the toilet wall in (SD) [Taken on 29/10/2011]

1. Hooliganism and terrorism

c) SC



Hung in the Corridor [Taken on 18 April 2011]

Translation of the Sign (Hung in the Corridor SC [Taken on 18 April 2011]

Knowledge is the path to heaven. Department of Education Balochistan 2008



Graffiti written on the back wall of the class room [Taken on 18 April 2011]

Translation of the Sign (Graffiti written on the back wall of the class room

The Land of Pshtoons

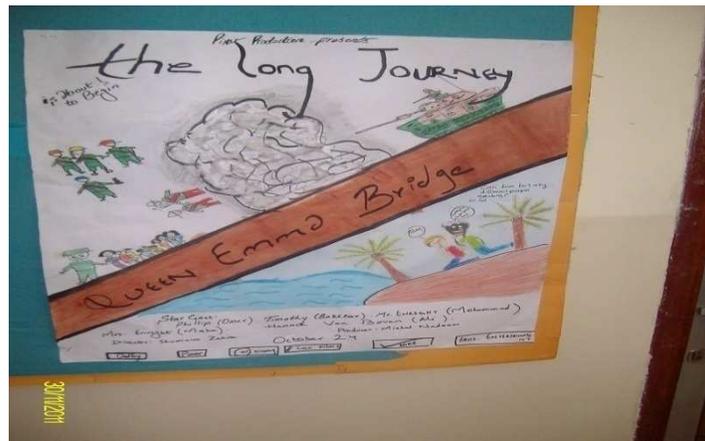
d) SA



Parent-Teacher Conference Room [Taken on 30 November 2011]



Hung in the central lobby of the School [Taken on 30 November 2011]



Hung in the central lobby of the School [Taken on 30 November 2011]

1. R: how would you describe the language
2. policy of your school as i have heard
3. that the school has no written language
4. policy..
5. Ms FG: well.. we follow a syllabus for certain
6. subjects which are taught in English.. so in that
7. case I would say that even though there is
8. no written policy.. for all the subjects
9. except for Urdu we follow a curriculum that
10. is in English.. and we are instructed
11. is in English.. and we are instructed
12. in our meetings not to communicate with
13. children during our classes in any other
14. language except for English
15. R: fine.. Pakistan language in education
16. policy is very different from your
17. school language policy
18. Ms FG: when my brother was studying doing
19. his engineering from NED university
20. he had completed his A levels and then
21. gone to NED and he had lots of brilliant
22. students ((peers)) coming in from Urdu
23. medium schools from around Pakistan
24. because they have certain quota in the NED
25. R: hm.. hm
26. Ms FG: And after any brother graduated.. after
27. he completed his engineering .. he was so
28. upset because he said Fatima there are
29. so many brilliants students ((colleagues))
30. around me.. because they can not speak
31. in English they are not getting employed and

32. my brother was one of the first people to get
33. employed because he could speak in English
34. R: yeah..
35. Ms FG: you see.. I feel.. if it is a requirement
36. ((English)) at a professional level.. at
37. even entry point.. if it is required as it
38. is the case.. then this is very unfair with the
39. majority..
40. you can not get away with English.. if you
41. home not done it well then you get rejection
42. from everywhere.. lots of disappointment
43. later in life because of the school you have selected..
44. R: majority of Pakistani children either attend
45. public sector schools or private non elite
46. schools where the quality of English language
47. is not good.. school like yours are within
48. the access of a very select group.. what
49. you think are the consequences of so different
50. schools in Pakistan on the lives of the
51. children
52. Ms FG: I do think about these issues.. i think..
53. you know .. i feel myself.. it should be made
54. compulsory for people like us to work in minor
55. schools also.. we should give sometime of our
56. daily routine because they can also benefit
57. from our knowledge.. you know education
58. has become very expansions.. therefore middle
59. class and lower middle class have no
60. options but to send to these school..
61. government should also employ right person

Extract 43: Language practices at canteen (SC, 20-5-2011)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. S1:(...) hafiza ((short sighted))give me four biscuits.. | S1:(...)خا فضه(خئ خا ته نابنڪارئ)) ۴ بسڪوٽ راڪه.. |
| 2. and some seeds.. Not three i want two.. no give me | او ۱ دئغي بيج راڪه.. ته خو ۳ نه ۲ راڪه.. |
| 3. two more.. take this one and give me others please.. | ۲ نور راڪه.. دا واخله بو ذهغا راڪه |
| 4. hafiza your glasses are nice (handing in twenty rupees | او دا بل راڪه مهر با ني.. |
| 5. note) | خا فضه دا خشئي دئ ۲ پري تهي دئ |
| 7. S2: give me pakora for ten rupees.. | S2:ده ۱۰ ريو ن پڪو ري راڪه.. |
| 8. return me 10.. you do not sleep in the afternoon.. | او ۱۰ روپي راڪه.. دا ورزي بنو ب نه ڪي.. |
| 9. hafiza please take the money | خا فضه پيسي ڪٽ ڪه |
| 10. S3: pakora for ten rupees | S3:ده ۱۰ ريو ن پڪو ري راڪه |
| 11. S4: (students offering to other students) | S4:ته بنوري* |
| 12. would you like to eat some* | |
| 13. S5: yes give me some bread | S5: لڪ واخوا دودي دودي |
| 14. S6: give me 10 rupees pakora and half bread.. you | S6:ده ۱۰ ريو ن پڪو ري راڪه او نهما دودي.. |
| 15. have given the left out | ده بنو نول وهين دي |
| 16. S7: give me one nimko | S7:اي بو نمکو راڪه |
| 17. S8: (canteen sales person) whose is this* Is this yours | S8:ده دا خا دئ* سستا دي |
| 18. | |
| 19. S9: give me one biscuit and one daal (cookies) | S9:بو بسڪوٽ راڪه او بو دال راڪه |
| 20. | |
| 21. S10: please hand in the mobile sim | S10:ده سم موبا بل راڪه |

Extract 44: Language practices in corridors of (SC, 20-5-2011)

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. S: (...)this is third period | S:(...)دريم پرد دي سر |
| 2. T: which subject's class is it* | T: دريم سه پرد دي* |
| 3. T: this is third period.. which class these | T: بنا دويم پرد دي.. |
| 4. students belong | دهغه ڪم ڪلاس والا دئ |
| 5. S: 6 A | S: شپڪم ائ سر |
| 6. T: please make a que.. good.. | T: ٻيا پالين ڪي ودرئ ڪي.. شا با س.. |
| 7. T: who takes you drill class | T: سستا سو دريل پرد سوڪ ايلئي |
| 8. S: mr. Zahir Shah | S: ضاهر شاه صاحب |

9. T: please go towards canteen.. T: هلته کشتن بنوا لا لار شی شا با س..
10. T: don't you listen i am asking you to go T: هلا که نا اورئ ده کشتن بنوا لا لار شی شا با س..
11. towards canteen.. hurry up* ذر کوئ*
12. S: mr. Mir Ali said that after third period.. S: مئر علی صاحب وئ شی درئم برد و شی..
13. mr. Zahir Shah will take the class نو بنا ده دا ضاهر شا ه دئ
14. T: i will come by myself# T: سستا سو لا زه په نسیلا درزم#
15. T: if any one does not sit then he will be T: که ئو هلاک هم ناس نه وه
16. responsible.. نو کهلا هم ده زان نه وئ..
17. open your book* نسیل کتا بونا بنیلا س کئ*
18. T: if anyone is not reading and making noise.. T: شی کم هلاک شور کئ نا سبوق نه وئ..
19. then note their names ده هغو هم نومان نوت کئ

Extract 45: Student-teacher interaction outside the class at (SC, 20-5-2011)

1. T: (...) where are you going T: (...)خرئ روان هئ هلا که
2. S: just come out of the class S: سر هغا کلا س نه راواق وم
3. T: which class are you in* T: کلا س دئ کم بو دئ*
4. S: not going to class, but to washroom S: کلا س ته نو واش روم ته زم
5. T: I have told you* T: ما درته نا دئ وئالی*
6. don't come out class without pass شی بغئر پاس نه ما راوزئ
7. S: which pass S: پاس کم بو دئ
8. T: you have string in your neck.. why you T: نو دا پا غاره.. کئ ده رسئ کجا ده وئ نه
9. don't wear pass خا وئ ده
10. T: don't come out of you class without T: رنگا بلا ورز بیا مل راوزئ بنه*
11. cards*
12. T: where are you going* T: ته خرئ روان هئ*
13. S: i am going to get water S: سر کولر برئ
14. T: you son of cooler you fill the water early T: ده کولر زویا
15. in the morning صیخ صو برئ آپ نهن بر سکتئ
16. T: where are you going* is everything ok? T: ته خرئ روان هئ* وئ بنئر دئ
17. T: which period is it.. S: سویم پرد دئ..
18. S: third S: درئم
19. T: hurry up* don't waste the time T: زر رازه* شاباس تاہم مه ضایع کوه

Extract 46: Interview with Ms Meher Murad Grade 10 student at (SB, 10-8-2011)

- 1 R آپ گھر میں کون سی زبان بولتے ہیں؟
which language do you speak at home?
- 2 Ms MM چونکہ ہماری مادری زبان بلوچی ہے تو ہم لوگ بلوچی بولتے ہیں مگر اردو اور انگلش بھی بولتے ہیں
since our mother tongue is Balochi we speak Balochi at home but we also speak Urdu and English
- 3 R آپ اسکول میں بلوچی نہیں بولتیں..
you do not speak Balochi in school..
- 4 Ms MM نہیں سر!
no sir!
- 5 R اسکول میں کیوں نہیں بولتے یہاں تو بہت سارے بچے بلوچی بولنے والے آتے ہیں
why do not you speak in Balochi in school as there are a lot children who come from Balochi families
- 6 Ms MM کیونکہ یہاں کچھ اور زبان بولی جاتی ہے.. چونکہ قومی زبان اردو ہے اس لئے ہمیں adjust کرنا پڑتا ہے
because a different language is used here.. since our national language is urdu we have to make adjustments
- 7 R آپ کے اسکول میں انگریزی بولنا لازمی قرار دے دیا ہے.. آپ اس کو کیسا سمجھتے ہیں
speaking in English has become compulsory in your school.. how do you see this change..
- 8 Ms MM جس زمانے میں ہم ہیں اس میں انگلش بہت بڑا رول ادا کر رہی ہے
English is playing an important role in these times
- 9 R .. کیا رول ادا کر رہی ہے
which role is it playing..
- 10 Ms MM آپ کے اسکول میں admission لینے جائیں یا کسی hospital میں جائیں.. جب ہم انگلش میں بات کریں تو first impression is the last impression ہوتا ہے.. کچھ جگہ تو بھی ہے کہ اگر کوئی انگلش میں بات کر لے تو اسے admission بھی جلدی مل جاتا ہے
when you seek admission in any school or you go to any hospital.. when we speak in English then first impression is the last impression.. at some places if you talk in English you immediately get the admission
- 11 R آپ کی زندگی میں انگلش نے کیا رول ادا کیا
what role has English played in your life
- 12 Ms MM اگر اسکول میں کوئی والے بچوں کو باہر بھیجتے ہیں تو ان بچوں کو بھیجتے visitor آتا ہے یا اسکول میں جن کو انگلش اچھی آتی ہے..

if any visitor come to school or the school send students out of the school to represent school they choose students who are good at English..

Extract 47: Interview with Tooba Eijaz, a grade 9 student at (SB, 11-8-2011)

- 1 R آپ کون کون سی زبانیں بول سکتی ہیں؟
which languages can you speak?
- 2 Ms TE میں پشتو۔۔ اردو اور انگلش بول سکتی ہوں
i can speak Pushto.. Urdu and English
- 3 R آپ کون سی زبان کس وقت بولتی ہیں..
do you use these languages on different occassions..
- 4 Ms TE انگلش اسکول میں اور ٹیوشن میں اور گھر میں بھی کوشش کرتے ہیں کہ انگلش یا اردو میں بات کریں
i speak English in school and at my private lesson and i try to speak English and Urdu at home
- 5 R اور پشتو کب بولتی ہیں ..
and when do you speak in Pushto..
- 6 Ms TE دادی کے ساتھ پشتو میں بات کرتی ہوں
i speak in Pushto with my grandmother
- 7 R کون سی بان آپ کو اچھی لگتی ہے..
which language do you like most..
- 8 Ms TE انگلش
English
- 9 R کیوں..
why..
- 10 Ms TE بولنے میں مزہ آتا ہے
i feel pleasure while speaking English
- 11 R پشتو بولنے میں مزہ نہیں آتا سر پشتو زیادہ نہیں آتی۔۔ تھوڑی بہت دادی سے سیکھی ہے ..
you do not feel pleasure while speaking Pushto learnt a little from my grandmother..

Extract 48: Interview with Ms. Mubashir, a grade 8 Urdu teacher at (SB, 30-9-2011)

- 1 R آپ کے اسکول میں نئی پالیسی آئی ہے جو اساتذہ کو چھ ماہ میں انگریزی بولنے کا حکم دیتی ہے... اس کے بارے میں آپ کی کیا رائے ہے..

a new language policy has been introduced in your school according to which all teacher get six months to learn and start speaking..English.. what are your views on it..

2 Ms M

ہمیں یہ بتایا جا رہا ہے.. آسان لفظوں میں یہ کہیے.. کہ ہمیں انگریزی میں پڑھانا ہے.. اردو زبان انگلش میں پڑھانی ہے.. یعنی کہ جو پڑھاتے ہوئے بھی.. جب کہ ہمارے حساب سے جو بچے یہاں پڑھ رہے ہیں اور جو اساتذہ یہاں پڑھ رہے ہیں ان کے لئے ممکن نہیں.. میں جب پڑھا رہی ہوتی ہوں تو میری کوشش ہوتی ہے کہ میں اور میرے بچے زیادہ سے زیادہ اردو بولیں.. میں بورڈ پر تاریخ بھی اردو میں لکھتی ہوں.. مگر ان کے خیال میں یہ غلط ہے.. اس طرح تو اردو ختم ہو جائے گی انگلش کو ان کے خیال میں آگے دکھا جائے..

we are told.. let me put it in easy words..that we are supposed to teach Urdu language in English.. which means the medium of instruction will be English only even while teaching Urdu.. on the contrary we think that pupils and teachers are not able to do it.. when i am teaching i make sure that my students and i speak Urdu most of the time.. i write dates on board in Urdu numerics but they think it is a wrong practice.. they think English should be at the forefront..

3 R

جب یہ فیصلہ کیا گیا کہ اردو بازن کو انگریزی میں پڑھایا جائے تو اس وقت آپ لوگوں کی آراء شامل تھی.. *were you consulted at the time of policy formation..*

4 Ms M

..یہ تو بطور حدکی تھو پا گیا ہے.. یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ اگر آپ یہ نہیں کر سکیں گی تو ہم آپ کو فارغ کر دیں گے.. چھ مہینے کا ٹائم دے دیا گیا ہے کہ چھ مہینے کے اندر آپ نے یہ کام کرنا ہے.. ہماری جوارو میں قابلیت ہے اس کی کوئی اہمیت نہیں.. *no.. this policy came as a threat..we are told that if we did not do it we will be fired.. we have been given six months and in these six months we have to do it.. our knowledge in Urdu is not valued..*

5 R

آپ کے خیال میں ایسا کیوں کیا جا رہا ہے *why do you think this is being done..*

6 Ms M

ان کے خیال میں زیادہ انگریزی کی وجہ سے زیادہ داخلے ملیں گے اور معیار تعلیم بہتر ہو جائے گا *they think that by promoting English they will get more admissions and the standard of education will improve..*

7 R

پاکستان کی جو زبانوں کی پالیسی ہے وہ تو مختلف ہے.. *the language in education policy of Pakistan is different..*

8 Ms M

نہیں وہ تو بالکل بھی follow نہیں کی جاتی..۔۔ پرائیویٹ اسکولوں کی اپنی پالیسی ہے.. *no that is not followed at all..private schools have their own language policy..*

9 R

ایسا کیوں ہے *why is that so..*

10 Ms M

ایسا اس لئے ہے کہ پرائیویٹ والوں کا کاروبار زیادہ چمکے.. ان کے پاس زیادہ سے زیادہ سے زیادہ داخلے آئیں.. لوگوں میں زیادہ فاصلہ ہو جائے.. امیر اور غریب کے فاصلے ہمیشہ بڑھتے رہیں..

it is because that the business of private school flourish.. they get more admissions.. they want to widen the gap between the rich and the poor..

Extract 49: Interview with Moulana Abdul Rehman, teacher at (SD, 31-9-2011)

- 1 R پاکستان کی حکومت یہ کہتی ہے کہ بچوں کو اردو زبان میں پڑھایا جائے گا اور شروع سے انگریزی پڑھائی جائے گی.. اسکو آپ کس طرح دیکھتے ہیں..
government of Pakistan maintains that pupils will be taught in Urdu and English is introduced as a subject from the beginning.. what are your views on it..
- 2 Mr H سنجیدگی نہیں ہے.. میں نے دیکھا ہے کہ لوگ اپنی ذمہ داری نہیں ادا کرتے ہیں یہ نہیں دیکھا جاتا کہ بچوں کو آیا یا نہیں آیا..
lack of seriousness.. i have seen that people do not fulfil their responsibilities .. no one talks about what the learning outcomes are..
- 3 R جی.. مدرسوں میں انگریزی نہیں پڑھائی جاتی.. اسکی وجہ..
yes .. in Dini madaras there in hardly any teaching of English.. any reason..
- 4 Mr H کئی دینی مدرسوں میں انگریزی بھی پڑھائی جاتی ہے.. مگر اس مدرسے میں نہیں ہے اس کی اہم وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہم اپنے اصناف کے طریقوں پہ چلیں.. دوسری وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ دنیا کے اندر صرف انگریزی زبان ایسی نہیں ہے کہ جو international unique زبان ہو.. ایسا نہیں ہے کیوں کہ میں کئی ممالک میں جا چکا ہوں.. میں خود Thailand گیا وہاں پر لوگ انگریزی نہیں بولتے اور نہ بولنا پسند کرتے.. چین کے اندر بڑے بڑے آفسرز کو انگریزی کا ایک لفظ نہیں آتا.. وہ لوگ انجینئر بھی ہیں.. ڈاکٹر بھی ہیں.. بہت زیادہ طریقے یافتہ ہیں.. جرمنی کے اندر کہیں انگلش نہیں بولی جاتی.. ترقی ہو گیا.. فرانس ہو گیا.. یورپ کے کئی ممالک ایسے ہیں جو انگلش کے خلاف ہیں..

in many dini madaras English is taught..but in this madarsa it is not.. the main reason for it is that we want to follow the foot steps of our elders.. second reason is that we think English is not a unique language it is not an international language.. in this world.. i have been to Thailand their people do not speak English and they do not want to..in China officers of higher ranks do not know a word of English..they have engineers .. they have doctors.. they are a progressing nation.. in Germany English is not spoken .. similarly Turkey..France.. in fact many countries in Europe are against English..

5 R

جی:R

hm.. hm..

6 Mr H

Niger گیا وہاں پر عربی چلتی ہے یا فرانسیسی بولی جاتی ہے.. فرانس کی جتنی بھی کالونی ہے وہاں پرفرنج چلتی ہے.. یا جوان کی اپنی زبان چلتی ہے.. ہم لوگ جو ہیں چونکہ یہاں پر انگریز کا دور حکومت رہ چکا ہے.. اس کی وجہ سے ہم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ انگلش بہت اچھی زبان ہے..

i have been to Niger where French or Arabic is spoken.. in all the colonies of France.. French is dominatly used or the local languages.. because Englishmen were our rulers.. that is why English has become a very good language..

7 R

یہ عام طور پر تا صر ہے کہ انگریزی کے بغیر جینا ممکن نہیں

it is a general impression that it is impossible to live without English

8 Mr H

عربی کا ایک بہت بڑا خطہ ہے.. سعودی عرب، مڈل ایسٹ.. مصر.. سوڈان.. ایتھوپیا.. صومالیہ.. عراق.. کویت.. لبنان وغیرہ وغیرہ.. یہ نہیں سمجھنا چاہئے کہ انگلش بہت ضروری ہے.. اب بہت ساری چیزیں ہیں جیسا کہ passport کا فارم پھرنا ہے اس کی وجہ سے.. [English] سیکھنا.. کوئی حرج نہیں ہے..

Arabic is spoken over a large area of the world.. Saudi Arabia..

Middle East.. Egypt.. Sudan.. Ethiopia.. Somalia then Iraq.. Kuwait..

Lebanon etc..we should not believe that English is a necessity.. on the

other hand for documentary procedures such as filling passport

forms..there is no harm to learn it..[English]

9 R

یہاں سے فارغ ہونے کے بعد بچوں کا کیا مستقبل ہوتا ہے..

what do generally pupils do after graduating from dini madaras..

10 Mr H

زیادہ بہتر سچے دینی خدمات انجام دیتے ہیں اور مساجد کے اندر بھی دینی خدمات دے رہے ہیں.. اور اس کے ساتھ اپنا کاروبار بھی کر رہے ہیں...

most of them serve religion.. they work.. in mosque and they also do private business..

7.1 Values Attributed to Local Languages and Literacy in Schools

Extract 50: Interview with Ms Saadia, a grade 6 to 10 English and Social studies teacher at (SB,1-8-2011)

1. R: which language will you prefer for the interview..
2. Ms S: i think mix ((clears throat))
3. R: what do you mean..
4. Ms S: Urdu.. English plus
5. R: bilingual..
6. Ms S: ya.. if you want that i speak
7. in English.. i can try
8. R: what is your preferred
9. language
10. Ms S: actually we are forced to use
11. this language...[English]
12. R: really!
13. Ms S: you know .. we are given six months
14. warning that everyone should speak
15. English
16. R: who gave this warning
17. Ms S: from the administrator.. these
18. are the administrator Mr... ((
19. was reluctant to name))
20. R: ok.. the warning came that you
21. should speak in English.. where..
22. Ms S: everywhere.. i tell you that it was
23. told that every teacher would speak in
24. English even Sindhi and Urdu teachers
25. were required to speak in English even
26. in staff room to make good environment ((a little worried))
27. R: how did teacher respond to it
28. Ms S: many of the teacher were quite at that

29. moment [policy was introduced]

30. R: you mean they would not talk to each other

31. in any language other than English

32. Ms S: ya.. they [teachers] stopped speaking to each other

33. R: so.. this policy was implemented here

34. Ms S: ya.. six month's warning

35. R: six month warning means

36. Ms S: we have to..

37. R: shift

38. Ms S: within six months.. we have to shift our language

39. R: have those six months lapsed..

40. Ms S: no.. no.. actually we were told that

41. a month before

42. R: which mean you have five months

43. left ((laughs))

44. Ms S: ((laughs) either speak English

45. or leave..

46. R: to leave

47. Ms S: really

48. Ms S: may be.. it is just a threat ((raising eye brows))

49. R: how do they make sure.. do they

50. have a survey system of knowing who is

51. speaking in English and who is not

52. Ms S: i do not think so.. but you know

53. when you came here the first day.. we

54. were told that there would be an observer

55. R: really!

56. Ms S: i thought you would observe who is

57. speaking in English and who is not..

58. and you would report

59. Mr. R oh no!

60. Ms S: you know morning [shift] teachers

61. were told this by Ms. Naheed [incharge

62. morning section].. we were also

63. told this and we were definitely
64. frightened
65. Mr.R: ya.. oh dear.. ok .. no i am
66. here as a..
67. Ms S: we.. sir we are happy
68. MsR ok.. so as you said that there was a
69. clear policy instruction.. did you
70. pass this on to students..
71. Ms S: no.. we did not tell students.. we
72. feel ashamed that we have weaknesses [lack of proficiencies in English] .. and
73. that we have to overcome that weaknesses.. but
74. we have already asked them [pupils] to
75. use English.. but definitely it is not.. if i
76. say in matric class [grade 10] they are not
77. used to it .. within a few weeks.. sorry
78. few months.. how is it possible that they become
79. used to it.. they can try.. but they can not do..
80. and many of the students have passed out [without speaking English]
81. R: how would you describe the
82. language policy of your school..
83. there is no written language policy
84. Ms S: no.. there is not.. once we were
85. told that we have to.. it was not the
86. same policy in past .. a few years back
87. we were forced .. they influenced to have
88. good content to teach in class properly
89. when Nasra Wazir Ali was the aSDinistrator .. then she
90. had great influence
91. on the subjects [they gave priority to content
92. over language] may be they had
93. some other aims.. they had some other
94. targets.. today what the policy..
95. R: seem to be
96. Ms S: ya it seems just a very superficial thing..

97. that only speak English

98. R: hm hm

99. Ms S: you know.. how is it possible.. if they

100. ask us to improve content then we are

101. happy.. there is shift.. they want it.. [English only]

102. R: earlier it was not like that

103. R: lets talk about language-in-education

104. policy of the country which say that Urdu is

105. the medium of instruction and English to be

introduced from class six..

106. Ms S this is totally unfair - if you want

107. everyone speaking in English and understanding it.. it should be started earlier [introducing

English from class one]

108. R: do you mean that medium of

109. instruction be turned to English..

110. Ms S: to some extent

111. R: why do you think that language of

112. instruction be turned into English

113. Ms S: children will get used to it .. and

114. when they are in six class.. they would

115. be much polish

116. R: ya.. i think you have a point here

117. Ms S: you know in homes we.. many of the

118. family like me.. like my family.. we

119. are not very much mad .. [about English] but some

120. other people.. they just speak.. this

121. is an apple beta (boy).. they just teach

122. them nouns and nothing else. jitna

123. wo ker saktay hain wok arte hain [

124. they do whatever they can] because they

125. want their children to be with the world

126. Mr. R: let come back to you as a teacher.. how

127. do you motivate.. do you motivate your

128. students to speak in English

129. Ms S ya.. i try

130. R: do all of them follow you.. do they get

131. motivated

132. Ms S: no.. many of them get quiet.. if i ask

133. them.. come on.. say something may be wrong.. just try.. many of them try but many of them

134. even do not try.. they are very much hesitant

135. R: what else do you do.. outside the classroom.. do you promote it

136. Ms S: i try to use English language.. simple

sentences.. i try to use simple English

137. language with them.. i ask them to use small sentences..

138. come on.. some of them use that but many of.. much

139. of.. i think may only do not

140. R: what do you do then .. if a child begin to

141. speak in Balochis or Pushto because the school

142. location is such that children from diverse

143. ethnolinguistic background come to school

144. Ms S: i have not had such sort of experience

145. .. such sort of experience.. but that there

146. are some student who are really Balochi..[inferior]

147. they are not able to..

148. Mr.R: do you celebrate other languages

149. Pushto or Sindhi

150. Ms S: no we have not.. we do not..

151. we do not celebrate even Urdu.. then

152. R; you think local language is should be celebrated

153. Ms S: i think.. at least Urdu should be

153. celebrated

154. R: why not other languages

155. Ms S: a.. m...i don't think that other... the ((thinking hard))

156. other students of .. a.. other languages...

157. they would enjoy but.. they may enjoy.. but

158. i think.. when we have so much emphasis

159. on English.. then there should be Urdu

160. which should be given equal status

161. Mr R: it is not given in your school
162. Ms S: not at all.. we have quiz competition
163. in English. i host that.. i do it in English
164. .. we have speech competitions.. i think
165. very rarely we have Urdu competition
166. R: how about debates in Balochi language
167. Ms S: no.. no.. i think no one can understand
168. R: but there are many Balochi children
169. studying in the school.. do you have speeches in Punjabi.. Pushto
170. Ms S: no.. no.. we do not.. not at all. [surprised by the question]
171. R: so you have speeches only in English..
172. what other activities are performed in
173. English.. do you have debate competition
174. Ms S: sir.. we have hosted inter-debate
175. competition
176. two year ago we had debate
177. competition .. we prepared speeches..
178. gave to my students.. they just
179. memorized them and they performed
180. R: how about language use in farewell
181. party
182. Ms S: Urdu.. they were enjoying.. if they
183. get chance to speak in Urdu - they are
184. happy(...)

Extract 51: Interview with Huma, a grade 8, 9 and 10 teacher (SA, 21-7-2011)

1. R: how would you describe the language
2. policy of your school..
3. MsH: it is an English medium school.. in
4. real time situation .. we have English and
5. Urdu both.. it is not possible that everyone speaks
6. in English..

7. R: what do the school management wish to
8. have in term of language practices in the
9. school..

10. MsH: they want everyone to speak English only..
11. and they tend to (laughing) fine the students..
12. making certain policies..

13. R: do children follow the policy of English only..
14. MsH: most of the time they try to but whenever
15. they are among their peers.. they love to speak
16. in their local languages.. they are comfortable

17. R: the language policy of the country seem
18. different from your school language policy..

19. MsH: basically... frankly speaking.. which
20. ever school it is.. which ever institution it is..
21. whatever the policies are.. people just either
22. go through them... they do not tend to follow
23. each and everything.. institutions.. schools
24. set their own policies.. they do, keep in mind
25. the market trends

26. R: are people in school interested in
27. promoting local languages and literacies

28. MsH: most of the children and parent speak
29. Memoni as their home language in our school..
30. it is not their community school.. it is not
31. that all the children are Memon (ethnicity) but
32. they have got that of that thing in them..
33. that is their own language

34. R: do they promote their own language
35. in school..

36. MsH: no.. they do not.. they only focus.. like..
37. the owners only want English to be spoken all
38. the time.. but among us.. the teachers.. colleagues
39. and the students.. whenever there is an
40. interaction.. everyone feels comfortable in

41. their own language .. i cannot say anything
42. which is wrong
43. R: thanks very much indeed

Extract 52: Interview with Sana, a grade 5 teacher at (SB ,1-8-2011)

1.
2. Ms S: (...) right now i am [doing] my master degree in
3. Tesol
4. R: you are doing your master degree from
5. where?
6. Ms S: from Pakistan
7. R: lets talk about the school .. you have
8. recently joined the school and you are
9. teaching in an English medium school.. is it
10. a complete English medium school.
11. Ms S: they say.. ((laughs)) i do not think so
12. R: why
13. Ms S: because if the teachers are not
14. communicating in English wholly and solely...
15. then how can we say it is an English
16. medium school.. students are not
17. speaking in English.. when i applied [for the job]
18. i thought perhaps they will not take me as a
19. teacher because i do not have good communication [skill in English]
20. but when i joined... i said
21. no .. I am the perfect teacher for the school
22. R: they claim an English medium but they are not
23. Ms S: ya
24. R: what languages do children speak in
25. when they are not in class

26. Ms S: you believe me sometimes Punjabi as
27. well ((laughs)).. when you were
28. discussing with her [a mother of a child]
29. about medium of instruction.. when the
30. students should opt for English as a subject
31. .. i am really confused.. what is your
31. point of view.. what should be the
32. medium of instruction in our institutions..
33. R: well.. we have really all our examinations
34. in English.. English has been made a job
35. requirement for jobs where it is hardly
36. needed.. i think the sooner we introduce
37. English the better it is.. but this should
38. not mean phasing out local languages
39. from the schools..
40. Ms S: i believe English for specific purposes..
41. i think we should know English for specific
42. purposes .. there are i think seven types of intelligences
43. .. or seven types of competences in the world.. one
44. of them is linguistic competence
45. R: hm hm..
46. Ms S: but what the hell is going on in Pakistan..
47. our standard of a person's competence has
48. become only and only English.. why.. i have
49. recently come to know that the whole world
50. wide.. the person's competence is judged on
51. mathematics but we judge our students
52. on English.. we consider a student very
53. competent if he can speak English well..
54. believe me i am telling you the truth
55. that i always thought about myself that
56. i was a very dull student because i
57. was not good in English..
58. R: what do parents want in terms of languages

59. Ms S: you know the post colonial impact..
60. the colonial.. we are mentally slaves of
61. foreign countries.. the English man..
62. Mr.R: but English man is no more here..
63. they have gone many years ago.
64. Ms S: yes.. they are gone.. but they are
65. successful [slavish] in their strategies..we
66. are still in our mind.. i have read
67. psychology.. we are still there [slavish mindset]
68. R: why do we blame them.. it is generally
69. said that English is imposed on us..
70. does that mean that we had no share in
71. negotiating English with them.. does it mean
72. that we were not conscious human being.. they
73. came and imposed on it.. i think it is more
74. of a struggle between classes.. and we accepted it
75. and in the post colonial context.. it is very
76. naive to blame the colonial language policies
77. only.. they have long gone.. the white British is
78. dead.. a lot is going on here between different
79. social classes.. segments of society.. between
80. different political interest and ideologies
81. Ms S: you are right .. but i think.. yes we are
82. responsible especially in the present situation of
83. Pakistan..
84. R: how would you describe the present
85. situation of Pakistan in terms of languages..
86. in term of your school experiences..
87. Ms S: well.. our children are very confused..
88. believe me.. one of my friend who is a science
89. teacher told me that her school aSDinistration
90. asked her to teach science in English wholly
91. and solely.. but students do not understand
92. English.. she can not explain science

93. in English.. she asks me what she should
94. do now.. and I felt myself blank..what
95. should i tell her..

96. R: hm hm..

97. Ms S: i hope you have read all the journals
98. and researches on acquisition of languages.. we
99. acquire a language.. we do not learn a language..
100. what the problem in Pakistan is that we
101. take English as a subject.. we do not treat it
102. as a language.. we acquire language and it
103. happens with the passage of time.. it is not a
104. sudden process.. we should accept English
105. with errors.. with mistakes.. wrong English.. and
106. 50% English 50% Urdu with Punjabi.. with
107. code switching.. but our school are not.. [updated]
108. our parents are not.. but they pupils should speak
109. English and only English.. how can we.. if
110. our environment is not like that.. let me
111. share one experience with you.. one of my
112. students who is in grade two.. i met his parents..
113. they were in the office.. they did not know that
114. i was in the office where they were waiting
115. for me.. i observed that they were talking to
116. their child in English.. no one was in the
117. office.. one day my colleague talked to this boy....
118. he replied in Punjabi.. my friend said..
119. no we do not talk like that.. he said.. my
120. daddy [spoke].. i was a bit curious because i saw
121. the child speaking comfortably in English with his
122. parents but he has acquired other languages

123. R: what is your point here.. i am sorry..

124. Ms S: the point is that a child who comes from
125. a English speaking environment mixes the languages
126. .. then how can we expect from a

127. lower middle child.. the environment

128. matters a lot..

129. R: what would you suggest for majority of

130. children who go to public sector.. would

131. you recommend that they should be taught

132. English from day one

133. Ms S: they should.. but we should not make

134. it a medium of instruction.. other subjects

135. are also important.. if students are comfortable

136. in Urdu.. then they should be taught in Urdu

137. R: how about the state of other languages

138. such as Punjabi.. Sindhi

139. Ms S: very pathetic conditions.. we speak

140. Punjabi fluently at our home

141. R: how about in schools..

142. Ms S: no way.. how can i.. i am not

143. supposed to talk even in Urdu..

144. R: outside the classroom

145. Ms S: no.. obviously not..

146. R: if you spoke in your language.. what would

147. be their reaction

148. Ms S: there would be threats to my job.. you know

149. all these..

150. R: honestly speaking.. i am not very clear..

151. Ms S: you do not know much about English medium

152. schools policies((surprised))

153. R: no.. not much

154. Ms S: that is very strange .. their policy is very clear..

155. R: what is that very clear..

156. Ms S: it is English only.. no other language

157. R: but children come from diffident

158. ethno linguistic background

159. Ms S: that is what i say.. if children speak

160. their home languages in school.. it is

161. very natural .. i have just told you about
162. that child.. what was the meaning of that
163. case.. i was trying to tell you that if a
164. child from a very elite class who has total
165. English environment or surrounding at
166. home can mix the languages.. for his
167. natural expression.. how can we expect
168. others to speak English..
169. R: thank very much indeed for your precious time.
170. would you like to ask something from me
171. Ms S: yes.. what should we do.. what should
172. be our policy
173. R: it is not an easy question to answer..
174. i think we should move towards strengthening
175. the languages we have.. including English-
176. i also think the policy matters should be locally
177. decided.. parents.. teachers.. community..
178. pupils should be involved in the construction
179. and implementation..
180. Ms S: you are right sir.. but everyone wants his son
181. or daughter to speak in English only.. i do not
182. understand why.. thank you very much sir..

Extract 53: Interview with Ms. Nasreen, an English Language teacher (SB, 24-7-2011)

1. MsN: when we do not speak English.. yesterday
2. i told you.. that they think we are not educated
3. .. we are villagers.. if we are not able to
4. speak English.. we are not able to
5. participate in extra curricular activities
6. such as debates..
7. R: hm.. hm
8. MsN: so i stress all my students to speak

9. English all the time

10. R: how do you motivate your students

11. to speak in English all the time..

12. MsN: when i have time..i tell them to

13. make request in English.. say sorry..

14. how to use sentences in daily lives

15. R: what do you do when they do not follow

16. you..

18. MsN: i reply in minglish...

19. R: what is that..

20. MsN: it is a mixture of Urdu and

21. English ..because in our

22. environment.. mostly Balochis are there..

23. and they are totally ((with a great emphasis))

24. uneducated.. their parents.. their ancestors

25. are totally uneducated but they are willing

26. that their children (xxx)

27. R: what do you mean by uneducated

28. MsN: uneducated means those who never

29. attended schools..

30. Balochis have no manner of speaking

31. .. or behaving with teachers

31. R: do they generally know English

32. MsN: no.. no.. even they are not able

33. to speak Urdu fluently.. one day i was

34. teaching students at home.. one of the

35. student spoke a sentence in Balochi.. i

36. stopped him.. to speak in Balochi here [school]

37. i tell him now you are in school you are

38. not allowed to speak in Balochi.. he

39. said.. miss.. i am Balochi and i can

40. speak Balochi in class.. at that time he

41. was in class one and he said that.. [she got shocked]

42. R: interesting

43. MsN: what do you say.. it is training
 44. from his mother to speak Balochi.. this
 45. is the reason due to which i said they are
 46. uneducated
 47. R: hm.. hm.. how did you deal with him..
 48. MsN: i forbade him strictly at that time..
 49. then i called him when other students had left
 50. my home.. i convinced him that you
 51. have to speak.. you have manners if all the
 52. students in the class.. when they are
 53. speaking English or Urdu.. at that
 54. time you will not speak in your mother
 55. tongue..
 56. R: do you come across such cases in
 57. schools..
 58. MsN: in school they do not speak Balochi
 59. language but they sit quite.. they do
 60. not want to participate.. you ask them
 61. to speak to speak ((with emphasis))..
 62. single word they will not answer you..
 63. R: interesting.. what do you think why they
 64. do not respond..
 65. MsN: why they do not ... ((very long pause))
 66. i think because they are Balochi.. they do not understand

Extract 54: Parent teacher meeting between mother of a pupil in grade 5 at PNEEMS (29-9-2011)

T=Teacher, M=Mother, Ht=Head teacher

- 1 t (---) ہر بچہ تو ٹیچر کی بات نہیں سمجھ سکتا۔۔ تو بہتر ہوتا ہے کہ بچہ خود پوچھ لے۔۔ مگر آپ کا بچہ کچھ پوچھتا ہی نہیں ہے۔
 (...) every pupil does not understand what the teacher says.. it is better that the
 child should ask.. but your child never asks anything..
- 2 Ht کیا اردو سمجھنے میں کوئی مسئلہ ہے۔۔
 any problem in understanding Urdu

3	M	<p>نہیں اردو میں بالکل صحیح تھا۔۔ شائد امتحان کی وجہ سے۔۔ نئی کتابیں ہیں شائد اس لئے۔۔ انشاء اللہ آہستہ آہستہ سب کچھ سمجھ میں آئے گا</p> <p><i>no his Urdu was fine.. it is probably because of examination.. or it is because of new books i suppose..by the grace of Allah he will understand by and by..</i></p>
4	Ht	<p>انگلش کیسی جا رہی ہے۔۔</p> <p><i>how is his English learning going</i></p>
5	M	<p>انگلش میں سب سمجھ آ رہا تھا مگر اسکو لکھنے میں مسئلہ ہوتا ہے۔۔ میں نے اس کو سمجھا یا ہے کہ اپنی ٹیچر سے انگلش میں بات کیا کرو</p> <p><i>he understands English well but he finds problems in writing.. i have asked him to speak in English with his teacher</i></p>
6	Ht	<p>گڈ</p> <p><i>good</i></p>

Extract 55: Interview with Ms. Zubeida, head Mistress primary section (SB, 3-8-2011)

1. R: (...) how school help children
2. become socialize into school language
3. environment..
4. MsZ: i really want help from you at this
5. point because i really what to have that
6. kind of environment in our school..
7. the problem with me and my staff is
8. that they are not good at speaking English
9. R: hm.. hm
10. MsZ: only a few.. [can speak English] i can give you the
11. names who are able to speak English..
12. actually two things work.. if you have some
13. hesitation then you have to remove it..
14. may be some teachers have the ability
15. but they are hesitating.. secondly they
16. do not know how to speak English..
17. lets talk about social studies teacher..

18. the content matter is written in English..
19. although the teacher is reading it out..
20. what happens .. she reads out each line
21. give line by line meaning.. once the
22. meaning of key words is given.. they then
23. move to question and answers .. in the
24. whole process there is no communication..
26. no discussion..
26. R: what i understand is that
27. teachers lack competence in English..
28. MsZ: that is a major problem.. most
29. of the students read out the text..they
30. do not comprehend .. not getting the
31. meaning from the content.. this is a
32. major problem..
33. R: what is the hiring criteria for teachers as
34. they are very experienced teachers..
35. MsZ: most of the teachers have 20 years working [experience]
36. they are very experienced but from
37. the day of their appointment till now..
38. they have not done much.. may be the
39. school environment is responsible (...) at
40. least they have to speak in English
41. R: so the big challenge is to create the
41. school environment where everyone speaks English..
42. MsZ: it is a problem over here.. although
43. the school is good.. i can not give you
44. fancy things.. the reality is that they are
45. good at memorizing the answers to the
46. questions.. this is a problem.. this
47. is a problem.. this should not be done..
48. they have to understand what is written..
49. what does it mean.. this is not happening..
50. R: do you have English language support

51. programs for your teachers
52. MsZ: we had such programs.. look
53. learning is not one month process..
54. R: you ran such programs..
55. MsZ: we did but they did not work..
56. R: do you give instructions to your teachers
58. about language use in the class room
59. MsZ: it is the instruction all the time.. when
60. they come to me they speak in English..
61. they are not having that kind of conversation
62. [speaking in English] with students.. they
63. say students do not understand.. i tell
64. them it does not matter.. you know
65. Urdu is forbidden.. no one is allowed
66. to speak in Urdu
67. R: thanks very much indeed..

Extract 56: Interview with curriculum and co-curricular coordinator Ms.Nazia at SA (13--7-2011)

1. R: what do you do to acculturate pupils
2. into school language practices as i believe
3. they come from different ethno-linguistic
4. background
5. MsN: yes.. well.. in our school we have
6. an unwritten rule that teachers are supposed
7. to speak in English only.. ah.. other than
8. Urdu classes..
9. R: outside classroom as well..
10. MsN: outside the classroom also.. ah.. when
11. they go out to canteen.. or for any outdoor
12. event.. whatever.. teachers are supposed
13. to speak in English
14. R: o.k
15. MsN: it is like unwritten school
16. language policy..

17. R: who has made this unwritten policy..
18. have teachers been involved..
19. MsN: not really.. everyone knows it
20. very well..
21. R: what are the ways of implementing
22. the policy in case of deviations..
23. MsN: well we respond in English only
24. and there are several children as you
25. also mentioned who do not come from homes
26. where English is spoken.. it is tougher for
27. such children to start speaking in English
28. .. but the main thing is hesitation.. right..
29. we try.. there is nothing wrong in making
30. mistakes.. we correct each other but sometime
31. we ignore so our pupils develop confidence
32. R: i want to know your views on Pakistan
33. language in education policy..
34. MsN: i strongly believe that English is a
35. language which is the international language
36. .. it is the language of the whole world..
37. and it is very very silly of us if we do not
38. recognize it or if we do not acknowledge
39. it.. i think everybody recognizes it but
40. people have their own personal interests
41. .. agendas or goals.. something or the
42. other to give themselves a leverage.. there
43. are holding on to Urdu .. Urdu.. Urdu..
44. well i would not put down Urdu as
45. well .. it is our national language..
46. it is our culture and any person who
47. does not value their own roots.. does
48. not give the right importance.. really
49. really suffers.. really you are not a
50. whole person if you do not realize your

51. roots.. but ah.. but ah.. but you
52. can not.. nobody can say that English
53. does not have place in the world..
54. R: hmhm
55. MsN: as everybody has the right to education
56. every child has a right to English
57. education.. in this world.. i
58. think it very very important..
59. R: would you implement language
60. in education policy of Pakistan in
61. your school..
62. MsN: ((laughs)) no i do not think
63. so.. Urdu has its own place but
64. ah... i think any view high is
65. looking at making its students.. ah
66. preparing them for the world not
67. just Pakistan.. our students go
68. and study abroad.. if we do not
69. teach them English we clip their wings
70. it is suicide .. do you want that
71. to happen to your kids
72. R: do you find problems communicating
73. with parents
74. MsN: ah many of the kids who come
75. to our school are from very business
76. like background and until recently
77. people of business background and
78. many of them do not
79. know English

Extract 57: Interview with Ms. Andaleeb, vice principal of secondary section and grade 6 to 8 mathematics teacher at (SC, 26-7-2011)

- 1 Mr.R ..میتھ آپ کس زبان میں پڑھاتی ہیں..
which language do you teach mathematics in..
- 2 Ms A *English and Urdu..*
- 3 Mr.R آپ کو کوئی مسائل تو نہیں ہوتے..
you do not face any problem
- 4 Ms A اصل مسئلہ locality کا ہے.. پہلے میں بچوں کو انگلش میں سمجھاتی ہوں.. اگر بچہ understand نہیں.. کرتا تو پھر میں اردو میں سمجھاتی ہوں
the real problem is the locality.. first i explain children in English.. when they do not understand it .. then i explain them in Urdu
- 5 R کیا انگریزی میں پہلی مرتبہ پڑھانا ضروری ہے.. جبکہ بچہ انگریزی میں نہیں سمجھتا..
is it necessary to teach in English first .. when children do not get it in it..
- 6 Ms A جب بہت زیادہ ضرورت ہوتی ہے کہ ہم بچوں کو تفصیل سے سمجھائیں.. اور سچ یہ ہے کہ ہمارے پاس بھی انگریزی کے اتنے الفاظ نہیں ہوتے تو ہمیں اردو میں آنا پڑتا ہے..
and to to be honest we do not have such rich vocabulary in English we have to come to Urdu..
- 7 R میں نے سنا ہے کہ آپ کے اسکول میں نئی پالیسی آئی ہے کہ تمام اساتذہ پانچ سے چھ ماہ میں انگریزی بولنا سیکھ لیں.. ورنہ نوکری تلاش کرنا شروع کر دیں..
have heard about the new language policy in your school which says that all teachers should either learn English.. in six months or look for another job..
- 8 Ms A دیکھئے ایسا ممکن نہیں..
ook this is not possible..
- 9 R جی
hm..
- 10 Ms A دیکھئے یہ بالکل ایسا ہے کہ آپ اپنے بچے کو ڈانٹتے ہیں کہ اگر تم نے تین وقت کھانا نہیں کھایا تو میں تمہیں یہاں لے کر نہیں جاؤں گا.. تو بچہ کیا کرتا ہے.. کوشش کرتا ہے.. کوشش کرتا ہے ناسر..
it is like you scold your child that if you do not eat three meals a day you will not go to this place.. what does the child do.. he puts in effort.. he puts in effort..does not he sir..
- 11 R بچے کو نوکری چھوٹے کا تو خوف نہیں دلا یا جاتا ہے..

		<i>children are not threatened to lose their jobs..</i>
12	Ms A	دیکھیں کرنا پڑتا ہے..
		<i>look we have to do such things.. the new policy..</i>
13	Mr.R	آپ بھی اساتذہ کوئی پالیسی پہ پابند کرتی ہیں..
		<i>do you also make teachers follow</i>
14	Ms A	دیکھیں ہمارے سیکشن میں کسی کو اچھی انگریزی نہیں آتی شاید ایک اور دو ہوں گے.. جو بہت اچھی انگلش بول لیتے ہیں..
		<i>look in our section there are hardly one or two teachers.. who can speak English very well..</i>
15	R	آپ چاہتی ہیں کہ سب انگریزی بہت اچھی بولیں
		<i>you wish that everyone speaks English very well</i>
16	Ms A	جی ہاں بالکل
		<i>yes of course</i>
17	R	آپ کا بہت بہت شکریہ..
		<i>thanks very much for your time..</i>

Extract 58: A pre primary lesson on Urdu Alphabet "چ" (SB, Ms. Kulsoom, 30-9-2011)

1	Ms K	children say good morning
2	Ss [while standing up]	<i>good morning</i>
3	Mr R	<i>good morning</i>
4	Ms K [she goes to pupils desk]	<i>sit down..</i>
	[pointing towards students note book]	where is your chair..
5		ڈاٹ ڈالیں..
		<i>put dot here.. three dots..</i>
		o.k.. have you done.. very good!
6	S	مس وہ ہمیں نہیں بتا رہی..
		<i>ms she is not telling me how to do it..</i>
7	Ms K	اس کی شکل بنانا بہت آسان ہے
		<i>it is very easy to make its shape</i>
8	Ms K	اب آپ بنائیے خود
		<i>now you try</i>
9		o.k.. yes.. straight.. straight
		line.. then.. round and dot

- 10 Ss یہ اڑ رہا ہے ((کاغذ اڑ رہا تھا))
this is flying ((paper were fluttering))
- 11 Ms K: sit down properly.. have you done!..
 یہاں یہ بھی ڈالو..
put dot here ..
 go and put the pencil in the basket..
- 12 S مس پانی پی لوں..
mis can i drink water..
- 13 Ms K no.. sit down.. no do not
 do this.. straight line and then round..

Extract 59: Debriefing session with Ms. Kulsoom, a pre-primary teacher at (SB, 30-9-2011)

- 1 Ms K it is fine ((looking at the transcription))
 i am nervous..
- 2 R you should not be. which language *would you prefer for the interview*
 Ms K *English*
- 3 Ms K English would you prefer for the interview
- 4 R *while you used a lot of English.. was there any particular reason for that..*
teaching the letter
- 5 Ms K *i tried that because i did not want to show myself at the level of an Urdu teacher..show myself at the level of an Urdu teacher.. as the common perception of Urdu teacher is very.. low*
 جیسا کہ سمجھا جاتا ہے کہ اردو ٹیچر بہت زیادہ.. کم ہے
- 6 R آپ اردو ٹیچر کے تاثر کے بارے میں کچھ کہہ رہی تھیں
you were saying something about perception of Urdu language teacher
- 7 Ms K لوگ اردو ٹیچر کا English سے موازنہ کرتے ہیں.. اور لوگ کہتے ہیں اچھا تو یہ [کم عزت] اردو پڑھاتی ہیں.. لوگ ان باتوں کو بہت اہمیت دیتے ہیں کہ اچھا یہ انگلش پڑھاتے ہیں.. ((عزت دیتے ہیں)) تو میں نہیں چاہتی کہ وہ تاثر میرے بارے میں آئے
people compare Urdu language teacher with English.. and they say look she is teaching Urdu [low prestige] .. people give importance to these things look she is teaching English.. [accord respect] therefore i do not want them to place me in the category of Urdu teacher

- 8 Ms K لوگ سمجھتے ہیں کہ یہ اردو پڑھاتی ہوں گی تو انہیں انگلش نہیں آتی ہوگی تو اسلئے میں کلاس میں انگلش بولتی ہوں
people knowing English as she is a Urdu teacher she may not know english
..therefore i speak English
- 9 R آپ کیا نہیں سمجھتی کہ اگر آپ ان کوچ لکھنا اردو میں سمجھائیں تو وہ زیادہ آسانی سے سچ لکھنا سمجھ جاتے..
do you not think that if you had taught in Urdu it would "سچ" them how to
write letter have been easier for them to follow
- 10 Ms K *now they have adjusted to my style of teaching..*

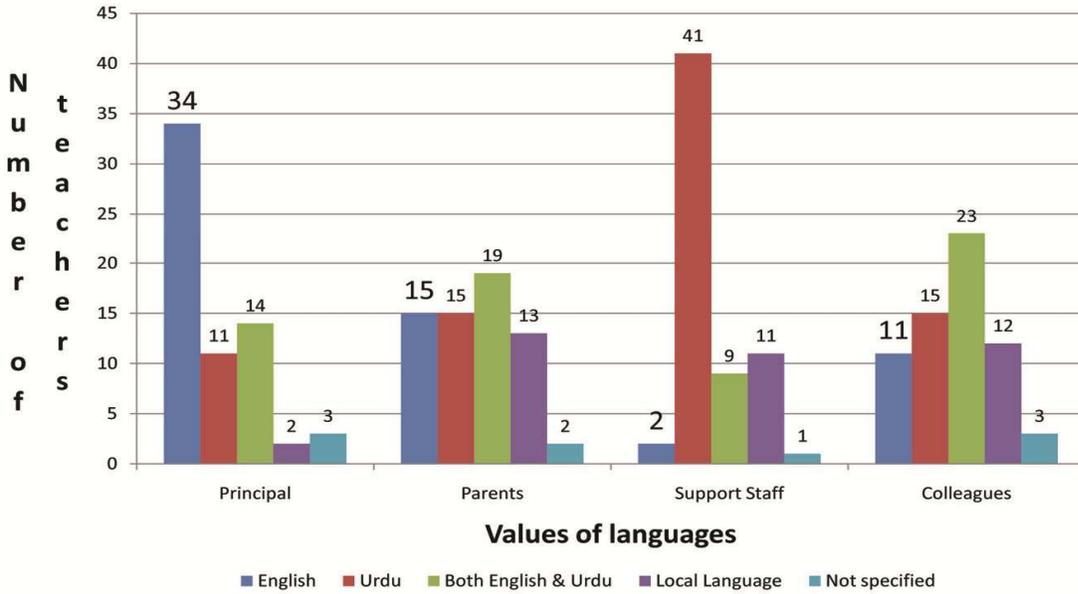
Extract 60: Interview with a father of grade 6 student at (SB, 28-11-2011)

F=Father, R=Researcher

- F (...): میں یہ کہہ رہا تھا کہ ان لوگوں نے فیس پھر بڑھادی... میں نے پوچھا کہ کس لئے... تو کہنے لگے یہ کمپیوٹر چارجز ہیں... حالانکہ ایک کلاس میں 45 بچے ہیں... تو بچی کا نمبر آئے گا 45 منٹ میں آدھے گھنٹے کا نام ہوتا ہے...
- I was saying that they have raised the school fee again... i asked them the reason... they said that they were computer charges... although there are 45 pupils in one class... how is it... possible they get their turn on computer in a 45 minute class..
- تو انہوں نے کیا کہا...
- R What did they say...
- کہنے لگے یہ تو Compulsory ہے آپ کو دینے ہیں
- F they said that this was compulsory and we had to pay
- ہوں
- R hm hm...
- فیس بڑھاتے جا رہے ہیں... سمجھ میں نہیں آتا... اب بارہ سو فیس ہوگئی ہے
- F they keep raising the fee.. i do not understand.. now the fee is twelve hundred a month...
- اچھا اب آپ بتائیں کہ کیا یہ لوگ سندھ ختم کر رہے ہیں
- F are they finishing Sindhi language
- مجھے نہیں معلوم
- R i really do not know
- دیکھیں سر اگر سندھی ختم کریں گے تو چارے سندھی پڑھا رہے ہیں ان کی نوکری ختم ہو جائے گی... وہ بچارے کب سے پڑھا رہے ہیں... اگر ان کو آپ اچانک ہٹا دو تو نتیجہ کیا ہوگا۔ میں یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ سندھی نہ ختم کی جائے تو اچھا ہے...
- F look sir if they stop teaching Sindhi then those who are teaching it will lose their jobs... if you remove them suddenly what will be the impact on these teachers...i want that they continue teaching Sindhi language...

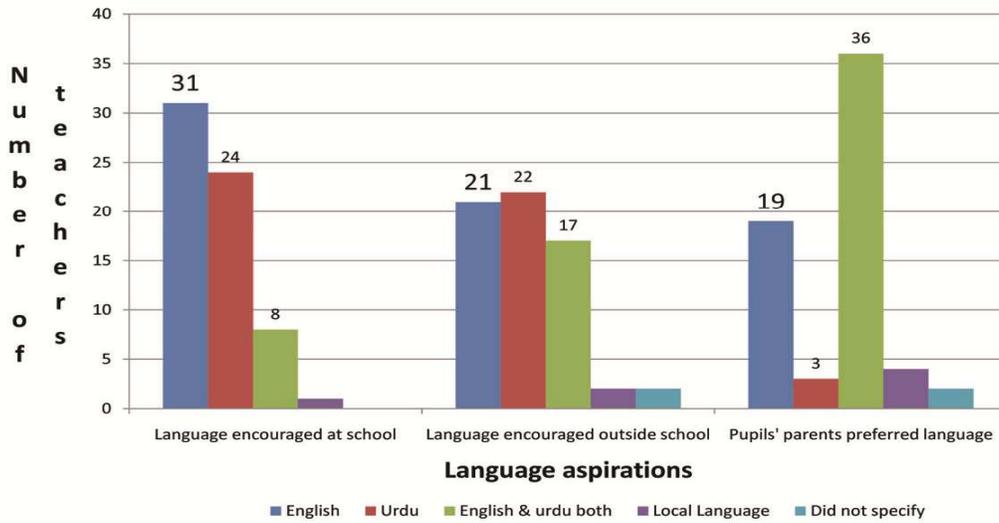
61 a)

Values attributed to local languages and literacy in schools



61 b)

Parents and teachers language aspirations



7.2 : Process of Legitimacy Unfolded in daily life in Schools

Extract 62: An interaction between Mr Ansari, the principal of and a student in his office (SC,12-5-2011)

- 1 Mr A (ایسی ترقی کی گفتگو ایک اور پرنسپل سے کرتے ہوئے) *جاو نہ سرٹیفکیٹ کے کراؤ.. ایسے کیسے داخل ہوگا..* جاوا بھی نام ہے تھوڑا
(...) ((discussing his promotion with another principal)) *go and get the certificate.. how can you get admission like this.. *go we still have some time..

S: [silently walks out off the office]

Extract 63: A group of 12 pupils discussing about places to visit in Karachi for preaching Islam (SD, 30-9-2011)

- 1 S1 [all pupils stand in a circles] کل جو یہ طے ہوا تھا کہ جماعتیں.. چار چار پانچ پانچ.. لڑکے مختلف جگہوں پہ جائیں گے تو یہ مولوی صاحب ک طرف سے منع کر دیا ہے اب ایک ہی جماعت یعنی جماعت جس طرح بن کے جاتی تھی اس ہی طرح جائے گی.. چار پانچ جگہیں جو ہمارے سامنے آئی ہیں وہ گلشن.. ایک رنچھوڑ لائین کا تھا.. اور پاپوش بھی تھا.. گودرا کا رخ لیا ہے کسی نے.. کل جماعت کہاں جائے.....
yesterday it was decided that the teams.. consisting of fours and fives.. go to different directions has been cancelled by the priest .. now only one team [will go] which means the way we used to go will do now.. four or five places that have come to us.. one is Ranchoor Lane.. and Papoosh..has any one been to Godra.. where should.. where should we go tomorrow..
- 2 S2 :پٹیل پاڑہ کا
Patel para [location in karachi]
- 3 S1 کل جو جماعت جائے گی وہ کس جگہ جائے اس کے لئے ساتھی رائے دہیں بھائی صاحب کہاں چلی جائے جماعت.. کہاں... چلی جائے جماعت..
where should our team go tomorrow..or it brothers please give your suggestions..brothers where should we go..brothers where should we go..
- 4 S3 پاکستان چوک
Pakistan chowk [location in karachi]
- 5 S1 بھائی عبدالعزیز جماعت
brother Abdul Aziz where should our
- 6 S2 کہاں چلی جائے..
team go tomorrow

- 7 رچھور لائن.. پاپوش..
Racnchoor Lane.. and Papoosh [location in karachi]
- 8 S1 ایک ہی جماعت جا رہی ہے.. کس کو پتہ ہے کتنے لڑکے جائیں گے..
only one team is going out.. does any one know exactly how many boys are willing to go tomorrow..
- 9 S2 پندرہ لڑکوں کے نام ہیں
fifteen boys had their names written
- 10 S1 پھر ایک ہی جماعت جائے گی.. بھائی رائے تو ساری ایک جیسی ہی ہے.. کل امیر صاحب فیصلہ کریں گے..
which means only one team is going out.. brohers your suggestions are more or less same.. tomorrow the priest will decide..

,Extract 64: A grade 8 lesson on "Aqida" Faith (SD, Moulana Mati-ur-Rehman 31-9-2011)

- 1 Mr K جی لکھئے بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم.. بات چل رہی تھی کہ نبی کے اندر مرتبہ ولایت بھی ہوتا اور مرتبہ نبوت بھی [اللہ کا دوست] ہوتا ہے.. نبی کی ولایت افضل ہے یا کہ مرتبہ نبوت افضل ہے.. تو بعض صوفیا اکرام نے کہا کہ نبی کا مرتبہ ولایت مرتبہ نبوت سے افضل ہوتا ہے.. لیکن یہ قول مرجوح اور بلا دلائل کے ہے.. میں آپ کو کھوڑا تھا کہ.. لکھیے.. ((الما لکھواتے ہوتے)) "مرتبہ نبوت مرتبہ ولایت سے افضل ہے.. ۸ مرتبہ نبوت مرتبہ ولایت سے افضل ہے اور یہ ہی صحیح ہے.."
- please write in the name of Allah the most gracious and the most merciful.. we were talking that Prophets have greatness in them because of their being as wali [friend of Allah] and also because of their role as Prophet.. which one is more esteemed birth or role^.. some Sufies say that Prophet's being wali is more important than claim is without the warrant..therefore an invalid claim ..as i was dictating you..please write ((giving dictation)) "the role of Prophet hood is greater than being a wali and this is the right thing" ..write on ..the next time..
- 2 ((reading from the book)) "Mussanif Ali Rehman his role as Prophet .. but this اگلی سطر میں لکھئے گا.. "مصنف علی رحمان نے ((کتاب المادیتے ہوئے)) فرمایا کہ جو بھی مومن متقی ہوگا وہ اللہ کا ولی ہے.. جو بھی مومن متقی ہوگا وہ اللہ کا ولی ہے.. دلیل قرآن کی یہ آیت ہے
- said a pious believer will be the one .. he will be the friend of Allah .. the warrant is this verse of Holy Quran
- 3 یا ایہا النبی قل لا زواجک و بنتک و نساء المؤمنین یدفین علیہن من جلا بیہن و کن تجد لسنۃ اللہ تبدیلاً تبدیلاً "
- 4 اے نبی اپنی بیویوں سے اور اپنی بیٹیوں سے اور مسلمانوں کی عورتوں سے کہہ دیجئے کہ نفس ولایت تو ایمان اور تقویٰ سے حاصل ہو جاتی ہے.. نفس ولایت تو ایمان اور تقویٰ سے حاصل ہو جاتی ہے.. لیکن آگے ولایت کے مختلف درجات ہیں.. کوئی کامل درجے کا ولی ہوگا کوئی ناقص درجے کا.. مصنف علی رحمانے فرمایا

- 5 *oh prophet tell your wives and daughters and muslim women that they cover their bodies being wali or becoming wali is possible through leading a pious life.. being wali or becoming wali is possible through leading a pious life.. but there are different levels of wali.. some is on the higher stages of wali and some on lower.. Musanneef*
- 6 **"لنخبرينك بهيم** ہم آپ وان کے پیچھے لگا دیں گے کہ اللہ کے نزدیک سب سے معزز مومن اور عزت والا شخص وہ ہوگا .. جو اللہ کے زیادہ عطا عت اور ڈرنے والا ہو ..
*Ali " لنخبرينك بهيم " that in front of Allah the most respected believer is the one..
Rehma has said in front of Allah the most respected is the one who.. (xxx) ((the remainder lesson goes on with teacher reading and dictating from the book))*

Extract 65: A grade 6 lesson on Prophet Companions, (SD, Mr. Afzal 30-7-2011)

- 1 Mr A *ہاں جی پڑھو بھئی ..
o.k read now*
- 2 S *((طالب کتاب کو لے کر کھڑا ہوا اور پڑھتا ہے)) "بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم .. (xxx) رضی اللہ تعالیٰ سے روایت فرماتے ہیں کہ جب میرے پاس آپ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے نکلنے کی خبر پہنچی .. تو مجھے ان کا نکلنا بہت زیادہ نہ پسند ہوا .. میں نکل گیا .. حتیٰ کہ میں روم تک پہنچ گیا .."*
[pupil gets up with the book in his hand and in the name of allah .. the most merciful and most beneficent.. (xxx) it is he reads aloud] narrated by prophet peace be upon him that when i got the news of porophet peace be upon him departure.. i did not like it.. i came..out.. and walked till i reached home..
- 3 S *(پڑھتے ہوئے)" اور ایک روایت میں ہے کہ میں قیصر پہنچ گیا .."*
[reads] one tradition says i reached Qaiser..
- 4 *اور مجھے اپنا .. رسول پاک کے نکلنے سے .. اپنا نکلنا زیادہ نہ پسند لگا ..*
"and i.. as compared to prophet departure.. i did not like my going out" ..
- 5 S *آپ ﷺ کے نکلنے سے مجھے اپنا نکلنا زیادہ نہ پسند لگا ..*
i did not like my going out as compared to prophet..
- 6 S *میں ایک ایسے دین پر ہوں ..*
i follow the religion" ..
- 7 Mr. A [reading, Arabic] **"اسلم تسلّم"**
- 8 Mr. A [translating, urdu] *اسلام لے آؤ۔ سلامتی پالو گے میں بھی ایک دین پر ہوں*
i also believe in a religion
- 9 S [reading] *آپ ﷺ نے فرمایا کہ میں [لادین] تیرے دین کو تجھ سے زیادہ جانتا ہوں" ..*

prophet said that he [Prophet] knew his religion more than he did [non believer]..

- 10 S ..میں نے کہا کہ آپ میرے دین کو مجھ سے زیادہ کیا جانتے نہیں..
i told him cohat do you know more about my religion..
- 11 Mr A [reading Arabic and translating in urdu] --:"انت اعلم بدینی منی" کیا آپ میرے دین کو مجھ سے زیادہ جانتے ہیں--
do you know my religion more than i do..
- 12 S ..(دہراتے ہوئے)) کیا آپ میرے دین کو مجھ سے زیادہ جانتے نہیں..
[repeats] *do you know my religion more than i do..*
[the remainder lesson continous]

Extract 66: Morning Assembly at SA (20 -7-2011)

1. ((pupils and teacher gather in the
2. verandah of the building. Pupils stand
3. in rows facing a platform on which
4. their sport teacher dressed in pants shirt with
5. a tie holds a microphone))
6. ST: ((speaking on a microphone)) (xxx)
7. attention.. stand at ease.. attention..
8. stand at ease.. now complete silence..
9. at ease ((pupils respond to the instructions
10. by changing their standing posture)..
11. hand by the side.. ready for the
12. national anthem
13. Ss: ((sing national anthem accompanying
14. the recorded musical played from
15. the stage))
16. St: good morning boys and girls
17. Ss: good morning sir
18. HT: ((walks to the platform and takes the
19. micro phone)).. um.. it is very important
20. that you ignored the last few days (xxx) out
21. here were packets of French fries.. and
22. i can not imagine why any body would
23. eat and leave it in the ground.. next

24. time I walk out i am going to (xxx) o.k..

25. also we are off for Eid ((religious festival))

26. whole week ((ss applause)) very excited

27. you all have a great Eid.. ah.. have fun..

28. alright have a wonderful holidays

29. ST: please sit down.. we have a presentation

30. Ss: ((sit and watch the presentation))

31. ((two pupils carry a model of a house

32. and stand by the platform and presenting

33. students stand near the stage))

34. S1: good morning teachers and fellow

35. students.. today is our presentation about

36. ownership ((very confident while

37. addressing the gathering)) look at this

38. paper house and guess who this house

39. belongs to.. let see who can guess!

40. S2: ((a student from the group of presenters

41. gets onto the stage and takes the microphone))

42. one sunny morning not very long ago..

43. a lady went for a walk.. as she strolled

44. along the cool morning air she suddenly

45. stopped.. in front of her was a very

46. beautiful house.. she stood by the

47. house and suddenly a man stopped and

48. said ((gets on to the stage))

49. S3: good morning.. i can see you like

50. this house

51. S4: yes.. very much.. beautiful!

52. S3: i am glad you do because the

53. house in mine..

54. ((S5 takes the microphone))

55. S5: i can see you are having a good

56. look at this house..i can see you are

57. interested in it

58. S4: yes.. i am

59. S5: pleased! Because it is mine.. ((S6 onto
60 the stage with microphone))
61 S6: the lady was bewildered because
62 two people said that the house was
63 theirs.. ((S7 onto the stage))
64 S7: hello.. are you aSDiring the
65 house
66 S4: yes i am very much.. i is beautiful
67 S7: i am glad you are because it is
67 mine
69 S4: ((addressing S3,S4,S5 and S7)) excuse
70 me.. are you all relatives .. you all say
71 the house in yours..
72 S3: the house is mine because i am the
74 builder ((gives the microphone to
74 S4))
75 S4: the house in mine because i bought
76 it .. i am the owner
77 S5" the house is mine because i live
78 in it.. i am the tenant
79 S6: now the lady understood that the
80 builder.. the owner.. the tenant
81 were all speaking the truth.. all of
82 them owned the house but in different
83 ways.. ownership is not only about
84 things that we buy and possess.. we
85 share ownership with many people..
86 S2: the house for teachers and students
87 is our school.. we all own it but in
88 different ways (xxx)
89 S6: if we share our school.. then we
90 should keep our classes clean and
91 make it a happy place by saying no
92 to any form of behavior.. violence
93 and negativity

94 S2: ladies and gentlemen i ask you once again
 95 whose is the house
 96 Ss: everyone
 97 H.T: that was absolutely superb class 6..
 98 you know what .. nothing can be more
 99 connected to what i said this morning..
 100 the school is our responsibility.. we have
 101 to keep it clean .. right! .. right!.. right!
 102 Ss: yes!
 103 S.T: kindly walk to your classes quietly

Extract 67: Debriefing session with Ms. Sadia, grade 6 to10 English language teacher at (SB, 30-10-2011)

1 Ms S ..(ٹرانسکرپشن دیکھتے ہوئے)) میرا کتابرا lesson.. سر آپ نے "sarcastically" کیوں لکھا ہے..
 2 Ms S ((examining the transcribed lesson)) such a bad lesson.. sir why have you written
 "sarcastically" in the text
 3 Mr R o.k i will delete it..
 4 Ms S no.. no.. it is fine
 5 Ms S ((ٹرانس کرپشن دیکھتے ہوئے)) اس میں تو لگ رہا ہے کہ صرف میں ہی بول رہی ہوں
 ((looking at the transcription)) it show that i was speaking throughout the lesson
 6 Mr R you taught them English grammar
 7 Ms S actually sir .. it was my first class.. i was not sure that students would come and i
 was not fully prepared..
 8 Mr R you gave definitions of the terms and the concept of tense.. were you doing it for
 the first time
 9 Ms S no it was a revision class
 10 Mr R there was little input from the class .. was there any particular reason
 11 Ms S no.. there was not any particular reason
 12 Mr R you did not speak a word of Urdu during the lesson
 13 Ms S actually whatever i was saying..that was not so much difficult .. i was not using
 difficult terms.. students were understanding me.. if they were not able to
 understand then definitely i would use Urdu..

- 14 Mr R let me rephrase my question .. i am interested in understanding the reasons for the use of English only in your class
- 15 Ms S o.k.. ah.. it is because of school expectation.. parents expectation and pupils expectation and of course it was an English class
- 16 Mr R did you notice that there was not much communication in the class..was it not because of the language barrier
- 17 Ms S it was pupils lack of knowledge..actually they do not practice tense
- 18 Mr R your school has changed the language policy of English only..did they involve teachers in the policy making
- 19 Ms. S no way...we were ask to follow
- 20 Mr R who formulates the language police of the school then
- 21 Ms S administration make it.. i am not talking about my head of the school.. the higher management of the school
- 22 Mr R do they consult teachers
- 23 Ms S no..
- 24 Mr R how are teachers informed or when policy is implemented
- 25 Ms S our head of the school gets a letter from them [administrator] and he imposes it
- 26 Mr R what was the reaction of teachers
- 27 Ms S definitely they were.. most of the teachers became worried.. they were under pressure .. we live in Pakistan where the national language is Urdu.. how is it possible .. it is very terrible for most of us..they [teachers] have started looking for new jobs..

Extract 68: English Language Lesson on Tenses to grade 10 (2-8-2011)

1. Ms S: ((speaking to a student outside the class))
2. Rana Mujahid are you intending to go to class..
3. why do not you go to the class
4. Ss which one is it
5. Ms S: can not you see.. (...) Rana Mujahid your
6. number is 26.. right .. ok students.. English
7. language is the lesson.. right.. and you
8. know we have the same syllabus which we
9. studied in class ix.. right.. same tenses.. same
10. narration.. same voices.. idiomatic expressions

11. .. et cetera.. et cetera.. preposition.. articles..
12. other things.. which may have find.. now the
13. first thing that we would study.. that would be i
14. think tenses.. should we .. shall we.. would
15. you like to study tenses or not.. what would you
16. like to study first.. this is our first class.. we
17. have to do a subject.. a topic..
18. Ss: direct.. indirect
19. Ms S: no way.. we can not start with narration
20. .. that would come afterwards.. i think .. the
21. basic is parts of speech.. we are just starting..
22. let me ask you.. that is a basic .. parts
23. of speech please.. one by one.. noun
24. Ss: noun.. pronoun.. adverb
25. Ms S: no..
26. Ss: words
27. Ms S: look at yourself.. you are not able to tell
28. me eight parts of speech .. how many parts of
29. speech are there ((laughs))
30. Ss : verb.. adverb..
31. Ms S: noun.. pronoun..
31. Ms S: adjectives
32. Ms S: conjunction
33. Ss: conjunction
34. Ms S: interjection.. what else.. what remains
35. .. preposition is that so.. so.. ok.. we know
36. what is noun..
37. Ss: noun is the name of person.. thing.. places
38. Ms S: name of anything.. what about pronoun
39. Ss: words in place of nouns..
40. Ms S: fine.. fine.. what about verb..
41. Ss: action words
42. Ms S: action words.. quite right.. quite right..
43. what about adverbs.. adverb.. adverb.. adverb
44. ((louder each time)) not a new thing..

45. Ss: he came into the room very quietly..

46. Ms S: he came into the room very quietly.. quietly

47. is an adverb.. it means.. it defines the verb..

48. this word defines a verb or an adverb.. what

49. we are just starting.. let me ask you.. that is a basic .. parts of speech..

50. about adjective.. Shaikh Usama.. please tell me

51. what is an adjective.. come on .. why do not you

52. try.. it defines quality of a noun.. what about

53. conjunction.. what about preposition.. ok.. this

54. is your homework for today.. right.. the thing

55. we now come is syllabus.. what is the syllabus..

56. we have something.. we have tenses..

57. not everything but revision(...)

58. and translation as well.. o.k. for today..

59. we do tenses.. basically .. how much tenses

60. do you know.. basically what is a tense

61. .. sorry..

62. S: time

63. Ms S: that is right .. but what is tense..

64. basically there are three tenses

65. Ss: present

66. Mss: Then^

67. Ss: past

68. Ms S: past

69. Ms S: future ((writes on the black board))

70. we have four kinds of tenses.. present

71. indefinite.. present progressive.. present

72. perfect.. present perfect continuous.. what

73. you have to

74. do today that is i m giving you a sentence

75. and everyone is going to use that sentence

76. in every sort of tense.. right .. every one..

77. independently .. no one is going to share with

78. us.. and the sentence is.. let me give you

79. the sentence.. do you have notebook at the

80. moment (...) o.k ((she writes on the black board))
 81. now you have to use the sentence in all kinds of tenses.. you have to put all
 82. efforts (...)
 83. Ss: future

Extract 69:A group discussion on English Language text books with Ms Nasreen, Ms Sadia, Ms. Ambreen (SB, 2-8-2011)

1. MsA: when i discuss Singapore flag.. children..
 2. they have no feelings.. patriotic feelings
 3. Ms S: we are studying about Singaporian
 4. flag.. but we are thinking about Pakistani
 5. flag.. my god..((looks at the ceiling))
 6. MsN: she has also taught that book.. now
 7. i am teaching this year.. same poem.. then
 8. i change the name of the poem.. then i
 9. motivate them towards their country .. towards
 10. their flag.. then they understand the poem..
 11. R: what was it about..
 12. MsA: Singapore
 13. MsN: Five Star Arising.. and we changed
 14. the poem from Singapore to Pakistani flag..
 15. then they got the meaning..
 16. R: has the book got everything about
 18. Singapore..
 19. MsA,S
 And N yes.. ((all in one voice))
 20. MsN: every chapter is about Singaporian
 21. life..
 22. Ms S: culture ((talking about other English language text book))
 23. MsN: i have to teach kids about Trafalgar
 24. square.. Hide park
 22. MsA: London eye.. sir.. i have a question
 23. .. why our teacher.. very qualified .. like
 24. you and other.. why they do not write the
 books.. why we have to use Oxford, Singapore [publishers]

25. R: do you think people will buy local authoured
 26. book..
27. Ms S: why not (...)
28. Ms A: i think most important thing is..
 29. develop interest.. we can do it by teaching
 30. our culture first
31. R: i also think.. why the books have
 31. always have names like Peter.. Tony..
 32. Liz
33. Ms N: i always change the name..
34. Ms S: last year.. you know.. in ten class..
 35. i took all the European names.. and i said
 36. when we were doing active.. passive voice..
 37. to the students .. we are in Europe..
38. Ms S, N and A: : ((laughs))
39. Ms S: we will speak in their accent..
 40. and talk above them..
41. Mr. R: why do you have to teach about trafilgar
 42. square and Hyde Park..
43. Ms S: actually.. we have inferiority complex

Extract 70: A lesson grade 12 on Ideology in (SB, Mr. Kamal, 25-11-2011)

1. Mr K: (...) today we will discuss the
 2. ideology.. the ideology of Pakistan (xxx) we
 3. will first define what ideology is but i will
 4. define with your help.. i will accept
 5. the ideas and concepts you have.. ideology..
 6. o.k ((through gestures asking pupils to
 7. speak out))
8. S: set of ideas..
9. S: excuse me sir..
10. Mr K: set of ideas.. ok.. but there is a
 11. keyword .. i would write the keyword over
 12. here ((picks the chalk and write on the

13. board)) and after writing so many words

14. i try to compose

15. the definition for ideology.. o.k

16. S: ideology defines social.. cultural

17. values

18. Mr K: if you want to say.. raise your

19. right hand .. o.k.

20. Mr K: you are right .. there are more than

21. two key words i will write ((writes on

22. the board)) "social, cultural and

23. political"

24. S: set of belief of a group

25. Mr K: a set of beliefs of a group..

26. ((writes on the board)) "beliefs

27. S: sir.. characteristics of a class or

28. individual ((speaks very fluently))

29. Mr K: characteristics of what

30. please repeat..

31. S : sir characteristics of a class or

32. individual

33. Mr K: characteristics of...

34. S: a class or individual

35. Mr K: characteristics of a class or

36. individual

37. S6: beliefs of a group or community

38. Mr K: set of beliefs

39. S: of a community or a group

40. Mr K: set of beliefs of a community or

41. a group.. o.k ((writes on the board))

42. "beliefs"

43. S: set of intellectual principles which are

44. basis for action

45. Mr K: set of intellectual principles...

46. S6: basis for action

47. Mr K: basis for action.. o.k.. this is

48. perfect.. right
49. S: set of ideas
50. Mr K: o.k set of ideas
51. S8: ideology defines people state of mind..
52. Mr K: ideology defines people state of
53. mind.. right.. o.k.. anything else
54. S: common beliefs
55. Mr K: o.k anything new.. students just
56. look at this.. I am putting this mark
57. in front of every word ((puts numbers
58. on words on the blackboard)) o.k
59. gentleman lets compose the definition
60. ((reads out the students input from the
61. board)). one is social.. second is
62. moral and political
63. S: sir religious as well
64. Mr K: religious comes under cultural
65. S: no sir culture comes under religion
66. Mr K: listen to me whether culture is
67. part of religion or religion is part of
68. culture.. this discussion is out of the
69. ambit of our todays discussion.. right..
70. after defining ideology we can discuss
71. it.. lets compose the definition of
72. ideology.. ((dictates from a note book)).
73. "ideology is the set of ideas or procedures
74. of some political.. social.. cultural
75. movement that becomes with the
76. passage of time the common goal and
77. objective to some people" .. write it
78. down please ((repeats the definition))

Appendices 8: Rationale for Legitimizing Particular Discursive Practices in Schools

Extract 71: A grade 12 fixture lesson of Urdu at (SB, 20-3-2011)

- 1 Ms T کوئی میرا دارہ نہیں ہے ایسا (xxx) دیکھئے.. ڈاکٹر سید عبداللہ ملک کے ہمارے معتبر ادیب ہیں.. انہوں نے اتنا زیادہ کوشش کی.. بہت زیادہ کوششیں کی کہ اردو زریعہ تعلیم ہو جائے.. بہت خوبصورت examples انہوں نے مختلف nations کی دیں ..
- i have no such intention (xxx) look.. Dr. Syed Abdullah is a respected scholar of our country.. he has put in a lot of efforts .. he did real hard work for making Urdu as the medium of instruction.. he has given beautiful examples of different nations..*
- 2 انہوں نے برٹشز کی مثال دی.. برطانوی لوگوں کی.. اس کے علاوہ انہوں نے فرانس کے لوگوں کی مثال دی ..
- for example he has given the example of Britain.. British.. apart from that he has given the example of France*
- 3 S [listening intently]
- 4 Ms T کہ فرنج نے کس طرح سے اپنی زبان کو مستحکم کیا.. انگریزوں نے فرنج سے کس طرح پیچھا چھڑایا.. آپ لوگ جانتے ہوں گے کہ Canada میں جب کوئی product ملتی ہے.. تو اس میں معلومات دو زبانوں میں لکھی ہوتی ہے.. انگلش میں بھی اور اس کے ساتھ ساتھ فرنج میں بھی .. اچھا فرنج کو میں stubborn نہیں کہوں گی.. لیکن وہ تھوڑا سا rigid ہیں اس معاملے میں.. انگلش کے ساتھ ان کی تھوڑی سی لگتی ہے.. لہذا انگریز جو ہیں انہوں نے بھی کہا ہم language اگر.. اگر ہماری boundaries الگ الگ ہوتی ہیں تو بھی الگ ہونی چاہئے.. ہم اپنی زبان میں بات کریں گے.. ہم اپنی زبان میں سمجھیں گے.. اپنی زبان میں بولیں گے.. یعنی education کی زبان بھی ہوگی.. purchase & sales.. کی زبان بھی ہوگی.. اس کے ساتھ ہونا چاہئے.. زریعہ تعلیم ہمارا اردو ہونا چاہئے.. اس کے لئے انہوں نے بہت زیادہ کوشش کی..
- how French have worked hard to make their language strong.. how Englishmen come out of the impression of French.. i am sure you know that in Canada two languages are written on every product.. information is written in English and it is also written in French.. i will not call French as stubborn .. though they are a little rigid in this matter.. they seem to have a row with English.. therefore Englishmen also said that if we.. if our boundaries are separate then our languages should be separate.. we will speak in our language we will understand in our language.. we.. which means the language of education as well as the..language of sale and purchase.. along with literature.. their text in their own language.. for all this they worked hard..*
- 5 Ms T اور بلا خراہوں نے فرنج سے نجات حاصل کر لی.. اچھا مجھے جو اس پورے سبق میں سے جو بات بہت اچھی لگی وہ یہ ہے کہ ڈاکٹر سید عبداللہ نے solutions بھی دے رکھے.. اب.. یہ بتائیے کہ ملک کو بننے کتنے سال یہ تو بات ہوگی.. اچھا ہو گئے ہیں

and eventually they got rid of French..the thing i like most about this chapter..
is that Dr. Syed Abdullah has offered solutions..now we have talked about it..
now tell me how old is our country

6

S

65 سال سے زیادہ

65 سال سے زیادہ

Ms T

یہ ایک بڑا period ہے.. اس میں کئی نسلیں ہماری نوجوان ہو چکی ہیں اور یہ ایک بڑے المیے کی بات ہے کہ.. بڑی تکلیف
دہ بات ہے.. کہ ہماری قومی زبان اردو جو ہے.. constitution میں فیصلہ ہو چکا.. کہ اسے اردو زبان مانا جائے..
بڑے صدارتی سطح پر.. وزارتی سطح پر.. مختلف جوہارے صوبے ہیں ان میں یہ بات طے ہو چکی ہے ہارو ہی کو قومی
زبان کیا چیز نہیں ہے.. implementation.. یعنی کاغذوں میں تو موجود ہے.. مگر implement نہیں کیا گیا
اس چیز کو ڈاکٹر عبداللہ نے بہت خوبصورت اور بہت جذباتی انداز میں پیش کیا.. وہ بتاتے ہیں کہ لوگ مہنگائی کیلئے سڑکوں
پر آجاتے ہیں..!

7

it has been a long time.. many generations have grown up and it is a matter of
great concern.. it is very saddening.. our national language which is Urdu..
though it is written in our constitution.. that only Urdu is the national
language.. at presidential level.. at the level of ministers.. in all provincial
constituent assemblies it has been decided that Urdu is the national language of
Pakistan.. that the medium of our education is Urdu.. but so far it has not been
implemented .. why is it so.. what is missing.. implementation..! which means it
is only in documents but it has not been implemented.. to this issue Dr.
Abdullah has described beautifully and with engagement.. he tells that people
take to streets for inflation

8

بجلی کیلئے جلوس نکال لیتے ہیں.. یہ جلاؤ وہ جلاؤ.. اور جتنے املاک ہیں انہیں نقصان پہنچاتے ہیں وہ یہ کہتے ہیں (xxx) ہم
اپنی زبان کے ساتھ کتنا تخلص ہیں.. اگر برسر اپنی زبان کے لئے کوشش کر سکتے ہیں تو ہم کیوں نہیں.. اچھا اس میں
solution دینے

.. they protest for lack of electricity.. they set fire.. they vandalize state
property.. he says that (xxx) how loyal are we to our language .. if british can
put in effort why we can not..this chapter offers many solutions to the language
problem.. it is often argued against Urdu that it lacks vocabulary.. especially
scientific..

9

ہیں.. خصوصاً سائنسی تعلیم.. سیاست میں تو اپنی زبان میں گفتگو کی جاسکتی ہے اس نے دونوں زبانوں پر مطالعہ کر رکھا
ہو.. استاد کو انگریزی اردو دونوں پر عبور ہونا چاہئے اور اگر نہیں ہے تو اسے کوشش کرنی چاہئے.. اور پھر اسے اردو میں بیان کرنا
آنا چاہئے.. تو وہ ناچ کیلئے انگریزی میں پڑھے اور اس کے بعد جب وہ اپنے Students کو سمجھائے تو اپنی قومی زبان
میں اسے بیان کرے.. اس سے کیا ہوگا.. کہ لوگوں کو ایک عادت ہو جائے گی.. اسٹوڈنٹ کو پہلے alert کر دیا جائے
گا.. ٹیچر لیکچر دے

the real problem is political .. our two medium of education.. this reflects our double standard.. some do cambridge education and some appear in local examination board.. they operate at the provincial level.. majority study from these local boards.. the biggest hurdle in implementation of Urdu medium of education policy comes from the political

10

گا۔ یوں ایک بچے کو پاس اردو میں ایک پوری کاپی آجائے گی.. یہ practice اگر ہر جگہ ہو تو 10 سے 15 سال میں ہمارے پاس سارا کاسار material انگریزی سے منتقل ہو سکتا ہے.. اصل میں بات سیاسی مصلحت کی ہے۔۔ یہ جو ہمارا دوہرا نظام تعلیم ہے.. یہ ہمارا double standard ہے.. کچھ لوگ Cambridge سے پڑھتے ہیں۔۔ اور کچھ بچے ہمارے مقامی تعلیمی بورڈ سے پڑھتے ہیں.. جو صوبائی سطح پر بورڈ بنائے گئے ہیں.. وہ ان سے پڑھتے ہیں implementation میں جو رکاوٹیں آ رہی ہیں.. وہ کم بیش اس میں قسم کی ہیں.. کیا ایسا ہو سکتا ہے کہ ایک بچہ جس نے اپنی ساری تعلیم لندن یا امریکہ سے لی ہو.. اس کو وہاں کا کچھ.. وہاں کا سلیبس.. وہاں کی اسے ساری معلومات ہو اور جب وہ پاکستان میں آئے گا.. اس کی roots یہاں کی ہیں.. اگر وہ پاکستان آئے گا تو اسے یہاں کی چیزیں کم سمجھ میں آئے گی.. نہ اسے وہ لٹریچر سمجھ میں آئے گا.. اس کیلئے

interests.. is it possible that some one who as educated in London or in America..he is fully aware of their culture.. their syllabus.. their way of living and when such a person gets back .. since his roots are here.. he will have problem in understanding the literature of this land.. he will have problem.. we have double standards.. hurdle in the implementation of language policy comes from this English segment of our society..we are geographically independent but not mentally.. we take pride in thanking others in English while we have expression for thanking in Urdu.. we take pride in saying welcome as opposed to khushamdeed.. this is our inferiority complex..

11

مشکل ہو جائے گی رکاوٹ سب سے بڑی وجہ انگریزی نواز طبقہ ہے جغرافیائی طور پر تو آزاد ہو گئے.. لیکن ذہنی طور پر نہیں.... ہم ہمیں انگلش میں thank you کہنا زیادہ اچھا لگتا ہے.. ہمارے double standard ہیں.. بہ نسبت شکر یہ کہنے کے welcome.. کہنا زیادہ اچھا لگتا ہے نہ کہ خوش آمدید.. یہ جو احساس محرومی ہے.. یہ اعتماد کی کمی ہے کہ ہم اپنی زبان میں گفتگو کرنے والے کو تھوڑا سا کمتر سمجھتے ہیں.. اس کی مثال یہ ہے کہ ایسے لوگوں کو پیلا اسکول بھی کہا جاتا ہے.. پیلا اسکول *this reflects lack of confidence because we under rate those who speak in Urdu.. a good example of it can be taken by the fact that speakers of Urdu are often label as peela school.. peela school are referred to those who receive education from public sector and they are not socially accorded respect..*

12

اگر.. ان کو کہا جاتا ہے جو سرکاری اسکولوں سے پڑھتے ہیں اور انہیں اتنی پسندیدہ نگاہ سے معاشرے میں نہیں دیکھا جاتا.. ماضی میں دیکھیں تو ہمارے بڑے بڑے ادیب اس ہی ذریعہ تعلیم سے پڑھ کر نکلے ہیں *if we look at our past.. then we will realize that great scholars hve studied from such schools..*

Extract 72: Debriefing session with Ms Tabinda, a grade 11 and 12 Urdu teacher SB (21-7-2011)

- 1 R آپ نے گفتگو میں فرمایا کہ ہم لوگ جغرافیہ کے لحاظ سے تو آزاد ہو گئے لیکن ذہنی اعتبار سے نہیں.. اس سے آپ کی کیا مراد ہے
while talking to students you said that we were geographically independent but mentally we were not.. what exactly did you mean to say..
- 2 Ms T آپ غور کریں تو ہماری علاقائی زبانیں گھرتی گھرتی.. پنجابی کی مثال لے لیں.. اگر پنجابی گھر سے باہر بولتے ہیں تو لوگ آپ کو پینڈو کہتے ہیں.. ہمارے یہاں زبانوں کے بارے میں proverb بن گئے ہیں.. اس کے پیچھے ہمارا وہ غلامی والا ذہن ہے جس میں اپنی زبانوں کو کمتر سمجھتے ہیں.. اور اس کی وجہ سے ہمارے یہاں اتنے لسانی فسادات ہوتے ہیں..
 [talking a long breath] *just see around our regional languages have been restricted to homes.. lets take an example we have developed proverbs about languages .. behind all this is our slavish mentality that make us degrade our own languages.. and because of these things we have so many ethnic violence..*
- 3 R کیا آپ سمجھتی ہیں لسانی فسادات میں زبانوں کا کردار ہے
do you think languages have a role to play in ethnic violence
- 4 Ms T دیکھیں جو لوگ طاقت میں ہوتے ہیں وہ زبانوں کی بنیاد بنا کر عوام کو آپس میں لڑاتے ہیں پاکستان کی تاریخ لسانی فسادات سے بھری ہوئی.. ماضی کو چھوڑیں آپ ابھی دیکھ لیں کہ پاکستان میں کیا ہوتا ہے.. کراچی میں ہزاروں لوگ ماریے گئے اور مرنے والے خاص زبانوں کے بولنے والے ہوتے ہیں... یا تو وہ پشتون ہوتے ہیں یا اردو بولنے والے..
look people in power create language differences and on the basis of it they make people fight with each other.. the history of Pakistan is replete with ethnic violence .. leave aside the past.. look at what is happening now.. thousands of people have lost their lives on Karchi and victims were speakers of either Pushto or Urdu..
- 5 R آپ بالکل صحیح کہہ رہی ہیں کہ زبان کی بنیاد پر یہ لوگوں کو آپس میں لڑایا جاتا ہے.. لوگوں کو ایک دوسرے سے دور کیا جاتا ہے.. مگر میں یہ بھی دیکھتا ہوں کہ ان لسانی فسادات کے پیچھے محاصل سیاسی قوت کچنگ ہے اور دوسرا اہم پہلو غربت ہے
you are absolutely right in saying that based on differences in languages people are made to kill each other.. but i also think tht behind all these ethnic issues is the struggle for power and perhaps the most importantt factor is poverty
- 6 Ms T اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں
there is no doubt about it
- 7 R ہے.. آپ کی گفتگو سے مجھے ایسا محسوس ہوا کہ آپ انگریزی سیکھنے کے خلاف ہیں..
i feel you are against the use of English

- 8 Ms T
 انگریزی کی اہمیت سے انکار نہیں ہے.. مگر جب تک ہمارے یہاں اعلیٰ تعلیم کا طرز تاریخ نہیں تبدیل ہوگا.. میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ بالکل ایسا ہے جیسا کہ زمین اور آسمان کا فرق ہے.. اتنا فرق ہے ہمارے یہاں
there is no denying of the importance of English.. but as long we do not change our higher education.. i think it is like the difference between earth and sky.. . this much difference exists.
- 9 R
 جی جی
 hm.. hm..
- 10 Ms T
 ہمارے یہاں مختلف classes ہیں.. طبقہ امراء ہے اپر میڈل کلاس.. لوئر میڈل کلاس.. ان تمام کلاسوں میں ایک اہم factor زبانوں کا ہے.. امراء اور اپر میڈل کلاس کے بچوں کو طاقت ور زبانوں کے سیکھنے کے مواقع موجود ہیں اور جبکہ پورے پاکستان کے بچے صرف ان زبانوں کو سیکھنے کے خواب دیکھتے ہیں.. دیکھئے انگریزی ایک بیرونی زبان ہے اور میں اسے آقاؤں کی زبان کہتی ہوں..
look we have different social classes.. the class of rulers.. upper middle class.. lower middle class.. in the formation of all these classes languages is one important factor.. rulers and upper middle class send their children to institutions that endow them with powerful languages whereas majority of Pakistani children can only dream about learning these languages.. look English is a foreign language and we call it the language of rulers..
- 11 R
 آپ نے بچوں کو سید عبداللہ کے دورے نظام تعلیم کے بارے میں بتایا.. کیا میں آپ کی رائے جان سکتا ہوں..
on dual medium of instruction in Pakistan.. may i ask your position.
- 12 Ms T
 نظام تعلیم دوہرا ہونا کوئی بہت بڑی برائی نہیں feelings ہے.. جتنا کا بدل جانا ہوتا ہے.. اپنے آپ کو categorize کر لینا.. بانٹ لیا وہ زیادہ اہم ہے.. ان چیزوں سے بچوں کی زندگی پر اثرات ہوتے ہیں.. چند لوگ راج کرنے کیلئے بنائے جاتے ہیں اور زیادہ تر غلامی کیلئے.. زیادہ تر تفریق تعلیم کے ذریعہ کی جارہی ہے.. معاشرے میں panic ہوتی ہے.. وراس میں anxiety بڑھی ہے.. رنجش بڑھتی ہے.. یہ تمام چیزیں سماجی سطح پر ابھرتی ہیں..
having dual medium of education is not a problem itself.. but the change of attitude is a big problem.. to categorize.. people on the basis of it.. making distinction among people based on language is more serious a problem.. these things affect the lives of children.. few people are educated to govern and majority to serve them.. most of these differences are created through medium of instruction in education .. as a result there is growing frustration in the society .. the anxiety rise.. disharmony grow.. then these things surface at societal level.
- R
 آپ پاکستان کی language in education پالیسی کو کس طرح دیکھتی ہیں..؟
how do you see the current language in education policy of Pakistan?

آپ غور کریں.. کہ کسی بھی ملک کا جو head of state ہے وہ اپنی زبان میں بات کرتے ہیں.. ہمارے یہاں جب بھی بات ہوگی انگریزی زبان میں بات ہوگی.. ہمارے یہاں ہمارا کوئی president جو ہے وہ اردو میں بات نہیں کرتا.. تو ایشیا تو یہ ہے کہ.. قومی زبان کو دھچکا صدر لگاتا ہے.. جب عام آدمی یہ دیکھتا ہے کہ head of the state یہ زبان نہیں بول رہا.. تو کیا سمجھے گا.. اس کے علاوہ ہمارا جو public service کا نظام ہے وہ سارا کا سارا English میں ہے.. وہاں اردو کا کام نہیں ہے civil service آپ کا پورے کا پورا English میں ہے.. تو یہ پالیسی بھی دوہرے نظام کو قائم رکھنے کیلئے دی گئی ہے.. جو لوگ حکمرانی کرتے ہیں.. آپ پرویز مشرف کو دیکھ لیں یا شوکت عزیز کو یا بینظیر بھٹو کو.. یہ سب لوگ انگریزی تعلیم کی پیداوار ہیں اور اپنے بچوں کو ملک سے باہر پڑھواتے ہیں..

just note.. the language of the head of the states of different countries.. they usually use the language of people .. but with us things are different .. the president of the country rarely deliver his speeches in Urdu.. so the dilemma is.. the head of the state devalues the national language.. when an ordinary citizen see all this.. what he will understand.. apart from this.. all our public service examinations are in English.. therefore the current language in education policy is there to reinforce the language difference among people.. look at the language capacity of those who rule us.. whether it be Pervaiz Musharraf or Shaukat Aziz or Benazir Bhutto.. they all are the product of English education and they get their children educated abroad..

Extract 73: Interview with Ms Zakia who teaches in a public sector school and in (SB, 3-8-2011)

1. MsZ: when i went to university i realized
2. the missing link in me.. i did not understand
3. lectures delivered in English and had
4. to write all examinations in it.. [English]
5. R: what did you do then..
6. MsZ: i got admission in Pakistan American
7. culture centre and worked very hard.. after
8. so many hurdles.. i was able to study for five
9. years at the university..
10. R: hm hm..
11. MsZ: then God gave me job..
12. R: now you teach for both public and
13. private sector schools.. what subject do you teach..
14. MsZ: English in both the schools to students
15. of grade 8 to 10..

16. R: interesting .. how do you compare both
17. the schools in terms of language use..
18. MsZ: actually there is a big gap.. between
19. two institutions .. i am polishing myself
20. here [SB] but there [SC]
21. actually students are coming from rural
22. area.. my school is in rural area.. it is
23. very far from here.. you can say it is a village
24. .. the students are mostly Sindhi
25. or Baloochi families.. their parents do
26. not to send them to school.. especially
27. female..
28. R: my interest is in knowing the everyday
29. language practices in both the schools you
30. teach in..
31. MsZ: in that institution [SC] it is very
32. difficult for them to understand..
33. R: but the government has recently changed
34. the policy.. now they have introduced
35. English from grade one..
36. MsZ: yes.. but you know ... our
37. system is working as it was..
38. R: do you see it is a good policy..
39. MsZ: actually ((thinks hard)) teachers are
40. not competent.. they do not have command
41. on it.. [English]
42. R: are you saying it is not practical..
43. MsZ: it is not.. i am talking about my
44. school [SC]
45. R: it is purely an Urdu medium school..
46. MsZ: no.. it is a Sindhi medium school..
47. R: Sindhi is spoken in the school..
48. MsZ: most of the teachers are Sindhi..
49. only we two are from Urdu.. [background]
50. R: are the course books in Sindhi..

51. MsZ: yes.. all the material in Sindhi..
52. and most of the village schools are Sindhi
53. medium school..
54. R: how would you describe the policy of
55. this school .. [SB]
56. MsZ: now the policy has changed.. after this
57. new management.. before if you were talking
58. to students in Urdu.. it was upto you.. but
59. now they strictly told us.. speak English in the
60. class.. outside the class.. with staff..
61. colleagues.. use English every time
62. R: you think it is practical..
63. MsZ: i do not think so..
64. R: is it true that all parents want their
65. kids to master English only..
66. MsZ: because they know when children got
67. higher education.. they would get good jobs..
68. that is the reason..
69. R: what do you see the life chances of
70. your public sector students..
71. MsZ: my school is a middle school six to
72. eight.. after completing 8 class.. they are
73. married.. few students continue their
74. education
75. R: your students study in Sindhi medium
76. from class one to eight .. when they appear
77. in grade 10 examination... do they get
78. examination papers in Sindhi..
79. MsZ: no no.. no.. no.. they have
80. examination in Urdu..
81. R: how do they cope with it..
82. MsZ: actually that is a problem.. that is
83. why they fail different subjects.. but if
84. they passed 10.. in class XI and XII..
85. they feel a lot of problem

86. R: because onward class ten.. the
87. medium shifts to English and Urdu..
88. MsZ: oh yes..
89. R: also at university they have to
90. write in either English or Urdu..
91. MsZ: yes..
92. R: so we teach them in Sindhi from
93. class one to eight.. and then we..
94. MsZ: then if they want higher education
95. they have to change their language
96. R: you think it is a good policy
97. MsZ: no.. it is not..
98. R: what should it be..[should not be]
99. MsZ: Sindhi language is not a must.. it is [should be]
100. optional.. compulsory should be English
101. medium but before it you must train
102. your teachers
103. R: thanks very much..

Extract 75: Interview with Mr Sajid who teaches Urdu and English languages to grade 10 at (SC,17-5-2011)

- 1 R (...) آپ اردو انگریزی دونوں پڑھاتے ہیں.. آپ اپنے بچوں کا رویہ ان زبانوں کیلئے کس طرح بیان کریں گے..
(...) you teach both English and Urdu.. how would you describe the attitude of
your students toward these languages..
- 2 Mr S : کوئٹہ شہر کے لئے اردو اور انگریزی دونوں strange ہیں.. یہاں کی جو native language ہے وہ پشتو.. ہے..
لہذا ((زور دیتے ہوئے)) students کا رویہ دونوں زبانوں کیلئے عجیب کا ہوتا ہے.. جیسا کہ ہم نے impose کی ہوئی
ہے.. کیوں کہ یہاں پر medium of instruction اردو ہے.. اور بچے پشتو جانتے ہیں.. اور ہمارے معاشرے
میں دن.. میں routine میں.. ہمارے culture میں.. ہمارے society میں.. زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں وہ بھی پشتو
ہے.. جو اردو ان کے استعمال میں اتنی ہے جتنی انگریزی ہے..
for the city of Quetta both Urdu and English are strange languages.. the native
language here is Pushto.. therefore ((with emphasis)) the students approach both
languages as outsiders..it is as if we have imposed these on them.. because the
medium of instruction here is Urdu.. and children know Pushto.. in our society
everyday..as a routine.. in our culture.. in our society.. the language we use is
also Pushto.. Urdu is used as little as is English..

- 3 R کیا آپ نہیں سمجھتے.. کہ بچوں کو multi lingual ہونا چاہیے.. انگریزی تو معاشرے میں ہے ہی..
do you not believe.. that children should be multilingual.. as it is it is English
that is everywhere in society..
- 4 Mr S بالکل ہونی چاہیے.. مگر یہاں پھر عجیب مسائل ہیں.. مثال کے طور پر.. چونکہ official زبان English ہے لہذا
کورٹ.. کے cases انگریزی میں لکھے جاتے ہیں.. نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ لوگ اپنے کورٹ کے معاملات ((زور دیتے ہوئے))
کو پڑھ نہیں سکتے ہیں.. میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ.. English وہاں پہ important ہونی چاہئے.. جہاں پر واقع اس کی
ضرورت ہو.. خواہ تو اہ ہم پر مسلط کی گئی ہے..
absolutely it should be.. but here again the problems are unique.. for example..
because the official language is English therefore in courts.. cases are
documented in English.. the result is that regarding their cases ((with
emphasis)) people are unable to read documents regarding their court
proceedings.. i want to say.. English should be important there.. where it is
really needed.. unnecessarily it has been imposed on us..
- 5 R آپ کی job requirement میں انگریزی شامل تھی..
was English a job requirement for your current job..
- 6 Mr S بالکل تھی.. مسئلہ یہ ہی ہے کہ.. ہم نے اس کو job requirement میں شامل کر دیا ہے..
absolutely it was.. this is the real problem.. we have made it a job requirement..
- 7 R کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ یہ سب کچھ سیاسی ہے..
do you think all this is political..
- 8 Mr S چونکہ ہم ایک British colony تھے.. تو جو system وہ چھوڑ کے گئے.. وہ ہم ویسے ہی چلاتے گئے.. ہم نے کچھ
نہیں سوچا کہ.. ہماری ضرورت کیا ہے..
because we were a British colony.. therefore whatever system they left behind..
we continued without change..we never thought.. what our requirements are..
- 9 R اگر ہم بچوں اور ان کے والدین سے پوچھیں.. کہ وہ کونسی زبان میں سیکھنا چاہتے ہیں.. تو میرا خیال ہے کہ زیادہ تر انگریزی اور
اردو کہیں گے..
if we were to ask the children and their parents.. that which language would
they like to learn.. i believe that most of them will choose English and Urdu..
- 10 Mr S وہ کیوں سیکھنا چاہتے ہیں.. مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ یہ زبانیں system کا حصہ بنا دی گئیں ہے ہم ان زبانوں کو مسلط کر چکے ہیں....
ہم لوگ English phobia کا شکار ہیں.. جسے انگلش آتی ہے.. وہ پڑھا لکھا سمجھا جاتا ہے.. ہمارے ملک
میں standard یہ بن چکا ہے.. اگر آپ بہت دانہ آدمی ہیں.. اور آپ کو انگلش نہیں آتی.. لوگ آپ کو جاہل سمجھ گے..

why do they want to learn.. because they the problem is that these languages have been made part of the system.. we have imposed these languages on ourselves.. as a people we suffer from an English malaise.. whoever knows English.. he is considered literate.. this has become the standard in the country.. even if you are a wise person.. and you do not know English.. people will consider you illiterate..

11 R

کن لوگوں نے یہ زبانیں impose کی ہیں..

who are the people who have imposed these languages..

12 Mr S

جب ہم نے freedom حاصل کی یا یہ کہہ لیجیے کہ جب وہ پہلی اور دوسری جنگ عظیم کے بعد.. colony نہیں برقرار رکھ سکے.. تو ہمیں آزادی مل گئی.. ان کے جانے کے بعد بلکہ ان کے دور ہی میں.. ایسی class پیدا ہوئی تھی.. جو سمجھتی تھی کہ انگلش ہی نجات کا راستہ ہے.. اُس زمانے میں شاید زیادہ ضرورت تھی.. کیوں کہ وہ ہمارے حکمران تھے.. نوکری حاصل کرنے کے لئے.. ضروری ہوتا ہوگا کہ انگریزی آئے.. ان لوگوں کے بعد اس class نے.. سوچا کہ ہم لوگ اس ملک پر اپنی حکمرانی کیسے برقرار رکھیں..

when we achieved freedom or lets put it this way when after the first and second world wars.. they could no longer maintain the colony.. we got independence..after their departure.. actually during their rule..there emerged such a class.. which regarded English as the panacea to all ills.. perhaps it was the need of that time.. because they ruled us.. to get a job.. it must have been necessary to know English.. after the departure ((of the colonizers)) this class of people.. thought of ways to maintain their rule over the people..

13 R

lets come back to language-in-education policy of Pakistan.. what should it be..policy of Pakistan.. what should it be?

14 Mr S

میں کوئی بہت بڑا educationist تو نہیں.. میں مگر اپنے تجربات بتا سکتا ہوں.. میں ایک ڈاکٹر کے پاس جاتا ہوں.. اور ایک عام شہری ہوں جسکی average تعلیم.. ہے ڈاکٹر مجھ کو medicine لکھتا ہے.. اور وہ میں خرید لیتا ہوں.. جس میں ایک leaflet ہے.. جو کہ میں نہیں پڑھ سکتا ہوں.. (انگریزی اور اردو)) اگر وہ میرے لئے رکھا گیا ہے.. تو وہ مجھے سمجھ میں آنا چاہیے..

it is not that i am a great educationist.. but i can share my experiences.. when i go to a doctor..and i am an ordinary citizen with an average education.. the doctor writes me a prescription.. and i buy the medicine.. which comes with a leaflet..

((which i can not read)).. if this leaflet has been kept for me.. then i should be able to understand it..

15 R

جی

yes

16 Mr S

مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ ہمارے پاس .. teacher ان صلاحیتوں کے نہیں ہیں.. جو کورس کو صحیح طرح سے پڑھا سکیں.. میں مجھے بچے کو active passive پڑھانے ہیں .. English structure 9th پڑھانے میں.. narration پڑھانی چاہیے.. مجھے paragraph writing سیکھانی ہے.. میں اسے کیسے سیکھاؤں ایک بچہ جسے basic reading نہیں آتی.. جو انگریزی کے حروف کو جوڑ کر پڑھ نہیں سکتا b-u-s کو ملا کر نہیں پڑھ سکتا.. آپ اسکو کہاں سے یہ چیزیں پڑھا سکتے ہیں.. the problem is that we do not have.. teachers who have the required expertise.. who can teach the course properly.. in class 9 i have to teach active passive voice.. i have to teach English structure.. i should be teaching narration.. i have to teach them paragraph writing.. how do i teach these when the child does not know basic reading.. he who cannot string together English alphabets to form a word.. who cannot join b-u-s to make a word.. how can you teach him all these things..

17 R

کیا آپ کسی خاص بچے کا ذکر کر رہے ہیں..
are you talking about a specific child..

18 Mr S

ساجد: بالکل نہیں.. majority کا یہ حال ہے.. 99% بچوں کا یہ حال ہے.. 1% بچے نویں دسویں میں آ کے کچھ reading کر سکتے ہیں..
not at all.. the majority are like this.. 99 percent of the students are like this.. only 1 percent of children in grade 9 and 10 can manage to read a little..

Extract 76: Interview with Bilal, Jamil and Khayyam, students of grade 10 (SC, 18-5-2011)

1 R

آپ لوگ گھر میں کون سے زبان بولتے ہیں..?
which language do you speak at home..?

2 S

پشتو..
Pushto..

3 R

اور اسکول میں..
and in school..

4 B

آپ کو پتہ ہے ہم لوگ.. اسکول میں اردو یا انگلش بولتے ہیں..
you know that we.. in school we speak Urdu and English..

5 R

ہر جگہ اسکول میں اردو بولتے ہو.. کلاس سے باہر.. کینٹین میں..
do you speak Urdu everywhere in school.. outside the classrooms.. in the canteen..

6 S

پھر پشتو بولتے ہیں..
then we speak Pushto..

7 R

اگر آپ کلاس میں پشتو بولتے ہیں تو کیا ہوتا ہے.. وہ اچھا محسوس نہیں کرے گا
what happens when you speak Pushto in the classroom..

- 8 B
he [teacher] will not feel good..
- 9 R
 کیوں نہیں اچھا محسوس کرتے..
why do they not feel good..
- 10 J
 وہ چاہتے ہیں کہ.. ہم لوگ اردو بولے یا انگلش..
they want that.. we speak either Urdu or English..
- 11 B
 پاکستان کا مادری زبان اردو ہے.. پاکستان کا international language اردو ہے.. وہ سارے پاکستان میں چلتا ہے
 .. جس کا جو بھی زبان ہو لیکن وہ نہیں بولتا ہے.. سر جی..
the mother tongue of Pakistan is Urdu.. the international language of Pakistan is Urdu.. it is spoken in all of Pakistan..
- 12 R
 whatever may be the language of the people he does not speak it.. sir..
 آپ لوگوں کو مشکل نہیں ہوتی..
is it not difficult for you..
- 13 B
 سر بہت مشکل ہوتی ہے..
sir we find it extremely difficult..
- 14 R
 اسکول کی دیواروں پر بلوچ پشتون آزادی لکھی ہوئی ہے.. یہ سب کیا ہے..
the graffiti on your school walls speak of baloch and pushtoon liberation..
what is all this about..
- 15 J
 بلوچ نے اپنا قوم بنایا.. اور پشتون نے اپنا.. ان کا اپنا student ہوتا ہے..
the Baloch have made their own nation.. and the Pushtoon have theirs.. they have their own students..
- 16 R
 کیا اسکول میں بھی ہیں..
in your school too..
- 17 S
 جی سر اسکول میں بھی ہیں..
yes sir.. in our school too..
- 18 K
 پچھلے سال پشتون خواہ پارٹی والا ہر جمعہ کو آتا تھا اور اسکول سے باہر meeting کرتا تھا..
last year Pushtoon party workers would come to school every Friday and hold meetings outside the school premises..
- 19 B
 سر وہ لوگ.. اس لیے آتا ہے کہ.. اگر پشتون اسٹوڈنٹ کو کوئی مسئلہ ہو تو وہ لوگ حل کر دیتا ہے..
sir those people.. they come here because..
if the Pushtoon student has a problem then they help solve it..
- 20 R
 تم لوگ کون سی زبان سیکھنا چاہتے ہو..
which language do you want to learn..
- 21 S
 انگلش
English..

- 22 R کیوں
why..
- 23 K سر چونکہ انگلش international language ہے ہم لوگ باہر جائیں گے..
sir because English is an international language.. we want to go abroad..
- 24 J اج کل تو موبائل بھی انگلش میں ہے کمپیوٹر بھی انگلش میں ہے ..
these days even the cell phone is in English the computer too is in English..
- 25 R تم لوگوں نے انگلش سیکھا ہے..
have you all learnt English..
- 26 S جی سر..
yes sir..
- 27 R کہاں سے..
where did you learn it..
- 28 K language centre سے.. وہاں پر ہر سبق انگلش میں ہوتا ہے..
from a language centre.. there lessons are taught in English..
- 29 R تم لوگوں کو تو انگلش پڑھائی جاتی ہے..
but you are taught English..[in school]
- 30 S (مسکراتے ہوئے) سر یہاں تو ہمارے ٹیچرز کو انگلش نہیں آتی.. [اشخاص]
((smiling)) sir here our teachers do not know English..
- 31 R کیا اردو بھی بہت ضروری ہے..
is Urdu also very important..
- 32 S قومی زبان ہے..
it is our national language..
- 33 B سر یہ پاکستان کی international زبان ہے..
sir it is the international language of Pakistan..
- 34 J اردو کا سیکھنا اتنا ضروری نہیں ہے.. جتنا انگلش کا..
learning Urdu is not as important.. as is English..
- 35 B سر اردو تو سب کو آتا ہے..
sir everyone knows Urdu..
- 36 K پاکستان میں جو عوام رہتی ہے.. سب کو اردو آتا ہے..
all the people who live in Pakistan.. all know Urdu..
- 37 R تم لوگوں نے انگلش پرائیویٹ سیکھی.. کیا دوسرے بچے بھی انگلش سیکھنا چاہتے ہیں..
you all have learnt English privately.. do other children also want to learn English..
- 38 S سارا اسکول چاہتا ہے سر..
the entire school wants to learn it sir..

- 39 K 100 میں سے 75% انگلش سیکھنا چاہتا ہے..
out of a hundred 75% want to learn English..
- 40 R تم لوگ اسکول کے اردو ماحول میں کس طرح ڈھلے..
how did you all fit in with the Urdu speaking milieu of your school..
- 41 B سر شروع میں تو ہم اسکول سے بھاگتا تھا.. کیوں کہ اسکول میں ہم کو.. کچھ سمجھ میں نہیں آتا تھا.. ٹیچر مارتا تھا.. بہت سخت پابندی لگایا..
sir initially i used to run away from school.. because in school i would.. not understand anything.. the teacher used to beat me.. severe constraints were imposed..
- 42 J سر ہم لوگ کبھی اسکول کے بہانے بازار میں چھپ جاتے تھے..
sir we too used to hide in market place near the school..
- 43 K سر ہم لوگوں کو بہت مار پڑی ہے.. تب ہم نے اردو سیکھا ہے..
sir we were caned often.. only then did we learn Urdu..

Extract 77: Interview with Mr Shah, a father and a canteen worker of a grade 7 pupil at (SC, 20-5-2011)

- 1 R (...) آپ کے بچے اس اسکول میں پڑھتے ہیں اور آپ یہاں canteen چلا رہے ہیں..
(...) your children study in this school and you work in the canteen..
- 2 Mr S جی.
yes..
- 3 R آپ گھر میں کیا زبان بولتے ہیں..
what language do you speak at home..
- 4 Mr S ہم گھر میں پشتو بولتے ہیں..
we speak Pushto at home..
- 5 R یہاں بچوں سے canteen میں.. آپ کس زبان میں گفتگو کرتے ہیں میں نے زیادہ تر پشتو سنی ہے..
here in the canteen.. which language do you use to talk to the children my observation is that you mostly use Pushto..
- 6 Mr S پشتو تو بچے بولتے ہیں ((بہت سوچتے ہوئے)).. مگر بچوں کے ساتھ میں اردو میں بات کرتے ہیں..
the children speak in Pushto ((after thinking for a while)).. but i speak in Urdu with the children..
- 7 R کیوں.. زیادہ بچے پشتو بولنے والے ہیں..
why.. the majority of the children are Pushto speakers..
- 8 Mr S یہی بات ہے... مگر ہم... پٹھان بچے بھی ہیں... مگر ہم پشتو میں بات کرتا ہے..
that is the reason... but i... there are Pathan children here... but i speak in Urdu..
- 9 R میں جانا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ ایسا کیوں کرتے ہیں..

- 10 Mr S i want to know why do you do it..
سر.. اسکول میں اردو ہونا چاہیے کہ.. سارا سچے سمجھے..
sir.. in school there should be Urdu.. all the children understand it..
- 11 R آپ کون سے زبانیں چاہتے ہیں..
which languages would you prefer..
- 12 Mr S انگلش ہونی چاہیے..
there should be English..
- 13 R مگر اپنے بچوں کو اردو میں ڈالا ہے..
but you have put your children in an Urdu medium school..
- 14 Mr S اس سے بچے کو پہلے میں نے English medium میں ڈالا تھا.. مگر ان.. لوگوں کا فیس زیادہ ہو گیا.. اس لئے ہم اس کو
یہاں لے آیا..
earlier i had admitted my child to an English medium school.. but they.. the fees
was raised.. that is why i brought him here..

Extract 78: Interview with Mr Zahir, father of a grade 7 student at (SC, 20-5-2011)

- 1 R (...) آپ کا بیٹا ساتوں جماعت میں پڑھتا ہے.. کیا وہ شروع سے گورنمنٹ اسکول میں پڑھ رہا ہے..
(...) your son studies in grade seven..
has he always been in a government school..
- 2 Mr Z پہلے میں نے پرائیویٹ اسکول میں داخلہ کرایا تھا..
i had first admitted him to a private school..
- 3 R کیا وہ انگلش میڈیم تھا..
was that an English medium school..
- 4 Mr Z جی.. مگر ان لوگوں نے فیس بہت بڑھائی..
yes.. but then they raised the fee greatly..
- 5 R گھر میں کونسی زبان بولی جاتی..
which language is spoken in your home..
- 6 Mr Z : پشتو..

Pushto

- 7 R آپ چاہتے ہیں کہ آپ کے بچوں کو زیادہ زبانیں..
do you want your children to know many languages..
- 8 Mr Z کون نہیں چاہے..
who would not want it..
- 9 R آپ کون کون سے زبانیں چاہتے ہیں کہ بچوں کا آنی چاہیے..
which languages do you want your children to learn..
- 10 Mr Z اردو، انگلش، پشتو، براوی..
Urdu English Pushto and Brahvi..
- 11 R مگر اسکول میں.. صرف انگلش اردو پڑھاتا ہے..
but in school.. only Urdu and English are taught..
- 12 Mr Z وہ تو must ہے ان کیلئے..
that is a must for them..
- 13 R انگریزی زبان کو آپ کس طرح دیکھتے ہیں..
how do you view the English language..
- 14 Mr Z ہر شخص کو آنی چاہیے.. کیونکہ آج کل کا دور یہ ہی ہے.. اس ہی لئے تو میں نے پرائیوٹ اسکول میں داخلہ کرایا..
every person should know it.. because it is the need of the hour.. this is why i had admitted my son in a private school..
- 15 R اگر گورنمنٹ اسکول کو English medium کر دیا جائے.. تو کیا رہے گا..
if all government schools were to switch to English medium.. how would it be..
- 16 Mr Z بہت بہتر رہے گا.. سب سے زیادہ فائدہ اس میں ہے.. آج کا ہتھیار انگریزی ہے.. میں سمجھتا ہوں انگریزی سیکھنا مجبوری ہے..
it would be great.. this would be profitable for.. today's weapon is English.. i think learning English is a necessity these days..

Extract 79: Interview with Ms AineArfin ,Principal (SA, 18-7-2011)

1. R: the language in education policy says
2. that Urdu is the medium of instruction and
3. now English is introduced from grade one..
4. what do you think are the consequences of
5. such a policy on the lives of majority
6. of Pakistani children who study in public
7. sector school..
8. Ms AA: you see..as far as policy is
9. concerned.. i feel in a culture such as
10. ours which is multilingual..the previous
11. policy when we began to teach English in
12. sub grade.. Ii did not have problem with
13. that [introducing English from grade six]
14. because i have seen in many countries
15. which are non English speaking..introduce
16. English much much later!
17. R: right
18. Ms AA: so even in Pakistan.. if we introduce
19. in class six and we are talking about...
20. R: public sector schools
21. Ms AA: if taught properly.. if teachers are trained
22. for that .. then it is perfectly alright! When you
23. introduce from class one.. we have to take
24. a bigger picture ! how many teachers do
25. we have with English language teachers
26. [implying shortage of competent English]
27. language teachers in the country] you
28. need quadruple number of teachers from your
29. pool of existing pool of English language teachers
30. R: you mean it is not very realistic
31. Ms AA: Is it!.. so where is mass illiteracy
32. if we did a good job teaching the children
33. proper Urdu in the scenario of bilingual
34. aspect there also [means local languages

35. + Urdu as national language] in Sindh..

36. [province]

37. Sindhi and Urdu.. in Pukhtoonkhuwa [province] Pushto

38. and Urdu.. you do a good job if you can it till

39. grade five and start English at class six..

40. train the teachers who teach them!

41. R: the early introduction of English is justified

42. on the basis of gap between the rich and the

43. poor

44. MsAA: you see that is kind of fudging the issue

45. .. the gap is not because of that.. the gap is not

46. for sure not because of that! We had government

47. school in the past and they have turned out

48. real scholars..leaders and so on..

49. R: hm..hm

50. MsAA: because the level of those schools were

51. fantastic.. the real problem is that Urdu has

52. not been developed probably ..the

53. problem is that books have not been

54. translated in Urdu probably.. we are

55. talking about knowledge ! we are not

56. talking about only knowledge ...if you

57. taught science very well in Urdu! If you

58. taught history and geography very well in

59. Urdu..at least the knowledge base in the

60. same [means transfer of knowledge base is the

61. one language] to another the confusion

62. there is [government] they are confusing

63. English language as being educated..it

64. is not it!

65. R: hmhm

66. MsA: you may be educated without knowing

67. a word of English...look at Iran..look

68. at Germany.. take an example of Iran

69. because they are developing so much..

70. constant translation..everything is being
71. translated[in Iran] ..in Pakistan if you
72. want to get books for children.. for
73. the library..there is not decent enough
74. collection to put in library ..so: feel
75. teaching English language is not the main
76. reason why or why not the government school
77. is considered good or not! It is about
78. standard ((puts a great deal of emphasis))
79. that is my personal opinion
80. R: yeah..yeah..i appreciate it..talking about
81. your school how do you see the language
82. practices..what I have observed is that
83. teachers talk to each other in English ..similarly
84. teacher student communication takes place
85. in English only..what do you see as the
86. consequences of such practices on the lives of
87. pupils.
88. MS AA: ah..we are an English medium
89. school..we hate to be called elitist school..
90. however ((smiles)) unfortunately the kind of..
91. we find ourselves constantly falling into
92. that category ..however ...we..when children
93. come to they are two and a half and
94. parents expect that they should learn how
95. to speak English fluently in the next three weeks!
96. Ah..when i was at the primary level
97. Because i started off as a primary teacher
98. R: hm.. hm..
99. Mr AA: subsequently primary school head..
100. i had a bit of problem with that also.. i am
101. sure you know even in England they make
102. sure that there is a first language speaker
103. in every school because when a Bengali
104. speaking child or where Urdu speaking

105. or Punjabi speaking .. they make sure they
106. have a first language speaker there because
107. studies have shown that if the first language
108. does not develop properly ..the second language
109. will never develop!

110. R: right.. right

111. MsAA: so in our context .. in English
112. medium schools of Pakistan .. what we
113. are doing is ..we are .. because we
114. in English medium school all
115. subjects are taught in English and because
116. of the expectations of parents also (xxx)
117. so in the primary school as i was saying..
118. children come to us and I would say to the
119. teachers that if children speak to you in
120. Urdu.. please reply to them in Urdu

121. R: would you!

122. MsAA: yes! A am telling you very candidly

123. R: it is very unheard these days in
124. school such as yours

125. MsAA: yes..yes..i said ((to teachers))
126. you must reply to them in Urdu because that
127. is where their comfort zone is!.. comfort
128. level is..they are two and a half.. their
129. language has not developed yet..even
130. their Urdu..can we just please hold our houses
131. to English

132. R: yeah ..yea..

133. MsAA: if the child is comfortable in Urdu..
134. just speak in Urdu and have proper
135. conversation and do not insist((she
136. is referring to teachers))I will only reply
137. if you rephrase and ask it in English.. that
138. is unfair.. but there were many instances
139. where parents have come and complained((

140. quoting parents)) "you know my child has
141. been in school for almost three weeks and
142. has not started English.. in fact he has
143. regressed because in the pre school he
144. was spoken to only in English" ((laughs))
145. and "Lo and behold..god forbid
146. the teacher is speaking in Urdu"
147. R: very interesting
148. MrAA: and there I would explain to there
149. that] you know((referring to her conversation
150. with the parents))it is alright ..let their
151. first language develop..let their comfort
152. level develop .. they have got the rest of their
153. lives for English
154. R: yeah.. yeah.. some people call it English
155. fever.. you think we also have that fever
156. MsAA: yeah.. of course and that is where
157. the misconception comes that English is
158. education .. English is not education! You
159. know ((very fluently)) science and maths
160. and geography.. everything is education..
161. R: yeah..yeah..
162. MsAA: does not matter what language you study
163. it in..
164. R: unfortunately that is the under
165. perception on English in our society..
166. MsAA: you know why.. this is my personal
167. view ((seem to be deep in
168. Thought... reflective stance)) but i always
169. feel that if you look at education for
170. example fifty years back or seventy
171. years back or I look at my father for
172. example ..he came.. he was born in a
173. village in KPK(province) where he did
174. not hear they word of any language

175. except for Pushtofor..at least perhaps
176. he was twelve years old
177. R: hm.. hm.
178. MsAA: then he moved to Peshawar [province capital]
179. went to Islamia college.. Aligarh
180. and so on..i am sure English must have
181. come far later.. I think his father did
182. not speak a word of English..his father
183. did not even speak a word of Urdu
184. R: hm..hm..
185. MsAA: o.k..keeping in mind that those
186. were the pre partition days [united
187. subcontinent] British influences and
188. so on
189. MrR: hm..hm
190. MsAA: am thinking about the language
191. development of human mind! There was
192. this man and all from his generation
193. whether Pushto..Punjabi or whatever .. they
194. went on to learn excellent English! Excellent
195. Urdu! In which they were able to enjoy
196. poetry..
197. R: right.. hm..
198. MsAA: of two languages together [imply English
199. and Urdu] where they were able to lead a
200. very rich professional lives! Whether it be
201. legal or judicial or bureaucratic or army
202. or whatever...how did they learn those languages
203. and so well.. right.. i know that i came
204. from a bilingual background .. because
205. by the time i was born my father spoke
206. Pushto and English and Urdu..my mother
207. also spoke Pushto and English and Urdu
208. but she was born into only English and
209. Urdu ((refers to her mother home languages))

210. and then she learnt Pushto after she got
211. married to my father and by the time I
212. was born.. she was pretty fluent in
213. Pushto..

214. R: Right

215. MsAA: i do not remember speaking in
216. English till I was teen..you know ..i
217. heard it around me..my brothers and
218. sisters spoke it..i would speak Pushto..
219. then I learnt some Urdu and then i
220. learnt English..so i am thinking that is
221. what was it about that was very faulty..
222. that taught us so many languages..now
223. i see in our school scenario.. our
224. children are learning English at the expense
225. of Urdu..

226. R: and other local languages as well

227. MrAA: other local languages are non
228. existent in an English medium school..
229. if our children are coming from a Sindhi background
230. they speak Sindhi.. of course they do not know
231. now to read and write but not that
232. much of speaking

233. R: hm..hm..

234. MsAA: Urdu minimum.. the only language
235. they end up learning is only English and even
236. that is not quite [standard] and I think
237. we need to reflect on these things..

238. R: what is happening in the under
239. society in terms of languages..when
240. you come across parents..

241. MsAA: Urdu is not being taken seriously..
242. Urdu is inconstant problem ((low prestige)
243. when we talk to Urdu teachers for projects..
244. Ii ask them to make their classes print

245. rich ((displaying Urdu or thography)) .. it is
246. so difficult !to get things that have Urdu
247. written on them.. right..even the packet
248. of shan masala [packet of spices] .. there
249. are fewer fewer things that have Urdu
250. print on it..we ask children to accompany
251. parents shopping grocery and find out
252. such things.. look at the billboards
253. they are all in roman English [writing Urdu
254. with English alphabets] ah..as far as the
255. script is concerned.. that is becoming sort
256. of extinct (...) when we asked children in the
257. past' why Urdu is important" and they say
258. because we have to communicate with our
259. servants.. so Urdu has been degraded
260. from the language of learned to the language
261. of servants.. it has been devoted to the
262. fact that how else we are going speak to
263. our chowkidar (gate keeper) how else we
264. R: hm..hm..
265. MsAA: and then.. you know when a child
266. begins to speak..the parents begin to speak
267. to them in English even though it sound
268. unnatural because the grandparents are
269. still more comfortable with Urdu and the
270. parents and grand parents are speaking
271. in Urdu and many a times i have observed
272. when i am outside in a shop.. i hear
273. parents talking to their child..it is
274. almost as if they are speaking to...
275. a little animal that they are trying to
276. train ((laughs)) "no.. no.. do not"
277. you know monosyllable ((language)) the
278. whole conversation is not taking place
279. R: very interesting observations..

280. MsAA: and when we have concerts ((school events))
281. if you listen to the way they sing in English
282. and you listen to the way they sing in Urdu
283. ..the Urdu song has its life of its own..
284. i do not knowhow that happen! i need to
285. study.. when they are doing drama in Urdu
286. they are so comfortable in it even though
287. they speak English all the time.. when
288. they are singing in Urdu they are so
289. comfortable and in English you know
290. the intonation.. there is some thing not
291. quite there..
292. perhaps it comes later when they reach
293. middle and high school but in primary
294. level they are comfortable in Urdu..it
295. just goes to show.. of course we
296. must teach them English and we are
297. teaching them English ..but the
298. comfort level is there [Urdu]..
299. R: hm.. hm
300. Ms AA: we had a first grade child who
301. told his teacher ..you know .. by first
302. grade..and putting pressure ((mimicking))
303. English language teacher)) "oh could you
304. say that in English again.. but now we
305. say that in English.. oh that is very
306. well said but can you say it in English"
307. so there is one child turned around
308. and said "Ms but my brain is in
309. Urdu" ((laughs))
310. R: ((laughs))
311. MsAA: how profound coming it from a
312. six year old..sometime children make us
313. feel we are such fools
314. R: as a mother how do you address the

315. problem of languages ..which languages would
316. you prefer for them.

317. MsAA: i wanted my children to master all
318. three languages which was Urdu English
319. and Pushto .. they ended up learning
320. English very well.. boys went to college in
321. England and their English is as good as
322. any first language speaker.. and that
323. was for sure a wonderful advantage ..
324. so there is no arSCent about that.. we
325. are producing students with a level of
326. English which make them go to universities of first
327. English languages speaking countries like
328. England and America

329. R: yeah..yeah..so boys learnt Urdu and
330. Pushto as well

331. MsAA: they learnt Urdu because that is the
332. language their father spoke but my daughter
333. is a bit shy speaking in Urdu because
334. she is shy of making mistakes in
335. Urdu and people picking on her..so
336. she is a bit of (English) and
337. she is constantly telling me why did you
338. not teach me Pushto (laughs)

Extract 80: Interview with Ms. Farzana Vice Principal at (SA,18-7-2011)

1. R: am interested in understanding your
2. views on everyday language practices in
3. your school

4. MsF: what i strongly feel is that the teachers
5. who are teaching in the schools ((referring
6. to private non elite English medium schools))
7. they themselves are not very competent and
8. qualified.. they need a lot of support..

9. a lot of support! The same problem unable
10. us ((refers to private elite English medium
11. school)) we do not find good teachers
12. of English language.. you know there are
13. teachers who pronounce snake incorrectly..
14. if my child mispronounce a word i would
15. not like it!
16. R: why would you not like it.. English
17. pronunciation varies
18. MsF: because English language or
19. any language is a reflection of your
20. educational background
21. R: interesting.. hm..
22. MsF: if you are studying in a reputed
23. English medium school then it is very
24. important ! that you should speak English
25. the way it should be spoken
26. R: how should it be spoken
27. MsF: we follow British educational
28. system and we stress British pronunciation
29. system!
30. R: what are the social implications
31. of following or speaking English in a
32. British style
33. MrF: you are respected for that!
34. R: you mean the society
35. respects..
36. MsF: society respects you when you speak
37. in English.. language tells about your
38. personality about your educational background
39. about the family you have come from!
40. R: hm.. hm..
41. MsF: and people take you as learned person
42. if your language is perfect..
43. R: and it is more so with English..

44. MsF: ya.. and if you are speaking English
45. Appropriately it does wonder..
46. R: has it done wonder in your professional
47. life..
48. MsF: i am the vice principal of a branch
49. ((school))
50. R: how do you see the language in education
51. policy of the country..
52. MsF: if I talk about the policy of my state..
53. it is like a paradox..
54. R: hm.. hm
55. MsF: they interview in English [she, means
56. job interview] they value the candidate who
57. is able to speak in English but the
58. paradox is that all the state schools are
59. Urdu medium.. i want to talk about
60. my province ((Sindh)) if they want to
61. make English as the only language for education
62. .. they must promote English medium state schools..
63. R: hm.. hm.. you mean they are not..
64. MsF: they are not! What is happening that
65. there is a complete misbalance between
66. students coming from state schools and
67. the ones coming from private schools
68. R: hm.. hm..
69. MsF: and when they are in universities.. the
70. students a of state schools have lacking in their
71. English language skills and then they go to
72. private English language institutes
73. R: as a mother what languages do you
74. want your children to master..
75. MsF: as a mother ((takes a deep breath))
76. i want them to learn English well and as well
77. as Urdu..
78. R: when teachers are hired do you give

79. importance to English language competency

80. MsF: a lot ! a lot! Language ((means

81. English)) comes first and then the basic

82. knowledge of the subject

83. R: English language proficiency comes first

84. then the subject knowledge..

85. MsF: yeah!

86. R: one thing more .. what do you see are the

87. life chances of those who study in English

88. medium schools and those who do not..

89. MsF: of course the life chances for the students

90. of English medium schools is far greater

91. and brighter.. there are exceptional cases

92. from public sector schools.. but they are

93. one in thousands

94. R: your school has English only policy..

95. could you please reflect on the reasons

96. adopting this policy

97. MsF: ((takes a longer pause)) well... it

98. Is because of the demands of the parents..

99. looking at the society.. looking at the

100. outer world.. what people value most

101. R: hm.. hm..

102. MsF: this is according to the demands of the

103. society.. one day a father came to my

104. office and complained that his child had

105. been taught by some maid in the school.. i was taken

106. aback.. i told him that it was impossible

107. but he was so adamant .. he kept telling

108. me that his boy told him many a times!

109. that his teacher [pupils teacher] had left the

110. school and some maid had replaced her

111. after the father had gone.. i looked into

112. the problem and would you believe that the

113. new teacher would speak Urdu most

114. of the time during the lesson and the
115. child took her as a maid!
116. R: what did you do then
117. MsF: i told her that she had to change
118. her language practice.. of course i
119. did not tell her about the complaint

Extract 81: Interview with MsNidaTayyab, a grade 9 student at (SA, 20-7-2011)

1. MsNT: good morning
2. R: good morning.. Nida i want to take
3. your interview what is your preferred language for
4. interview
5. MsNT: English
6. R: you have been studying in this school
7. MsNT: since prep two ((pre school))
8. R: what do you want to become..
9. MsNT: ah.. i wanna take business.. additional
10. mathematics.. i am gonna work for a bank
11. R: you want to work here in Pakistan
12. MsNT: i want to go abroad.. i wanna
13. work for Barclays
14. R: what languages do you speak in home
15. MsNT: English and Urdu
16. R: and in school
17. MsNT: only English
18. R: you take part in co curricular activities
19. MsNT: oh yes ((smiles)) i am running a
20. journalist society of our school..
21. R: so you are interested in journalism
22. MsNT: yes..
23. R: you read newspapers
24. MsNT: yes I do

25. R: which one
26. MsNT: Dawn ((English language newspaper)) i
27. really get time on weekends only

Extract 82: Interview with Asghar Naqvi, a Grade 9 student at (SA, 21-7-2011)

1. R: Asghar what would be your preferred
2. language for the interview
3. MrAN: English.. i am fine with it
4. R: please tell me something about
5. your family
6. MrAN: like we live in a joint family.. it is a
7. big house.. all of us have religious values..
8. my mother is a teacher and father works
9. for Dawn news paper
10. R: what language you speak at home
11. MrAN: Urdu and English
12. R: and in school
13. MrAN: speak in English but i am comfortable
14. in Urdu with my friends and all..
15. R: what do you want to become
16. MrAN: there are a lot of options.. i mean
17. there is a lot of people.. my mother..
18. my father are attached they all want me
19. to do something or the other.. i could
20. be a historian.. i could be a writer but
21. One thing that keep coming back to me is
22. military..
23. R: you want to stay in Pakistan
24. MrAN: yes..
25. R: some people say that we are forgetting our
26. local languages.. culture.. do you think about this
27. MrAN: i believe the main problem is that we
28. are not proud of our identity.. i see a lot of
29. people saying that America and Canada are

30. good places to move to.. might be they are
31. sensible as well.. you know the kind of
32. things happening around.. we have lost all
33. sense of feelings.. we are losing the sense
34. of humanity that is a point
35. R: hm.. hm
36. MrAN: we do not even pity the happenings
37. around us in the city
38. R: what things bother you most
39. MrAN: the rich get away and the poor get
40. caught.. this must be eradicated.. the poor
41. men are treated badly

Extract 83: Parent -teacher meeting at (SA, Ms. Rizwana 21-7-2011)

1. () Ms Rizwana
2. ((parents gather in a classroom with meeting
3. slips to discuss the progress of their children
4. there are 8 women and 4 men waiting for
5. their turn to get the seat in front of the
6. Teacher to discuss.. the meeting is held after
7. school hours and the teacher seemed to be in a
8. hurry))
9. Ms Riz: ((addressing all the parents together))
10. if your child does not pay attention at home it
11. means he does not pay attention at school..
12. they are involved in gossips.. making fun..
13. they are appearing Cambridge examination
14. in March.. their mock [examination] will be
15. in early March.. they have to cope with all
16. the subjects right.. please buy them
17. unsolved past papers
18. P: remain silent
19. Ms Riz: they have to write specific answers

20. and i have given them the terminology
 21. of geography.. everything is given to
 22. your child o.k (...)
 23. ((parents leave their seats and gather
 24. close to teacher desk.. they show the
 25. invitation slip which has the name of
 26. child written. The teacher looks at the slip))
 27. Ms Riz: (...) your child.. Arsalan.. he
 28. needs to work hard
 29. P: thank you ((walk away))
 30. Ms Riz: Irtiza is now better means he was
 31. not better.. he was so involved in
 32. creating fun but now he is o.k..
 33. P: ((remain silent and walk away))
 34. P: (my son Faizan)
 35. Ms Riz: Faizan is good.. i have no complaints
 36. But little more concentration is required
 37. P: thank you..

Extract 84: Interview with Ms Humaira a mother from (SA, 22-7-2011)

1. R: any particular reason for putting your
 2. children in this school..
 3. MsH: (...) actually i was living in Jeddah
 4. R: hm.. hm..
 5. MsH: and I had two elder sons.. just came
 6. here [Pakistani] for further studies.. so i
 7. am supposed to stay here [Pakistani] then it is a
 8. better to put my younger daughter here as well..
 9. my husband in still working there [Jeddah]
 10. so when i came here [Pakistan] I went to a
 11. couple of school but here [school] the plus
 12. point was that as soon as I met them
 13. [school management] i discovered that

14. they could understand my apprehensions

15. R: what are those apprehensions

16. MsH: because you know.... Bringing

17. the child from another country and also any

18. child was very close to father so adjusting

19. in this environment [Pakistan] and the

20. environment was totally from Jeddah.. the

21. comfort is also different and the people are

22. different.. there [Jeddah] they used to study

23. with lot of nationalities.. you know .. it is a

24. total cultural difference and you know these

25. people [school] could relate to us.. and I needed a

26. place where my daughter.. you know.. is

27. comfortable.. it is a very warm place [school

28. environment]

29. R: you did not explore any public school

30. MsH: no.. not at all. You know....

31. first of all the government schools are

32. following notice system and it would be

33. very difficult for my daughter to cope with that

34. kind of system.. you know

35. R: hm.. hm..

36. MsH: already she is coming from an

37. American system of education and the

38. shift to Pakistani system... personally

39. i think they do not have much to offer..

40. i myself have studied from this system

41. [public school] same old books .. nothing

42. new

43. R: but this is an expensive place [school]

44. MsH: i know.. it is quite an expensive

45. place.... You know We have to keep

46. a good budget for the school tuition but

47. you know things [my financial status]

48. alhamdollilah thank God i could afford it

49. R: you have three children
50. MsH: two are elders ones and they are
51. masallah with the grace of Allah.. my eldest
52. one is C.C.A [degree in accounting] and
53. he is working now and the second
54. one is a graduate from ZABIST and
55. he is also working
56. R: what is the home language
57. MsH: it is Urdu.. my elder children do not
58. know how to write Urdu because they never
59. studied here [Pakistan] but you will not
60. believe that my daughter is a topper in
61. Urdu in school
62. R: what you see are the life chances of
63. your daughter
64. MsH: very bright.. also for my sons (...) general
65. the place [Pakistan] has a lot of potential
66. R: but I see a lot of poverty
67. everywhere in the country.. the gap between
68. the rich and poor is the biggest in the
69. world
70. MsH: i know.. the issue is .. there are
71. now practically two classes here [Pakistan]
72. R: hu.. hu..
73. MsH: one is [social class] having a lot of
74. fun and the other is only down and
75. down
76. R: and this other is the majority of
77. the country
78. MsH: ya.. you know my daughter is
79. studying here [private elite English medium
80. school] but we need places.. where
81. you know.. education become accessible
82. to people
83. R: at present it is not

84. MsH: not it is not and it is very
85. tough on the parents.. the ground reality
86. is that he is [husband] sending me
87. money from there [Jeddah] and if we
88. working or earning from here [Pakistan]
89. then it is impossible to make both
90. ends meet.. and the government and
91. NGO's should sit together.. on my own
92. i help my maids children with their studies..they
93. study in a government school..
94. R: that is a contribution..by the what
95. do you see their life chances are
96. MsH: they [maids children] have a lot of potential in them
97. but they are getting right environment..
98. there is no life chances for them.. i am
99. working very hard and i constantly till
100. her [maid] that you should bring her
101. daughters in a way that they should not
102. doing this work [cleaning] .. but you
103. know they have problems with them
104. R: that is more or less with the majority
105. of Pakistan
106. MsH: ya.. we are just a few.. we have
107. to do something on war basis.. to put
108. a proper system
109. R: i agree.. it is a horrible conditions
110. of learning environment in public
111. schools
112. MsH: it is terrible ..it is am feel.. and
113. is nonsense

Extract 85: Interview with Mr. Ghaffar, a father from (SA,22-7-2011)

1. MrG: well my name is Ghaffor i am
2. Sindhi.. i have agricultural lands

3. R: hm..

4. MrG: properties and estate business..my

5. leaving is by agriculture and i have been

6. all around the world

7. R: hm..

8. MrG: i travel every year..difficult places..

9. UK..Canada..America..Australia..

10. Germany..Switzerland..anywhere you

11. name .. wherever my children want to go..

12. Malaysia..Singapore..i am very happy in

13. my life

14. R: do you speak Sindhi with your

15. children

16. MrG: yes.. sometimes.. to let them know

17. what they are ..the problem with me is

18. that my wife is from Punjab and i am from

19. Sindhi [background]

20. R: it is a very multilingual family

21. MrG: ((laughs)) exactly..

22. R: so what is your home language now

23. by the way

24. MrG: what i think is that we talk in English

25. with little bit of Urdu.. 85% English

26. R: right .. so you have selected this school

27. for your children

28. MrG: oh yes.. i have been looking around

29. for schools.. myself and my wife are

30. very conscious

31. R: o.k

32. MrG: about studies because i come from a

33. very educated family.. my uncle was the

34. vice chancellor of agriculture university.. then

35. he became the vice chancellor of Sindh

36. university and then he become the

37. chairman of P.C.S.I.R [research institute]

38. my father is a doctor..one of my uncles
39. is D.I.G in Police.. one of my uncle
40. was the head of a bank
41. R: it is very well positioned family
42. MrG: Ya.. so i went to a lot schools
43. R: you went to public sector school
44. as well
45. MrG: no.. no.. big school [private
46. English medium schools] and then i became
47. to this school ..it is like a name to a
48. child.. they construct the personality of
49. the children .. even i am learning so
50. many things from my children..
51. R: what things area you learning from
52. your children
53. MrG: so many different things.. so
54. many different words..
55. R: you think language was one of the
56. considerations behind selecting this
57. school
58. MrG: i do not think so because we speak
59. English at home.. they actually groom
60. children
61. R: have children improved their English
62. speaking skills
63. MrG: oh my God they have improved a
64. hell lot of it.. if you call my children
65. and she start speaking with us..
66. fluent English.. what i am speaking
67. [English] with you they are hundred
68. and ten times.. i should say they are
69. million times better
70. R: what do you see are the life chances
71. for your children
72. MrG: i have three children studying in this

73. school.. one is in O2 [o level] the other
74. is in class 9 and the youngest one is in
75. class 6 look my child the biggest one..
76. touchwood.. what he is planning for is
77. that he want to become a psychiatrist
78. and I have planned to send him to KL
79. [Kuala Lumpur] university
80. R: and the middle one
81. MrG: the middle one.. she is also going to
82. study abroad
83. R: and the youngest one
84. MrG: she is going to stay with until i
85. move out of the country..
86. R: if not a personal question.. is not
87. It is financial challenge to have three
88. children educated in such expensive
89. school
90. MrG: look people spend a lot for the
91. grooming of their children.. they take
92. them to foreign countries to make them
93. better so i think paying over here
94. in this school is worth.. because if
95. i take my children to USA or UK they
96. are going to learn what they are
97. learning here..and i am saving a
98. lot of money ..this is between you and
99. me..if they [school] charge me Rs.5000
100. more every month..i am willing to pay
101. them because in this I am getting
102. what I dreamt..it is nothing..
103. R: pleasure talking to you

Extract 86: Interview with Mr. Afzal, the principal of (SB, 1-8-2011)

1. Mr A: (...) what i get from other.. the
2. community.. teachers community or principals
3. community.. if i talk to my seniors .. what
4. we should do.. they say only one thing that
5. the child should speak in English.. you
6. will get more aSDission.. actually the
7. purpose behind.. the philosophy behind
8. is that we get more aSDission when
9. children speak in English... that is all
10. nothing else
11. R: commercial interest..
12. Mr A: yes exactly.. if some one is
13. coming late.. do not let him come in late.. this
14. is the discipline of the school whether someone
15. like it or not.. also make him speak in
16. English.. just give him a few phrases in
17. English.. twenty or thirty written on a page
18. .. they will learn it by heart.. and
19. speak them at home.. that is enough..
20. and the school will flourish
21. the owners do not know the curriculum.. they
22. do not know anything about academics
23. .. they are only concerned about number
24. of students (xxx) if the fee is one thousand
25. how can they make it twelve hundred..
26. they are not thinking about the education at all..
27. R: your school is a hugely multi lingual
28. school.. do you promote Punjabi / Baochi/
29. Sindhi
30. Mr A: they[local languages] are not for tomorrow actually
31. R: Punjabi.. Balochis.. Sindhi are
31. not for tomorrow
32. Mr A: they are not for tomorrow .. what

33. will you do with them.. if you just
 34. go for Kulawallah Ahad [Allah is one]
 35. you will find it clearer in English
 36. R: sorry.. i do not understand it.. majority
 37. of children come from Balochi and Punjabi language background .. when they come to school.
 38. they bring those languages with them.. and the school
 39. language environment is different.. how
 40. does then school socialize them into school
 41. language environment
 42. Mr A: we the teachers are responsible for every
 43. concern.. we the principals.. not
 44. the owners
 45. R: how do you socialize them into
 46. school language environment
 47. Mr A: let me quote one example.. we have
 48. two years training in Pakistan Military Academy
 49. Kakul.. after such a training.. they are
 50. just able to speak in the typical way.. if we ask
 51. them to talk about economy.. they will not be
 52. able to do it.. but they can pass out the utters [cautions]
 53. .. they can give instructions .. they can follow the
 54. instructions in English.. the way they do.. the
 55. same way are our schools
 56. R: so.. parents want English only
 57. Mr A: English and discipline..

Extract 87: Interview with Ms. Talat, a mother from (SB, 25-7-2011)

- 1 Ms.T گھر میں بچوں کے ساتھ اردو میں بات کرتے ہیں.. شوہر اور میں پنجابی میں بات کرتے ہیں..
*we talk to our children in urdu at home.. my husband and i speak to each other
 in Punjabi..*
- 2 Mr.R اسکی کوئی خاص وجہ:
any particular reason for that
- 3 Mr T نہیں کوئی خاص وجہ نہیں.. کبھی کر بھی لیتے ہیں..
no particular reason.. we do speak punjabi with them at times..

- 4 R گھر میں آپ اور آپ کے شوہر پنجابی بولتے ہیں.. تو بچوں کو آپ نے کس طرح اردو سکھائی
you and your husband speak Punjabi at home.. then how did you teach Urdu
- 5 Ms T آپس میں ہم لوگ پنجابی بولتے ہیں تو بچے پنجابی سیکھتے ہیں.. کچھ الفاظ یا کچھ باتیں سیکھتے ہیں.. لیکن یہ ہے کہ یہ بچوں سے
ہم اردو میں ہی بات کرتے ہیں
when we speak to each other in Punjabi.. children do pick up words and
expression of Punjabi .. some words..some phrases.. but we speak in Urdu with
our children..
- 6 Ms T میں ابھی مس سے یہ ہی بول رہی تھی [ہیڈ مسٹریس پرائیویٹ اسکول] کہ آپ اتنی بہترین انگریزی بول رہی تھیں.. اتنی
بہترین انگریزی بول رہی تھیں.. میں یہ کہتی ہوں کہ ہم لوگوں ((اساتذہ حکومتی ادارے)) کی قابلیت آپ لوگوں سے زیادہ
ہے.. ہم لوگ بات چیت صحیح سے نہیں کر پاتے ہیں..
i was just telling the [head mistress private school] that you speak so well.. so
well.. i tell that we [teachers of public sector schools] are more qualified than
you are.. but we lack in the way of talki
- 7 R بات چیت سے مراد آپ کی انگریزی ہے
by way of talking you mean speaking English
- 8 Ms T جی بالکل.. اس ہی وجہ سے گورنمنٹ اسکول کے بچے چاہے جتنے قابل ہو جائیں.. جب انگریزی کا مسئلہ آتا ہے تو وہ بہت پیچھے
رہ جاتے ہیں.. آپ دیکھیں ایک بندہ ہے جسے کچھ نہیں آتا اور وہ دو چار الفاظ انگریزی کے بول لیتے ہے.. لوگ اس کو کتنی
عزت دیتے ہیں..
exactly.. that is why children of public sector schools lack in their career.. no
matter how hard they work because of English.. just look around if a person
speaks a few words of English.. he is respected in the society..
- 9 Ms T it is probably due to these considerations that you put your children in this school
despite the fact that yourself is a teacher in public sector school
- 10 R شاید ان ہی وجوہات کے تحت آپ نے اپنے بچوں کو اس اسکول میں پڑھایا اگرچہ آپ خود گورنمنٹ اسکول میں پڑھاتی ہیں
yes exactly
- 11 Ms T جی بالکل

Extract 88: Interview with Ms Talat Ejaz, a grade 10 Urdu teacher at (SB, 30-9-2011)

- 1 R آپ کے اسکول میں جو English-only پالیسی ہے اس میں اساتذہ بھی شامل تھے..
were teachers involved in the formation of English only policy recently
introduced in your school..
- 2 Ms TE نہیں وہ تو آرڈر آجاتے ہیں.. ((ادھر ادھر دیکھتے ہوئے)) میرے بات کرنے میں کوئی مسئلہ تو نہیں ہوگا

no ..only orders came to us.. ((looking side ways)) i hope it will not put me in trouble

3 R

آپ بالکل اطمینان رکھیں..

you do not worry about it

4 Ms TE

اصل میں یہ بات یہ ہے کہ یہ سب کچھ کاروبار چکانے کے دھندے ہیں اساتذہ جو انگریزی نہیں بول سکتے ان کے اوپر تو بہت پریشر ہے.. اور یہ بہت unfair ہے کہ آپ لوگوں کو مجبور کریں.. کرکیولم ہمیں.. بچوں کو دیکھ کر بنانا چاہئے.. ہمیں یہ تو معلوم نہیں کہ بچے کی صلاحیت کیا ہے.. اور ہم پالیسی تھوپ دیتے ہیں..

the real thing is that they want to make loads of money.. teachers who are unable to speak English are under great pressure.. and this is very unfair with them as they are forced.. we should design our curriculum according to the capacities of our people.. capacities of our pupils! .. we do not know about their capacities and we impose policies..

Extract 89: a, b: Field notes (SC, 16-5-2011)

- 1 (a) At about 10: 30 in the morning; three school boys running
- 2 in the field outside the school towards the main entrance
- 3 in the field outside the school towards the main entrance
- 4 in the field outside the school towards the main entrance
- 5 we exchanged smiles; they stopped; perhaps they have now begun to recognize m
- 6 I asked them where they were going; ' to our duty at the entrance gate' they replied
- 7 'why' I asked them. They were perhaps not expecting this question; all of them replied that it was their turn;
- 8 Then explained that the teacher has fixed duties for boys to guard the school gates because of the threats from suicide bombers;
- 9 where are the rest of the class? The reply was that they were taking their class
- 1 (b) towards the end of my field work in SC, I asked the principal
- 2 out of courtesy that what I could do for the school in return
- 3 the principal asked me to give a workshop on teaching English
- 4 through phonemic symbols; I had prepared the lesson; nearly all the
- 5 faculty along with principal were there on Friday to attend this workshop being held in the computer
- 6 laboratory of the school; I needed a dictionary to print a page of phonemic symbols; the headmaster
- 7 sent a peon to his office; there was delay in his coming back; then the principal sent a teacher to
- 8 different classroom; in the end, Mr. Sajid, offered me a ride to Quetta high court on his bike to get
- 9 the dictionary; on way back; he explained that the school never needs any dictionary because
- 10 teachers buy ready-made notes from the market and they know how to handle questions

Extract 90: a,b,c,d: Field notes (SD, 21-4-2011)

1. a) located in bosti (shanty town) in the centre of Karachi:
2. donkey carts, rickshaws and fruit carts were parked
3. outside the houses. in the narrow winding streets
4. brings one to the face of the mosque. on the ground
5. floor is the mosque, and the first and second floor are
6. spaces for the DM where 120 boys study. majority
7. of the boys live in whereas some are day scholars. all
8. the pupils and teachers dressed in islamic ways and
9. wear beard.
1. b) the first floor consists of one big hall. it is a
2. multipurpose hall. from 7 am to 11 am, it is used for
3. teaching and learning at 11:30 it is used for lunch.
4. from 2:00 to 3:30 it is used for afternoon siesta from
5. 3:30 to 5:00 it is used for teaching again. onward 8.00
6. it is used as a communal sleeping for all the boys.

(a) مدرسہ ایک بستی میں واقع ہے جو کہ کراچی شہر کے بیچ واقع ہے۔
گدھا گاڑی، رکشے اور پھلوں کے ٹھیلے علاقے میں کھڑے ہیں۔ ایک نہایت
پتلی گلی سے مدرسے تک پہنچنا۔ یہ ایک
مسجد جس کی چلی منزل پہ مسجد ہے
اور پہلی اور دوسری منزل پہ مدرسہ
ہے جس میں ایک سو بیس طلبا پڑھتے ہیں
زیادہ تر طلبا یہاں پر رہتے ہیں جبکہ کچھ طلبا گھر چلے جاتے ہیں۔ تمام
طلبا اسلامی لباس پہنتے ہیں اور داڑھی
بھی رکھتے ہیں۔

(b) یہ ایک بڑا ہال ہے جو کہ پہلی منزل پہ واقع ہے۔ اس
ہال کو کئی مقاصد کیلئے استعمال کیا جاتا ہے۔ سات بجے سے گیارہ تک
پڑھانے کیلئے استعمال ہوتا ہے۔ ساڑھے گیارہ بجے کھانے کیلئے استعمال ہوتا ہے۔
دو پہر ۲.۳۰ سے ۳.۳۰ تک یہ لڑکوں کے سونے کیلئے استعمال ہوتا ہے۔ سہ پہر
۳.۳۰ سے ۵.۰۰ تک اس کو پڑھانے کیلئے استعمال کیا جاتا ہے۔ شام آٹھ بجے
کے بعد اس کو اجتماعی طور پر سونے کیلئے استعمال کیا جاتا ہے۔