Language Education Policy in the (post/neo)Colonial Pakistan and the Life Trajectories of Low SES Students

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Dedication

To the untiring, empowering and blissful mentorship, and love of my mentor, my role model, my spiritual father, MY Pir Sahab,
His Eminence Shaykh Muhammad Naqib ur Rahman Sahab.

To the countless and never-ending sacrifices and devotion of my mother; to the silent and selfless sacrifices of my siblings, and to the wisdom of my father who taught me to respect my mother and connected me with my Pir Sahab.

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Abstract

Educational policies in Pakistan have been the mandate of (neo)colonial masters since British colonialism in the eighteenth century. Today, the monetary and symbolic power of international neocolonial development agencies shape Pakistani educational policies, especially those related to medium of instruction (MOI), and these policies act to strengthen a (neo)colonial hegemony. Although English is the mother tongue of fewer than 1% of Pakistanis, 52% of students were barred from higher education (HE) in Lahore, Pakistan during the last 12 years, because they failed a standardized English language exam. Moreover, most K-10 teachers in Punjab province lack functional English language skills. Nevertheless, Pakistan's National Education Policy 2009 declared English as the MOI from grade four onwards in order to comply with a quality education mandate of UNESCO's Education for All (EFA).

This language policy vertical case study constructs a multimodal critical discourse analysis to analyze data (including documents, government websites, Skype and face-to-face interviews, and Facebook discussions) collected in Pakistan from policymakers, administrators, teachers, and HE students, including recent graduates. The data analysis examines how global educational Discourses inform, (re/de)shape and are (re/de)shaped by national, provincial and local educational discourses, and how those discourses (re/de)shape the life trajectories of post-colonial Pakistani HE students. The study illuminates ways in which low SES Pakistani HE students negotiate, appropriate, subordinate, and resist neocolonial oppression through language education policy.

This dissertation finds that global discourses on internationalization of HE, competition through HE, and quality education through English MOI carry direct implications for the academic and professional trajectories of Pakistanis. HE students in Pakistan have become what Ramanathan (2005) called the contact zone of subordination and resistance to the hegemony of English, which is frequently skewed towards subordination, risking the academic, linguistic, and national identity of Pakistanis. The decision for English MOI is directly connected to issues of language and cultural shift, and to vitality of local languages, cultures, and knowledges. Deeper analysis of the Discourses of (mis)trust, dislocation, need and desire reveals two conflicting possibilities for the educational crisis in Pakistan. The first is a continued journey towards loss of identity and freedom; the second is genuine educational reform BY and FOR the people of Pakistan.

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List of Abbreviations

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages	CEFR
Critical Discourse Analysis	CDA
Education for All	EFA
English Language Learners	ELLs
English language Policy	ELP
English Lingua Franca	ELF
European Higher Education Area	EHEA
European Union	EU
Figured World	FW
Higher Education	HE
Information and Communication Technologies	ICT
International Monetary Fund	IMF
Language Education Policy	LEP
Language Policy and Planning	LPP
Language Policy	LP
Medium of Instruction	MOI
Millennium Development Goals	MDGs
Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis	MCDA
Multimodal Methods of Discourse Analysis	MMDA
National Education Policy	NEP
National Language Promotion Authority	NLPA
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	OECD
Socio-Economic Statuses	SES
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages	TESOL
Test of English as a Foreign Language	TOEFL
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	UNESCO
United States Agency for International Development	USAID
Vertical Case Study	VCS

Chapter 1
Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Language education policy (LEP) has varied effects on students with different socio-economic statuses (SES) in Pakistan, and it has consistently been a major determinant in differential access to higher education and employment since the time of British colonialism (Naz-Rassool, 2007; Rahman, 2005). Greater access to quality English language instruction leads to higher education and better employment opportunities for the privileged classes, which further increases socio-economic separation within Pakistani society. Students' success in standardized examinations at grades 9 and 10 (matriculation), grades 11 and 12 (intermediate), and grade 14 (bachelors) is contingent upon their success in the standardized examination of the English language (Mansoor, 2005). For instance, in 2012 in Lahore, Pakistan's second largest city, 52.6% of the students who took the compulsory, citywide intermediate level (grades 11 and 12) standardized English examination failed (see Table 1). This failure rate is consistent over time. During the last 11 years in Lahore, an average of 51.72% of students failed this examination, which means that they were unable to access higher education. The failure rate on the English compulsory examination at the Bachelor's level (BA/BSc examination) rises to 65%. There is no data on students who drop out of secondary schools, high schools, or universities because they do not have the required skills in English language. System-wide numbers hide the fact that English language policy is impacting different SESs differently. Students from a privileged SES go to elite English-medium schools through K-12, achieve near native English literacy skills, and benefit from their linguistic edge over their

counterparts who attend public schools (Rahman, 2005). For the 83.4% of low SES high school students in Pakistan who are enrolled in public schools (Derived from Pakistan Education Statistics, 2010-2011) that use the vernacular as the main medium of instruction and teach English only by the grammar translation method, the failure rate is much higher.

Table 1.1
Achievement Record of Students in the Compulsory English Standardized Examination at the Intermediate Level (grades 11& 12) in Lahore

Year	Pass rate	Failure rate
2002	46.47%	53.53%
2003	50.77%	49.23%
2004	48.65%	51.35%
2005	51.96%	48.08%
2006	55.11%	44.89%
2007	60.89%	39.11%
2008	42.4%	57.6%
2009	42.39%	57.61%
2010	41.86%	58.14%
2011	43.28%	56.72%
2012	47.37%	52.63%
Average	48.28%	51.72%

(Compiled from the archives of the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Lahore)

The high failure rate in the compulsory English examination has wide-ranging, long term impacts. The 1998 National Census of Pakistan (no census has been conducted since then), determined that in Punjab province achievement of higher education is low: 16.7% of the population has passed grade 10, 5.63% has passed grade 12, 3.23% has a bachelor's degree, and 1.07% of the population has a master's degree (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 1998). The 1998 census data did not document the role of the high compulsory English examination failure rate in the low achievement at these three educational levels. Naz-Rassool (2007) states that "English in higher education serves as a screening mechanism; it excludes the majority from access to higher education" (p. 237). With a special focus on those exceptional students who come from low SES but nevertheless manage to enter

higher education (HE), this study explores the socio-economically entrenched linguistic struggles, tensions, and contradictions that this specific student group faces in order to survive in HE. The goal of this study is to understand the following: (1) the historical development of LEP in Pakistan as part of the colonial agenda of divide and rule, and the achievement of colonization of the mind in the post-colonial[1] era; (2) the ways low SES HE students in Pakistan understand and respond to LEP; and 3) expanding upon King and DeFina (2010), the individual agency dimension of LP as well as the positioning of global LPs (internationalization of HE), national LEPs, and Pakistani HE students with respect to each other.

Post-colonial Pakistan is a highly multilingual country with 56 indigenous languages out of which six major languages are the mother tongues of 95% of the population (derived from National Census of Pakistan, 1998). However, English is *neither* the mother tongue *nor* the indigenous language of even 1% of the population (see Table 2). English has nevertheless been awarded the status of the language of higher education, research, and the co-official language of the country. Pakistan stands out as a most extreme example of English hegemony (Phillipson, 2009) among post-colonial nations (some other examples are the Philippines and Malaysia). The focus of this dissertation is the inequity and social division caused by the ways language hierarchy is shaped in Pakistan. Language education policy in Pakistan results in limited access to quality education based on socio-

[1] This dissertation uses two very different but often mutually confused terms "post-colonialism" and "postcolonialism". The term "post-colonialism refers to 'since colonialism' as compared to after colonialism. However, the unhyphenated term "postcolonialism" refers to the lens/approach towards analysis.

economic status of the students. As will be shown in more detail below, English language enhances social stratification in Pakistan.

Table 1.2
Population of Pakistan by Mother Tongue

Urdu	Punjabi	Sindhi	Pashto	Balochi	Saraiki	Others
7.57%	44.15%	14.1%	15.42%	3.57%	10.53%	4.66%

(National Census of Pakistan, 1998)

Higher education in Pakistan has historically placed English on the top of the linguistic hierarchy (Rahman, 2005), and that over emphasis on English language has created a contentious medium of instruction controversy. One example of the linguistic hierarchy is that until grade 12 Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) and English are both compulsory subjects, but at the graduate level, only English language becomes a compulsory subject and Urdu is dropped (Naz-Rassool, 2007). Those who do not pass the compulsory English language examination at grades 10, 12, or 14 cannot enter the respective next grade level. In contrast, regional languages are relegated to the community and home, and "their educational role is limited to the primary or secondary level in most provinces, as materials for higher studies are practically non-existent in the vernacular" (Mansoor, 2005, p. 27). These regional languages do not have any place in Pakistani higher education (HE) in terms of medium of instruction. This is not because "these languages do not have literary and intellectual traditions. The difference lies in the extent" (Mansoor, 2005, p. 27). In fact, the British colonizers intentionally hampered the literary and intellectual growth of non-Anglophonic South Asian languages. Before British invasion on the Indian Sub-Continent, Hindus and Muslims had their own traditional systems of education, which were deeply ingrained in their local traditions where they used Persian,

Urdu, Sanskrit, and Hindi as the mediums of instruction (Khan, 2001). After British invasion, the East India Company was responsible for the educational projects in the British Sub-Continent, but it failed to bring any explicit policy regarding medium of instruction. On February 2, 1835, Lord Macaulay's infamous minutes declared English as the medium of instruction and court language. Hence, English's popularity increased in the real sense of the word (Pennycook, 2000). As a result, local vernaculars, especially Pashto and Urdu, that had deep religious significance for Muslims, received a huge setback (Khan, 2001). This discriminatory treatment continues via the local elites in post-independence Pakistan, except that Urdu holds the status of a (dummy) national and co-official language[2] and is an alternate medium of instruction to English for subjects other than the highly regarded ones like sciences, technology, and business.

Languages that disappear from the formal discourse of HE are deprived of academic enrichment and move towards language death (Coleman, 2006). As a result, many languages in Pakistan are either in danger of extinction or show the "signs of language sickness, if not death" (Rahman, 2006, p. 83), and thus they have become burdens rather than treasures. As a result, English language became a cuckoo (to use the analogy of Phillipson [2006]) in the nest of Urdu, Persian, and many other local languages of colonial and post-colonial Pakistan by throwing them out of political and academic enrichment.

[2]Most official documents including the educational policies of Pakistan are in English only, except a few official documents that can be found in Urdu (Naz-Rassool, 2007). While it is called a national language, it does not hold the power of the English language, thus the title of national language is empty of meaning.

This research focuses on the language policy in Pakistan that has been the root cause of major ethnic and linguistic conflicts. According to Tollefson (2002), when "language is perceived as a marker of group identity and a determiner of access to political power and economic resources, then the probability of language conflict increases, and the ethnolinguistic groups may be mobilized around issues of language" (p. 6). For example, historically Urdu, Bengali, Sindhi, and Pashto languages have been considered major identity markers for Pakistanis (Rahman, 2002), and there has been a huge push to make them language(s) of instruction. The refusal of this demand was considered a threat to the linguistic and academic identity of these ethnic groups; hence, it instigated several violent riots in Pakistan (Naz-Rassool, 2007). The riots over making Bengali a co-national language of Pakistan became a key factor in the separation of East Pakistan, known today as Bangladesh (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010).

Through analysis of documents, interviews, and social media, this study illuminates the ways in which global discourses of higher education internationalization have influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009) and how local actors make sense of this shift. The study also highlights the perceived impact of language education policy (LEP) on the academic trajectories of Pakistani HE students from various socio-economic classes as well as the ways these HE students subordinate, resist, appropriate, and/or negotiate the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan. The remainder of this chapter will cover the scope of the field of language policy research, existing gaps in that body of scholarship, and an interpretation of some

postcolonial assumptions and terminology. Finally, the chapter ends with the research questions that frame and guide this particular study.

Gaps and Scope within the Field of Language Policy

Since its inception in the 1960s until today, the field of LP has made great advances both epistemologically and empirically (Ricento, 2000). The focus of the field has shifted away from viewing LP as a neutral process and examining language policy making in isolation from policy implementation (Fishman, 1974) to the analysis of policy as a political project (Tollefson, 1991). Now, policy making, interpretation, manipulation, and implementation are all considered to be inter-connected (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Thus, structural level policy making and the ways LP is lived and/or contested in the social lives of people is the focus of contemporary LP researchers.

Ricento (2000) categorizes the development of LP into three stages (see Table 3 in Appendix IV). A review of these stages indicates that language policy and planning (LPP) of non-Anglophonic, post-colonial, developing countries was the major focus in the era of decolonization during 1960s, marked as stage 1. Since the 1970s, the beginning of the second stage of LP development, the field has shifted its focus more towards European, African, and Asian countries, but greatly neglected LEP issues in South-Asian countries. This is a major neglect in the field, which the present study aims to help fill. The growing attention to methodological, rhetorical, and geographical gaps in LP literature is a sign that the field has begun to progress. What we need to do is adjust our orientation to become more inclusive of those who have been overlooked. Since the majority of the world's population lives in developing countries, ignoring them means producing a *very* incomplete

picture of the current state of affairs regarding LEP around the globe. This will also result in a restricted, biased, and unidirectional growth of the field. Since academia informs policy making, policy implementation, and international education development, and inspires international education reforms, an incomplete picture of LEP could lead to biased and uninformed educational reforms and policy decisions. This study serves to fill this gap and inform the field regarding both the least studied context of developing, non-Anglophonic, and post-colonial, South Asian Pakistani HE and the functioning of the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonial and imperial forces in the postcolonial and post-9/11 era.

Ricento's (2000) review includes only up to the year 2000, after which there have been major developments in the field. Here, I present my review of the development of the sub-field of LEP in HE within the broader field of LP. This review of the most recent developments in the field of LP indicates that there has been great focus on language education policy in HE triggered by the adoption of educational (re/de)forms under the European Union's language policies on internationalization of HE and the Bologna Process. European countries had various responses and implications to these (re/de)forms which gained major focus of research in educational policy. Although the global south is among the direct recipients of the impacts of these linguistic and educational reforms, it has been focused on the least. Closer examination of this global north/south skew in the field presents a limited body of research in post-colonial, non-Anglophonic, South-Asian countries such as Malaysia (Gill, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004). Gill (2004) presents a very broad view of shifts in educational policies under the influence of nationalism and

economic pressures. She emphasizes that the recent language policy shift towards the English language would bring economic benefits as well as ethnic harmony. Tsui and Tollefson (2004) elaborate how language education policy in post-colonial Malaysia has been guided by two major ideologies: free and unified Malay identity and the dream of an industrialized Malaysia. They highlight that the institution of HE has been used as an instrument to reach these goals. There are only three published studies that claim a focused investigation of LEP in Pakistani HE (Khan, 2004; Mansoor, 2004; 2005). Mansoor (2004) presents a very broad view of contextual, political, and historical issues around the medium of instruction controversy in Pakistan and relies heavily on generalizations usually not substantiated by solid empirical research. This twenty-page-long paper offers only 2.5 pages on higher education in Pakistan, which again lack any focus on policy and planning. Khan (2004) analyzes an instance of code switching between English and Urdu during a lecture session in a classroom at the University of Karachi in light of the university's language policy. However, the study lacks any direct emphasis on LP. An indirect emphasis is on the issue of language policy at the institutional level and its perceived reflection in classroom practices. This neglect of the broader field and skew in focus are evidence of the power imbalance between the rich and poor, English speaking and non-English speaking countries. Therefore, by analyzing all previous language education policies of Pakistan; Pakistani students' achievement records in standardized examination of English at grades 10, 12 and 14; and students' perceptions regarding medium of instruction policies; this study informs the field in multiple ways. First, it examines both the historical tensions and current state of medium of instruction in higher education, as

well as its perceived impacts on the academic trajectories of students from varied SES. Doing so informs LP's sub field, of LEP in HE regarding the current state of LEP affairs, and their historical developments in Pakistani HE. Secondly, this study considers the fact that West-based language education policies, such as internationalization of HE, are context specific, yet they greatly inform LEP formation in non-Western, non-Anglophonic, global southern, South Asian countries like Pakistan.

Although this study is temporally situated in the third and most recent stage of LP development, it is engaged in LEP discussions of the first two stages as well. This is because the shifting focus of the field is not arbitrary or random but rather, it occurs in response to the existing problems, developments, and/or movements in the world. Thus, this current state of LEP in Pakistan is a reflection of the historical development of the British colonial agenda, where there is no true *post* to colonialism but rather neo-colonialism, imperialism, and globalization arise as faithful extensions to the colonial agenda of divide and rule. In 1835 English medium of instruction was forcibly imposed by the British colonizer; whereas in 2014 in Pakistan, English medium of instruction is a desired option (though contested) by individual students. This has happened because Pakistani LEP has targeted these individuals implicitly or explicitly (King & DeFina, 2010) to influence their behaviors (Cooper, 1989) and discipline their linguistic attitudes—which Tikly (2009) refers to as "colonization of mind" (p. 37). Hence, LEP has become a major determinant of the entire academic trajectory of a student in Pakistan. It is therefore necessary to listen to these students' perspectives and engage them in critical discussions regarding their relationship with and understanding of LEP.

Indeed, there is a notable absence of the voices of these students in the field of LP research. In Martin's (2011) study, a Somali HE student in a British university complains, "No one took any notice of my linguistic journey while at university." This comment suggests the ways in which the field needs to shift towards using combinations of research methods that can potentially present snapshots or portraits (Yon, 2000) of the lives of the real people being affected by a policy. King and DeFina (2010) expand the individual agency dimension of LP and investigate how individual Latina immigrants "position themselves" relative to LP and politics. Further expanding this dimension of LP, this multilayered study investigates how LEP of Pakistan has been positioned with reference to Western policies such as EFA/ Bologna declaration; how LEP in Pakistan positions HE students; and how these students (re)position themselves with respect to LEP. Furthermore, since the colonized is not a monolithic powerless being or a passive receiver, but rather is a contact zone of subordination and resistance (Ramanathan, 2005), this study also examines how Pakistani HE students interpret, appropriate, resist, and subordinate these policies. Doing so, this study contributes to our understanding of how 'targets' of LEP (King & DeFina, 2010) understand this LEP as well as potentially resist or confirm it through their practices. It is essential for educators, curriculum designers, and policymakers to crack open the black box of LEP and its manifestations in the lives of the real targets of educational policy, which in the case of Pakistan are HE students from low SES. Doing so not only helps us understand the painful process of survival in HE, but also informs our understanding of why the majority of Pakistan is not reaching HE, and for those who do reach it, how they have prevailed when the failure rate is so high. More than

anything else, this investigation directs our efforts towards making HE a less painful and dehumanizing process. The findings of this study also advance our understanding of the process of colonization of the mind, and of the linkages between colonial, neo-colonial, imperial, and globalization forces today. For the participants of this study, participation in this research process encourages their engagement in critical self-reflection regarding their own positions with respect to LEP.

Research in the field of LEP in HE has been carried out primarily by literature review (Kilber, Bunch, & Endris, 2011), document analysis (Darquennes, 2011), and surveys and/or interviews (Fortanet-Gomez, 2012). Ethnographic methods in the field are relatively new (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). The field is still lacking in its use of several research methods to examine LEP in HE. This study helps to methodologically expand the field in two ways. First, it introduces social media as a means of data co-construction and the use of multimodal critical discourse analysis for data analysis. Media, in the present day, is not neutral; the controlled dissemination of certain cultures via the media is a threat to individual independence worse than colonialism (Ricento, 2000). Educational researchers' interventions through the critical use of social media can work towards the liberation and empowerment of the marginalized. To my knowledge, there is a very limited number of published research that has used social media or digital ethnography for the examination of LEP in HE. Public spaces such as Facebook serve as platforms for the negotiation, appropriation, (re)shaping, subordination, and resistance to LPs. These manifestations of LP in such places might have strong linkages to LEPs in HE. This study, therefore, undertakes the significant task of examining digital spaces for a closer

examination of power and LP dynamics in Pakistan and brings to the fore the academic trajectories and experiences of HE students of Pakistan. Application of Facebook in this study also suggests that careful engagement of social media in LEP research can introduce a new dimension to comparative research in LP in multiple geographical contexts at the same time, thus further expanding the comparative dimension of LP research (Detailed discussion of this aspect of the study is provided in the methodology section).

Second, this study utilizes vertical case study methodology (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006; 2009) from the field of comparative education to provide tools to the researcher who strives to examine structural as well as local/individual aspects in language education policy. The only other methodology in the field of LEP that allows multilevel policy research is ethnography of language policy—for which conducting direct observation is a pre-requisite; however, not every multilevel language policy researcher can conduct direct observations. Since vertical case study is not contingent upon direct observation data, it becomes an alternative of ethnography of language policy to the researchers who desire to conduct multilevel language policy study without engaging themselves in the ethnographic pre-requisite of field observations.

Introducing vertical case also provides methodological support to the investigation of the often implicit power struggle between language education policy and individual agency, where both inform, (re)shape, and (re)position each other. Existing research mainly focuses either on examining the state of LEP in HE at structural and institutional levels (Coleman, 2006; Darquennes, 2011; Dunbar, 2011; Hughes, 2008; Phillipson, 2006, 2008, 2009) or at the individual level (Rivers, 2011). For example, in his literature review,

Coleman (2006) surveyed the field to present an up-to-date illustration of the hegemony of English medium of instruction in European HE, the factors that support this hegemony of Englishization in HE, and the apprehensions related to this policy change. He also illuminates the link between LEP in HE and the phenomenon of language shift and language death. Alternately, Hughes (2008) is concerned that internationalization and international language policies in HE have created Anglophonic asymmetry, which has implications on teaching and medium of instruction in non-Anglophonic countries. Her major foci are equity, access, and quality of internationalization in HE. Meanwhile, Darquennes (2011) presents an overview of the current trends of research in multilingualism in order to call attention to policy challenges and the role of academia. He indicates that research has historically been fueling the development of European language policy. Finally, Rivers (2011) illuminates an individual teacher's active exploration and individual agency in the face of official language policy and explores the policy's perceived impacts on students' language learning and linguistic identity within the context of a Japanese university. The researcher uses classroom observations as an integral means of data collection. Despite this illuminating work, limited research has focused on the powerful global, international, and cross-national implications of medium of instruction policies in HE and the ways they are understood, contested, negotiated, and appropriated at both the individual and local levels. Therefore, application of methods like vertical case study is critical to the further extension of the field. This study is a contribution in this direction.

Since, this dissertation heavily uses particular terminology (such as colonized, colonizer, and contact zone of subordination and resistance), what follows is my interpretation of the assumptions and terminologies from policy and postcolonial literature. Discussing and defining these terms informs my readers regarding the lens through which I frame this study.

Interpretation of Postcolonial Assumptions and Terminologies

It should be explicitly stated that there is no end to colonialism. Again, colonialism is not an episode that is over. Rather, its vestiges continue to flourish and benefit the heirs of the colonizer (Tikly, 1999). However, these vestiges come in varied forms including social systems, structures, institutions, policies, and even forms of knowledge. Hickling-Hudson et al. write, "the pervasive theme of postcolonial theory is that societies and knowledges have been so thoroughly worked over by colonialism that we cannot assume that colonialism is ever over, only that colonial relationships continue to order and reorder the cultural and economic hierarchies of knowledge and disciplines" (2004, p. 3). The colonizer's dream is to rule over the colonized both ideologically and materially, which can be achieved by disciplining the ways of thinking of the colonized in the desired ways of the colonizer. Thus, with the purpose to colonize the intellect of people (Whitehead, 2005), education systems under the colonial forces work on the colonized until they start considering their pre-existing ideologies and knowledges wrong, false, or less valued in comparison to the colonizer's authenticated versions. Hence, gradually the subordinate class starts disowning, divorcing, shifting away from, and ultimately forgetting their beliefs and instead agrees upon and applies the colonizer's proposed and approved beliefs and

truths into their lives. When colonialism works through the system of education, this shift passes on to the coming generation and is considered authentic.

The question of how colonial forces "work over" knowledges today can be explained by the most recent example of USAID's teacher training and curriculum reform projects in post-colonial Pakistan. One of the projects is to clean-up Pakistani K-10 curriculum in order to fix and teach Muslim religious and civic ideologies according to American standards. This is one form of academic violence. Another more visible and talked about form of academic violence is the intentional restriction of access to education, especially quality education. Historically, British colonizers did this by changing the medium of instruction to English in many parts of the world. Limiting individuals' access to education hampers the economic prosperity of the marginalized group, thus leading to economic oppression. Hence, educational violence can give birth to several other forms of violence including economic and physical violence. However, the impacts of physical violence might not be as long lasting as the impacts of academic violence. This is why I choose to focus more on academic and epistemological violence in my work.

Thus, "the 'post' in postcolonialism does not imply that colonialism has ended, but rather its aftermath is contested. It does imply a space for moving beyond the negative patterns that persist after colonialism began" (Hickling-Hudson et al., 2004, p.2). Although the vestiges of colonialism persist, a sincere effort can be made to minimize their negative effects and the damage caused by them. The definition of colonizer in postcolonial analysis is not limited to the "elites of European origin" only, but rather it gives equal attention to "how non-European elites defined by ethnicity, caste, class, and gender also legitimize

their dominance over other groups through their control over the education system" (Tikly as quoted in Hickling-Hudson et al., 2004, p.5). This approach emphasizes how local elites, or "heirs of colonizers," continue to flourish in colonial vestiges to strengthen their dominance (Tikly, 1999). Because of the work of these "heirs," the "colonial past cannot be neatly separated from the decolonizing and post-colonial present or future" (Hickling-Hudson et al., 2004, p.3). There is no borderline between them.

I assume that colonial vestiges have different rationalities and they function differently for different groups/classes of people. These vestiges might be highly favorable for one group but offer substantial resistance for the survival of another group. Those with more status in society might want these vestiges to thrive. Thus, they will take on the role of colonizers over some other local group in their same community (Tikly, 1999). These local heirs of colonizers, or non-European colonizers, use LEP as a tool to reinforce their power, do not associate themselves with the local people (Naz-Rassool, 2007), and have their benefits attached to the legacies of colonialism (Cooper, 1989). Thus, local and foreign colonizers might work in unison and favor each other's agendas.

Most important to my work is the postcolonial image of the colonized. Postcolonial theories do not accept the colonized as a monolithic entity that is an embodiment of subordination and misery or as mere "cultural dupes, incapable of interpreting, accommodating, and resisting dominant discourses" (Rizvi, 2009, p. 52). Rather, the "colonized" is what Ramanathan (2005) calls "a contact zone of subordination and resistance." By using this term, I imply that the colonized accepts subordination to the hegemonic dominance of the colonizer, but at the same time offers significant resistance

to that hegemony whenever and wherever possible. The choice between subordination and resistance is not always intentional, explicit, or neatly categorized. Instead, it can also be unconscious, implicit, and subtle. However, each colonized individual translates his or her actions within this contact zone differently. As a result, postcolonialism views the colonized as an agentive being who is capable of negotiating and re-shaping the vestiges of colonialism according to his or her own circumstances. Ramanathan (2005) calls this re-shaping of colonial vestiges—colonial language—as postcolonial hybridity: "Postcolonial hybridity […] by its nature implies nativizing; i.e. appropriating the colonizer's language (in this case, English) to fit and reflect local ways of thinking, knowing, behaving, acting and reasoning in the world" (p. viii). Thus, the flow of power is not just unidirectional but rather is reflexive as "colonizers not only shape the culture and identities of the colonized but are in turn shaped by their encounters with the hegemonic processes of colonization" (Rizvi, 2009, p. 52).

The whole process of subordination and resistance has deep implications for the identity formation of the colonized as well as the colonizer. Since negotiation of identity is closely related to notions of voice and power, based on the postcolonial framework, I also assume the presence of "the nexus of voice, power and resistance" (Ramanathan, 2005, p. 117), which has different consistencies for colonized people from different backgrounds. Students with better awareness, more agency, and/or strong linguistic backgrounds or socio-economic statuses carve their path in academia with a stronger nexus of voice, power, and agency.

Research Questions and Overview of the Dissertation

This language education policy vertical case study conducts transversal analysis of the most recently introduced English language policy in Pakistan across different layers of interpretation and implementation. Multimodal data at global, national, and provincial levels, including policy documents and website snapshots, was collected over a period of three years. In addition, face-to-face interviews of state-level policymakers and provincial level policymakers and administrators were conducted. For micro-level analysis, Skype interviews, Facebook discussions and still pictures were collected from teachers, current higher education (HE) students, and recent graduates from Pakistan. Multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) was used to analyze the data in order to answer the following research questions:

1. In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?
2. What are the perceived impacts of language education policy of Pakistan on the academic and professional trajectories of low SES HE students?
3. How do the students from varied socio-economic backgrounds negotiate with, subordinate to, resist, and/or appropriate the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan?

This dissertation comprises of four parts: First Part, *Introduction, Contextual, and Theoretical Methodological Underpinnings* is comprised of three chapters: "Introduction and Statement of Problems"; "Contextual and Theoretical Groundings"; and "Methodology". This part of the dissertation provides background information and context for the study. The Second Part, *Global Discourses of HE Internationalization and Education Policy Reforms in Pakistan*, answers the research question one: *In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational*

discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift? This part is comprised of Chapters four ("Manifestation of the Neocolonial Influence on the Educational Policy of Pakistan"), Chapter five ("If You Have to Compete Internationally…!"), and Chapter Six ("Internationalization, Englishization and Quality of HE"). Third Part, "LEP in Pakistan and the Students from Low SES", answers research questions two and three: *What are the perceived impacts of language education policy of Pakistan on the academic and professional trajectories of low SES HE students? How do the students from varied socio-economic backgrounds negotiate with, subordinate to, resist, and/or appropriate the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan?* This Part (which is Chapter Seven) is comprised of three standalone yet interconnected sections named on the names of my focal participants: 1) "Nazia"; 2) "Zaheer"; and 3) "Farid". Fourth part of this dissertation outlines conclusion and implications.

Chapter 2
(Neo)Colonialism, Language Policy and the Post-Colonial Pakistan

Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical groundings to the findings of this study and situates the study into national and global contexts of education policy. The chapter is comprised of four major sections. The first section, "From Colonial to Neocolonialism", elaborates the Place of (Post/neo)colonial theories in education and well as the concepts of contact zone of subordination and resistance. The second section, "Language Policy", defines language policy, and presents an explanation of the ways in which policy is operated in discourse. In the third section, a detailed critical review of the global Discourse of internationalization of HE has been presented which includes examination of the internationalization=Englishization movement, challenges that this movement poses as well as an account of the subordination and resistance to the internationalization=Englishization has been explained with the help of examples from different countries in the world. The fourth section then presents an overview of the field of LEP in HE with special reference to Pakistan. The last section details Historical and current context of Educational system in Pakistan.

From Colonial to Neocolonialism

According to Altbach and Kelly (1978) as quoted in Wickens and Sandlin (2007, p. 278) there as three types of colonialism: 1) classic/ traditional; 2) internal; and 3) neocolonialism.

> Classic or traditional colonialism occurs when a country or territory is ruled by a distant Western government that controls decisions on political, economic, and

> social issues, including issues of education. In contrast, internal colonialism occurs when one subgroup within a self-governing social group controls or dominates another subgroup. (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007, p.278).

According to Bray (1993), "Neocolonial forces do not necessarily emanate mainly from the original colonial powers. For instance, the USA is commonly accused of neocolonialism even in countries which are not former American colonies…education may be a significant instrument of neocolonial influence" (p. 3). This neocolonial dominance is gained through the policy making and implementation process that work under foreign-aid programs, and the professional and technical advisory of foreign agents. International funding agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and less so, UNESCO, manage to dictate international policies regarding education and literacy programs through stipulations placed on loans and grants that emphasize standardization, efficiency, and measures of productivity (Punchi, 2001). Mandates placed on loans and grants by these international agencies essentially remove control of education and literacy programs from national governments to the agencies themselves and even decrease the likelihood of improving literacy globally (Canen & Grant, 1999). As these agencies are predominantly Western institutions, they reproduce Western ideas of education across the globe (Stromquist, 2002). The data analysis in this dissertation also confirms these arguments.

Thus, Neocolonialism is another form of slavery and, according to Saeed (1993), it is an extension of colonialism:

> Thus, while geographical independence, and to some small extent political independence, was evidently won, the cultural and economic independence was never really, if at all, won. The colonial systems of domination continued, and were in fact entrenched in the neocolonial and globalization era, as the former colonizer

> continue to economically, culturally, financially, militarily and ideologically dominate what constitutes the so-called developing world, the Third World—in fact the formerly colonized nations. (Said, 1993, p. 282)

Based on the argument that neocolonialism is an extension of colonialism, many researchers redefine the meaning of post-colonialism which refers to 'since colonialism' rather than 'after colonialism' (Moore, 2000, p. 182). Thus, the legacy of colonialism continues only with the change in names, faces and the mechanism of operations; however, the slavery continues. The countries under neocolonial oppression are only theoretically independent but in fact remain in a perpetual *in*-dependence of the Western hegemony.

Educational systems have always been used as a means to "inscribe the colonizing ideology" (Chilisa, 2005, p. 660); the neocolonial powers use school designs to address the conceptual needs and faithfully serve the major purpose of the colonizer rather than the colonized. Therefore, questions such as amount, type, quality, and access to education are determined in compliance to the colonial agenda. For example, IMF and UNESCO's programs of universal literacy and Education for All (EFA) provide countries financial aid and loans with stringent conditions and hence are working to promote Western dominance and ideology in the developing countries. These programs raise serious questions such as: Whose language, whose knowledge, whose literacy, and for whom? Wickens & Sandlin (2007) suggest:

> For progressive shifts over literacy from colonialist Western control to local governance to significantly continue worldwide, financial structures must be reorganized. Local governments need the economic freedom to make wise decisions on the behalf of their own populace, rather than bending to Western mandates over free labor markets. Minus this, we contend both organizations remain unduly entrenched as neocolonialist enterprises, the World Bank only more explicitly so. (p. 290)

Place of Postcolonial Theories in Education

I use postcolonial theories to take a historical and contextual approach towards the analysis of the remnants of colonialism in the educational system of Pakistan. Critically analyzing the histories of the educational system of colonizers—that end up in today's stratified and class-based academic and social discourse—is essential because discounting them would result in an ahistorical and decontextualized approval to the present global order (Rizvi, 2009). Colonialism has deep impacts on the societal, cultural, academic, economic, and political fabric of human societies. For their purpose, colonizers have always used the education system as the "massive cannon in the artillery of empire" (Coloma, Means & Kim, 2009, p. 10). So doing is possible because "educational systems, curriculum and teachings are shaped in context specific-ways by the legacies of colonialism" (p. 68) as well as "discourse, disciplinary knowledge, and language use" (p.71). The colonial dream is to get ideological dominance "by consent [that] is achieved through what is taught to the colonized, how it is taught, and the subsequent emplacement of the educated subjects as part of the continuing imperial apparatus" (Coloma et al., 2009, p. 10). The question, however, is: In what ways can postcolonial theories further our understanding of contemporary education systems and help us check the continuation of historical injustice?

The aftermaths of colonialism are deep-rooted into the educational system of the colonized and the harm cannot be reversed completely. However, sincere effort can be made to lessen the damage by minimizing the academic inequity, violence, and injustice

and by voicing the suppressed and silenced. Hickling-Hudson, Mathews, and Wood (2004) argue that postcolonialism is a process that "explores philosophical, political, economic and sociocultural consequences of colonialism" (p.2) and addresses the critical issues such as "oppression, privilege, domination, struggle, resistance, and subversion as well as contradiction and ambiguity" (p. 2).

Postcolonial approaches to education serve the important function to highlight the "sophisticated layering of stratified systems that continue to exclude and fail so many in so many contexts, and explore the epistemologies, patterns, desires and dynamics of old colonial inheritances, with a view to re-visioning reform and change" (Hickling-Hudson, et al., 2004, p. 1). Therefore, applying the postcolonial lens to the analysis of education systems of post-colonial societies opens spaces for educators and researchers to explore ways to minimize the social and academic divides.

This dream of reform and change cannot come true until the traces of academic violence from the colonial legacies and their contemporary practices are countered rigorously. However, this historical violence and oppressions might have well established connections with present conflicts (civil and ethnic) which emerge and operate under global forces—that are continuously restructuring human relations and hierarchies internationally (Tarc, 2009). It is, therefore, essential for postcolonial educators to: invite the colonized towards critical discussion and dialogues on muted topics; and attend to the "difficult task of engaging with suppressed histories of mass violence" (Tarc, 2009, p. 196). So doing demands a historical and contextualized analysis of the systems that cause violence and suppress the voices of the colonized/ non-elite.

In order to minimize the academic violence and transform the educational system, it is important to reject and critically analyze the tools of educational violence. The remnants of these tools are still holding onto educational systems of the post-colonial societies in varied forms. Colonization through educational system that subjugates the ideologies, discourses and knowledges is far more powerful and pervasive than the material subjugation (Hickling-Hudson et al., 2004). Therefore, it is an obligation of educators to question these varied forms of knowledges and ideologies handed down by the local/ European colonizers. It is here that postcolonialism provides educators with analytical standing to move beyond the negative remnants of colonialism. Thus the major occupation of postcolonial educators is "their participation in the systems of education that are rooted in Eurocentric, colonialist, and oppressive traditions" (Asher, 2009, p. 72) in order to question the different forms, sources, and purposes of knowledges. Postcolonialism can be helpful for these radical educators because these theories "threaten to undo education, to unravel the passionately held-onto thought and knowledge of the western-educated student and scholar" (Tarc, 2009, p. 196).

Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance

The postcolonial image of the colonized does not accept the colonized as a monolithic entity which is an embodiment of subordination and misery or as mere "cultural dupes, incapable of interpreting, accommodating, and resisting dominant discourses" (Rizvi, 2009, p. 52). Rather postcolonialism views the colonized as an agentive being that possesses the agency to resist the domination as well as negotiate with and re-shape the vestiges of colonialism according to their own circumstances. Ramanathan (2005) calls

this re-shaping of language *postcolonial hybridity*: "Postcolonial hybridity […] by its nature implies nativizing; i.e. appropriating the colonizer's language [in this case, English] to fit and reflect local ways of thinking, knowing, behaving, acting and reasoning in the world" (p. viii). Thus, the flow of power is not just unidirectional but rather is reflexive: "…colonizers not only shape the culture and identities of the colonized but are in turn shaped by their encounters with the hegemonic processes of colonization" (Rizvi, 2009, p. 52). This is why Ramanathan (2005) presents the notion of the nexus of subordination and resistance within the colonized self.

Irrespective of the question of success, the history of colonial India and postcolonial Pakistan is full of instances of resistance to the oppression and hegemony of English at the individual and collective levels. However, the form of resistance might vary. One form of resistance could be the refusal to subordinate in front of English hence breaking linkages with all the social institutions that make the English language a pre-requisite. This is what Muslims of the Indian subcontinent did in the early days of the British regime. They stopped going to schools and declared English a language of 'Kafars' and oppressors thus learning English as an anti-Muslim act. The other form of resistance is carving out ways to continue benefitting from the social and academic institutes while avoiding mastery in the English language. The third is to use the language of oppressors as a tool against oppression. Muslims of the Indian subcontinent acquired this third strategy later during the colonial regime of the British. They learnt English language and Muslim universities became the platform of the independence movement.

These different forms of resistance and instances of subordination are very much the central part of the Pakistani system of education today. However, the major form of subordination is belief in the hegemony of English and a common sense that competency to English is the gateway to survival and upward mobility. Moreover, Western and local colonizers do not take any static stance and keep re-positioning and relocating themselves within this contact zone of subordination and resistance. In this study, I take up post/neo-colonial theories and their role in the educational discourses of developing countries. Doing so establishes that colonizers and neocolonial masters both use education, and particularly the language of instruction as a tool to subjugate the colonized people. Although the goal of colonialism and neocolonialism is the same, the mechanisms by which they subjugate people vary. The hallmark of neocolonial hegemony is economic oppression, for which they use different institutions, especially educational systems and language of instruction. This dissertation is a case study of language education in Pakistan where academic, linguistic, and economic violence continues under neocolonial rule. Language education policy serves as one instrument of this oppression. This study also establishes that the neocolonial hegemony positions the colonized in a perpetual state of conflict where they are agents and victims at the same time; thus, the colonized embodies the contact zone of subordination and resistance.

Language Policy (LP)

The term language policy (LP) is defined differently by different researchers. According to Tollefson (2002), language policy examines "the role of government and other powerful institutions in shaping language use and language acquisition" (p. 3). Spolsky (2004) presented a broader definition of LP, which covers areas such as "language practices, beliefs, and management of a community or polity" (p. 9). Menken (2008) extended this field of language policy from official to individual levels and from planned to unplanned decision making.

Arguing that the distinction between LP and language education policy (LEP) is often blurry, Menken (2008) used LP interchangeably with LEP. According to her, LP deals with topics such as "which language(s) will be taught in school, how language education is implemented, as well as orientations towards language and language ideology . . . language policy research focuses primarily on the policies of official bodies, such as governments" (Menken, 2008, p. 5). She also explained that LEP can be the by-product of education policy, when an explicit language policy is absent. This is true in the case of Pakistan, where no explicit language policy exists. Shohamy (2003), however, differentiated between language policy (LP) and language education policy (LEP) as follows:

> LP is concerned with the decisions that people make about languages and their use in society, whereas LEP refers to carrying out such decisions in the specific contexts of schools and universities in relation to home languages (previously referred to as 'mother tongues') and to foreign and second languages. . . In most situations the LEP serves as the legal means for carrying out national LP agendas. (p. 279)

Shohamy (2003) added that "because LP is not neutral, but rather embedded in a whole set of political, ideological, social, and economic agendas, LEP is not neutral either, but serves as the vehicle for promoting and perpetuating such agendas" (p. 279). Stressing the non-neutral nature of LEP and its important role in the society, McGroarty (2002) indicated that LEP and the question of medium of instruction can become controversial when it contradicts social, political, and economic assumptions. This is because LEPs do not operate in a vacuum, but rather continuously interact with an individual's day-to-day activities and official decisions within a school.

The field has grown beyond the distinction between language policy and language education policy. García and Menken (2010) addressed the difference between language-in-education policy and language education policy. However, the distinction offered between language education policy and language-in-education policy was shallow and arbitrary. Therefore, this dissertation uses the terms "language education policy" and "language-in-education policy" interchangeably.

Policy within Discourse

Studying language policy within discourse is essential because of the dialectic relationship between policy and discourse. A policy researcher should, therefore, examine how "discourse can become a site of meaningful social differences, of conflicts and struggles, and how this results in all kinds of social effects" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 4). This examination cannot be comprehensive without exploring the ways in which policy informs these shifts in discourse, because policy is not just a static text, a dead document (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), an entity (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007), an academic discipline

(Alderson, 2009) or "a closed universe" (Spolsky, 2004, p. x). It is a text which is dynamic (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) and alive. Thus, it plays its role in the power subtleties of the social discourse; it carries certain power and is, therefore, used as an instrument of power, particularly in the neo-colonial and postcolonial context (Tikly, 1999). Policy making and implementation is a political activity (Anderson, 2009) and "an arena for the interplay of contested ideologies" (Tollefson, 2002, p. 6) that impacts social, cultural, economic, and academic settings in significant ways. Policy is an aspect of various political projects, which continuously affect the wider society and "shape social categories, position within them, and mold the categories of citizenship through which people are brought into particular relationships with the state and politics" (Meutzenfeldt as cited in Taylor, 1997, p. 25). Thus, policy itself has very close ideological, socio-political, and economical relationships with the social actors and the social discourse in which it operates.

This relationship between policy and discourse is bilateral, dialectic, and dialogic, because it is not just policy that re-shapes the discourse, but also that the entire discourse has an influence upon policy. Taylor (1997) explains that socio-economic, cultural, and political contexts help "shape the content and language of policy documents" (p. 28). Therefore, policy can be accepted as an 'engagement' and as "complex, multifaceted *signs* that have distinctive sociohistorical formations, whose interpretations and enactments rest in our hands, and are always contextual, processual, and negotiated. Signs, like policies, signify but never autonomously" (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007, p. 451). Thus, discourse and policy influence each other.

The same bilateral relationship is true for language policy (LP). According to Ramanathan and Morgan (2007), language policies have deep consequences for Discourses such as schooling, national unity, and the status of language(s). These consequences are not without tension. Canagarajah (2005) indicated that these tensions and conflicts in the field of LEP might include the conflicts of priorities within policy discourse; between policymakers' intentions and community expectations; between different orientations of the same policy at local, institutional, provincial, national, and global levels; between intended and realized effects of the policy; between policy, practice, and implementation; between varied rationalities of policy in different social groups; and most importantly within the self—within the identity of an individual (Canagarajah, 2005). However, these tensions and conflicts are prominent features of interactions within educational Discourse because policy is "continuously constituted and re-constituted through decision, activities and social relationship" (Taylor, 1997, p. 27). This happens through the "constant negotiation of the interests of different social groups and of the changing priorities of a community" (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 195) within educational settings.

This multilevel vertical case study dissertation critically examines the power and politics of the above mentioned interactions and negotiations at personal, local national as well as international levels. The conflicts and tensions in the field of LP are caused by—and are causes of—various discursive as well as external elements. Hence, they carry multiple manifestations in the field of education. The section below elaborates some of these tensions in the higher education discourse of Pakistan and the dividing role of the medium of instruction.

Internationalization=Englishization

> *"No discussion of internationalization of curriculum is possible without examining the role that the English language now plays in economic, political and cultural exchanges…facing the challenges of globalization, education systems around the world are paying 'special attention to foreign languages, first and foremost it is English'" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 176).*

Internationalization of higher education had its deep and long-term impacts on the educational system of Pakistan, especially at the university level. This move acquired the label of Bologna Process in 1999 during a conference when initial plans regarding the internationalization of HE were formulated. Although forty-five European states (Phillipson, 2006) have formally adopted it, the impacts of the Bologna Process and internationalization have crossed the borders of Europe and revolutionized education around the globe. Most recently, major Anglophonic countries such as the U.S., Australia, and the U.K. are the major competitors in this regard (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The field of language education policy in higher education interchangeably uses the terms Englishization and internationalization to the extent that there seems to be an equation: Englishization=internationalization. The discussion of internationalization is meaningless until one engages in discussions regarding the role of the global lingua franca—English—because the dream of internationalization of education is based on the presence and development of a common language. Secondly, the aftermath of internationalization (although internationalization is not over, its harmful impacts are very explicit) has gotten its strength due to the hegemonic and colonial role of the English language. Concomitantly, it is under this move of internationalization that Englishization/

Anglification gained its strength. Thus, the global trends in HE "strengthen the 'internationalisation' process that is symbiotic, and largely synonymous with, the advance of English" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 23). There is a direct link between internationalization and the introduction of English-medium instruction in HE (Coleman, 2006).

Based upon their multi-national student population, many tertiary education institutes in the world have started claiming the status *international*. However, this student intake directly affects and is being affected by the increasing use of English as a foreign language (EFL) as the language of instruction in HE (Alexander, 2008; Jenkins, 2011). Most higher education institutes are doing so at the cost of their linguistic and economic future at the local, institutional, and national levels. Alexander (2008) is concerned that Germany has introduced "internationally oriented" (p. 79) courses, taught in English, which are unprecedented in German history. This use of English in higher education is an important aspect of "Anglification" (Alexander, 2008, p. 79). However, I argue that so doing was critical for German schools because "A university may be disadvantaged, however strong the intellectual capacity or the teaching capacity, if it is isolated from the processes of internationalization in education" (Hughes, 2008, p. 120).

The tension of internationalization of higher education policy is one of the factors that are deeply implicated in the future survival of local and national languages that have been or will be replaced by English. Tsui and Tollefson (2004) inform that the language of instruction is the most potent means of culture and language maintenance, revitalization, and intergenerational transmission. Moreover, it is an agent of linguistic genocide. Coleman (2006) expounds that since language death is top-down, during this process the

"formal and prestigious functions [of a language] are first to be lost: hence the importance of HE" (p. 3). The process is cyclical in nature; thus, the English speaking HE graduates pass the monolingual, dominant English ideologies to the next generation; hence, HE becomes a driver of the language shift from local language(s) to English (Coleman, 2006). Dunbar (2011) elaborates that the Scottish Gaelic language suffered from double marginalization by being ignored in educational policies and especially in higher education language policies. Firstly, there had never been a university in the region, and secondly, there was no teaching through Gaelic medium of instruction at the tertiary level until the establishment of Sabhal Mor Ostaig—SMO. Since dominance of English in HE is causing language shift away from local languages, Phillipson (2006) contests that we need to conceptually and empirically clarify the status of English as "useful lingua academia or… a scholarly lingua tyrannosaura…Recognition of the arrival of the cuckoo English[3] means that we need to know whether Danish/Estonian/French/German and so forth, are … being pushed out of their own territorial nests?" (p. 19). Danish, French, and German are pretty strong languages (in terms of being national languages of developed countries and being spoken by a large majority of people), and if they are threatened by the encroaching English

[3] Cuckoo is a bird that invades the nest of other birds, adding its own egg to the nest without letting the host mother bird know. Thus, in complete oblivion, the surrogate mother bird hatches the cuckoo egg before her own eggs and the hatchling throws the other eggs out. This is how the cuckoo is a killer bird that flourishes in the nests of the other birds at the cost of their own generations. Phillipson (2006) uses this metaphor for English to symbolize that English is flourishing at the cost of other languages—during the process of internationalization of HE, it throws the local languages out of the realm of HE especially and takes their place to strengthen its hegemony. The host institutions in most cases are not aware of the long-run threat to their local languages that is posed by the cuckoo English.

language, what is the future of minority languages and the national languages of developing countries?

However, there are researchers who view the internationalization and Englishization positively. In contrast to the historical accusation that speakers of global Englishes 'basterdize' the language, the term internationalization refers to the "distribution of national British and/or North American English varieties around the globe" (Jenkins, 2011, p. 933). Based on that, Jenkins (2011) argues that off-shore universities are evidence of such relaxed ownership—although there are pedagogical challenges associated with this kind of delivery of education. Elaborating upon the case of Indian-English, Ramanathan (2005) names this ownership of the colonial English as post-colonial hybridity. This phenomenon refers to the agency of the colonized to be able to use, appropriate, and then own the language of the dominant to the benefit of the dominated.

According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), policy formation in the global world no more takes place under national influences only. International pressures play a role as well. The same is true for internationalization of HE language policies that have reshaped LEP of the higher education institutes around the globe. As a result, HE institutes have started awarding English the status of the language of instruction and the lingua academia. The sub-section below discusses this topic of English Lingua Franca in detail

English Lingua Franca (ELF). The past few decades have observed a great shift toward English as a lingua franca in education at the global level. Favoring ELF, Jenkins (2011) brings to the fore that many students have started seeing the benefits of being multilingual and have started identifying and bonding themselves with the much broader

world. She emphasizes that the notion of the community of practice of ELF applies to the physical and psychological/ imaginary[4] (she uses the term "psychological", but I would use the term "imaginary") kinds of memberships of the international students. However, the status of lingua franca is still questionable.

Based on the hegemony of English as a lingua franca and the disadvantages to non-native English speaking/ non-Anglophonic scholars, teachers, students, and higher education institutes, it is hard to believe that English is just a lingua franca. In that case, Alexander (2008) worries that the idea of a "pure lingua franca is not an adequate view of what is happening on the ground" (p. 87), and this term potentially hides the communicative inequalities (Phillipson, 2006) between the English language and the other languages. Thus, Coleman (2006) acquires the term "lingua franca trap" instead (p. 5) in order to elaborate that the role of English language is not limited to being a lingua franca in academia only. Rather, the English language is using the academic platform to empower itself and endangering the other languages in the world by limiting their academic roles.

Researchers like Phillipson (2006), Alexander (2008), and Coleman (2006) contest the spread and dominance of the English language; whereas, Darquennes (2001) suggests that instead of wasting efforts on debating the ubiquitousness of English, we should accept that ELF is easing the international communication within and beyond the boundaries of

[4] Physical membership entails involvement in a geographical community, whereas psychological or imagined membership entails the concept that the community of practice of global lingua franca is spread around the world. By virtue of being able to use English, these students imagine themselves as members of this universal community of practice of ELF.

European Union (EU). We should utilize this ubiquitousness of ELF as a platform to engage ourselves in discussions regarding true multi/plurilingualism.

There is a need for more research on the implications of ELF on policy and practice from the global to institutional levels. Jenkins (2011) highlights that each international university itself is a "microcosm of the global ELF community or, more specifically, the global academic ELF community" (p. 927); thus, these should be used as the spaces to investigate the implications of ELF for language policy and practice.

Major challenges posed by the internationalization of language education policy in HE. Although there is huge debate regarding the challenges posed by the most recent shifts in LEP at the global level, Alexander (2008) is concerned that no one completely knows the long range impacts of Englishization on higher education because "cuckoos tend to be heard and not seen (by humans). The high visibility of English should not elude us into thinking we know what it represents" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 22). Yet, the section below discusses some major struggles that the field of HE is facing, namely: issues of equality, issues of quality, and economic issues.

Issues of equality: Asymmetry caused by internationalization. This LEP-accelerated power struggle has had harmful impacts on the individual students', teachers', and researchers' lives and professional trajectories. Thus, the higher education playing field has become "rather uneven for those in countries and cultures that are 'distant' from the Anglophonic countries. This matters not only for the individual, but also produces a market that may be skewed by the language advantage/barrier" (Hughes, 2008, p. 123).

The section below highlights some of the direct implications of this asymmetry at global, national, institutional, individual, academic, and linguistic levels.

At national and global levels. The choice of the country and the institution of higher education is no longer dependent on the quality of the content taught or the mere affordability, but rather EFL outweighs many important elements in this regard (Hughes, 2008). According to Hughes (2008) 70% of the Asian students that go abroad to study select one of three Anglophonic countries: Australia, Unites States, and United Kingdom. She further argues that it is mainly because of English as the medium of instruction that the U.S. recruits more PhD students than all other OECD countries combined, and that the U.K. and U.S.'s leading research universities attract the most research students. These Anglophonic countries are net receivers of students. The ratio of sending students abroad for higher education and language education programs as compared to receiving international students in the U.K. is 1:9, in the U.S. is 1:16, and in Australia is 1:23 (Hughes, 2008;) which earn these countries huge revenues, especially through English language courses, Masters programs, and other non-Ph.D. programs. Hughes (2008) and Phillipson (2006) report that the U.K. earns approximately 23 billion pounds, while Australia earns over two billion Australian dollars per annum from this English teaching and internationalization of HE business.

Englishization has accelerated more international collaboration among universities; however, "whether such collaboration is reciprocal, and whether Anglo-American norms are being marked or imposed, are empirical questions" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 18). I argue that, firstly, this is assimilation and not collaboration—assimilation of the developing non-

Anglophonic universities with the developed Anglophonic institutes as well as assimilation of local languages into the dominant lingua-franca. Secondly, by acquiring the dominant language(s) from the developed nations, developing countries may gain (some short term) economic benefits. Such assimilations can threaten the national and ethnocultural identity and the power dynamics within the social discourse (Tsui & Tollefson, 2004). The reason is that "it may produce nationals who are ambivalent about their own identity; and nations that are stripped of their rich cultural heritage" (p. 7). Many countries—such as Japan—are struggling to resist this assimilation taking place through the dominance of the English language. Thus, they are striving hard to preserve it through anti-English language policies at official levels. This situation has caused a contradiction between the official and institutional language policies (Rivers, 2001). Japanese policymakers (at the governmental level) intentionally create barriers to the communicative skills of the English language. In contrast, course outlines for English language programs project prospective such as "strict English-only policy" (Rivers, 2001, p. 106), and speaking any other language in the class is wasting valuable class time! (Rivers, 2001). This approach threatens the national and linguistic identity of Japanese students. Data gathered through student diaries and worksheets revealed that most problems were caused by the English-only policy. Thus, Rivers' (2011) study points to the ways in which anti-English Japanese language policies are facing resistance at the local level.

On the other hand, these assimilations can lead to conflicts at local, institutional, national, and international levels. Because "when language is perceived as a marker of group identity and a determiner of access to political power and economic resources, then

the probability of language conflict increases, and the ethnolinguistic groups may be mobilized around issues of language" (Tollefson, 2002, p. 6). For example, historically, Bengali, Sindhi, and Pashto languages have been considered major identity markers in Pakistan (Rahman, 2002) and there has been a huge push to make them languages of instruction. The refusal to this demand was considered a threat to the linguistic and academic identity of these ethnic groups. Hence it instigated several violent riots in Pakistan, including the separation of East Pakistan (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010).

One can question why non-Anglophonic countries would not choose to participate in this internationalizing competition in order to balance out the power inequality associated with dominant ethnic groups. Ibrahim (1999) informs us that the choice is socially constructed, but in this case, I argue that choice is globally imposed while constructed by a few powerful Anglophonic countries. Tollefson (1991) argues that "choice is never totally free, but rather is always between predefined alternatives" (p. 14). Thus, the question is: what alternatives are there for non-Anglophonic countries other than choosing the English language? What resources do they have to combat the dominant higher education LEP? Hughes (2008) explains that "theoretically all the incentives to internationalize are available to all countries; the actual ability to act on them takes place on a far from level playing field" (p. 113). For example, for decades' research at the international level has taken place mainly in the English language. So doing has enriched the corpus of English scholarship and has left scholarship in other languages far too weak to engage in HE and research without facing significant challenges.

As an example, UNESCO declared the Basque language on the list of vulnerable languages. By giving it the role of official language and language of instruction (and by extension activities such as training Basque language teachers and developing curriculum in the Basque language) in the Basque autonomous region of Spain[5], the number of Basque speakers has increased from 24.1% to 30.01% from 1991 to 2006 (Cenoz, 2012). The extended use of this minority language, Basque, in schools has led to the introduction of Basque medium of instruction in higher education. However, there is an increasing trend of taking only humanities and social sciences in Basque; 130 courses are being taught in English—most of which are from the fields of economics and business studies, and this trend of more English medium of instruction is increasing every year (Cenoz, 2012). Efforts for the revitalization of Basque through HE are facing great challenges. According to Cenoz (2012), the available teaching material in Basque is still very limited. In addition, only 34% of teachers can teach in Basque, and there is a dearth of Basque teachers for specified courses. The university is desperately offering help to promote the Basque medium of instruction, and as a result, lecturers who can teach in Basque but do not have a PhD are being hired and then given special grants to complete their PhD theses (Cenoz, 2012). Teachers also need to be qualified enough to teach in English. Special training programs and language related support is being offered to the teachers that use either Basque or English medium of instruction. Despite all these efforts, only 7.4% of PhD

[5] Although Basque is not a country, I am using the example of the Basque autonomous region in comparison with the other countries because an autonomous government is controlling the schools in Basque.

theses were written in Basque as compared to 14.3% that were written in English. In addition, lack of research material and the limited corpus of Basque, and the lack of audience-ship of Basque research; policymakers and the Basque intellectuals have to address the pressure of internationalization and the limited scope of Basque-speaking students' mobility in European higher education, and the lack of proficiency in the English language in order for the Basque to continue teaching a minority language in HE without being isolated from HE in the rest of the world (Cenoz, 2012). In addition to all other contributing factors, the fact remains that non-Anglophonic countries are novices at the Englishization and internationalization competition whereas, "Anglophone countries have had a 20-year advantage in developing [such] policies" (Hughes, 2008, p. 119).

At the institutional level. The internationalization of LEP in HE has strengthened this common-sense perception that Anglophonic institutes are better than non-Anglophonic institutes. This is why there is a greater student influx in the English-speaking countries. At the institutional level, this Anglophonic asymmetry becomes more prominent when the "brightest and the best" (Hughes, 2008, p. 120) are attracted to the Anglophonic institutes despite their higher tuition rates. Alexander (2008) explains that because German universities have been offering tuition-free programs, they have become the default option for those who could not get admission to the U.S. or U.K. universities.

The question is: *what is wrong with this dominance of Anglophonic institutions?* This is a complex cyclical issue. One of the problems is that big Anglophonic universities benefit at a cost to others. One reason is that students prefer to go to the Anglophonic institutions thereby bringing huge revenue to these universities. In addition, several of

these big universities receive huge federal and/or other grants which they utilize to create research environments and intellectual capital. This research culture also attracts bright and brilliant students from other countries to these research universities. The constellation of very bright, motivated students from different parts of the world inform and enrich the research projects going on in these research universities in multiple ways. In addition, the research reports, publications, and dissertations these non-Anglophonic students write are in the English language and not in their mother tongues. When many of these students return to their home countries they do not have the corpus or training to publish research in their local languages. So doing further enriches English languages as the language of higher education and research. Thus, more and more international students and scholars desire to learn the English language and hence provide the Anglophonic universities and language teaching institutes a chance to develop linguistic capital into the profitable and commercial EFL business (Phillipson, 2006). Thus, this cyclical process continues. In contrast, non-English medium and often financially weak institutes do not receive enough finances to build up their empirical, intellectual, and linguistic capital and to commercialize it. As a result, these "excellent non-English-speaking institutions cannot compete to train 'global citizens' and this works to exclude their educational and national values as a potent force for promoting international understanding" (Hughes, 2008, p. 123).

The movements for the internationalization and Englishization are accelerating towards monolingualism in academia (Alexander, 2008). The non-Anglophonic institutions have started to disengage themselves from the teaching practices in local vernaculars at the cost of adopting English medium of instruction. As an example, "In

2004, around 34 Chinese universities were delivering programmes at postgraduate level in English. At the elite university Fu Dan, in 2005, 13 out of 92 undergraduate programmes were being taught in English. The target expressed by the Chinese government is for 10-20% of undergraduate programmes to be eventually taught in English at Chinese universities." (p. 121). This raises the question of how valued and normal the non-native speakers of English perceive their languages after this hegemony of English in academia. As identified by Rivers (2011), "promoting monolingualism and devoting symbolic powers to language is likely to position one language as valued and normal while the other devalued and abnormal" (p.106).

However, there are institutes that resist the invasion of the English language and are engaged in the revitalization of their minority languages through using them in HE. It is a sad fact that these institutes, such as The Sabhal Mor Ostaig (SMO) College, face several problems. Located in the extremely rural university of the Highlands and Islands (UHI), the SMO college implements Scottish Gaelic as the medium of instruction for the economic, cultural, and social development of the individuals and communities (Dunbar, 2011), whereas the medium of instruction in the university is English. The college offers Bachelors, Masters, and Doctoral degrees through Scottish Gaelic medium of instruction, but none of them are in the fields of business, science, or technology. According to Danbar (2011), SMO faces many challenges in the enforcement of Scottish Gaelic medium of instruction, which include: a small number of students yet a dire need of funds; the funding criteria of the funding council; and the metropolitan bias against the minority language projects, which makes it harder for Scottish Gaelic researchers to continue researching and

publishing in the language. In summary, in the current situation, the internationalization of HE movement and the English medium of instruction in higher education exist in a bilateral relationship with each other—one supporting the other and one legitimizing the need for the other. This bilateral relationship makes it difficult for institutions to resist English hegemony.

*At individual and academic levels***.** Asymmetry in higher education created due to the trend of Englishization has created tensions and linguistic power struggles at the individual level. This skew towards the English language has badly impacted academics around the world because scientists and researchers are forced to follow certain rhetoric if they want to publish in reputable journals:

> The catchphrase 'publish or perish', however valid, is much too neat, if publishing is constrained by choice of language, which subtly influences choice of paradigm, includes some writers and readers and excludes others, and results in different rewards in a scholarly world increasingly dominated by market laws that we are supposed to see as God-given and indisputable. (Phillipson, 2006, p. 14)

Phillipson's (2006) argument suggests that this linguistic asymmetry leads to a marked difference in the professional trajectories of Anglophonic and non-Anglophonic scholars. Jenkins (2011) notes that although writings in the international journals do not belong to native-English audience only, but rather to a wider non-native English audience as well, the writings of non-native scholars are being scrutinized by the native English-speaking scholars. This practice prevails to an extent that whosoever does not follow the standard norms of English remains disadvantaged and cannot publish in the journals of international repute. Scrutinizing the Korean university's faculty evaluation criteria, Lee and Lee (2013) reveal that Korean universities rank international English medium journals four times

higher as compared to the local Korean journals being published in local languages. Thus, publishing in the journals of international repute is the first priority of the researchers while domestic journals have turned into a graveyard for the papers that get rejected from international English medium journals. Thus, this publish or perish policy of Anglophonic universities is on one hand pushing the academics towards English only scholarship; on the other hand, it is devaluing the local journal, local scholarship, and local knowledges (Lee and Lee, 2013). Jenkins (2011) calls to attention the need for a "long hard look" (p. 933) at what and who the international universities, research journals, and research conferences are for. So doing will have deeper implications for native English academics as well such as sensitizing them to issues of linguistic diversity and diversity within the English language and enriching the overall body of research to include a broader set of perspectives, thereby revealing the dangers of English monolingual academia. Although research has revealed the beneficial impacts of Englishization of higher education on student learning, the serious and grim impacts of English only policies on students' mental health and psychological wellbeing cannot be ignored. Kang (2012) debates over the South Korean HE students' suicide rate and expounds that to some extent blame goes to the schools' English only language policy. Since, "English has been perceived by Koreans as the single most important tool that they need to have in order to get ahead at school and in society in general" (Kang, 2012, p. 29); failure in coping with the English only policy of the institute might have played a role in the extreme frustration leading to the students' suicides.

There are many ways in which Anglification of higher education directly as well as indirectly threatens non-Anglophonic students' linguistic, academic, and intellectual identity. Investigating Cantonese-speaking students' experiences regarding English medium of instruction in the Hong-Kong higher education context, Evans and Morrison (2011) inform us that most students reported that they would comprehend the lectures much better if they were delivered in Cantonese. The study also revealed lack of confidence in English proficiency is one major factor that impeded students' classroom participation. Phillipson (2006) highlights that Non-English speaking students face interactional and intellectual challenges while communicating with English students because some "British students are simply interculturally insensitive, and always feel that they are on the right side in terms of opinion, and in the way of thinking" (p. 21). He is concerned that the British or Anglophonic counterparts of these students are not willing to acknowledge and validate the existence and perceptions of these non-Anglophonic students. Moreover, the non-Anglophonic students go to Anglophonic countries for their higher education; they are obliged to adapt to the Anglophonic countries and their cultures. There are almost no attempts to adapt to the cultural and linguistic needs of these students. Comparatively, students from Anglophonic countries usually go abroad for a period of one semester. Since they already know the lingua franca, they do not feel any compulsion to learn the host country language or to acquire their culture (Hughes, 2008). Thus, in order to save internationalization of education from becoming "cultural colonising" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 21), there is an urgent need of research in the field of foreign languages in HE that examines the potential bias in the objectives of cultural exchange programs including the

discriminatory expectations of Anglophonic vs. non-Anglophonic cultural exchange students. Chapter Seven of this study analyzes the objectives, implementation, and exchange student perceptions of a cultural exchange program through USAID.

The students who do not choose to go abroad are also affected by this skew in immense ways. Lack of proficiency in English is a barrier to their choice, acceptance, and admission in the universities at local and national levels. There are also impacts on the quality and effectiveness of learning experiences if, during their schooling, the students are not trained for English medium of instruction in higher education (Hughes, 2008). In summary, the internationalization of HE impacts the academic, psychological, intellectual, and professional trajectories of individuals (students, academicians, and researchers) irrespective of their geographic location within or outside an Anglophonic country.

***Issues of quality*.** LEP has direct impacts on the quality, access, and equity in higher education. Therefore, "institutions without a robust language policy, adequate preparatory training and ongoing support may, therefore, damage more than the quality of teaching or their own global brand" (Hughes, 2008, p. 111). However, the term quality is not monolithic and should not be taken as a one-size-fits-all policy. Phillipson (2006) emphasizes that, especially, "… 'international quality' that all universities are supposed to strive for is not a single gold standard but rather one that can be reached by many routes. Coercive policies counteract this" (p. 18). Yet, they enforce English only/English dominant policies in HE institutes across the globe despite the varied local, contextual, linguistic, socio-political, historical, and economic realities in each region. The same is the case with off-shore delivery and institutional mobility (Hughes, 2008). Thus, the

question of language of instruction adds complexity to the issue of quality and equitable access to programs in HE.

This complex linguistic situation pertaining to the form and quality of language in the era of Englishization raises many concerns. Hughes (2008) explains that the Englishization movement should encourage the notion of international Englishes emerging through the linguistic practices of the non-Anglophonic users of English who might have never been in contact with any native English speaker. Jenkins (2011) also reminds us of the similar fact that English as a lingua franca appears to be significantly different from the English used by the native speakers and traditionally taught in language courses. She explains that many researchers believe ELF is an inferior variety of the still most wanted standard British/American English. The other concern is that "Questions of the range, depth, nuance, accuracy and comprehensibility in the highest levels of academic debate may emerge where the language has to be constrained by mutual intelligibility among a range of language proficiencies in the lingua franca" (Hughes, 2008, p. 117). She further debates that the requirement of HE is that students should be able to carry out sophisticated, nuanced discussion and not the bare minimum which is asked for at the time of university admission such as minimum level of TOEFL scores. One related issue is the foreign faculty from varied linguistic backgrounds teaching English to local students in non-Anglophonic countries like China. Thus, the implementation of English as medium of instruction in a non-Anglophonic higher education institute in a non-Anglophonic country creates the concern about the marketable communicative competence of the graduates of these institutes as well as the future of the English language itself (Hughes, 2008). This argument

of Hughes (2008) raises various questions such as: Would replacing the non-Anglophonic faculty of varied linguistic backgrounds with native English speaking faculty fix the problem of non-English students' language competence? Hughes (2008) lists a few other concerns in this regard that include: the question of providing quality and adequate language preparation; the connection between medium of instruction in schools and higher education; development of oral, written, and especially research skills in the first language of students; and also the awareness that teaching in Anglophonic medium is a way to promote Anglo-Saxon values.

Economic issues. The way internationalization and globalization have impacted the definition and purpose of education in the present day world raises many questions. For example, McGroarty (2002) asks, "Is the purpose of education (and thus of formal language education programs) only or principally to get jobs?" (p. 21). Looking at the pressures of the global economy and the state of affairs of HE, the answer unfortunately is "Yes!" Internationalization of LEP in HE has accelerated commercialism in education. Phillipson (2006) was concerned that HE is less resistant to international commercialization than basic education. That is why HE is reducing its role in public service and acquiring the status of a marketplace, in which the students are customers (Coleman, 2006). This shift in the scope of higher education and the needs of the transformed economy have highlighted the powerful role of language and language education policy more than ever before. According to Rizvi and Lingard (2009), "As the global economy has grown, so has its reliance on English as a world language" (p. 177). Thus, the question of choice in language education policy is "largely driven by the demands

of the international labor market, in particular in the field of ICTs and sciences" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 176), where English serves as the primary medium of communication. Many HE institutes implement English as a medium of instruction in order to facilitate the global exchange of knowledge and enhance student mobility and career development (Coleman, 2006). However, the enhanced student mobility afforded by English costs the developing countries in the form of brain drain (Alexander, 2008). The cost to teaching comes from their national economies. Graduates are being trained for employment in the US (or Western) economic systems at the expense of their national economies.

Wrapping up the discussion on this challenges section, there is something not right about the entire business of Englishization under the guise of internationalization which has caused this universal asymmetry. On one hand it negatively impacts the linguistic hierarchy within non-English speaking countries; on the other, it severely disadvantages higher education in developing countries on economic as well as intellectual bases. Pro-Englishization policies have broadened the gap between rich and poor countries, institutions and people. Even worse, Englishization has made higher education a luxury and far from the reach of middle class students from developing countries. Chapters Five, Six, and Seven of this dissertation provide further evidence to support this argument. This over-commercialization and Englishization of higher education seems to me a colonial agenda of divide and rule against the developing non-Anglophonic institutes. According to Tsui and Tollefson (2004), policymakers use the mask of educational policy to justify their political decisions regarding the use of languages. Thus, behind each educational

agenda, there are economic, political, and social agendas that serve the benefit of a particular political and/or social group.

That said, it is crucial to include this disclaimer that the problem is not the English language. Nor would the removal of the English language and implementation of anti-English policies fix the entire problem. In fact, the whole conflict and tension around Englishization of higher education is because of the uncontrollable spread and dominance of English and its direct implications on personal, social, political, and economic domains of individual, institutional, and national wellbeing. Therefore, this multilevel vertical case study examines the ways in which international movements around internationalization of HE have long term (un)intended consequences not by fault of the English language but because of the neocolonial hegemonic forces that use the English language as a tool for their political purposes, including the implementation of educational (de)reforms.

Resistance and/ or subordination to Englishization. The last few decades have seen multiple responses to the dominance of English as the medium of instruction. These responses are not just varied but also varying, vivid, and complicated. Some countries such as Pakistan have accepted the dominance of the English language and made their LEP in complete subordination to Englishization, while others like the Basque autonomous region have resisted it by implementing their minority language as the medium of instruction in HE. Many members of European Union countries (such as Sweden, Denmark, and Estonia) have had very strong national policies to preserve their mother tongue (Phillipson, 2006). Finish universities are also striving hard towards multilingualism with the support of explicit language policies and financial support from their governments (Phillipson,

2006). These policies counteract practices that trivialize their mother tongue. In the Baltic Republics national languages are used in HE institutes—although the English language can be found in some business schools (Coleman, 2006). However, the most recent research reports indicate a shift toward English:

> In 2006, ministers for education and culture from the Nordic countries Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden published the Deklaration om nordisk spra kpolitik/Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (Nordic Council of Ministers 2007), which contained an entire section on the 'parallel language' use of English and one or several Nordic languages in research and education. (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012, p. 430)

Previously mentioned cases of Japan, Basque country, Scotland (Sabhal Mor Ostaig—SMO), and Germany are examples of subordination and resistance to English against their own language. I include Japan because it has never been colonized, yet the English language is entering the linguistic, institutional, and national boundaries of Japan. As a result, Japan is offering resistance to it. In the case of Basque country, sub-national level attempts have been made to revive a minority language through the institution of HE. The example of SMO in Scotland illuminates the same struggle, but at an institutional level; whereas, all the other institutions in the region have applied English medium of instruction. With the addition of English medium courses in the university, Germany is an example of weakening resistance to English by a developed country. However, a particularly complicated case is that of Malaysia, which is discussed below. This is presented in detail because 1) Malaysia is a post-colonial country like Pakistan; 2) Malaysian LEP in HE is also shifting towards internationalization and Englishization at the cost of its national and local languages; 3) The history of Malaysian LEP shows the instances of shift from colonial

language to national language and then back to colonial language. The Pakistani educational system has also witnessed the similar back and forth under the influence of the National Education Policy of 1979.

Malaysia has been a British colony. Thus, the English language has historically been imposed upon Malaysians by the British colonizers. Researchers like David (2005) and Gill (2004) show that there were significant shifts in official HE language policy between English and the Bahasa Malay. This is mainly because Malaysians consider national economic priorities as the driver of their LEP in HE. It took the Malaysian government and educational institutions 26 years—1958-1983—to gradually and pragmatically shift the medium of instruction from English, the colonial language, to Bahasa Malay—the language of the ethnic minority in British rule (Gill, 2004). This transition occurred from the primary to tertiary levels of education and included endeavors such as corpus development to formally elevate Bahasa Malay to the status of the language of science and technology. By 1983, all the public universities were required to establish Bahasa Malay as the language of instruction for all the subjects in humanities and sciences (Gill, 2004). Despite the development of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka which was responsible for corpus development and the translation of academic texts into Bahasa Malay, a serious problem regarding the corpus and availability of teaching materials existed (David, 2005; Gill, 2004). In addition, the undergraduates who had been taught through Bahasa Malay had difficulty comprehending English academic texts (David, 2005). Thus, under the pressure of the Asian economic crises and the new wave of internationalization in higher education, English medium of instruction was partially re-

instated in tertiary education. It was hoped that this policy decision would preserve Malaysian competitiveness at the international level and save their identity as capable and efficient as compared to the rest of the world (David, 2005; Gill, 2004). It was also claimed that this language education policy could strengthen the ethnic and socio-economic divides between Chinese and Malay groups, because by doing so no one group dominates the other through its language being the language of instruction. It is ironic at this point that "Malaysians were advised by the deputy Prime Minister not to allow their sentiments to cloud a rational view of the issue" (Gill, 2004, p. 144). The policy was formulated despite all the resistance from Malay intellectuals and political parties (David, 2005; Gill, 2004). The irony of the situation is that after so much struggle and sacrifice, Malaysian HE and Malaysian students feel behind in this competition because: English is not their native language; and high school did not prepare them to use English as the medium of instruction in HE.

Language education policies are always conflicted; thus, subordination and resistance to any language is a complicated issue and a non-monolithic reaction. By this, I mean we cannot claim for any community to have unanimously and totally resisted or submitted to any national-level language policy. There might be resistance and subordination both at work together, but one might be more explicit and stronger than the other which might appear in the form of a linguistic conflict in some extreme situations. For example, it would be un-realistic to believe that all of Basque country is in favor of Basque language as a medium of instruction (MOI) and against Spanish or English as the MOI.

The phenomenon of internationalizing the HE language policy is not very old and got strength after 1988 (Coleman, 2006). However, as the 'Major Trends in Research' section illuminates, it has its far reaching implications on the issues of equality, equity, and economy around the world. There has been a huge debate over this phenomenon, yet research in the field of LEP in HE lacks any strong focus on non-Anglophonic, post-colonial developing countries. The section below offers an overview of LEP in HE in Pakistan.

An Overview of the Field of LEP in HE with Special Reference to Pakistan

During the past ten years some language policies and planning studies have been conducted with special reference to Pakistan. These were mainly in the field of educational development (Naz-Rassool & Mansoor, 2007), language planning in HE (Mansoor, 2004, 2005), language vitality (Rahman, 2006), language policy addressing all academic levels or language policy in non-academic contexts (Rahman, 2005, 2007, 2008; Shamim, 2011). The field is lacking serious, focused, and in-depth investigations of LEP in Pakistani HE. At present, only two book chapters and an article address the particular case of LEP in Pakistani HE (Khan, 2004; Mansoor, 2004). The paragraphs below offer a critical review of these studies in order to inform the field of the state of existing research and gaps that need future investigation.

Mansoor (2004), in her study "Medium of Instruction Dilemma: Implications for Language Planning in Higher Education", presents a much broader view of contextual, political, and historical issues around the medium of instruction controversy in Pakistan, the low literacy rates, lack of enrollment in universities, concerns about declining standards

of higher education, and the insufficiency of libraries. Following is the discussion of some concerns regarding the study: The study relies heavily on generalizations that are usually not substantiated by solid empirical research. Although the article presents a window to a number of English language teaching and general language policy related issues, it lacks any focus on policy and planning issues in the realm of Pakistani higher education.

Again, Mansoor (2004), in "The Status and Role of Regional Languages in Higher Education in Pakistan" uses only the questionnaire survey conducted in the major cities of Pakistan. The results of the study reveal that language attitudes of HE students shift away from their regional languages towards English and/or Urdu languages. The study stresses developing an LEP with a primary objective to promote cultural pluralism and support minority languages. However, the study has some serious limitations. The methods section does not reveal whether the sample was randomly collected. The percentage of participants' ethnic mix is highly disproportionate since 42% of participants are Urdu-speaking while Sindhi-speaking students are only 4% of the entire data. This could have impacted the results of this quantitative study. It is not known why the researcher gathered the data from the capital city of each province and the federal capital only. Ironically, supporting the language minorities as marginalized populations, this study in itself is neglecting the minority language population in the less developed cities of Pakistan. Another question that rises is: Whose definition of 'mother tongue' is being followed? Do all the students actually know and agree upon the standard definition (if any) of mother tongue that the researcher is following? This study investigates the complex phenomenon of language attitudes through a questionnaire and the statistical analysis of the results. How

revealing those statistical figures are regarding multilayered, multifaceted, dynamic, and sometimes self-contradictory language attitudes of the HE students. It would also be helpful if we knew the language(s) of the questionnaire.

Khan (2004), in his study "Language Policy Planning and Practice: A South Asian Perspective" only indirectly emphasizes the issue of language policy at an institutional level and its perceived reflection in classroom practices. This case study analyzes an instance of code switching between English and Urdu during a lecture session in a classroom at the University of Karachi in light of the university's language policy. The university had announced that by 1967-8 teaching and testing at the postgraduate level would be in Urdu. Khan (2004) argues that as a result of this policy, teachers made three kinds of language choices for classroom practice: English only, Urdu only, and bilingualism. The researcher concludes that irrespective of students' language of instruction at school and college, most of the teaching done at the university is in the English language. This mismatch between the language of instruction in school/college and in university offers significant problems to students at the tertiary level. However, students that have had English medium of instruction at the primary and secondary levels do not face any substantial problem in adapting to the medium of instruction in the university.

The analysis lacks depth and theoretical linkages. The researcher could have made much stronger and explicit arguments regarding policy implications on practice. There have been many policy decisions regarding the language of instruction in HE since 1967-8 (the language policy that this study refers to), but the researcher does not relate to any of

them; neither does he mention the possible implications of those policy decisions on recent practice. It is hard and not practical to study the impacts of any language practice under the influence of a policy, which dates at least three decades back and skips the most recent policy actions. If there was any such condition that the institution or the individual teacher had decided to work independently of the national LEP, the researcher could have mentioned that and made a case for local level policy development, or policy appropriation and /or the agency of the local implementers of the national policy. The field of LEP in HE still needs to expand and reach out to those unattended issues and historically overlooked communities, like Pakistan. The section below examines the case of Pakistan in order to address this gap and also to inform the field regarding the current as well as historical condition of LEP in Pakistani HE.

Historical Context of the Educational System in Pakistan

In order to understand policy problems, it is crucial to be aware of contemporary as well as historical issues. "Clearly, it is poor strategy to separate out a language policy and treat it on its own terms, disembedded from sociohistorical conditions and broader policymaking agendas, which persistently complicate language concerns" (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007, p. 448). Therefore, providing a historical context avoids an "incomplete and unbalanced" analysis due to the "absence of contextualized knowledge that takes into account how larger forces, structures, and histories inform local, social interactions and understanding" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p.97).

The story of the Englishization in India begins in late 18th and early 19th century with the acknowledgement of the fact that "the British did not go to India in the first

instance to educate the Indians but it is equally true that ultimately they ended up doing so" (Whitehead, 2005, p. 318). The British project to educate the people of the Indian Subcontinent had grim intentions of "the destruction of traditional or indigenous culture and consciousness, and the training of an elite of subordinate servants" (Whitehead, 2005, p. 317). Under the charter act of 1813, the East India company was responsible for the education of the people of British India. Before which Hindus and Muslim had their own traditional systems of education which were deeply ingrained in their local traditions where they used Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, and Hindi as the mediums of instruction (Khan, 2001). Since, the East India company took little interest in educational projects, the situation regarding the medium of instruction was not decisive. The British colonizer's declaration to make English as the medium of instruction and court language in 1835, increased the popularity of English significantly (Khan, 2001; Pennycook, 2000; Whitehead, 2005). This decision deteriorated the academic and official status of local vernaculars such as Pashto and Urdu (Khan, 2001; Whitehead, 2005). In retaliation, Muslims boycotted the educational institutions and especially higher education institutes (Khan, 2001) because most of their educational and religious literature was in these two languages. Replacing these two languages of instruction with English had deeply negative connotation for Muslims of the region. In addition, Persian and Urdu were the official and court languages during Muslim rule over the subcontinent. Thus, Urdu and Persian also symbolized for Muslim identity as the rulers of the region, and giving up these languages was likely to withdraw from linguistic, religious, and national identities. On the other hand, under Wood's Dispatch in 1854, British colonizers continued establishing new English medium

HE institutes such as the University of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay (Khan, 2001). Muslims' literacy rates and school enrollment rates significantly decreased at all educational levels but it was drastic in HE. By 1870-71, Muslim-Hindu ratio in the professional education colleges was approximately 1:15 (Khan, 2001). This does not mean that Hindus did not resist the English medium of instruction; they did but not as strongly as compared to Muslims. In 1870-1871, only 14.5% of Muslims in India were enrolled in schools at all levels of education (Khan, 2001). "In a resolution in August 1871, the government of the Earl of Mayo regretted that Muslims withheld their active cooperation from the educational system and lost its social and material advantages" (Khan, 2001, p. 4).

Pennycook (2000) mentions that the discourse of Anglicism strengthened in British India due to the "European need to bring civilization to the world through English" (Pennycook, 2000, p. 49). However, history is not that innocent and nor is the agenda to civilize the world. Literature reports that British colonizers used LEP of that time to divide and rule the subcontinent (Whitehead, 2005) by causing "bifurcation, a split in the loyalties and identities of the colonized" (Tikly, 2009, p. 37). Thus, they made English a medium of instruction to make education accessible to the elites only. So doing sharpened the contrast of elites with the masses because "in order to justify the subjugation of people, it is necessary first to construe them as different and inferior, by ordering and classifying them, and thus to stigmatize them as others" (Naz-Rassool, 2007, p. 28). Thus, LEP in British India/Indian subcontinent served to cause an unequal access to English. So doing strengthened the "linguistic, social and power divide between elite and non-elite groups"

(Naz-Rassool, 2007, p. 27) and an ideological domination over the colonized. "British colonizers utilized the coercive agent of English literacy and not brute violence to re-arrange the desires and dreams of its colonial subjects" (Tarc, 2009, p. 196). Hence the educational institution and especially medium of instruction was used to inscribe socio-economic and political categories (Holland et. al, 1998) and re-assign power relations within the society. The monetary and social value attached to learning the colonial language and cultural reproduction of these categories and power relations established a common sense that colonial language is the source of upward social mobility. This created a linguistic hierarchy, a linguistic and cultural ambiguity, and a conflict of interest between the languages (Naz-Rassool, 2007) of the colonized and the colonizer, of the oppressed and the oppressor, and of the dominant and subordinate. Thus, the bifurcation was both horizontal and vertical—between ethnic and religious groups such as Muslims and Hindus and also within the groups because neither of the major religious groups totally took one side. Each group demonstrated subordination and resistance both and became the contact zones of subordination and resistance. Yet, the form and degree and intensity was different. Later, under the leadership of Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan and Moulvi Shibli, Muslims of India re-entered the discourse of HE and Anglicism in 1889 (Khan, 2001). This re-entry occurred after great damage had already happened and the gulf between the rich and powerful of India had become very explicit and deep. However, the purpose to learn English was a primarily political form of resistance. We will return to it in a later section of the chapter.

Colonizers left behind a fractured linguistic, social, and educational landscape of the subcontinent, which was grafted with colonial vestiges. After independence, Pakistan should have replaced English with Urdu (which is the national language of Pakistan and the mother tongue of almost 15% of the population) or any of the 56 indigenous languages of the region. The decision, however, was different and English continued to be the official language and the language of higher education (HE). The national constitutions (1956, 1962, 1973) clearly mentioned that efforts should be made to replace English with Urdu within the next 15 years (Mansoor, 2005).

The history of Pakistan is filled with the tense attempts to replace English with Urdu. However, none of them materialized due to a combination of lack of political will, commitment to personal benefits, lack of economic resources and academic expertise, and most importantly, pressure from colonial powers, both internal and external. English still enjoys the status of official language and the language of HE and research in Pakistan. Official Language Commission (1949); Karachi University Enquiry Committee (1956-1957); Sharif Commission on national education (1959); Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission on student problems and welfare (1965); Air Marshal Nur Khan Report (1969); the New Education Policy (1970) and the national constitution of 1973 recommended to replaced English with Urdu language. Based on these recommendations, when President General Zia-ul-Haq ordered the replacement of English with Urdu language from K-10 and ultimately up to higher education (The National Education Policy, 1979-1989) he faced strong opposition from local and European colonizers and had to take his decision back (Rahman, 2010).

I reviewed all the national education policies since the inception of Pakistan and learned that: 1) English has always been present in the educational system at the higher education level in Pakistan. Every single NEP has acknowledged the significance of English for HE firstly, because of the lack of teaching and research material and weak corpus in Pakistani languages; importance of English for globalization, economic, and technical development; and for international collaborations. Secondly, at the time of independence neither Urdu nor any other language was considered rich enough (neither in terms of teaching and research material nor in terms of corpus) to replace English right away. Thirdly, until the NEP of 1998, each language policy directly or indirectly encouraged the development and enrichment of the local and national languages either for national cohesion and/or to remove the social and economic gulf. However, this discussion is completely absent after the NEP of 1997. 4) Two language policies (1997 and 2009) out of five (1970, 1972, 1997, 1998, 2009) have acknowledged that the dual medium of instruction is a cause of social stratification. However, they advocate completely opposite routes to eradicate it. The NEP of 1979 advocates no English medium of instruction in pre-HE. In contrast, NEP 2009 emphasizes a phased shift away from local and national languages at all levels of education, especially for sciences and technology. The document clearly upholds an English only and English for all policy. 5) Internationalization became an explicit focus of HE since the NEP of 1998. Although each policy acknowledged the importance of not being internationally isolated, internationalization was not the major focus of HE policies prior to 1998 (National Education Policy, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1998, 2010).

The language policy issue in Pakistan has been the root cause of many major conflicts. For instance, one major reason for the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan is a linguistic rights issue. Bengalis insisted on Bengali to be the official/ co-national language and the language of instruction in East Pakistan (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010). They believed that until Bengali was made a national language and the medium of instruction, Bengalis would remain illiterate. "Tamuddun Majlis issued a pamphlet on September 15, 1947 entitled 'Pakistaner Rashtra Bhasha: Bangla Na Urdu?' (Pakistan's National Language: Bangla or Urdu?)" (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010, p. 104). The pamphlet claimed that "Bengali will be the first language for the purpose of imparting education in East Pakistan, which will be learnt by 100 percent of people" (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010, p. 105) because Bengali had all the characteristics to become the language of instruction. It is important to be aware that the Bengali language movement was supported by many political parties, and "many student leaders spearheaded the movement throughout this period" (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010, p. 102). Although the demand was granted in 1956, the linguistic riots had already laid the foundations for further mistrust and misunderstanding. "No doubt, language alone neither separates nor integrates a nation, but lasting legacies of the Bengali language movement and the language martyrs have transcended the test of time" (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010, p. 121).

However, the question is, why has the English language not been replaced? Rizvi and Lingard (2010) raise the concern that "policies usually seek to represent their desired or imagined future as being in the public interests, representing the public good. As a result, they often mask whose interests they actually represent" (p. 6). From the prospect

of language planning, one of the reasons for the LEP in Pakistan might be the interest of elites whose power is conditioned on the persistence of the language of colonizers (Cooper, 1989; Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010; Naz-Rassool, 2007). Thus, the LEP of Pakistan, a vestige of colonialism, continued to flourish in the best interest of these non-European colonizers. Many of these have been educated through the colonial language, thus replacement of the language might pose a threat to their own interests that they are not willing to surrender (Cooper, 1989). Historically, this dominant class has been offering substantial resistance to the efforts of substituting English with Urdu/ other native languages.

In addition, there are local elites who use the national language, Urdu, to subdue the role of provincial and local languages (Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2010). Although 1973's national constitution of 1973 (modified in 2004) clearly provides provision that provincial governments can make arrangements for providing education in local as well as national languages; there has been significant tension in its implementation. For example, public schools in Punjab do not use any provincial language as the medium of instruction.

Another reason for not replacing English with any other language could be the dilemma most developing countries face, which is the direct implication of the choice of medium of instruction upon the human resource development in order to survive in the highly competitive international market (Naz-Rassool, 2007). With regards to policy planning, "access to world commerce, science, and technology demands that at least some must learn the imperial languages. An excellent way to impart those languages is to use them as media of instruction" (Cooper, 1989, p. 112). However, the reality might not be

as monolithic and innocent as Cooper views it. This interconnectedness of world economy and the imperial languages is not uncontested:

> In its current manifestation, postcolonialist power promotes market economies, human capital education, and neoliberal school reforms all designed to promote the interests of rich nations and powerful multinational corporations. In the framework of postcolonialism, these critics argue, education is viewed as an economic investment designed to produce better workers to serve Multinational Corporations. (Spring, 2008, p. 335)

Thus, the social institution of education and the agenda of language policy and planning have been simultaneously re-shaped according to the interest of the colonial power and the neoliberal forces of market both from a local and international perspective. The following section elaborates the current context of the education system in Pakistan, which operates under the hegemony of the English language.

Current Context of the Educational System in Pakistan

Since policy does not occur in a vacuum but rather has bilateral ties with the discourse in which it exists, it is important to understand the educational discourse in Pakistan and how it works to intersect with the individual student's academic trajectories. The Pakistani system of education takes its roots from the British educational system. Therefore, we can see many structural similarities between them. Functionally, the education system in Pakistan is divided into two parallel categories, public schools and private schools. However, during the past few decades a middle class has emerged between the two extreme ends of a continuum called 'non-elite private schools'. Thus, I use the term three parallel systems of education in the following discussions. There are researchers like Rahman (2002) who elaborate nuanced nomenclature of the educational system in

Pakistan and dissect it into several other sub-categories, but in the interest of time, space, and relevance, I choose not to go into those details. Moreover, those discussions will not help extend the argument this dissertation is building upon.

Below is a brief overview of these three parallel systems of education based on the medium of instruction and socio-economic capacity of the consumers. These three parallel systems (public schools, non-elite private schools, elite private/public schools) function across the entire life-cycle of education, starting from pre-school to higher education (HE). However, the functional difference of these three systems is explicitly obvious from pre-school to matriculation (secondary school equivalent to grades 9 & 10). Below is a grade-wise analysis which is limited to the province of Punjab, because each out of four provinces uses its agency to interpret, negotiate, re-shape, and implement the national education policy in varied ways. This section elaborates on the system of education in post-colonial Punjab in two different sections: 1) Educational system from kindergarten through grade 10 and, 2) Educational system in post-secondary education.

From Kindergarten through Grade 10

There are three different kinds of schools from K through 10: Public/ Urdu/ vernacular medium schools; Non-Elite private schools; and Elite Private/Elite Public schools. Below is a brief description of these based on the language education policy.

Public/Urdu/vernacular medium schools teach English as one compulsory subject whereas Urdu is the medium of instruction for all other subjects/courses (e.g. math, science, etc.). Most of these students cannot write even a few sentences of English on their own. Textbooks used in these schools are published by the provincial textbook board. Students

appear for a compulsory matriculation standardized exam conducted by the board of intermediate and secondary education in which all the students have to pass an English language compulsory examination, irrespective of their medium of instruction and linguistic background. Students who opt for the English medium of instruction in grade 10 attempt their standardized matriculation exams for all the courses (such as biology, commerce, education) in the English language. Vernacular medium students attempt all exams, except the compulsory English language exam, in the vernacular medium. Extracurricular activities, such as debates and dramas, are usually done in Urdu/ native languages. Some students might do speeches in English that are written by someone else and then memorized.

Non-elite private schools teach Urdu as one compulsory subject, whereas the medium of instruction for all other subjects is supposed to be English. However, the degree and quality of English used in the classrooms varies. These schools try to enforce English as a medium of communication. Some of these students may choose between O'Levels and the matriculation examination mainly based on their English proficiency. Schools use textbooks of their choice. However, students who have to appear in matriculation use books published by the text board during grades 9 and 10. Those who opt for O'Levels follow the syllabus and text books suggested by the Cambridge system of examination. Extracurricular activities in these schools are done mainly in English. Elite Private/Elite Public schools teach Urdu as one compulsory subject, whereas English is the medium of instruction and communication. These students are less fluent in writing and reading Urdu. However, they have a high degree of fluency and accuracy in English. Most of these

students opt for O'Levels; however, some might opt for matriculation. Textbooks are imported from Oxford, Ginn, and Longman. Extracurricular activities and school magazines, etc., are pre-dominantly in English.

Post-Secondary Education (after grade 10)

Except for those who opt for A'Levels, all students appear in the standardized examination conducted by the board of intermediate and secondary education. However, the choice of medium of instruction between English and Urdu languages varies based on the disciplines chosen by the students, available human and physical resources of the institute, the socio-economic background of the majority of students, and the public/private status of the institute. All the students have to pass a compulsory English exam. However, the students who opt for elite subjects, such as science or technology, have no option but English only as the medium of instruction where textbooks, supplementary readings, and exams are all English only. Moreover, the professional schools like engineering and medical colleges also use English only as the medium of instruction and for examinations. Professional degrees in teaching/ teacher education can be an exception.

It is important to know that in all the standardized exams that are conducted at the end of grades 10, 12, and 14—students from all linguistic backgrounds and all the systems of education have to appear in the compulsory language examination. The compulsory language exams are Urdu and English in grades 10 and 12 but only English in grade 14. Unless a student passes the compulsory language examination, s/he cannot enter the next grade. The actual crucial issue at this point is only 18% of all the students who appeared for the grade 12 examination could pass the English compulsory examination previously

(Mansoor, 2005). The section above elaborated the place of the English language within the educational system of Pakistan and the limited choice that the students have in the language of instruction (the question of choice will be discussed in the later sections). The section below focuses on the theoretical underpinnings of language policy and postcolonialism.

Paradox of Choice and Access

Although the choice for lower and middle classes to opt for English versus vernacular medium school might sound democratic and flexible to some, it is entrenched in socio-economic tensions. This study also aims to problematize this notion of choice. My question is, do the students really have a choice or do they feel obliged to opt for the only available choice? Based on Foucault (1979), Awad Ibrahim (1999) argues that "choosing…is partially reflected in one's language practice. Choosing is a question of agency; that is, by virtue of being a subject, one has room to maneuver one's own desires and choices…these choices are disciplined by the social conditions under which the subjects live" (p. 5). Pakistanis who can afford, go to elite English medium school; whereas the middle class goes to the non-elite English medium schools (Rahman, 2005). The last and the largest proportion of the society goes to the vernacular medium schools because the monthly fee of an English medium school is equal or some times more than the monthly income of a working class person.

The divide is not restricted to the boundaries of school only; rather, its tentacles spread out and influence the merit and eligibility of higher education as "English in higher education serves as a screening mechanism" (Naz-Rassool, 2007, p. 237). Thus, post-

colonial language policies operating in Pakistan are preparing three different kinds of what Ramanathan (2005) calls "literate in English" (p. 12) for three different kinds of imagined futures and represent three different socio-economic classes. Thus, even in a post-colonial era, the influence of colonial language and language policies create social conditions that in turn support colonial language.

The Case of Pakistan

Now, the question becomes *how does LEP create stratification, and especially in and through Pakistani HE*? The LEP of the colonial era prevailed in the post-colonial period to bifurcate loyalties and, thus, to contribute to stratification in society (Ramanathan, 2005; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Tikly, 1999) by allowing only differential and selective entry of the students to higher education. No student can enter and succeed in Pakistani HE without learning the English language whereas only a few have access to the English medium education in pre higher education institutes such as colleges and schools. Thus, the English language background of students is one major factor that creates divisions, assigns values, inscribes labels, and determines positions students can hold within academia and in the future. This positioning and category inscription is not always voluntary, neutral, or objective. Rather it is relative, subjective, coerced, and often times imposed. According to Holland et. al. (2001), categories "are inscribed upon people, both interpersonally and institutionally, and within them" (p. 26). Thus, this study argues that the language education policy in Pakistan has been intentionally designed in ways that "certain things [entry and success in HE] are denied to some people and made accessible

to others" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 7). Below is some elaboration of how this categorization is done through the language of education.

The colonial remnants of language policy operating in Pakistan prepare three different categories/kinds of what Ramanathan (2005) calls "literate in English" (p. 12) people. One kind is privileged enough to have an English language educational background with a guarantee of entry in the reputed HE institutes and secure prestigious positions in national and international job markets. In fact, their elite SES affords them admission to elite English medium schools that maintain international standards. These students maintain a high level of English proficiency. The second type of literates in English are the students from upper middle SES who may graduate from non-elite (yet high standard) English medium K-10 schools. There is a stronger emphasis to enhance their English language proficiency which helps them enter professions such as medicine, engineering, and pharmaceuticals, but they have to go an extra mile in order to compete with the graduates of elite schools. The third kind of literates in English are those who studied and barely passed the compulsory English examination for matriculation (grade 10); they are the ones who have lower-middle or working-class status and go to vernacular medium schools where everything, including English, is taught through Urdu. English is taught to them through the grammar translation method yet most students are unable to even translate English text into Urdu. Except a few exceptions, these students cannot write a few sentences of English on their own. Most of these students fail the terminal compulsory standardized test of English language at grade 10. Those who pass face serious linguistic issues in college (grades 11-12). Due to their lack of proficiency in the English

language, they end up choosing from the remaining non-elite positions in academia as well as in the job market. Consequently, three different kinds of people who are educated and literate in English enter into three different socio-economic classes, which then go on to reproduce the historical class divides. However, exceptions exist, so that some of the graduates from elite/non-elite English medium schools might not reach the threshold of HE acceptance due to a combination of factors, such as low motivation. Language does not play any significant role in their failure. In contrast, there are some exceptional cases in which literates from public/Urdu medium schools do make it to HE and manage to be the counterparts of those who have had English medium instruction throughout K-12. This study focuses on the last category of the exceptional students from public schools and their struggles in and around HE.

In addition, a discussion of the linguistic and scholastic challenges within and beyond HE caused by the LEP of HE is included. Because the largest body of research, the most recent information, and the teaching materials in HE, particularly for science, technology, and business, are available in the English language, failure to learn English means either no higher education or poor quality higher education. Thus, the situation in HE offers substantial resistance to those who do not have an English medium background and most often come from a lower/lower middle SES. These students struggle in understanding the lectures, using the text books, doing their exams, and participating in classroom discussions, all of which are in the English language. Mansoor's (2005) study reveals that the students who have had English medium schooling and an English-speaking

atmosphere at home perform significantly better in HE than their counterparts from a non-English medium educational background and low SES.

Most Pakistani HE students are historically facing a double disadvantage. First, these students cannot rely on Urdu or other regional languages of Pakistan for their academic needs because the local languages of Pakistan do not offer quality research and teaching materials or a rich academic corpus, especially in the fields of science, technology, and business (Cenoz, 2012; Dunbar, 2011; Mansoor, 2005; Naz-Rassool, 2007; Phillipson, 2006; Rahman, 2002). Teachers and students are not trained to use national and local languages for research purposes in HE. Second, in most cases K-12 language training and experiences of these students do not match the English language proficiency expectations of HE (Hughes, 2008). Thus, neither their early schooling nor Pakistani HE offers enough linguistic support to linguistically unprepared students (Mansoor, 2005; Naz-Rassool, 2007). Because of this double disadvantage, Pakistani HE students and novice researchers face serious challenges in getting published in international journals of repute. This in turn has two major consequences: Local (Pakistani) English medium journals become the default dumping ground for research being rejected at the international level (Lee & Lee, 2013); and local knowledge and national values do not get recognition at the international level (Hughes, 2008).

A serious damage resulting from this unfair linguistic treatment because of the LEP in HE is the "colonization of the mind" (Tikly, 2009, p. 37). Through educational experiences in HE, the colonizer has "disciplined" (Tikly, 2009, p. 37) the linguistic behavior of the colonized in ways that make them feel that their own language(s) is inferior.

These practices occur at the institutional level; for example, universities hire and evaluate faculty based on competence in the English language in addition to their mastery of their disciplines (Alexander, 2008; Cenoz, 2012). These linguistic practices have implications for research and scholarship. Consequently, some HE students and faculty stop using their mother tongues or local languages. In her mixed methods study, Mansoor (2004, 2005) revealed a shift away from Punjabi and Sindhi languages among the higher education students in the major cities of Pakistan. Rahman (2006) argues that it is because local languages are considered a sign of backwardness in the Pakistani HE context. Mansoor (2005) explains that "the language shift in some 'minority speakers' . . . makes evident, the socio-cultural repercussions of a language policy that pays scant regard to the status and role of regional languages in education" (pp. 364, 365). Based on the review of language education policies of Pakistan, I argue that this "scant regard" is planned and chronic. Furthermore, the repercussions are long lasting and devastating. In order to resolve this linguistic stratification, Mansoor (2005) proposed an English for All (EFA) language policy for higher education in Pakistan and recommended that:

> The 'flexi-approach,' in higher education of students taking their university examination in Urdu or English is removed to ensure the successful implementation of the policy. …Intermediate classes (class 11-12) be used as a bridge period to strengthen the English language proficiency of our learners…the proposed policy of the government to introduce English from class 1 should be seriously considered. (p. 357)

I am concerned that this approach of Englishization, which was later adopted by the National Education Policy 2009, becomes more threatening for educational contexts, like Pakistan, that are still struggling to achieve the target of minimum literacy with limited resources. In this regard Tsui and Tollefson (2004) question the credibility of having

internationalization/ Englishization policies, and raise the concern that in the countries where the literacy rate is already low, resources are scarce, and basic education is available but to a few, would huge investments in promoting education in a foreign language of instruction be fair? Does this not make higher education impossible for those who are already struggling to obtain a basic education? I wonder what the priority is: educating the entire nation to at least some basic level or further empowering those few who are already economically strong enough to purchase expensive higher education degrees? This is a question of basic human rights: "There is fundamental unresolved tension between education as a human right and trading in educational services" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 16).

Chapter 3
Researching Neocolonial Policies Across Levels

Introduction

This dissertation is a language education policy vertical case study that analyzes multimodal data collected over a period of three years through the application of multimodal critical discourse analysis. In three sections, this chapter presents an overview of the methodological and analytical decisions made for this dissertation. The first section: "Ecology of Language Policy as Theoretical Framework" elaborates the theoretical framework of this study. Section two, "Why Vertical Case Study?", explains why vertical case study is the most appropriate methodology for this research. Section three, "Participants", details decisions such as access to the participants and why I chose the three focal students. Section four, "Data collection", explains the rational of employing these specific data collection and co-construction strategies. Section Five, "Coding and Analysis", informs the coding mechanism and major analysis techniques and tools employed on the multimodal data collected for this dissertation. Since this dissertation analyzes multilingual data, section seven, "Linguistic Considerations", outlines the major tensions in dealing with multilingual data in this dissertation. In many ways, I am not only a researcher but also a very engaged participant in this study; thus, section eight, "My positionality", details my relationship with my participants, this study and as well as with the context of this study.

Ecology of Language Policy as Theoretical Framework

This study uses *ecology of language policy* as a conceptual framework to analyze how languages interact with each other in the minds of bi/multilingual speakers and also how languages interact with society (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). This framework lends itself as a conceptual approach to investigate "how linguistic ecologies relate to social, historical, sociolinguistic, and political forces at individual, community, and societal levels of social organization" (Hornberger & Hult, 2008, p. 281). In order to answer the research questions stated above, this study inevitably gets engaged in teasing out the relationship between English—a colonial, neo-colonial, imperial, and so-called global language—and the national and local languages of post-colonial Pakistan. Hence, this research involves "different levels of analysis" of linguistic relationships from global to local levels that are assumed to exist in the ecology of language policy's conceptual framework. The ecology of language policy's approach to the three planning types and the "intimate relationship" among them matches with the focus of my study. According to Hornberger and Hult (2008), "The analytical emphasis of the ecology of language dovetail nicely with the three planning types: relationship among languages (corpus planning), relationship among social context of languages (status planning), and relationship among individual speakers and their languages (acquisition planning)" (p. 283). They further believe that such an approach is beneficial when studying language education policy and planning. An ecology of language approach to language policy emphasizes the investigation of the relationship among different languages within a policy document, the relationship between language policies, individual experiences with language use and their language related beliefs, and

also the overall relationship between language policy and sociolinguistic circumstances (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). The research questions in this study focus on the specifics of these relationships.

Why Vertical Case Study?

Ethnographic research provides a lens to allow examination through the multiple layers of the LPP onion in order to "reveal agentive spaces in which local actors implement, interpret and perhaps resist policy initiatives in varying and unique ways" (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p. 509). The fields of language ethnography (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) and vertical case study (Vavrus & Bartlet, 2006, 2009) are both new enough to engage in any deep comparison. By using multilayered analysis, both aim for the similar goal of investigating the local, individual, and ground realities in the light of mega structural level decisions; however, ethnography of language policy requires field observation, which is not a condition in vertical case study. Since I am not conducting on-site participant observations and also because I aim to place this policy study in the broader field of comparative education, I opt for the term vertical case study. Moreover, this study aims to examine a rather complex and nested situation in which language education policy, being a remnant of colonialism, creates socio-economic class divisions and these class divisions reinforce the implementation of language policy. Vertical case study offers a broader platform for studying the HE language policy of Pakistan as a case and its socio-economic, personal, and academic perceived impacts on individual students' academic trajectories. What follows is a discussion of some of the advantages of vertical case study (VCS) methodology for this particular study.

This language policy vertical case study (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006; 2009) includes dialogic interviews (Knight & Saunders, 1999)—both face-to-face and via Skype—Facebook chat sessions, and analysis of policy documents. Vertical case study is a suitable approach because it has the potential to view policies:

> …from national to individual and local commitment to micro-level understanding and to macro-level analysis. It strives to situate local action and interpretation within a broader cultural, historical, and political investigation…In a vertical case study, understanding of the micro level is viewed as part and parcel of larger structures, forces, and policies about which the researcher must also develop a full and thorough knowledge. (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 96)

Pressures of the global labor market guide the language education policies in post-colonial countries and ultimately (re)shape students' academic trajectories. In this scenario, conducting a VCS would be helpful because this approach "exposes the missing links between educational strategies and labor market policies and practices" (Bajaj, 2010, p. 193). Since this study focuses on the social categories produced through language education policy, the VCS approach provides the tools to analyze the policy and its perceived (unintended) consequences under the multiple layers (global to individual) of political, historical, cultural, and socio-economic influences. In contrast, single-level analysis provides "often, though not always, the absence of contextualized knowledge that takes into account how larger forces, structures, and histories inform local social interactions and understanding" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 97). Thus, using VCS in this dissertation fills in the gap that single level analysis often fails to fill. Next, this study aims for a deeper understanding of the micro level processes such as perception, resistance, subordination, negotiation, appropriation, fears, and hopes of an individual student within

the academic discourse of a postcolonial society and the panoptic gaze of language education policy. This "multilevel analysis is necessary to balance perspectives in comparative research, but it is only sufficient when it includes a thorough understanding of the particularity of the micro-level" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 97) which is offered through VCS.

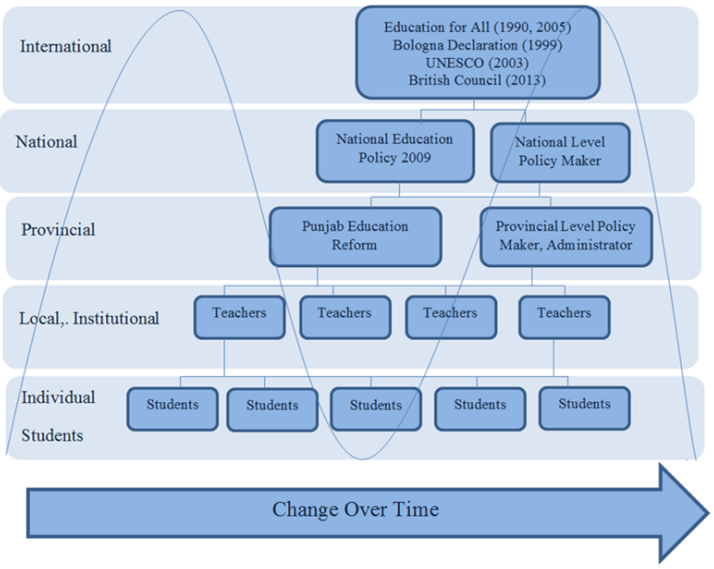
Further, this dissertation focuses on students who are often considered forgotten players in policy cycles and whose perspectives are often ignored. This results in an incomplete and unbalanced perspective and the possibility for undesired consequences that do more harm than good. Therefore, there is a need to involve all the stakeholders, including students, in educational policy implementation and analysis projects. It is this purpose of this dissertation that VCS serves and has the potential to "place local knowledge on a more equal footing with official, authoritative knowledge by analyzing what 'ought to be' based on policy pronouncements and cross-national comparisons as well as what 'is happening' as recounted by local actors" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 98).

Vertical case study not only analyzes the vertical axis, which includes micro, macro, and meso layers of policy implementation and interpretation and their horizontal dimension across time and space, but also observes how the different actors from local to global levels are connected to each other through a common thread. The study of this relationship is called transversal analysis by Bartlett and Vavrus (2014):

> Transversal analysis historically situates the process or relations under consideration and traces the creative appropriation of educational policies and practices across time and space. The transversal element reminds us to study *across and through* levels to explore how globalization processes intersect and interconnect people and policies that come into focus at different scales (p. 131).

It is important to analyze the transversality of English dominance and internationalization of HE that runs through global to local levels and vice versa. The Bologna Declaration and Education for All movements accelerated the internationalization of HE and English dominance at the global level which transverse to the national boundaries of countries like Pakistan. That transversal axis connects the local with the global and vice versa and in the case of this study, the transversal axis of internationalization of HE, English dominance, and global competition bonds the (neo)colonizer and the colonized in a tense and conflictual relationship with one another. It is essential, however, to recognize and keep in mind the contention around the term *internationalization of HE*. It is equally important to know what local actors in Pakistan mean by internationalization and global competition. I contest that socio-economic conditions of the majority of the Pakistani population and their educational needs should be the determining factor in policy actions, not neo-colonial and global interests as reflected in EFA or Bologna Declarations. Figure 3.1 represents these multiple layers of VCS:

Figure 3.1
Language Education Policy Vertical Case Study (VCS)



Note: Adopted from Bartlett and Vavrus (2014)

Participants

This study includes 24 HE male and female students and recent graduates from the universities of Punjab Province, six teachers, six administrators, one state level policymaker, and one provincial level policymaker. The minimum age of the participants was 20 years. I reached all student participants and three teachers through my previous and current acquaintances and asked them directly if they wanted to participate in this study. The other three teachers were introduced to me in the office of a chairperson of one of the boards of intermediate and secondary education in Punjab Province. However, I have not included any of their data in this dissertation. Except for this chairperson, all other administrators and policymakers were contacted directly either initially through fax or e-mail and then with personal visits or by directly approaching their offices and asking

for an appointment. For this dissertation, I chose three students as focal participants. Nazia, Zaheer, and Farid are all pseudonyms for my participants. Detailed narrative descriptions of these students appear in Chapter Seven. I chose these three as my focal participants for multiple reasons. First, they represented three different levels within the low SES designation in Pakistan. Nazia comes from an urban area and her father is educated while her mother attended school only for the first five grades. Farid comes from a very small town; his mother is totally uneducated and his father went to school only until grade 8. Zaheer comes from a village that did not have gas, electricity, a hospital, or a high school. His mother was totally uneducated while his father attended school until grade 8 only. Both Zaheer and Farid are the first in their entire village or town to enter university. Zaheer and Farid both went to schools with Urdu medium of instruction while Nazia went to a school that publicized itself as English medium of instruction but in practice was completely using Urdu medium of instruction.

Second, these three participants represent a range of relationships and experiences with the English language. Farid has mostly been encouraged and rewarded because of his English language proficiency; Nazia faced corporal punishment when she was unable to perform adequately in English; while Zaheer failed to achieve multiple times due to his lack of proficiency in English. Third, at this point in life they stand at three different stages in their academic and professional trajectories and are looking forward toward different imagined futures. Farid has just returned from the U.S. after completing an educational exchange program and is working towards admission to Harvard University in the U.S.; Nazia has recently finished her M.S. program in English Language Teaching and has

started working as a teacher trainer; and Zaheer is finishing his Masters in a policy and planning related program and is desperately looking for a job so that he can secure approximately $300 for his tuition fee and bed rent at the dormitory he lives in.

My rationale for focusing on these exceptional students is robust. I personally belong to a low SES family and attended a public school for most of my K-10 schooling. However, since my mother was a school teacher and my eight older brothers and sisters had been to school before me, I could very well see how important learning English was. Based on their experiences, I began to investigate ways for learning English by myself. My struggle with the English language became intense when in grades 11 and 12 the medium of instruction changed overnight. Until the end of grade 10, I was used to a vernacular medium of instruction, but from the first day of grade 11 the medium of instruction was English. Spending hours and hours translating English text into Urdu and then memorizing it in English did not help my grades much and I could not enter the medical profession. This was a life changing moment when I took English language learning as a challenge to move towards a more prosperous future. It took me seven additional years to prepare myself to begin a graduate degree in English language teaching (with English as the medium of instruction). However, this long route taught me some important lessons and posed some critical questions worth exploring: In the struggle to re-enter English medium higher education, can everyone afford to so heavily invest their time and money? Do all students get enough guidance and support at home to be able to carve out a similar path for re-entry?

The second reason for centering the study on these focal participants is the extraordinary nature of the struggles that these students experience in the absence of enough support in Pakistani HE. Thirdly, this category of participants constitutes the majority of students in HE and in the overall population of Pakistan. Supporting them and voicing their concerns would mean contributing towards the welfare of the largest section of society. Lastly, this group of students is most vulnerable to becoming agents of negative elements in society. Faced with failure and utter disappointment they can be engaged in negative activities and unlawful means of moving up the ladder of economic mobility. It is therefore important to acknowledge their efforts, shun the historical labels, comprehend the nuanced complexities of their struggles, be able to reduce the pain of the process, voice out the injustices, and engage the policymakers, curriculum designers, administrators, teachers, parents, and students in this joint project of success for HE students from low socioeconomic backgrounds.

Data Collection

My data include documents such as EFA (1990, 2005), Bologna Declaration (1999), a report on UNESCO's (2003) conference "*Globalization and Higher Education: Implications for North - South Dialogue*," British Council's (2013) document, "*Can English Medium Education Work in Pakistan? Lessons from Punjab*," NEP 2009, and the website of the Punjab Education Reform. In addition, the study uses Skype and face-to-face interviews with students, teachers, administrators, and policymakers; Facebook discussion sessions with students; and pictures provided by my student participants. Moreover, the data include students' failure rates for the English compulsory examination

at matriculation, intermediate, and bachelor levels from the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Punjab and the University of the Punjab. Table 4 below delineates the relationship between different types of data and their corresponding research questions.

Table 3.1
Relationship Between Research Questions and Data Type

Questions	Data Types
Question 1: In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?	Policy documents, Interviews
Question 2: What are the perceived impacts of the language education policy of Pakistan on the academic and professional trajectories of low SES HE students?	Interviews, Facebook data, Pictures
Question 3: How do the students from varied socio-economic backgrounds negotiate with, subordinate to, or resist and appropriate the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan?	Interviews, Facebook data, Pictures

Why Facebook?

All of the HE student participants were invited to join a private Facebook group where they engaged in interactions with each other as well as with the researcher. Some of the Facebook participants were recent graduates from HE institutions while other participants were still studying in HE. The Facebook group page was designed and made functional in June 2012 and is still functional. The field of language policy lacks in the application of digital technology, especially Facebook, for methodological purposes; most studies use interviews, observations, and document analysis methods. This study uses Facebook as a data construction tool that offers multiple embedded modes of data such as videos, pictures, and emoticons. Although linguistic landscape (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) uses pictures and text as data sources, so far it has not offered

itself as a space that utilizes a combination of written and oral speech, official policy documents, and the two visual modes of communication—stationary (pictures) and non-stationary (video)—in one study. This study, however, uses interviews and policy documents in combination with Facebook as a way to collect multimodal data that together help form a nuanced understanding of the official as well as *de-facto* language policy and its perceived impacts on participants' academic trajectories. This understanding might not have been achieved otherwise.

Facebook as a data collection instrument is still new in the field of educational research. This forum has been used for teaching purposes (Bosch, 2009; Rambe, 2012); however, very limited peer reviewed work is published in the field of language policy that uses Facebook as a research instrument. Particularly, in the case of the global south, there is very limited research on the use of social media in education either for pedagogy or research (Bosch, 2009). Therefore, most of my reflections in this section are based on my personal experience during the pilot phase of this research study or on the existing empirical research on the use of Facebook for pedagogical purposes.

This study, which aims to address the linguistic struggles of HE students, uses Facebook as a data collection instrument because Facebook makes implicit educational challenges visible through posts, chats, and discussions in real time. This study needed a platform that would lend itself to the organic emergence, (re)production, confirmation, negotiation, resistance, and analysis of social and academic hierarchies in relation to linguistic hierarchies. Rambe (2012) noticed that "Facebook sometimes reproduce and entrench hierarchical power relations between students" (p. 26). Thus, Facebook is not

just as a site for data collection but also for data production, contestation, and observation that allows an opportunity for the researcher to be a participant as well as an observer.

Since this study engaged higher education students and recent graduates in critical discussions regarding the status quo and the historically silenced injustices that Pakistani academia is facing, it serves as a liberating discourse and a site of struggle against a remnant of colonial rule. Using Facebook supports this agenda, and thoughtful Facebook discussion forums provide a suitable environment for the work. Rambe (2012) observed that while using Facebook for pedagogical purposes, students were able to critique academic and pedagogical decisions of the administration. Thus, students' critiques are evidence for the power of Facebook "to democratize communication through filtering cues that denote social hierarchies" (p. 27) and engage in critical discussions that they cannot or do not in face-to-face sessions.

In some ways this study has used Facebook chats in ways equivalent to focus group discussions, because in both instruments, multiple participants interact and respond to each other as well as the interviewer. The intersection of these multiple voices during a focus group helps negotiate, (re)shape, and (re)produce the voices, identities, reality(ies), and knowledge(s) present in the group. A discussion string on a Facebook wall offers a similar multi-voiced environment where the interlocutors read each other's comments discretely and have a chance to co-produce and negotiate the discourse. Unless the administrator of the group uses special rights such as blocking a member or deleting a post, the participants have the liberty to shape the discussion. Moreover, the interlocutors can return to a string of postings after weeks or months to continue the same discussion and any member of the

conversation can re-interpret or reform what they had said earlier. This multi-voicedness is a key element to this study in which Facebook was used as a platform to observe how participants' opinions influence/re-shape each other in a digital context.

The methodology takes note of the minor moves that participants make during Facebook interactions, such as hitting the 'like' icon, reading but ignoring (which can be traced by the 'seen by X people' function), reading and commenting, and returning to the same string of a discussion after a time period (after how much time is also an important question in this regard). These delicate moves reveal participants' nuanced decisions in online interactions. Although the in-person feature of non-verbal communication is absent, emoticons, stickers, and minor actions such as 'liking' or sharing a post can somewhat fill this gap. In certain cases, emoticons convey meaning strongly and explicitly compared to body language in face-to-face interactions. Since these emoticons stay on the Facebook wall (unless deleted), they are more permanent than delicate, momentary, and sometimes less explicit non-verbal cues occurring in face-to-face interactions. Moreover, body language is less explicit and sometimes subdued in some cultures. The analysis in this study (especially in Chapter Seven) also focuses on these implicit, modest, and subdued expressions reflected in the written and non-verbal (in the form of, for example, emoticons) communication on Facebook.

Since Facebook discussion is conducted online, the temporal and spatial constraints of long-distance research were managed more easily. Group members participated according to their own time and space convenience. This facilitated the inclusion of participants from various time zones who would be otherwise geographically difficult to

access. Hence, using Facebook reduces (or at least re-shapes) time, resource, and access management issues. The researcher did not have to be physically present at the site of the study and yet was very much involved in multiple discussions at the same time. It was not possible for me to be physically present in Pakistan during the entire duration of data collection; Facebook engagement resolved the problem of my geographical absence.

The fact that participants in the study were situated in varied geographical, political, social, and historical settings and were still engaged in the same discussion at roughly the same time provides a multi-contextual study. To my knowledge no such work in educational policy research exists that studies one phenomenon at multiple sites at the same time while engaging participants on a similar online platform. The multi-contextual nature of the study has enriched the data in enormous ways because our ideologies and perceptions are influenced by contextual realities. For example, participants in this study experienced the same educational discourse in Pakistan, which, in many instances, offered them similar experiences. However, because they belonged to different SES, ethnic, and linguistic groups, they experienced and perceived several things differently. After graduation they all moved to different geographical locations (states, countries, continents) in different capacities, where they experienced different socio-economic, political, social, historical, academic, linguistic, and environmental realities. All these factors in new contexts inform the ways these students thought and responded. Thus, their current perceptions are (re)formed, (re)shaped, and complicated by these multiple contexts. Inviting these participants from different contexts into critical reflections of their pasts was very informative, educational, conflicted, tense, and engaging.

To sum up, the use of Facebook as a data collection tool was an intentional decision initially made due to temporal, spatial, and resource related issues. It cannot be said that Facebook resolves power politics of face-to-face interactions; it certainly helped reduce this tension in certain cases. However, very explicitly, Facebook provided a different platform and a unique lens for the production and analysis of power positioning in digital discourse, which is not present in face-to-face interaction. As mentioned earlier, the method is brand new and needs attention in many areas. There are certain issues that need to be studied and many questions that need to be answered concerning ethical considerations, motivation of participants, and issues of representation and translation.

Why Interviews?

In addition to the Facebook interactions, at least one 45-minute-long interview was conducted with each of the students. However, 12 participants engaged in at least two rounds of interviews. While the three focal students were interviewed three times each, the third round was a biographic interview, while the first and second round of interviews were based on the pictures these participants shared with me. Administrators, faculty, and the policymaker each had one hour-long interview. All of these interviews were audio-recorded. Most interviews with students and teachers were conducted via Skype, while interviews with administrators and policymaker were conducted face-to-face.

This study utilized a semi-structured dialogic technique of interviewing to collect interview data and applied Talmy's (2011) "co-construction" approach to analyze the interview data. Interviews for this study were conducted as a form of "social practice" (Talmy, 2010, p. 26) in a "dialogical context" (Tangaard, 2009, p. 1498) for meaning

making and negotiation (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). Thus, instead of creating boundaries or restricting the responses to fit within a format, the interview protocols offered the interlocutors an opportunity to organically engage in every-day like dialogue with each other in such a way that both were engaged and both informed/ (re)shaped each other's responses. This approach allowed both interviewer and interviewee to participate in the process of construction and negotiation of meaning. Using the interview as a process of developing rapport and co-constructing an experience with participants, this study used multi-sensory channels in interviews such as verbal, non-verbal, spoken, heard (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007), and visual (pictures, videos, emoticons). These interviews were no longer subjective or objective but rather intersubjective (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007), which allowed the interlocutors to share their perceptions of and experiences in the world.

A focus on the voice of the colonized was the guiding light for data collection and analysis in this study because "voice is the issue that defines linguistic inequalities (hence, many other forms of inequalities) in contemporary societies" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 5). The interviews in this study were conducted for the production of polyphonic dialogues, in which knowledge about social life and personal experiences was produced by the simultaneous intersection of many voices and discourses—such as discourses on inequality, class, linguistic hierarchy, social mobility, neo-colonial and imperial forces, power of colonial language, and differential access to education. Tanggaard (2009)

explains that due to the multivoiced[6] nature of the dialogue, over the course of an interview, each participant can talk with many voices. However, it is not the best approach to claim the complete reconstruction or perfect summary of even one participant because these multiple voices of a single person can be restricting, intersecting, and conflicting with each other. Therefore, this study provides extended excerpts of data comprising of various turns between the interlocutors. So doing affords the reader better opportunities to experience not just the multiple voices of the interlocutors, but also the multi-voicedness of each individual. This tactic also highlights nuanced aspects of identity shifts, identity negotiation, power positioning, shifts in the self-perception of the interlocutors, and the interplay of various and sometimes contradictory and competing selves in the interview data.

This study has presented and deeply analyzed extended episodes of interactions between the researcher and participants. So doing helps examine the "situated accomplishment" and "co-construction" (Talmy, 2011, p. 34) of knowledge by the interlocutors in a particular context. In contrast, analysis and presentation of thin slices of data conceal or misinterpret the nuances of interactions that help (re)shape/fabricate the social event as well as the researcher's role in the study.

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[6] Blommaert (2005) describes voice as "the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In doing so, they have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in context that are specified as to conditions of use" (p. 4). Since voice is embedded in discourse, the fluid, contradictory, and competing nature of discourse is often manifested through the multiple voices of one person.

Why Documents?

The third major source of data in this study was international, national, provincial, and institutional policy documents. All national education policies (NEPs) of Pakistan were reviewed with a special focus on their language policy component. Since no explicit language education policy (LEP) is present in Pakistan, NEPs serve as LEP. According to Menken (2008), LEP can be the by-product of education policy when an explicit language policy is absent. Hence, the analysis of NEPs of Pakistan informs the study regarding the LEP of Pakistan. Punjab Province's Education Reforms' websites were analyzed in order to study local level hierarchies as well as contradictions among the policies. In addition, the National Constitution of Pakistan (1972), Education for All reform (1990), Bologna Declaration (1999), a report on UNESCO's (2003) conference "*Globalization and Higher Education: Implications for North - South Dialogue, and* "British Council's (2013) document, "*Can English Medium Education Work in Pakistan? Lessons from Punjab*" were analyzed for inter-textual (Gee, 2011) references.

Using documents as data sources serves purposes and provides insights that are not possible otherwise (Patton, 2001, p. 293). Particularly, because this study focuses on the historical trajectory of language education policy in Pakistan, policy documents provide official stances regarding LEP and officially determined roles of languages over the last 65 years. This study compares public opinion regarding the *de-facto* language policies (Shohamy, 2006) in Pakistan with the official policy documents, whereas many existing studies in language policy are limited to comparing official statements and public documents (Patton, 2001). Analyzing public opinion and official policies (at both national

and international levels) has provided me with insights regarding the possible source of *de-facto* language policies and the perceived versus official hierarchy of language in Pakistan.

Coding and Analysis

Coding

The researcher transcribed all the audio-recorded data for thematic analysis. The data was transcribed in the language(s) used by the researcher and the participants and then coded using the following three steps. The first step of coding included incident-by-incident open coding. These incidents were co-constructed by the interlocutors (researcher and participants) during their Facebook, Skype, or face-to-face interactions. This open coding used both data-based inductive and research question directed deductive approaches for the following reasons:

- Coding used the inductive approach because data were co-constructed during the interactions between the interlocutors. Thus, reading the transcripts revealed episodes and themes that were not part of the research questions but only emerged during the course of the face-to-face or on-line interactions between the participants.
- Coding was deductive because the themes emerging from research questions (RQs) guided the researcher-participants' and the researcher-documents' interactions, at least at the beginning level. The themes taken from the research questions helped the researcher navigate through the very rich and extensive qualitative data.

The second step involved classifying these themes into categories and assigning to each category a label, which became an overarching theme. When multiple overarching themes emerged, only the themes that were directly relevant to the research questions were chosen. Some examples of these codes are as follows: attitude towards L1, English as a tool for social mobility, success conditioned to learning English, language shift, controlling language, trust, and linguistic hierarchy. These themes guided the selection of extended

episodes of data that best represented the co-construction[7] of these themes. At the third step, episodes were selected for detailed re-transcription in which interactional analytic conventions were applied. Microanalysis was done applying the tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Gee, 2011) and multimodal methods of discourse analysis (MMDA) (Van-Leeuwen, 2008) approaches.

Analysis

This study used a hybrid of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal techniques of discourse analysis (MMDA). Pertaining to the multidisciplinary nature of the fields that CDA deals with, the varied geographic regions, and the multiplicity of data sources, it is not unusual to see hybrids of discourse analysis approaches (Rogers, 2011). Therefore, because of the multidisciplinary nature of this study as it cuts across the fields of language education policy, post-colonialism; the multiplicity of geographical locations of the participants and the researcher; and the multimodality of the data—policy text, face to face interviews, Skype interviews, Facebook discussions, and Facebook chats—there is a need for a hybrid approach to discourse analysis methods.

CDA was used for policy document analysis because policy is intended to limit access of certain people to certain things and thus creates hierarchies and inequalities, while "CDA provides tools for addressing the complexity of movement across educational sites, practices and systems in a world where inequalities are global in scope" (Rogers, 2011, p.

[7]Following Steven Talmy's (2011) notion of co-construction of interviews, "what is necessary is a reflexive recognition of the situated accomplishment of the interview, the co-construction of data," (Talmy, 2011, p.34) instead of only "whats" (Talmy, 2011, p. 40) and random "hows" (Talmy, 2011, p. 40).

1). CDA provides sufficient tools to examine and uncover the hierarchies, power structures, power struggles, and negotiations embedded in policies constructed in a class-based society like Pakistan. Specifically, language education policy in Pakistan has varied roles, functions, and justifications based on the socioeconomic and political power of particular groups and individuals. Therefore, LEP is read and interpreted differently with respect to the agency and social positioning of the reader. Taylor (1997) argues that "Discourse theories are useful for investigating how policies are read and used in context; in other words, for documenting the politics of discourse during [and after] policy implementation" (p. 29). Moreover, CDA lends tools for textual, intertextual, and inter-discursive analysis (Gee, 2011) of policy documents in order to understand the influence of Education for All (EFA) and other international policies on the national and local education policies of Pakistan. Thus, CDA helped explore how neo-colonial, colonial, and global forces shape both the content and the language of policy documents in Pakistan. Student voice has often been excluded from language education policy studies in Pakistan in particular and globally in general. Since "critical analysis of discourse…is an analysis of voice" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 4), applying it in data analysis for this study supports the postcolonial agenda of voicing the historically silenced voices of higher education students in post-colonial countries.

However, what CDA lacks is a deeper focus on exploring various modes of data. Different types of data were collected for this study because discourse and language only is not enough (Van-Leeuwen, 2008; Kress, 2011; Rogers, 2011). Communication is not

dependent on and limited to language[8] only, but also occurs when no words are used. Moreover, signs such as pictures, colors, gaze, and touch add to the meanings being conveyed through words or expressions. Multimodal discourse analysis (MMDA) attends to this less emphasized aspect of CDA in educational research projects. However, multimodality does not explicitly address the power and politics of the discourse. Thus, a hybrid of CDA and MMDA facilitated the political, critical, and multi-modal nature of policy analysis in postcolonial studies and this study, in particular. Simultaneous data collection and analysis was conducted, which allowed continuous reflection on interview questions and the prompts for Facebook interactions. Since this dissertation extensively employ Van-Leeuwen's framework for legitimation and Gee's tools for discourse analysis, following is a brief overview of each of them and their application in this study.

Van-Leeuwen's discourse and practice. Language education policies have been historically used by the colonial and neocolonial masters as a tool to strengthen the colonial hegemony. However, the major difference is that hegemony in neocolonial era is established through a (manipulated)consensus rather than an explicit coercion. For this purpose, neocolonial masters either establish or cultivate the legitimacy of their policies, and ideologies in the minds of people and hence are seen not as colonizers but rather liberal, democratic, and fair. For example, instead of declaring, since we rule the world, we order the world to operate in our language, a consciousness has been cultivated in the mind of

[8] Blommaert (2005) expands this narrow definition of language and adds to it the semiotic modality: "What is traditionally understood by language is but one manifestation of it; all kinds of semiotic 'flagging' performed by means of objects, attributes, or activities can and should be included for they usually constitute the 'action' part of language-in-action" (p. 3).

people that successful survival in the global world requires English language competency. Many sections in this dissertation deeply examine both the establishment and the cultivation of (de)legitimation of English language policy (ELP) of Pakistan at multiple levels (global to individual). For example, through establishment of "careful multilingual balance" in EFA policies at global level (that suggest unlimited use of English language as medium of instruction as compared to the very restricted application of the mother tongue as the media of instruction) or by cultivating English hegemony through disciplining the perceptions and minds of local policymakers, administrators, students, and teachers in Pakistan (in ways that people believe that they are completely and totally dependent on English language and hence should be allowed to have proficiency in English language).

In order to examine this (de)legitimation, this study applies Van-Leeuwen's Discourse of Legitimation Framework (2008), for critical discourse analysis of multimodal data. Van-Leeuwen's framework helps answers questions about social practices such as "Why should we do this?" or "Why should we do this in this way" (p. 105) through four types of legitimation: authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis. Each of these has further sub-categories that engage in the in-depth analysis of the above mentioned two major questions around legitimation. For example, chapter seven of this dissertation analyzes how the "expert authority" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107) of public and non-elite private schools operates to label, categorize and identify students in deficit oriented ways. Moreover, chapter six of this dissertation examines EFA's model of quality education through the lens of moral evaluation. According to Van-Leeuwen, a "way of expressing moral evaluation is by referring to practices (or to one or more of their

component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that 'moralize' them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values" (p. 111). Since learner-centered education carries a sacred place in contemporary educational discourses, EFA document attaches the social good of learner-centered education to quality education. By doing so, EFA established its positive moral evaluation which legitimizes this model of quality education. Hence, EFA legitimizes its so-called model of quality education in the name of learner centered education.

Furthermore, this study conducts multimodal critical discourse analysis of the visual data through the application of "Space in Discourse" lens of Van-Leeuwen (2008) in order to describe how "the space in which social practices are acted out can be, and are, represented in English discourse and also in visual images" (p. 88). For example, chapter seven of this dissertation applies concepts such as "symbolic processes" (p. 98) in order to analyze why and how the images and texts attribute characteristics to objects which are not normal functions of the object, such as the English language holding a man in its arms, and a heaven house located in the air with the English language being used as a ladder to reach the house. Many other concepts such as "spatial anchoring process" (p. 92) have also been used to analyze the visual and textual imagery in the data from student interviews, pictures, and Facebook posts.

Gee's toolkit. This study extensively applies Gee's tools for the critical discourse analysis of the multimodal data collected from the documents and co-constructed with the participants through interviews, Facebook discussions, use of emoticons and pictures. I borrow Gee's (2011) term "tool" exactly as he uses it to name each of his analysis

techniques such as “The fill in tool” (p. 12). I choose to define these tools during their application in the findings chapters (4, 5, 6 and 7) of this dissertation because the application of these broader terms varies according to the context. For example, the fill in tool is used in order to determine, “Based on what was said and the context in which it was said, what needs to be filled in here to achieve clarity?” The nature and kind of this missing information varies greatly. In Chapter Four of this dissertation, the term “commitment to EFA” could not be understood unless the power of EFA was explained which in turn required me to fill in the contextual information of who is imposing these universal education reforms on whom and why? Hence, the meaning of “commitment to EFA” required a detailed historical elaboration of the inherent linguistic and power hierarchies between the neocolonial masters, neocolonial funding agencies and the developing countries in the world. Another example of Gee’s tools that I use in the analysis is “The significance building tool” (p. 92) which requires the researcher to analyze “how words and grammatical devices are being used to build up or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others” (p. 92). I analyze in Chapter Five of this dissertation why NEP 2009 places the word “English” on a subject position as compared to the phrase “local languages” that follows an empty phrase “in addition there are”. By positioning “English” at the subject position, NEP 2009 builds the significant role of the English language as an active, and powerful language as compared to the academically non-functional role of the other local languages in Pakistan.

Gee’s toolkit also suggests the application of Figured worlds. Gee’s understanding of figured world is broader as “ways in which people picture or construe aspects of the

world in their head" (Gee, 2011, p. 76). However, this broadness is not without complications. Gee cautions that "simplification of figured worlds can do harm by implanting in thought and action unfair, dismissive, or derogatory assumptions about other people" (Gee, 2011, p. 77) because this simplification may be based on exclusion. For example, the figured world of low SES Pakistanis should not be restricted to only a monolithic generic type of poverty or other living conditions, nor should it be imagined that these low SES students are static in their socio-economic status and cannot move out of it. Another example can be the figured world of the struggling English language learners (ELLs) in Pakistan. This figured world does not limit itself to the low SES students only but refers towards students from a range of socio-economic status that are struggling with the lack of proficiency in English language. However, the reason for lack of proficiency in English language and the level of (im)proficiency in the English language can surely vary.

Linguistic Considerations

Linguistic considerations in this study are of crucial importance for various reasons. The special focus of data in this study is to reveal "how language 'makes' people, produces, and changes social life" (Tangaard, 2009, p. 1499). The linguistic issues in this study include the choice of language (such as bi/multi-lingualism and code switching) and issues of translation, as well as the consequent impacts of these decisions on the analysis. Thus, some questions of crucial consideration during interviewing, Facebooking and overall data analysis were: Who decides whether the interviews or Facebook discussions are monolingual or bilingual, participants or the researcher? What language(s) will the

interlocutors use, when and why? and How does the researcher's choice of language impact the participant's choice of language?

The interlocutors used Urdu, English Punjabi, Arabic, and Persian languages. All the participants shared Urdu and Punjabi as the mother tongue or first language yet the use of Punjabi on Facebook was rather very limited. I posted a few comments and posts in Punjabi language but there was no reciprocal use of Punjabi except for three instances when my participants quoted a Punjabi speech (that too in transliterated version, no one used Punjabi script). In addition, some of my participants posted Urdu translations of some commonly used Punjabi phrases instead of writing those phrases in Punjabi language. When I posted a what I presumed to be a funny comment about the (mis)use of Punjabi homophones of English words, I was expecting participants to give examples or responses because many bi/multilingual Pakistanis or those with moderate understanding of English language usually joke about such homophones. No examples or comments were posted in Punjabi but rather five comments were posted that included, "hahaha," "Dats cal ENGLISH underpresure 😛," "creativity," and "creative writing." This intentional effort to not use Punjabi language in a shared semi-formal space by both male and female participants reveals their stereotypes about Punjabi not being a sophisticated language. In addition, this Facebook practice also mirrors the linguistic practices in educational discourse. Many urban public schools (especially for girls/women) and all private schools actively discourage the use of Punjabi language within the school. Although I used Punjabi language in my interviews, only one participant code switched to Punjabi language with me, all others code switched between English, Urdu, and minimally to Arabic and Persian.

Further analysis of Farid's voluntary use of Punjabi in our interview can be seen in the analysis section of Chapter Seven.

Translation of this multilingual data opened up a space of possibilities and challenges in this study. Facebook discussions and interviews were conducted in at least three languages: Urdu, Punjabi, and English. There were multiple instances of the use of some Arabic and Persian phrases as well. Due to the multi-lingual nature of the interviews, translation was an important consideration. No language can ever be completely and perfectly translated into another due to cultural, religious, geographic, political, and socio-economic differences between the two discourses. Thus, "in translation, meaning hops into spacy emptiness between two named historical languages, we get perilously close to it" (Ramanathan, 2006, p. 224), and trying to fix the lurking meanings that float like "rhizomes" (Ramanathan, 2006, p. 240) happens as significant choices are made during the process of translation. What came to fore repeatedly was a question worth exploring: How can the spacy emptiness between two languages be fixed? How can the rhizome-like floating, uprooted, and seemingly shallow interpretations of the reality be addressed? Some apprehensions regarding the appropriate explanation of cultural, historical, political, and sometimes religious references that are unique to Pakistan came up while conducting interviews for this study. Decisions were made during the data analysis phase to provide explanation in the analysis section, discussion section, or in the endnotes and footnotes of the transcript. The answers to these questions came through experimentation. Since data was multilingual, it was presented in two columns: in the left-hand column is the original data without any translation, but in transliterated version, so that non-native speakers of

these languages can at least read the transcripts; in the right-hand column is the English translation of this data for English-only readers.

My Positionality

> *"I do not believe that authors are mechanically determined by ideology, class or economic history, but authors are, I also believe, very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience, in different measures."*
> *(Said, 1993, p. xii)*

I became interested in exploring my research questions because of my own background as a Pakistani HE graduate who was born in a low SES Urdu and Punjabi speaking family, received her K-4 education in a non-elite English medium school, and grades 6-14 in the vernacular (Urdu) medium, which is typical for a low SES person in the country. I have closely observed my mother's struggles with English language because she passed her teaching licensure after she got married, and earned her Bachelor's and Master's degrees when I was in grade 8 and 10 respectively. I also observed my nine siblings' struggles during their academic and professional trajectories in Pakistan, and my nephews' and nieces' navigation of their educational paths in the Pakistani educational system. I have not just witnessed the role of LEP in shaping the academic and professional trajectories of these three generations, but also experienced it myself. In addition, my mother has taught in a public high school for over thirty-five years, and I would often accompany her to her school or when she worked as a home tutor. This provided me with the opportunity to closely interact with a large number of students and their families from middle, upper middle and elite classes; observe their domestic and economic conditions;

and listen to their narratives on socio-economic, academic, and linguistic successes, as well as frustrations. Later, my family started a small-scale community center to offer free education to working class and orphan female students; my siblings and I volunteered there for several years. Moreover, I have taught English language to both male and female students in various educational institutions from the primary to post graduate level in both public and private sectors for almost twelve years. This is how I became familiar with different perspectives on language of instruction for students from varied socio-economic and linguistic backgrounds.

My position as a scholar is based on assumptions rooted in postcolonial experiences, my bias against neocolonialism, and on my own understanding of the educational context in Pakistan. Based on the fact that I share with most of my participants the linguistic, socio-economic, cultural, and academic backgrounds, one might argue that I am relying on my insider perspective. I am aware that being an insider into any discourse can rob a person of objectivity and sensitivity to change (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010), and to the many intricate nuances that might in fact be very informative. Comparatively, "sometimes not being a member of the group can facilitate the knowing of the group" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p.59). First, I do not make any claim to be presenting the complete and holistic picture of language policy or education in Pakistan, because the reality is multifaceted and complex. Whatever we present is based on our own perception, which is informed by the kind of experiences we have had and the interactions we have engaged in. Second, I stand at a strange place in terms of my relations with the Pakistani community. I was born in Pakistan and spent 29 very active and rigorous years of my life within the

Punjabi, Pakistani context in different capacities. Thus, being Punjabi and Urdu speaking Pakistani-born and an alumnus and teacher of HE of Pakistan, I am an insider—an object (as a student), an implementer (as a teacher) and an observer (as a researcher) who has also been actively performing this delicate dance of subordination and resistance to the LEP. At the same time, I admit that I am in many ways an outsider. I am an outsider to the SES of the student participants in my study, having moved up from lower to upper middle or possibly elite class. I am an outsider to the educational discourse of Pakistani HE, because of my extensive training in a US educational context for seven years and, because I am married to an Englishman—a foreigner who cannot understand my Urdu/Punjabi. However, I do not consider this *outsiderness* to be a detriment, because it allows me to (re)position and (re)locate myself back and forth between an intimate insider and a critical and curious outsider. Because "a primordial and static conceptualization of insiderness and outsiderness does not fully explain the complexity and ambivalence of the researcher's transformative experiences in the field" (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010, p. 17), I believe in a hyphenated stance (insider-outsider) of my positionality. So doing allows me "a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 60). This non-static nature of my positionality facilitates my critical reflections about the contact zone of subordination and resistance in Pakistani HE students' lives.

Not only is my situation as insider/outsider complicated, but my relationships with my participant students and teachers are complicated also. To them, I am a more educated, more accomplished (maybe?) Pakistani who has successfully navigated both the Pakistani

academic system in which they are now struggling and the American educational system that they aspire to. In Pakistani culture, it is considered rude for one person to call another by name unless there is some close friendship or relationship between the two. Many times my participants and I had to negotiate what they should call me—just *Baji* (an elder sister), Sadaf baji, madam, or nothing. For example, Farid never called me Baji, Madam, or Sadaf; for him, I was always "aap" (you). For most others, calling me by name was an option they never accepted. For them, I was a *Baji*, who would not only discuss with them political and contested issues of Pakistani educational system, but also share with them educational and employment opportunities and help them navigate through issues like how to apply for fee installments at school. I was also a friend with whom they could argue about issues like "which language should our children learn first?" and when I was confronted by Ainee (one of my participants) about the fact that I would want my kids to learn Punjabi and Urdu, her response was "Well, then best of luck with their education." My participants and I co-constructed stories (as with Nazia, Chapter Seven, section 10), but we also challenged each other in very critical ways. This was a collaborative process in which we all were learners, and we all have informed and (re)shaped each other's perspectives over the three years of the study. These influences, and our fluid positionalities, point of views, and confusions are apparent in my data analysis. Therefore, my data findings and analysis are not objective channels to voice my participants. I expect my data analysis to be read as my postcolonial interpretation of the reality that my participants and I partly shared, and partly co-constructed, but never fully agreed with.

Chapter 4
Neocolonial Influence on the Educational Policy of Pakistan

Introduction

The neocolonial international developmental agencies significantly inform and (re/de)shape the educational policy rhetoric in post-colonial, developing countries like Pakistan. This chapter illuminates the power, positioning, and hierarchies among the international donor agencies (e.g., UNESCO, IMF, European Union, USAID) relative to aid-receiving, post-colonial countries like Pakistan. These funding agencies carry enormous monitory and political power compared to global south countries, a fact which constrains the policy making in global south significantly (Tikly, 2001). According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), "conditionalities' associated with aid have real policy effects" (p. 112) in ways that "education policy development has largely been a series of responses to international demands, with little consideration given to implementation conditions and post-colonial aspirations" (p. 113). The purpose of this chapter is to inform the field of language education policy regarding the influence of international funding and developmental institutions on educational discourse, policy making, and the ways the local actors perceive this influence in Pakistan. The linguistic manifestation of this influence is analyzed here by conducting multimodal critical discourse analysis of 1) a report on the "Globalization and Higher Education: Implications for North - South Dialogue" conference held under UNESCO in 2003 in Oslo and; 2) the National Education Policy 2009 (NEP 2009) of Pakistan. This analysis elaborates the power relation at multiple levels of hierarchy, i.e. not just between the donor agencies and the donation receiving country

(What is the nature of historical power these funding agencies carry? How do they maneuver policy making in Pakistan?), but also how that power relation is manifested in the texts of the policies (How is the language used in the policy texts and how does that contribute to power struggles?). Extracts from an interview with Pakistani policymaker at the national level, who claims to be an educator as well, have been analyzed to reveal how this power positioning and hierarchy penetrates into the multiple layers of policy- making and interpretation. By doing so this chapter contributes to answer research question one: *In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?* This chapter has three sections: First section, "A Commitment to…?", which analyzes extracts from NEP 2009 for how global educational reforms influence the language of NEP 2009. Second section, "As a Foreign Agenda? No. No. No!", which analyzes the perceptions of a policymaker who claims to be an educator and a part and parcel of policy making process; and third section, "Only the question of Mandate…?", presents discussion on the major findings and synthesizes them as conclusion.

A Commitment to…?

Neocolonial hegemony becomes of greater concern when we see that in post-colonial, *in*dependent Pakistan, policy making is not the mandate of the people of Pakistan. The success and failure of a policy is not determined by whether the country and its people want this policy, but whether the international donor agencies approve of the policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Thus, the desires and the actual needs of the people of Pakistan are

excluded, whereas the priorities of the funding agencies and the so-called universal polices are given preference. The policies that fail to satisfy the mandate of the funding agencies are rolled back before their time period is matured. Given below is the second paragraph of the "Introduction" (p. 7) chapter of NEP 2009, which reflects the power relation between Pakistani policies and the international agencies.

Extract 4.1

1 INTRODUCTION
2
3 2. Two main reasons that prompted the Ministry of Education (MoE) to launch the review
4 in 2005 well before the time horizon of the existing Policy (1998 - 2010) were, firstly, the
5 Policy was not producing the desired educational results and the performance remained
6 deficient in several key aspects including access, quality and equity of educational opportunities
7 and secondly, the international challenges like Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Dakar
8 Framework of Action Education for All (EFA) Goals and the challenges triggered by
9 globalisation and nation's quest for becoming a knowledge society in the wake of compelling
10 domestic pressures like devolution and demographic transformations have necessitated a
11 renewed commitment to proliferate quality education for all.

(NEP, 2009, p. 7)

The 1998 NEP of Pakistan was suspended before its scheduled time, for which the document offers two reasons. The first is because "the Policy was not producing the desired educational results" (line 5). There is, however, no explanation and criterion for what the desired educational results are. The other part of this first reason is that the "performance remained deficient in several key aspects" (lines 5-6). The criterion established for determining the performance is "access, quality and equity of educational opportunities" (line 6). The intertextual reference (Gee, 2011) to Education for All (EFA) clarifies that all three of these key aspects against which the performance is measured are the basic mandates of EFA. This reason for the suspension of NEP 1998 implies that a policy remains deficient if it does not faithfully follow the guidelines and milestones set by EFA. The second reason for NEP 1998's termination was the need for a "renewed commitment to proliferate quality education for all" (line 11). Here, again, the reason for

the termination of NEP 1998 is EFA's focus on *quality*. Because an existing commitment to the neocolonial universal education reform is not enough, NEP 1998 was terminated. This action of termination of NEP 1998, based on its lack of commitment to neocolonial education reform, calls for a new policy more faithful and more compliant. However, the significance for this need for the "renewed commitment" (line 11) has been established (Gee, 2011) by making a reference to other neocolonial reforms like MDGs, the Dakar Frame work, and the concept for the Knowledge society (lines 7, 8, 9, 11). Thus, it establishes that those other neocolonial reforms have the power to authenticate the need for more focus on EFA. In this cycle of neocolonial hegemony each neocolonial, global movement necessitates and empowers the other.

The entire list of reasons to terminate the policy names major neocolonial educational reforms, the educational movements, and the overall Discourse of globalization but what it leaves out is any mention of the people of Pakistan. A policy in the country of Pakistan did not fail because it was rejected by the people of Pakistan but rather because it was not faithful to the external, foreign neocolonial authorities. Gee's (2011) cohesion tool helps closely examine the arrangement and the structure of this five-line long clause that enlists all these reasons. The only time when "domestic pressures" (line 10) are mentioned is in one phrase and that comes towards the very end: "domestic pressures like devolution and demographic transformations" (line 10). The clause starts with "international challenges" and ends with "quality education for all", whereas the phrase "domestic pressures like devolution and demographic transformations" is sandwiched near the end. This is not a position of significance within a grammatical

structure; hence it underscores the value of "domestic pressures." In contrast, the phrases "the international challenges" (line 7) and "renewed commitment to the quality education for all" (line 11)—that re-affirm the EFA focus—come at the ends and hence get projected very well. This arrangement itself reveals the overt focus on the neocolonial educational reforms and very marginal attention to the local and domestic needs.

Applying Gee's (2011) "the why this way and not that way" tool, we see that the list would reflect a different power hierarchy if it was comprised of or had included any of the following or similar reasons for the suspension of the policy:

- *This policy was terminated because it did not fulfil the needs of the people of Pakistan.*
- *The policy failed because it failed to meet the expectations of the people of Pakistan.*
- *Challenges faced by the people of Pakistan necessitate the need for a newer policy.*

Enlisting these reasons for the termination of NEP 1998 right in the beginning of the NEP 2009's introductory chapter as passage number two does not serve the action of describing an official procedure or listing some facts. In fact, right in the beginning, the policy writers have tried to create for NEP 2009, and by extension the people of Pakistan, an identity of being faithful subordinates to the neocolonial reform and, hence, gain legitimacy in the eyes of readers. This kind of identity construction is problematic. If policy acquires this identity of subordination, the people of Pakistan become the actors or the implementers of this policy to whom this identity of subordination is transferred. Hence, the successful implementation of the policy that identifies itself as subordinate to the neocolonial agendas means the subjugation of the people of Pakistan to the neocolonial masters.

NEP 1998 was accused by the authors of the 2009 version of the policy of not being faithfully committed to the educational reforms and movements (e.g., EFA, Millennium Development Goals, building Knowledge Society) initiated or supported by the international education agencies. Therefore, NEP 2009 has a total of 20 overarching aims and objectives (Appendix 1), of which at least four explicitly focus on commitments to EFA and similar other neocolonial educational reforms. These objectives were listed in Chapter 2 of the document, "Filling the commitment gap" (p. 16). Based on these objectives, 11 policy actions were listed. At least six out of those 11 policy actions directly focus on EFA and/or similar neocolonial reform. This suggests that not only is NEP 2009 centered on EFA mandates, but also it makes a deliberate effort to make the connection to EFA explicit and pronounced. Below is the text of the objective number 13 from NEP 2009.

Extract 4.2

13. To enable Pakistan to fulfill its commitment to achieve Dakar Framework of Action EFA Goals and Millennium Development Goals relating to education.

(NEP, 2009, p. 18)

One interpretation of this objective is that the policy aims to bring agency to Pakistan to achieve its educational goals. However, by applying Gee's (2011) tool of "what is said and how it is said" to the thirteenth objective of NEP 2009, we get a deeper and more critical understanding of the objective. We can clearly see a hierarchy and a power structure established in the first three words of the objective. The objective begins with an action word and verb phrase "to enable Pakistan." This places Pakistan, an independent country, at a deficient and defective position, unable to fulfill its commitments, because it assumes that Pakistan needs enabling from an outside force rather than possessing inherent

agency. Secondly, in the phrase "to achieve Dakar……," the use of the word "achieve" places all neocolonial educational policies, including Dakar Framework of Action, EFA goals, and MDGs, at a level higher than Pakistan or at a stage ahead of Pakistan in a way that Pakistan has to struggle to pursue and to reach. Further, the connotation of the word, "achieve" communicates a sense of lacking or deprivation on the part of Pakistan and its educational system. Thirdly, the overall objective sounds as if there is an intentional effort to make Pakistan a faithful subordinate who fulfills its commitments to principles and policies imposed by the superordinate funding agencies. Explicitly, in the figured world of the global educational community countries are positioned at different places of power—some that design and impose the policies, others as collaborators, yet others with the power to accept or deny these policies, and finally others that must faithfully fulfill the commitments of the policies without questioning them. Pakistan is positioned in this figured world as a country whose commitment to the policies must be policed. The powerful countries and their organizations have mechanisms in place to ensure that Pakistan will fulfill those commitments.

Gee's (2011) tool, "the why this way and not that way" (p. 54), suggests trying alternative sentence structures to make the implicit power hierarches very explicit. So, how would the power positioning change if the objective number 13 of NEP-2009 was written as:

- *"To help Pakistan determine and meet the actual educational needs of the people of Pakistan"*
- *"To help Pakistani educational researchers or policymakers map out the educational needs and desires of the people of Pakistan"?*

In these two alternative examples, the focus is on the people of Pakistan and the needs of the people of Pakistan and emphasizes that the country and the international funding agencies should all work towards the betterment of the people of Pakistan. So, the focus has shifted away from the *commitment with the neocolonial donor agencies* to the *commitment with the people of Pakistan*. Thus, in the former case, neocolonial powers are at the super-ordinate position, Pakistan at the subordinate position, and people of Pakistan are further down the hierarchy. In contrast, in the alternatives the people of Pakistan are at the superordinate position and the funding agencies at the subordinate position.

There is an obvious tension and contradiction between the objectives of the policy. The analysis of objective 13 reveals that neocolonial educational reforms and the funding agencies are not taking the Pakistani educational system towards any liberating educational discourse, but rather ensuring that Pakistan and its people become faithful subordinates to the policies of the West. This is in contradiction to objectives seven and nine of NEP 2009 that emphasize the need of developing "self-reliant individuals, capable of analytical and original thinking" (objective 7, p. 18) as well as raising "individuals committed to democratic and moral values, aware of fundamental human rights, open to new ideas" (objective 9, p. 18). The educational system and the educational policy have to be intentionally designed in such a way that the educational system itself becomes a living example of autonomy and self-reliance for the individuals in which we want to develop the characteristics of self-reliance and capabilities of original thinking. In contrast, students in Pakistan are placed in an educational discourse designed on the policies imposed by neocolonial agendas. The question then is, what precedent do we set for our students by

over-reliance on the neocolonial funding agencies for their approval and authentication of the NEPs of Pakistan? The desire to develop commitment to democratic values and a commitment of obedience to the colonial agenda cannot go hand in hand. Such explicit practices of official subjugation to the neocolonial masters hamper the development of characteristics of autonomy in an individual. The objectives of NEP 2009 seem to manifest the subordination of the people of Pakistan to neocolonial powers and do not move towards any liberating or democratic educational discourse.

One might make the legitimate observation that these pieces of data have been extracted from the educational policy of Pakistan and people of Pakistan are its authors. However, a very important question to consider is the audience of this policy. Who has this policy been written for? Perhaps not the people of Pakistan! The language in which the policy has been written speaks about the audience of the policy. The document has not been written in Urdu or any other national or local language of Pakistan, which means it excludes more than 90 percent of the people of Pakistan from the readership of this document. Like many other policy documents in Pakistan, this document has been written in the language of the colonizer, which is not the mother tongue of even 1% of people in Pakistan. Hence, the audience of the policy determines the direction and the purpose of the policy and vice versa.

Pakistan is just one example of such neocolonial hegemony. These neocolonial funding agencies have hegemonic influences on the educational policies of most developing countries, although the rationales vary (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). “Globalization and Higher Education: Implications for North - South Dialogue" was a conference

organized by UNESCO in May 2003 in Oslo to address the challenges and pressures educational institutes face in the global environment, most of which result from the push for knowledge-economy/society and market forces of today. The major focus of the conference, however, was to determine the role of international funding agencies. This focus on determining the role of UNESCO in itself appears to push towards an agenda that policy making is *NOT a national prerogative*. Given below is the introductory passage from the report extract:

Extract 4.3

1 Globalization and Higher Education:
2 Implications for North - South Dialogue
3
4
5 This conference, entitled "Globalization and Higher Education: Implications for North - South Dialogue" is a follow up to the Global Forum on
6 International Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the Recognition of Qualifications launched as part of UNESCO's mission to respond to the
7 ethical and political challenges of globalization. This Conference will focus on how policy makers and higher education institutions can develop a
8 common platform on policy guidelines, frameworks and instruments, and UNESCO's role in this context, with a special focus on sharing
9 responsibilities between the North and the South.
(UNESCO, 2003, Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/education/studyingabroad/highlights/global_forum/gf_oslo_may03.shtml)

This conference was held to deal with the "ethical and political challenges of globalization" (line 7). However, the irony of the situation is that the aim of this conference (lines 8, 9 and 10) in itself poses an ethical dilemma to the educational discourse (Gee, 2011) in the world. This is because by focusing on the role of UNESCO, the conference is re-affirming the power of UNESCO in the policy making of the countries. This by extension strengthens the hierarchical relationship between UNESCO and the people in the developing countries. In order to get clarity on the powerful and political nature of UNESCO's role, it is important to examine the context in which UNESCO's role will be

constructed. This conference took place in 2003, when UNESCO-led educational reforms such as EFA had already strongly influenced the policy making in developing countries. In the case of Pakistan, looking at the stated reasons for the termination of NEP 1998 and the narrow focus of NEP 2009 on the EFA agenda, UNESCO and/or other neocolonial funding agencies already have significant control over the important decisions. For example, constitutional amendments, suspension of existing national education policy, and the establishment of the aims and objectives of the new national education policies and their implementation plans.

The development of "Common platform on policy guidelines, frameworks and instruments" (line 8) (that this conference is calling for) will further legitimize the hegemony of so-called universal policies or (re/de)forms such as EFA, internationalization of HE, and MDGs. The question however is the authenticity and positive value of these West-based, neocolonial common platforms. Nguyen et. al (2009) rightly ask, "Are Western educational theories and practices truly universal" (p. 109) or have they been declared as universal by some more powerful stakeholders of this so-called "common platform"? However, a probable power hierarchy within this "common platform" is a big concern. The agenda of "sharing responsibilities" (line 9) in a neocolonial scenario has the potential for causing significantly more pressure on developing countries, hence increasing the subjugation and reducing the autonomy of developing countries in policy decisions. For example, Pakistan has made a commitment to fulfil Dakar goals or some other universal policy, which does not truly fit with the context of Pakistan. This situation raises

a question of why the people of independent and post-colonial Pakistan cannot be in charge of their educational policies.

What Does this Commitment Mean for the People of Pakistan?

So far, "commitment" has been one major theme in NEP 2009. Chapter One of NEP 2009 devotes an entire section to detailed discussion on the "commitment gap" whereas Chapter Two, is entitled "Filling the Commitment Gap" (p. 16). However, two major questions that arise are "*commitment to whom and why?" and what does this commitment mean for the people of Pakistan?* The following section answers these questions by closely analyzing the introductory paragraph of Chapter Two and especially the last sentence of this paragraph. The following section presents this detailed analysis:

Extract 4.4

CHAPTER 2
Filling the Commitment Gap
System Values, Priorities and Resources
2.1 EDUCATIONAL VISION AND PERFORMANCE
44. The Constitution of Pakistan sets out an egalitarian view of education based on values responding to the requirements of economic growth. Article 38 (d) speaks of instilling moral values and of providing education to all citizens irrespective of gender, caste, creed, or race. Article 37(b) explicitly states that the State of Pakistan shall endeavor "to remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period". Article 34 requires that "steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all the spheres of national life". It is in this perspective that Pakistan has made a commitment to achieve six Dakar EFA Goals within the specified target dates.

(NEP, 2009, p. 16)

The analysis in this section focuses only on the last sentence of the passage: *"It is in this perspective that Pakistan has made a commitment to achieve six Dakar EFA Goals within the specified target dates."* The analysis focuses on three main points: what is said in the light of the context in which it was said; what the contextual and historical elements are that have not been said and how their use changes the interpretation; and what has been said implicitly and how that re-shapes the interpretation. Teasing out the vocabulary, the

intertextual references, and the grammar emphasizes the specific 'how' aspect of language. Though this analysis focuses only on the last sentence (fifth sentence, lines 11-12), it is important not to overlook "the context in which it was said" (Gee, 2011, p. 12).

First four sentences of this paragraph begin with direct references to the constitution of Pakistan which on the surface serves the legitimizing function of language (Van Leeuwen, 2008) for "*Pakistan has made a commitment to achieve six Dakar EFA Goals within the specified target dates"* (sentence five, line 12). It implicates that this commitment to Education for All (EFA) has been made in accordance with the constitution of Pakistan. However, the question of 'who is legitimizing whom?' is contested and can be answered using Gee's (2011) tool: "What needs to be filled in here to achieve clarity?" (p. 12). The historical reference to the constitution of Pakistan has been provided in this passage; however, we need an understanding regarding:

1) *The state of Pakistan as an ex-British colony* who inherited its educational system and the medium of instruction from the British colonizers. This knowledge is essential because it reminds us of the fact that there is no 'post' to colonialism and that colonizers use the educational system of the colonized to further strengthen their own hegemony. Thus, educational policies of the post-colonial Pakistan serve as the remnants of the colonialism which operate under the influence of imperial and global forces.
2) *The role and the power of EFA and the underlying hierarchy* which influences Pakistani as well as international education Discourses. EFA is an educational reform that has been envisioned and enforced by UNESCO, and 176 (developed

and under-developed) countries of the world have signed it. UNESCO monitors the reform implementation around the globe. UNSECO is also a funding agency that supports some educational development programs in Pakistan. Thus, Education for All being owned by the international funding agency, its top down implementation in Pakistan, and the panoptic gaze (Fanon, 1959/1965) of UNESCO that awards EFA enormous power has created a power hierarchy within Pakistani educational discourse—bringing EFA on the top and the people of Pakistan on the far other end of the hierarchy:

Dakar Education for All (EFA) reform
National Constitution of Pakistan
National Education Policy of Pakistan
Educational System of Pakistan
People of Pakistan

After offering a brief review of the context, the following focuses on what was said in sentence number five. The structure of this sentence ("It is in this perspective that Pakistan has made a commitment to achieve six Dakar EFA Goals within the specified target dates" (lines 11-12)) informs us regarding the relational value (Fairclough, 2001, p. 97) of the educational policy of Pakistan, constitution of Pakistan, and EFA in the international Discourse (Gee, 2010, 2011). In sentence five, placing Pakistan at the subject position as a doer portrays Pakistan as an entity obligated to show commitment to the overarching goals of EFA. This explains the power relation between Pakistan as a subordinate and the EFA mandate as superordinate. It would have shown a rather different power relation of equality of both and an integrated effort rather than a top down imposition on Pakistan if any different sentence structure had been used. For example, applying Gee's

"the why this way and not that way tool" (p. 54), some alternative structures to sentence five could be:

- EFA goals resonate with the above mentioned articles of the constitution of Pakistan.
- EFA goals and the objectives of the constitution of Pakistan resonate with each other.
- The national constitution of Pakistan and Education for All share the same commitment to educate the citizens.

Choice of vocabulary such as "commitment" (line 11) and "achieve" (line 11) has significant intertextual and political connections. A review of the foreword of the EFA Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2005) reveals that the word "commit" or "commitment" has been repeated five times in these 1.5 pages of the forward. Statements like "To **achieve** this, countries **must commit** to literacy at the highest political levels and assign more resources to youth and adult literacy programmes" (UNSCO, 2006, foreword) clearly indicate the political choice of vocabulary in, "It is in this perspective that Pakistan has made a **commitment** to **achieve** six Dakar EFA Goals within the specified target dates" (NEP, 2009, p. 16). Choice of vocabulary such as "achievement" (line 11) portrays EFA goals being something sublime that Pakistan has to faithfully obey. The word '*achieve*' heightens EFA goals to an elevated and desired standard which Pakistan should look up to and strive hard for. Hence it positions Pakistan at a less significant level than EFA standards and by extension positions the citizens of Pakistan further down the hierarchy and at a mere disempowered position of subordination. The power relations would be less hegemonic if "has made a commitment to achieve" (line 11) is replaced with phrases such as *decided to continue,* or *is already striving to meet*.

Pakistan is not the only country suffering from this particular type of neocolonial oppression. Many other countries in the world have to bow before the power of these global reforms. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) examine St. Lucia's educational policy tensions in relation to the educational reform agencies. St. Lucia's educational ministry has been unsuccessfully struggling with donor agencies, especially the World Bank, for at least some autonomy in the policy making process. Hence, the "externally determined and imposed curriculum, detached from local traditions and political conditions,…[did] endanger local cultures" (p. 149). The hegemony of the neocolonial power prevails, and educational policies are used as instruments to exacerbate this hegemony. Although the colonizer *left* Pakistan in 1947, that departure was only symbolic. Educational policies of Pakistan have always been developed under the political and financial influence of the neocolonial developmental agencies which work to the benefit of the (neo)colonial powers:

> Thus, while geographical independence, and to some small extent political independence, was evidently won, the cultural and economic independence was never really, if at all, won. The colonial systems of domination continued, and were in fact entrenched in the neocolonial and globalization era, as the former colonizer continues to economically, culturally, financially, militarily and ideologically dominate what constitutes the so-called developing world, the Third World—in fact the formerly colonized nations. (Said, 1993, p. 282).

As a Foreign Agenda? No. No. No!

The following two interview extracts come from the interview of an administrator in the higher education commission (HEC) of Pakistan who claims to be "part and parcel" of the policy making process and an educationist and educational researcher. In order to preserve the policymaker's confidentiality, I choose not to disclose details about him or his role. I conducted this face –to- face interview in June of 2014 in the policymaker's office

in the capital city of Pakistan. The interview was dialogic in nature and audio recorded, and present in the room were the policymaker, my husband, and myself. Throughout the interview, the policymaker took charge of the conversation, determining when we would switch languages and why, and, after I asked the first question, he choose what subjects were discussed. The interview was mainly about the role of language education policy in Pakistan, its implications on the linguistic hierarchy, as well as the policy making process. The interview also included discussions about which stakeholders participated in the NEP 2009 formulation process. The following episodes of the policymaker's interview that occurred during the very last five minutes of a 90-minute conversation, reveal the policymaker's perceptions about 'who can be a legitimate stakeholder' for Pakistan's National Education Policy formation.

In order to understand these two following extracts, it is necessary to know a little about the National Language Authority, Pakistan. This is the institution located at five minutes' drive from the Higher Education of Pakistan's Policy and Management office. The National Language Promotion Authority was established for the development of Urdu language in Pakistan in the 1970s. Major objectives of this institute include the promotion of the national language, Urdu, and to "provide linkages for cooperation and collaboration among various academic, research and educational institutions for use of Urdu language and native languages of the country" (Wikipedia, 2015). The National Language Promotion Authority was interviewed right before I interviewed this policymaker. Oddly, the National Language Promotion Authority (NLPA) was not consulted during the formation of NEP 2009, in which an important decision of shifting away from Urdu

medium of instruction had been made. This policymaker was asked whether and why the NLPA was excluded from the process of NEP 2009 formation:

Extract 4.5 (Policymaker, Summer 2014).

		Original	English
1	S	Sir yei jo policy bani 2009 ki, Policy actions	Sir, this policy that was made in 2009, and
2		jo banei, mujhei ittafaq huwa national	the policy actions that were made. I
3		language authority mein janei ka, ittafaq	happened to go to the National Language
4		huwa to wo kehnei lagei kei unhei to shamil	Authority. They said that they were not
5		hi nahi kiya gaya policy making process	included in the policy making process. Or
6		mein. Ya is sei pehlei jo unhon nei	the recommendations that they sent earlier
7		recommendations dee then unhein bhi	were not considered in the policy making
8		shamil nahi kiya gaya policy making mein=.	process.
9	PM	=Nahen deikhei mei mein un ki is baat sei	=No. look, I don't agree with this point
10		ittafaq nahi karta. Deikhei. Jo batein mein	they are making. Look, the things that I
11		aap kei saath beith kei kar raha hoon, kya	am discussing with you here, would I do
12		mien koi bhi jo larki bazar sei aa jai meirei	this with any girl who happens to come
13		paas ya samnei in flaton sei uth kei aa jai,	here from the read or from the apartments
14		kya mein us sei karon ga? Main nahi karon ga.	across from here. I will not!
15	S	Naheeh kareein gein?	Will not?
16	PM	Kyun naheen karon ga?... Kyunkei us ki to	Why won't I? …Because she does not
17		insight hi nahi hei, uski to wo baseerat hi	have that insight. She does not have that
18		nahi hei.	wisdom.
19	PM	<u>She can't understand my point of view</u>. Wo	<u>She can't understand my point of view</u>. In
20		to ulta uska ghlat matlab lei lei gi. Theek	fact, she will take an opposite/
21		hei?	contradictory sense out of it.
22	S	Theek hei.	Right.
23	PM	To ishi tarha agar every Pakistani wants to	So, in this way, if every Pakistani wants to
24		<u>participate</u> <u>in policy formulation</u>,	<u>participate in the</u> <u>policy formulation</u>
25	S	Ji sir	Yes, Sir
26	PM	To <u>policy is not a joke</u>.	So <u>policy</u> <u>is not a joke</u>
27	S	<u>Right</u>	<u>Right</u>
28	PM	<u>Policy is a vision, policy is a direction,</u>	<u>Policy is a vision, policy is a direction,</u>
29		<u>where do we want to reach and send our</u>	<u>where do we want to reach and send our</u>
30		<u>generation. Non-Matric</u> bhi kehta hei	<u>generation</u>. A <u>non-matriculate</u> wants us to
31		mujhei policy bananei mein shamil karo, eik	include him in policy making, a horse cart
32		tangei wala bhi kehta hei mujhei policy	driver wants us to include him in policy
33		bananei mein shamil karo. Wo neechei eik	making, there [pointing outside]
34		<u>fruit</u> wala beitha huwa hei wo kehta hei kei	downstairs a <u>fruit</u> vender is sitting, he
35		mujhei bhi policy mein shamil karein. Aap	wants us to include him in policy making.
36		policy bana rahei hein ya <u>hotch potch</u> bana rahei hein?	Are you making a policy or a <u>hotchpotch</u>?
37	S	Saheeh. Theek	Right. Right.

First, a clear linguistic hierarchy can be observed by applying Gee's (2011) tool "what is not being said overtly, but is still assumed to be known or inferable?" Although none of the interlocutors have directly assigned any category for the people from the

National Language Authority, they have been equated with the illiterate or semi-literate fruit vender or any minimally educated street girl (who does not have enough intellect or insight to understand the things correctly) or any passerby, unskilled, non-professional, less or un-educated person at the bottom of socio-economic hierarchy and social prestige. By doing so, the policymaker has built for the people working in NLPA identities (Gee, 2011) of uneducated people who have a lack of insight and wisdom.

Second, this interview establishes a criterion for who can be a part of the policy making process. Policy and policy-making are above the general public and the people in NLPA (whom the interlocutor thought are equivalent to the illiterate, uneducated, or less-educated people with little intellect). Since the general public and the people in NLPA "us ki to insight hi nahi hei, uski to wo baseerat hi nahi hei" (lines 16-18) [*do not have that insight. They do not have that wisdom*] required for the policy making process, only people with intellect can participate. Since "Policy is not a joke" (line 26) or a "hotch potch" (line 36), its formation requires the exclusion of all the above mentioned from the policy making procedure. The message that I received from this conversation is that the people involved in policy making are highly educated and have a special intellect. It is instructive to stop here and ask, what kind of intellect is this that a Pakistani girl living in the apartment complex across the road from the policymaker's office does not have; the intellect that the public of Pakistan do not have; the intellect that very educated people working in the NLPA office do not have; but the interviewer and her accompanying white husband do? Apparently the interviewer has that intellect because she has received educational and professional training in the West, and her husband has it because he is a White man.

Apparently this Western knowledge-based intellect is essential for the formation of the educational policy of Pakistan. The analysis in the next section supports this argument that the policymaker values a particular kind of intellect, which he identifies with Western culture and academia.

Third, Gee's (2011) perspective on CDA, "what was said and the context in which it was said, what needs to be filled in here to achieve clarity?" (p. 12), helps us understand the underlying stereotypes and exclusion based on linguistic hierarchy. People working in NLPA are nationals of Pakistan whose educational qualifications range from Bachelors to Doctorate levels. The question is, why are they equated with the non-matriculates (people with less than ten grades of education)? How would their qualifications and intellect be read if the name of the organization was *English Language Authority?* (English language proficiency has become a marker and criterion for being educated in Pakistan. This is an important theme and more evidence on it is presented in section three of this chapter). Lastly, this interview also established a definition of policy— "policy is a vision, a direction where we want to reach and send our generation" (lines 28-29). This definition is helpful for further analysis of the next interview.

My discussion with the interviewee continued about who participated in the policy making process. Within the next two minutes, he was asked about the role of the international policies and agencies in the formation of NEP 2009. It would be interesting to read the upcoming extract in light of what we have just witnessed in the extract above.

Extract 4.6 (Policymaker, Summer 2014).

		Original	English
1	S	Sir yei policy banatei huwei yei bhi deikha	Sir, while making this policy, did you also
2		gaya kei international policies kya chal rahi	consider what international policies are at
3		hein?[	work then?

4	PM	[Yes!, bilkul	[Yes!, exactly
5	S	Sir unhon nei kis had tak guide kiya?	Sir, to what extent did they guide?
6	PM	aa. Mein yei to exact. I cant say kei unhon	aa. I can exact-I can't say to what extent they
7		nei kis had tak[	guided.
8	S	Sir not in terms of percentages…Leikin yei	Sir not in terms of percentages…But just
9		kei kya lagta hei kei bohat bara influence	that- Does it look like they were a big
10		tha ya nahee tha?[	influence or not?
11	PM	No. No. Influence is lehaz sei naheen tha	No. No influence in terms of –that this policy
12		kei policy was.a.a. designed on the basis of	was a.a. designed based on a foreign agenda.
13		foreign agenda no. no. no. Professional	no. no. no. Professional contribution was
14		contribution was obtained and provided by	obtained and provided by the international
15		the international xxx	xxx
16	S	Sir..a what kind of?[	Sir..a what kind of?[
17	PM	[Just professional help. Professional help	[Just professional help. Professional help
18	S	Sir what does professional mean?	Sir what does professional mean?
19	PM	Academic. Professional	Academic. Professional
20	S	Like they provided literature…or[	Like they provided literature…or[
21	PM	[Yeah Yeah. You can say. they provided	[Yeah Yeah. You can say. they provided
22		literature. Ah you can say a. international	literature. Ah you can say a. international
23		UNESCO monitoring aa EFA goals,	UNESCO monitoring aa EFA goals,
24		Education for all goals-do you remember	Education for all goals-do you remember
25		EFA goals?	EFA goals?
26	S	Ji Sir.	Yes, Sir
27	PM	Aa.	A.a.
28	S	Six. Six EFA goals	Six. Six EFA goals
29	PM	Six EFA goals	Six EFA goals
30	S	Ji. Ji. Sir	Yes, yes, Sir
31	PM	And a. MDG goals	And a. MDG goals
32	S	Ji Sir	Yes, Sir
33	PM	They do provide guideline a. to achieve that	They do provide guideline a. to achieve that
34		and the major points access, equity, quality	and the major points access, equity, quality
35		of education. The whole policy is	of education. The whole policy is surrounded
36		surrounded of these three mandates. Those	of these three mandates. Those three
37		three mandates of EFA and	mandates of EFA and
38	S	Yes	Yes
39	PM	And Millennium Development Goals	And Millennium Development Goals
40	S	Yes. these three mandates. Those three	Yes. these three mandates. Those three
41		mandates of EFA and Millennium	mandates of EFA and Millennium
42		Development Goals	Development Goals
43	PM	Yes. Yes.	Yes. Yes

The construction of the inter-discursive reference to EFA and MDGs in the question "do you remember EFA goals?" (lines 24-25) and my obedient, quick, and elaborated response (not just "yes Sir" (line 26) but also "Six. Six. EFA goals" (line, 28)) reveals the influence of the universalization of education policy Discourse for Pakistan. Why would the interviewer be expected to remember those goals? One answer is because any Western-

educated student of education policy should be aware of the universal neocolonial policy agendas. Another answer is that being a Pakistani and faithful colonized, the interviewer should remember the neocolonial policies that guide the Pakistani educational system. Yet another answer is that anyone schooled in the West should be aware of the goals of Western-based educational policy.

The brief exchange concerning remembering the six EFA goals and then how the policymaker named out the key tenants of EFA, "access, equity and quality" (line 34), demonstrate the role of international policy text in the national education policy of Pakistan, and that is not just overall policy, but its specific goals and the key tenants have powerful roles in guiding, informing, and shaping the NEP. Using the intertextual reference to EFA, the policymaker legitimizes (Van-Leeuwen, 2008) the orientation of NEP 2009 that it focuses upon and has been designed in faithful subordination to the universal neocolonial policies. A very clear, confident, and telling "Yes!, bilkul" (line 4) is also evident that the inter-textual and inter-discursive reference to neocolonial policies have been intentionally used to bring legitimacy to the goals of NEP 2009. In order to understand the power distribution better, it is important to understand the broader socio-economic and political context on which this inter-discursive reference is built (Gee, 2011), and that is: Pakistan takes some educational funding from UNESCO; therefore, Pakistan is obligated to make its policies in accordance with the UNESCO agenda.

After the policymaker had described his perceptions about the local stakeholders (especially the national language authority) in the policy making process, he was asked if the international policies had any influences in this process. The policymaker suddenly

shifted the topic from “influence” (line 10) to “agenda” (line 13). It is important to know why the deviation in the topic occurred (Gee, 2011). However, in order to understand why “a big influence or not?” (lines 9-10) was translated as “foreign agenda” (line 13), it is essential to know the underlying inferences (Gee, 2011) that this assertion is referring to. International agenda is a buzz word in the policy rhetoric in Pakistani media. There is a tense discourse around the international maneuvering in policy making in Pakistan, and many policies are challenged because of the explicit and intensive influence of non-Pakistani funding agencies. Therefore, this apparently confident sounding and very assertive yet unsolicited explanation about policy being a “Foreign agenda no. no. no” (line 12) is in fact very defensive. The policymaker is trying to negate any potential accusation or assumption about NEP 2009 being a foreign agenda. However, by applying Gee’s (2011) “the doing and not just saying” tool (p. 42), we realize that all the speech acts that the policymaker performs in these two extracts, such as defining the policy, excluding the people of Pakistan from the policy making mandate, building up the identity of neocolonial agencies to professional and educated people, and legitimizing the current NEP through its faithful subordination to EFA, altogether negate all the five “No” that the policymaker utters in one sentence: “No. No influence in terms of –that this policy was a.a. designed based on a foreign agenda. no. no. no” (line 12). This sentence offers an interesting contrast to all these very suggestive inter-discursive and inter-textual references made to the neocolonial policies in this extract.

Another issue is the comparative identity construction in these two extracts and the implications this comparative construction has for the concept of legitimate knowledge:

"Professional contribution was obtained and provided by the international" (lines 13-15) and "Academic. Professional" (line 19) raises many serious questions about comparative identity construction, and the authenticity and the legitimacy of that knowledge. If policy requires intellect, insight, and wisdom that was sought from outside, what does it say about the intellect of the people of Pakistan? What is the meaning of this "*academic. Professional*" (line 19) in the context of "non-matriculate" (line 30, extract 4.5)? The people such as the members of the NLPA were not *well educated* and did not have *insight and wisdom* to participate in the policy making process. This infers that people who are part of the policy making process are well educated and have insight enough that they can participate in the policy making process. If this assumption is correct, the policymaker is building for the neocolonial policymakers from the international funding agencies the identities of being educated, professional, and wise enough to be able to maneuver the policy making process within Pakistan. This comparative identity construction of the people in NLPA versus the neocolonial policymakers as educated, academic, professional, and wise raises a very serious question about the authenticity and legitimacy of the knowledge. Whose knowledge is preferred over whom by whom and how? Whose knowledge is authentic and legitimate and why?

The interviewee provides a definition of policy, namely, "Policy is a vision, a direction where we want to reach and send our generation" (lines 28-29, extract4 5). Concomitantly, he adds that we seek this vision from the neocolonial funding agencies who "provide guideline a. to achieve that and the major points, which are access, equity, quality of education. The whole policy is surrounded of these three mandates, the three mandates

of EFA" (lines 33-35). Thus, the future direction or the trajectory of Pakistani children is being determined by "*professional*" (line 17) help of the neocolonial funding agencies. Examples like this support the argument that the term postcolonial has been correctly used to mean "since colonialism" rather than "after colonialism" (Moore, 2000, p. 182), thus underlining the legacy of colonialism to both the former colonizer and the colonized" (Chilisa, 2005, p. 660). The implications of the neocolonial agenda are deeper and more serious than colonialism itself because in many cases of colonialism the violence was explicit, easily traceable, and hence could be confronted more aggressively, whereas the neocolonial is deeper, pervasive, and not overtly observable in most cases. The major work of violence in neocolonialism occurs through education—by colonizing the minds.

Only the question of Mandate…?

The major issue in this chapter is not the mandates of EFA, but the reproduction and legitimization of the power hierarchy through the powerful presence of EFA in education at the international level in general and within Pakistan in particular. The language of the National Education Policy (2009) reproduces and legitimizes (Van-Leeuwen, 2008) the hierarchy by placing EFA on the top of the hierarchy and the national constitution of Pakistan at a subordinate, complying role. This by default pushes the national education policy, educational system, and the people of Pakistan further down the hierarchy.

Since UNESCO and IMF are known as major funding agencies for the educational incentives in the developing countries, they carry the power to maneuver the policy making process in these developing countries such as Pakistan. The analysis of NEPs 1998 and

2009 brings to the fore that policymakers felt obliged to accept the guidance from the funding agencies. The approval of the funders legitimizes the status of the policy. This influence has not just financial and political groundings but also ideological meanings. The neocolonial machinery works in order to make the colonized feel inferior and dependent upon the colonizer. Chilisa (2005) understands this situation as indicated by the following:

> The colonial agenda and thought was thus characterized by ideological processes aimed at undermining the authenticity of the 'other.' Hence, education was framed, constructed and driven by an ideology aimed at colonizing the mind and alienating the self and creating an individual that did not believe in her/himself. (p. 660).

By virtue of being situated in the global educational Discourse, the politics of education policy have been largely re-shaped. The community of practice of policy stakeholders is no longer restricted to national actors but rather policy stakeholders at the international level, and also the international funding agencies hold significant power in the policy making process of the postcolonial and under-developed countries like Pakistan. Through the analysis of the interview with the policymaker it is explicit that professional and academic support for developing NEP 2009 was drawn from international (Western) experts. Local experts, particularly members from the NLPA were excluded from this process. It is important to know that these foreign policy stakeholders or the representatives of the funding agencies are not Pakistani, have not studied under the Pakistani educational system, and have not lived in Pakistan enough to experience the political, cultural, and socio-economic nuances that influence the academic trajectory of an average Pakistani. Moreover, living in Pakistan would be a meaningful experience only if

that meant living like an average Pakistani *not* in the diplomatic/ bureaucratic enclaves. Given these facts, how can they make accurate policy decisions for Pakistan?

The national education policy of Pakistan is not developed solely for the good of the people of Pakistan, but rather its main focus was to serve as a tool to further strengthen the domination and hegemony of the colonial and imperial powers in the global educational Discourse. This is clearly evident through the analysis of NEP 2009 of Pakistan, which explicitly follows and promotes EFA mandates. Through its use of language, NEP 2009 ensures the demonstration of compliance and commitment to EFA and the neocolonial agencies that enforce it. It is the greatest form of neocolonial oppression that the purpose of the national education policy of *free* and *postcolonial* Pakistan is to remain faithful to the universal policies handed down to them. If educational policies and educational institutes in this world are controlled through the strings of money and political power, what does this neocolonial hegemony mean in terms of the larger world view and the overall Discourse of education in the world? What impacts will it have on the dream of liberating education?

Chapter 5
If You Have to Compete Internationally…!

The educational system of Pakistan is suffering from crises because "…shocking inequalities now being built and re-built seem somehow legitimate" (Apple, 1995, xxv). But the hope for educational justice exists more than ever before because "this is where Education and Power begins—the crisis" (Apple, 1989, xxii).

Introduction

Global educational reforms tend to move from global north to global south, mostly through the neocolonial funding agencies (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This chapter argues that language policy flows from global north to south in ways that result in the same mandate of each reform in all the principal global documents. However, as this chapter shows, the way these universal reforms and their key aspects and goals are entextualized in different countries is not always explicitly documented either in policy documents or in educational policy research. This chapter emphasizes that such investigation is important because these varied rationalities and the entextualization[9] of these universal reforms have significant influence on the overall educational Discourse and policy rhetoric in countries like Pakistan. This chapter explores how the educational re(de)forms of neocolonial funding agencies manipulate the sense-making of basic concepts in education at multiple levels (from national to individual) of educational Discourse in Pakistan.

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[9] Entextualization: "The process by which circulatable texts are produced by extracting discourse from its original context and reifying it as a bounded object—is an indispensable mechanism for the construction of the institutional authority" (Park & Bucholtz, 2009, p. 485)

Through multimodal critical discourse analysis of policy texts, interviews, and Facebook chats, this section examines the entextualization of the global concepts of internationalization of HE, competition through HE, and quality of education in Pakistan's educational policies' rhetoric, and the perceptions of local actors at multiple levels. This chapter argues that the educational concepts that gained momentum through neocolonial educational development agencies are entextualized in Pakistan's educational Discourse in ways that further the hegemony of colonial language in academic discourse in general and by extension in social, political, economic, and cultural discourses in Pakistan. Language educational policy, and especially the English language, has been used as one of the significant tools of the colonial machinery (Tikly, 1999); the same tactic is being adopted by the neocolonial forces. Hence, the hegemonic enforcement of the English language is endangering the academic, linguistic, and national identity of the people of Pakistan, taking away from them their confidence and self-esteem, their national pride and linguistic pride, and perpetuating in them an inferiority complex.

This chapter consists of three sections. Through the analysis of extracts from the Bologna Declaration the first section, "Competition through HE", explores how, and for what purpose, the concept of competition has been used in international policy rhetoric. The second section, "Competition through English…?", has two sub-sections. The first sub-section, "Entextualization of Competition in NEP 2009", analyzes extracts from NEP 2009 in order to examine how the document equates English with competition. The second sub-section, "Competition through English: Perspectives of Pakistani Policy Stakeholders", analyzes the perspectives of a state level policymaker regarding NEP 2009

and competition=English language. The third section, "From Having More to Being More", presents the discussion on the analysis done in the first two sections and offers conclusions. So doing help answer research question one: *In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?*

Competition through HE

Through the linguistic analysis of the extracts from the Bologna Declaration, this section explores how, and for what purpose, the concept of competition has been used in international policy rhetoric. The extract given below has been taken from page four of the document, "The Bologna Declaration on the European Space for Higher Education: An Explanation," which originated in Europe and was signed by 29 European countries in 1998 (see chapter three). The analysis below focuses on the meaning of competition in this declaration. Within the Bologna Declaration, the phenomenon of competition through HE has been applied at two different levels: within Europe for "intra-European issues" and at the international level for "external' issues."

Extract 5.1.

The Bologna Declaration and global competitiveness of European higher education

Next to the need to "achieve greater compatibility and comparability in the systems of higher education" (mainly an intra-European issue), the Declaration wants "in particular" to increase "the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education". It says that the "vitality and efficiency of any civilisation can be measured by the appeal its culture has for other countries". The signatory countries explicitly express their goal to "ensure that the European higher education system acquires a worldwide degree of attractiveness equal to [Europe's] extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions".

On these "external" issues, the Bologna Declaration is genuinely opening up new avenues. In stressing so explicitly the need for European higher education as a (cohesive) system to become more attractive to students from other world regions, it provides one

15 more reason for moving in the direction of a coherent European system and implicitly
16 invites European institutions to compete more resolutely than in the past for students,
17 influence, prestige and money in the worldwide competition of universities.
(The Bologna Declaration on the European Space for Higher Education: An Explanation, 1999, p. 4)

Line two refers to an "intra-European" issue. It is, however, important to understand what this intra-European issue is in order to get clarity on what the greater goal - to "achieve greater compatibility and comparability in the systems of higher education" (lines 1-2) - is trying to achieve. Gee's (2011) "Fill in tool" (p. 12) suggests that in order to get clarity on what is said, it is important to know the context in which it was said. One of the main foci of the Bologna Declaration and, later on, the Bologna process was to promote European students' mobility between different universities in Europe. This could be possible if the credits earned from one university were transferrable to another university. This, by extension, requires that courses offered in one university are comparable to the courses offered in the other universities and the educational systems, standards, and quality among them is compatible. So doing would facilitate the transfer and accreditation of the credits and degrees earned from one European university to another and hence promote mobility and employability of the European students within Europe. Based on this context and applying Gee's (2011) "relationships building tool" (p. 115), the goal to "achieve greater compatibility and comparability in the systems of higher education" (mainly an intra-European issue) (lines 1-2) in fact has been used to achieve unity and coherence within Europe through the system of HE. By extension, this social good of unity has been used to place coherent Europe in competition with the rest of the world.

Developing unity and coherence across Europe was not the only purpose of this document. Through word choice, this document serves as a tool to establish the significance and power of the concept of *competition through HE*. Subsequently, the document distributes this power to the signatory countries as well. For example, this notion of competition with the world is not an ordinary level commitment but rather the insertion of the adjective phrase "in particular" in line four ("the Declaration wants 'in particular' to increase 'the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education'") has been used to illuminate the intentionality of the focus. Furthermore, the use of the word "ensure" (line 8) and phrase "compete more resolutely" (line 16) affirm the level of rigor and intensity of commitment that the signing countries are making with this declaration. In this context, "explicitly express" (line 7) performs two interconnected functions: it sets a declarative tone that the call for engaging in competition with the world has been made from all the countries who have signed this declaration, it has not been imposed upon them; and, since the signatory countries have made this call, they are the ones to take the responsibility to reach this goal. Hence, the declaration establishes the signing countries at the position of power as they have agency to fulfill their commitment to the movement of competition through HE.

Using Gee's (2011) "the why this way and not that way tool" (p. 54), we see that if the words *desire* or *possibility* had been used instead of "goal" (line 8) and *try* instead of "ensure" (line 8), and if the phrase "explicitly expressed" (line 7) had been replaced with the word *agreed* or just *expressed*, it would have changed the power distribution and the level of commitment would have lowered significantly. For example:

- *The signatory countries have expressed their willingness towards making the European higher education system acquire a worldwide degree of attractiveness equal to [Europe's] extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions.*

- *The signatory countries have agreed to work towards making the European higher education system acquire a worldwide degree of attractiveness equal to [Europe's] extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions.*

Thus, both the declaration's powerful emphasis on the concept of competition and the further distribution of this power to the signatory countries suggest the rigor of this wave of competition in educational Discourse.

By applying Gee's (2011) concept "the politics building tool" (p. 21) to this extract, we learn that the Bologna Declaration marks two separate yet interlinked purposes for higher education: unity within Europe and competition with the external world. The concept of enriching European civilization and gaining unity ("one more reason for moving in the direction of a coherent European system" (line 15)) through education is not innocent. Education and unity are two social goods that are not easily deniable; whereas mobility (from outside and within) can be a conflictual concept (such as whether universities want more immigrant students). This is why the undeniable and more normalized social goods of education and unity have been tied with the concept of mobility in order to develop a positive view point regarding increased student mobility within and towards Europe, "to become more attractive to students from the other world regions" (line 5). Thus, by building up this equation of *Education + Unity + Mobility=Competition*, the political purpose of building up rigor to compete in the trade of HE has been achieved.

Lines 12 to 17 refer to the purposes of competition through HE on which the analysis below focuses. Line 14, "become more attractive to students from other world

regions," establishes that this motivation for competition is not limited to Europe only but rather has implications for the broader world that includes global south and north both. Application of Gee's (2011) "Fill in tool" (p. 12) can help us gain clarity by unpacking the context and phenomenon of competition which by extension helps us understand this over-emphasis on commitment to compete. HE has been declared as a *trade* by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and UNESCO (2001) has not only acknowledged this status that "trade in higher education is a million-dollar business" but has also acknowledged UNESCO's very active role in promoting student mobility. It is also important to be aware that 70% of Asian students go abroad to study in the three main Anglophonic countries: Australia, Unites States, and United Kingdom (Hughes, 2008). U.K. earns approximately 23 billion pounds, while Australia earns over 2 billion Australian dollars per annum from this English teaching and internationalization of HE business (Phillipson, 2006). Knowing this context helps us understand that in order to pull more "students, influence, prestige and money" (line 17), Europe is competing in particular with the countries already using higher education as a trade and an industry. These major European competitors in this *trade* of internationalization of HE are Australia and the USA. Thus, in the pursuit for rigorous student mobility, Europe is pressuring global northern countries', especially American and Australian, academic and economic discourses.

This movement of competition through HE has significant implications for the global south in at least two aspects. First, it encourages more student mobility from global southern countries towards Europe. By creating a discourse of international mobility from the global south to the global north in general and to Europe in particular, not just the flow

of money but also of intellect is towards the West (Alexander, 2008). The universities compete to draw the most intelligent and competitive students from the global south and capitalize upon the research and professional skills of these students. Thus, the global north is not just becoming rich by the tuition revenue these international students are bringing in but also in terms of the variety of wealth of knowledge and intellect these students have to offer to the European/global northern academia. Second, in order to attract students from all over the world and to convince them to invest heavily in Western education, different promotional, publicity, and marketing techniques are used. The procedures and the far-reaching impacts of the publicity of West-based HE industry are neither unplanned nor unintended. A survey report, "Trends II: Towards the European Higher Education Area - survey of main reforms from Bologna to Prague," was conducted under the UK:

> In the UK the Prime Minister set a clear target in June 1999: to increase Britain's market share to 25 % of the world's mobile students. The British Council now operates a major five-year worldwide plan to establish the "*EducationUK*" brand name to help British universities in their marketing efforts. (Haug & Tauch, 2001, p. 30)

As a result of this West-based "power-knowledge nexus" (Apple, 1995, xix), an entire discourse of pro-European/pro-Western education has been created which fosters notions like: European/Western education is better, more authentic, and of good quality. Doing so establishes the legitimacy of Western knowledge over the rest of the non-Western world. This Discourse fosters student mobility, strengthening Western hegemony over the rest of the world. This *Western Knowledge is superior and more authentic* Discourse also develops a criterion for the universities within the global south. Those who cannot go abroad for *quality* education look for the universities and schools that are more compatible

with Western standards. As a result, there begins a competition between local universities. In addition, in order to fulfil the demands of the students, the local universities are changing themselves to become closer to Western models, of instruction and specifically English medium of instruction (Portnoi, Sylvia, & Rust, 2010). In many cases, these Western models are present within the global south, because many Western universities have opened offshore branches in developing countries of the global south. For example, Hughes (2008) states that "Some estimates suggest that 200 000 students are following UK programmes in countries other than Britain (OECD, 2004). In 2002, IDP Australia estimated that over 45 000 students were being taught under programme or institutional mobility arrangements and forecasts a significant increase in this mode (to around 300 000) by 2025" (p. 4). Whether through offshore branches of the Anglophonic universities in the Non-Anglophonic countries or otherwise, the international pressure transfers within the national boundaries, and the universities engage in competition at the national level.

Moreover, the global south and especially post-colonial countries that operate under the maneuvering influence of the neocolonial funding agencies are obliged to borrow most of their educational reforms from the West (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Hence, following the European model, especially English medium of instruction, the non-European, global southern countries also feel pressure to promote their universities to the global level, where they compete for more international students from the other neighboring global southern countries. Singapore, Malaysia, or the Philippines are examples of such global southern countries who have recently joined the lucrative business of HE (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). On this point, Pakistani students who cannot afford to go

to the Western universities benefit from relatively less costly education in Singapore, Malaysia, or the Philippines. Concomitantly, Pakistan, a country that does not attract students from other countries, has still significantly re-shaped its educational policies under the influence of these educational reforms and in an attempt to meet with the growing global pressure of competition and internationalization.

The following sections of this chapter offer in-depth analysis of extracts from NEP 2009 as sample evidence of these above-mentioned accommodations made in NEP 2009. Having teased out some of the perceived implications this European competition has with the world, we can infer the different kinds of relationships this policy text is building between the rest of the world and Europe. Application of Gee's (2011) "the relationship building tool" (p. 115) can help us understand two kinds of relationships: 1) Europe as competitor with the other countries, especially America, Australia, and Japan, in the trade of HE; 2) Europe as a supplier and the others, especially the global south, as the target market.

One can question why the south is being automatically pulled into this entire discourse of competition and ask: Does the south have no agency? What can help us understand this myth of agency is to know the role of UNESCO. UNESCO is the major supporting agency behind this Bologna process and, through its financial and political power, UNESCO holds the strings of educational reforms (such as EFA) in Pakistan, too. Therefore, the neocolonial machinery behind these reforms is the same. So, the question now is, if both these agendas are supported by UNESCO, what joint implications might they have for NEP in Pakistan—implications not just at HE but also at K-12 levels? (Later

in this section is the analysis of NEP 2009's policy actions which will help us understand this question). Therefore, to claim that the Bologna Declaration and Bologna Process were oriented towards Europe and are limited to Europe only is wrong because when policies are made that have implications for the rest of the world, then they are not limited to Europe only. Through the analysis of NEP 2009 and the interviews from different policy stakeholders in Pakistan, this chapter draws attention towards only one of these major implications, that is linguistic discourse—such as the functions and status of languages in Pakistan being (re)defined. This by extension asks, what does the European competition for "students, influence, prestige and money" (line 17) mean for the influence and prestige of the local and national languages in Pakistan?

The analysis in this chapter reveals that the Bologna Declaration's call to develop unity and coherence among European countries through HE was not an innocent purpose. In fact, the social good of education and unity have been used as a tool to significantly enhance the cultural, economic, academic, and political power of Europe. The global competition through HE that Europe accelerated did not remain limited to Europe only, but rather has its effects on the rest of the global north as well as global south. This Discourse about competition through HE is not only affecting educational standards, but is also intersecting, re-shaping, and bringing into flux the local educational Discourse at regional, national, and individual and institutional levels (Portnoi, Sylvia & Rust, 2010). It is also impacting the demand for education, the criteria for quality education, and some deeper complicated and personal domains such as linguistic and national identity, membership in linguistic and ethnic communities, and imagined future academic trajectories. The next

section examines the equation: global competition=competition through the English language.

Competition through English…?

This section critically analyzes the concept of "competition" that has been emphasized in the Bologna Declaration. This section has two sub-sections: First, *Entextualization of Competition in NEP 2009*: Through the analysis of extracts from NEP 2009, this sub-section examines how NEP 2009 equates English language use with competition. Second, *Competition through English Language*: *Perspectives of Pakistani Policy Stakeholders*: This sub-section analyzes the perspectives of a state level policymaker regarding NEP 2009, and competition=English language. The Bologna Declaration (1999) enforced this wave of internationalization and competition through HE. This movement did not stop then but has been pursued rigorously through the Bologna Process subsequently, especially between 2001 and 2009. According to the UNESCO report on the "International Conference on New Generations of Policy Documents and Laws for Higher Education: Their Thrust in the Context of the Bologna Process," held on November 4-6, 2004, in Warsaw, Poland, language issues have been raised during the Bologna Process; and the English language has been recommended as a medium of instruction either in place of or in addition to the national languages in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). The following extract from the report on this UNESCO conference testifies to the relationship of English and global competition that is accelerated by the Bologna Declaration showing that it in fact works for the promotion of the English language:

> iii) ***The issue of language***: language is relevant to the Bologna Process, because of its impact on the provision of higher education (i.e. the use of national languages and/or English, or another major language used in the EHEA etc.), and because of its impact on the language skills of students. The development of foreign language skills has been mentioned as part of the Bologna reforms in the case of Italy, and could be recommended to other member countries. (UNESCO, 2004, p.5)

The magnitude and intensity of this European-based higher education reform creates a ripple effect in the academic, economic, socio-cultural, and linguistic ecology of the world (Coleman, 2006; Hughes, 2008; Phillipson, 2006; Rivers, 2001). Jenkins (2011) also highlights that each international university itself is a "microcosm of the global ELF community or, more specifically, the global academic ELF community" (p. 927). Hence, a strong pressure is placed on developing countries like Pakistan in ways that force compromises of significant local and national needs and force re-prioritization of their goals in order to engage in this European push for competition through HE. The section below focuses only on the linguistic aspect of this ripple effect, and I analyze how the language component of Pakistani NEP understands and gets shaped under this pressure of competition. My specific focus is on what this European commitment "'to compete more resolutely than in the past' for… influence, prestige" (lines 16-17) means for the *prestige and influence* of the languages, culture, and people of Pakistan.

Entextualization of Competition in NEP 2009

Given below is extract 5.2, which has been taken from NEP 2009's Chapter Three, "Overarching Challenges & Deficiencies: Their Causes and The Way Forward" and its "Background" section under the heading "1.3 Uniformity and confidence in a public education system" (p. 11). The analysis below focuses mainly on lines 10-15, but lines 1-

8 help set the stage for this analysis. The context and analysis of this entire extract help in critically analyzing the policy actions of NEP 2009, which then illuminate the contention between the European origination of the wave of competition and its manifestations in the NEP of 2009.

Extract 5.2.

1 20. The unity of objectives of our educational efforts – whether in the public or private sector
2 - is spelt through the over-arching principles of access, quality, affordability and relevance. The
3 way the Pakistani educational system has developed over time, we do notice a certain dispersion
4 of the objective of the unity, manifesting itself in the form of parallel educational systems and
5 their equivalence, and the issues of medium of instruction, and representation of minorities, etc
6 The Policy is guided by the principle of creating a minimum level of uniformity in order to
7 protect the uniformity of the Pakistan's educational system as a tool of social progress and of all
8 round development in an increasingly globalized and competitive world.
9
10 21. English is an international language, and important for competition in a globalized world
11 order. Urdu is our national language that connects people all across Pakistan and is a symbol of
12 national cohesion and integration. In addition, there are mother tongues / local vernaculars in the
13 country that are markers of ethnic and cultural richness and diversity. The challenge is that a child
14 is able to carry forward the cultural assets and be at the same time, able to compete nationally and
15 internationally.
(NEP, 2009, p. 16)

Lines three, four, and five acknowledge the presence of an historical problem that the educational system of Pakistan has been faced with— "dispersion of the objective of the unity" (lines 3-4) refers to a non-coherent educational system, which results from the parallel schooling systems. These parallel school systems are differentiated from each other based on two major criteria: medium of instruction and economic affordability. Since these parallel systems have always prevailed and were encouraged by IMF's supported educational privatization from grades K-12 and less funding to public schools in Pakistan, the educational system in Pakistan is divided into linguistic and socio-economic classes which transcend to the broader society, as discussed in Chapter Three. Lines six, seven, and eight present a step-by-step approach towards reaching the major target of this 2009

NEP. The principle of uniformity has been envisioned as a savior to "protect the uniformity of the Pakistan's educational system" (line 7). This uniform educational system is used as a tool for the completion of two tasks: 1) "social progress" (lines 7 & 2) and "all round development in an increasingly globalized and competitive world" (line 8). In summary, the major stated goals in NEP 2009 are social progress and competition in the global world, for which uniformity in the educational system of Pakistan has to be achieved. However, one major hindrance in achieving this uniformity is the use of different media of instruction in schools, for example Urdu or other local languages in public schools, while English is the medium of instruction in elite private schools.

In addition to the content, the transition between the two paragraphs is significant. The first paragraph ends at line eight "globalized and competitive world," and the new paragraph begins with "English is an international language, and important for competition in a globalized world order" (lines 10-11). Hence, English is collocated with the ability to develop, progress, and compete at national, international, and global levels: English language = tool for competition. (As a reminder, competition is one of the two policy targets mentioned in line eight.)

This (over) emphasis on global competition undermines the significance of other important national and local phenomenon. Both the opening and closing sentences (lines 10 & 15) of this new paragraph focus on competition at national and international levels and in a globalized world. This relationship between the English language and internationalization brackets everything else in between, thus reducing the value of all things national and local. Words and concepts like "Urdu" (line 11), "nationally" (line 15),

competition at the national level, “mother tongues” (line 12), “local vernaculars” (line 12), and “ethnic and cultural richness and diversity” (line 13) all have been sandwiched in between. What does this asymmetrical attention toward global competition mean for the “influence and prestige” of the local and national languages in Pakistan and the important concepts such as national unity? The following analysis sections and the discussion section help in understanding this myth.

The prioritization of English over the 56 national and local languages of Pakistan is also reflected through the position and chronological ordering of the languages in the second paragraph—English is the first word of the paragraph. The second position has been given to Urdu, which is the first word of the second sentence, and, lastly, “mother tongues / local vernaculars” (line 12) are mentioned in the third sentence. This linguistic hierarchy is truly reflective of the dominating power of English in comparison with the national language, Urdu, and the 56 local languages of Pakistan.

The paragraph structure also serves to re-affirm the *official roles* of languages in Pakistan –English is the language for international competition, Urdu a source for national cohesion, whereas local languages/ mother tongues and vernacular are assigned a role to merely ‘mark’ cultural diversity. The use of declarative structures adds authoritative tone and makes the sentences imperative in nature. There are no conjunctions in between the first two sentences, and they are situated as standalone commandments. Although they come in a connected speech and in a paragraph form, their declarative structure makes them sound totally independent of each other. In contrast, the third sentence starts with the

transitional phrase ‘in addition,’ which imparts a sense that vernacular and mother tongues are something additional and not a necessary part of the whole.

The sentence structure and use of adjectives in lines 10 through 12 mark the power struggle. In sentences one and two, the words English and Urdu come at the subject position which is a representation of the (unequal) power they possess and the active status they maintain whereas the third sentence starts with an empty pronoun ‘there are’ that proceeds mother tongues/local vernaculars. This structure, “in addition, there are mother tongues / local vernaculars in the country” (line 12), sounds comparable to sentences such as “in addition, there are cups / glasses in the kitchen,” as if the cups and glasses are just lying there in the kitchen along with the countless other things, many of which could /could not be significant. Similarly, mother tongues / local vernaculars are just present in Pakistan without any active official, institutional, and academic role. Further, the first sentence (line 10) uses the adjective ‘important’ for English whereas no such adjective has been used for any other language mentioned in this article. Doing so further elevates the importance of English for competition (that has been used twice in lines 1 and 5) at the international (lines 1 & 6) level.

In sum, we see the following major LEP related tensions in the NEP 2009 document. First, the role and status of national and local languages have been reduced and delimited to just being *cultural markers* and *bonds between people*. Second, by declaring English only as the language of international competition, NEP 2009 rules out the possibility that national and local languages can have the ability to become the languages of international competition. Third, the structure of the paragraph and the individual

sentences, and the use of subjects of sentences and adjectives, also establish that the international competition has been given significance and priority over the national unity and cohesion. The international pressure for competition through education has (re)shaped the linguistic hierarchy and promoted the English language in Pakistan at the cost of the influence and prestige of the national and local languages.

The extract analyzed above belongs to the section of NEP 2009 on "overcoming structural divides" (p. 27). One purpose for analyzing this extract is to illuminate the fact that NEP 2009 itself acknowledges the presence of the divides and claims that language of instruction is one of the major causes of these divides that exist in the educational Discourse and extend beyond it. However, ironically, the use of language—linguistically and stylistically—in this policy document furthers these divides. Lines six and seven acknowledge the need for a unified educational system and line 11 explicates the fact that Urdu is the language of national unity. The question then rises, why has the Urdu language, which is already serving as a bond between people, not been considered as a means for a unified educational system? In fact, the topic of national unity or a unified educational system was dropped out of NEP 2009, and the entire focus shifted towards global competition and the English language. The extract below (5.3) has been taken from NEP 2009 Chapter Three, "Overcoming the Structural Divides" (p. 22) under the sub-section "Policy Actions" (p. 27). I analyze here six out of the ten policy actions (3-8) because they explicitly present the English language policy; policy actions one and two are included for context only.

Extract 5.3.

1 1 The state shall provide greater opportunities to the citizens and areas that have been
2 largely excluded from the mainstream development and participation in the

national processes by ensuring even and equitable human development across Pakistan.

2 Governments shall identify schools in less developed areas for prioritisation in resource allocation and management for improving quality.

3 Ministry of Education in consultation with Provincial and Area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and lagging behind regions.

4 The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.

5 The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.

6 English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.

7 For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.

8 Opportunities shall be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English language.

(NEP, 2009, pp. 27-28)

Since policy cannot exist completely independent of historical and contextual linkages, it is important to investigate whether this policy has some incremental links with the earlier policies (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). From the independence of Pakistan until 1998, there was an emphasis on replacing English with Urdu. This discussion was totally silenced in NEP 1998 (see the *History of LEP in Pakistan* section at the beginning of this chapter) whereas NEP 2009 shifts away from the historical stance of replacing English with Urdu. In fact, NEP 2009's English language policy emphasizes the promotion of English as a medium of instruction at the official level. Thus, this English Language Policy (ELP) marks a historical turning point in the history of LEP in Pakistan.

In addition to historical aspects, there are important linguistic and stylistic aspects, analysis of which can inform our understanding about "How does a policy work as a text?" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 54), which by extension helps us understand the power and politics around this policy. A usual stylistic pattern for laying out official decisions,

especially policies, is to first elaborate the problem and the context; second, to emphasize the need for the solution of the problem; third, to announce the solution to the problem in a certain form (such as a policy or a reform); and then to engage in an implementation related discussion. This ELP has adopted a rather different pattern, which suggests the power of this policy. The first 2.5 chapters of NEP 2009[10] are invested in establishing the statement of the problem (i.e. lack of unity in educational systems due to the parallel schooling systems in Pakistan that are marked with economic and linguistic differences and the need and the tool to fix this problem, specifically, the pressure for global and international competition and English as the language for global competition). What follows then in Chapter Three of NEP 2009 is "Policy Actions" (p. 27), i.e. *commandments* on how to implement the policy. The first two policy actions do not have explicit connections with the new ELP; the third policy action (lines 7-11) opens with *commandments*—delegation of duties to the concerned authorities about developing an action plan for the implementation of ELP in the shortest possible time: "Ministry of Education in consultation with Provincial and Area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and lagging behind regions" (lines 7-11). There is no mention/ declaration or announcement of any language policy–nowhere before or within these five lines. NEP 2009 assumes that those who have been assigned this responsibility

[10] These 2.5 chapters brought under discussion some other educational policy related aspects. However, my concern here is language education policy. Thus, here I have narrowed my focus on the development of ELP in NEP 2009.

and/or the readers of this policy already know that a brand new language education policy is coming. That is why it does not deserve any formal declaration within this policy text. Another explanation is that the receivers and readers are at a position subordinate enough that they should be ready to receive and implement the orders without any need for gradual or formal declaration of this policy. Thus, the announcement of English language policy in the form of an official commandment adds significant power and inflexibility to this policy. It develops an understanding that the policy has been imposed upon the local and provincial actors with a responsibility to carve out ways for its implementation.

Furthermore, nowhere within these policy actions have the words *language policy* or *language education policy* been used but rather the policymakers chose to use the words "English language policy" (line 9). Although languages other than English have been mentioned in this new LEP, "Urdu, one regional language" (lines 12-13), the policy has been named "English language policy" (line 3). Doing so officially undermines and negates the presence of these languages in the academic Discourse which by extension has explicit, official, and serious implications for the influence and prestige of the non-Anglophonic languages in Pakistan. Applying Gee's "why this way and not that way tool" (p. 54), alternatives of the title "English language policy" such as *language policy, language education policy,* or *multilingual policy* would have offered a less English dominant and either neutral or more inclusive approach towards non-Anglophonic languages in Pakistan.

This dominance of English language policy and the rush for its implementation has been made more emphatic by marking it with time tags, such as "shortest possible time"

(line 10), “up to Class V” (line 15), “from class IV onwards” (line 17), “For 5 years” (line 18), and “after five years” (line 19). These stringent time markers for policy implementation seem to have completely ignored the “temporality of politics or that of professional practice” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 55) and hence make the policy inflexible and raise the power of policy over the individual and institutional needs. For example, what if an institution feels that right after grade four students are not yet ready for an English medium of instruction? There is no mention of any exceptions for the situations in which the institutions or faculty are not ready to implement ELP after this five-year limit. So doing ranks the power of policy higher than the individual and institutional needs and desires.

Policy action number four represents a seemingly multilingual language policy with the inclusion of English, Urdu, and one regional language, which is juxtaposed to the title *only* “English language policy.” However, policy action numbers five and six initiate explaining the inherent tensions regarding the: 1) authentication of linguistic hierarchy and linguistic exclusion/marginalization of the non-Anglophonic languages through this ELP; and 2) the question of the medium of instruction and the false autonomy of the provinces. First, policy action numbers six and seven explicitly present and re-affirm the role assignment and linguistic hierarchy that this seemingly multilingual policy is creating. “English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards” (lines 16-17) indirectly declares the non-Anglophonic languages as insufficient for teaching sciences and mathematics and limits their role to the teaching of non-scientific subjects only. In addition, this restricts the possibility of Pakistani

languages' engagement in science, technology, and research, hence limiting the chances of their corpus enrichment.

Second, the selection of medium of instruction is left to the discretion of the provinces thus assuming provincial autonomy. I want to problematize the notion of provincial autonomy at two levels. One, knowing that this educational reform is being supported by the neocolonial funding agencies and the funding comes with stringent conditions and the aid receiving governments (federal or provincial) are obliged to follow their masters, my concern is about the (fake) nature of this autonomy. Although EFA or MDGs' texts do not directly require the implementation of the English medium of instruction, ELP has been operationalized via the quality and access mandates of EFA. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) warn that "the policy text itself often being more of a public relations, glossy document, [is] constructed to put a positive 'spin' on the actual policy, trying to 'sell' the policy" (p. 19). What is presented to the world is quality and access mandates of Education for All as social goods which are not easily deniable because no one talks against the right of children to quality of and easy access to education. However, how these fancy terms are entextualized, interpreted, and implemented into different contexts around the world is highly political and contested. ELP does not mandate through the documents of these global neocolonial funding agencies but gets operationalized through the discourses of *quality* and *access* that persist in those neocolonial EFA policies. All these very empathetic names such as *Education for All*, *quality*, and *access* create a positive worldview about the reform but the implicit coercion behind the fake autonomy needs to be made visible.

At the second level, provincial autonomy is connected to the coerced or tight nature of choice. Although provinces are said to be given autonomy in their choice of medium of instruction, the policy text constructs the English language with such an enormous power and significance that it emerges as a default choice. English has been projected as 1) a powerful language that stands at the top of the linguistic hierarchy in Pakistan; 2) "an international language, and important for competition in a globalized world" (NEP 2009, p. 11); 3) a language of science and mathematics (NEP, 2009, p. 27); and 4) an enforced medium of instruction by NEP 2009. Compared to it, Urdu has been mentioned just as a tool for "national cohesion and integration" (NEP, 2009, p. 11), which (the document implies) can be achieved by establishing English as the universal medium of instruction in Pakistan. Moreover, national unity has been used as a tool to become globally competitive, to "protect the uniformity of the Pakistan's educational system as a tool of social progress and of all round development in an increasingly globalized and competitive world" (NEP 2009, p. 11). Hence, pursuing global competition is more important than national unity, which by extension means that the language for national cohesion is less important than the language of global competition. In addition, local languages are mentioned as mere "markers of ethnic and cultural richness and diversity" (NEP, 2009, p. 11). Knowing this majestic stature of English, and its dominance in linguistic hierarchy if any province still desires, it can choose any other non-English medium of instruction until grade four, but "after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only" (NEP, 2009, p. 27). Choice—what Apple (1995) calls a "tight choice" (p. xvi)—has been offered to the provinces: "The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select

the medium of instruction up to Class V" (lines 14-15), and "For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only" (lines 18-20); but these markers of choice have been sandwiched, subdued, and disempowered between the hard and fast time markers, the rush for the implementation of ELP, and the power of ELP. A legitimate question then rises about the need of offering all these tight choices and fake autonomy: Why has all this effort been made for portraying ELP as the only option? This hard work was in fact required in order for "eliminating or marginalizing any serious alternatives" (Apple, 1995, p. xv) to ELP that might exist in the educational Discourse of Pakistan.

Analysis of the case of Punjab Province offers a practical example of this fake autonomy. Under the pressure of EFA's quality education mandate, on May 06, 2011, The Government of Punjab's School Education Department issued a directive to all the Executive District Officers (Education) in Punjab province with the subject "Conversion of Urdu Medium Schools into English Medium Schools" according to which all "instructions in the subjects of science and Mathematics at all levels will be imparted in English" (Appendix I). Thus, English has become the medium of instruction from grade one onwards, in all public schools, especially for mathematics and sciences. Resultantly, all public schools in Punjab province now have amended their names and added the phrase "English medium" to their names. For example, *Government Junior Model High School Wahdat Road, Lahore* is now called *"Government Junior Model High School Wahdat Road, Lahore, (English medium).* This decision is independent of the school and staff's

readiness for this change. The question, however, is "what was the reception given to the policy at the site of implementation practice?" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 55). School teachers seriously resisted this ELP stating that they were not linguistically and pedagogically ready for this change. The British Council's (2013) report states that "only 16% of government primary school teachers and 23% of government middle school teachers" (p. 23) supported English medium of instruction. The training offered to them was minimal (in most cases, a six week long refresher course in English language teaching to a select group of teachers or administrators from selected schools in Punjab province). However, the resistance could not overpower ELP. Knowing that the existing teaching staff did not have proficiency to teach the (or "in the") English language, the Government of Punjab announced that it would hire *competent teachers* to teach the English language at a pay scale better than the existing staff and also offer allowances based on their proficiency in the English language. Though beyond the scope of this study, the analysis of this resistance has direct relevance to the question of democratic education. This also raises questions about the power and legitimacy of this policy. Teachers, school administration, and the teacher union are members of multiple other communities of practice in Pakistani (and global) society and hence have multiple roles and identities they perform. These include but are not limited to, for example, being parents, siblings, alumni, current and future students, and counselors. Thus rejection of this policy does not mean rejection only by the teachers but rather rejection from multiple other sectors of society. If the policy has been unanimously rejected by the immediate implementers (which constitute a significant number of members of society) and by extension other sectors of society as

well, the question then is "Who has advocated the policy and why?" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 54). This, by extension, not only raises questions about the legitimacy and ownership of the policy but also questions the autonomy, status, and position of the people of Pakistan with reference to the neocolonial hegemony.

The province of Punjab has in fact implemented ELP more rigorously than the NEP 2009 documents asked for. NEP 2009 did not ask for change in the names of schools but the Government of Punjab has changed them. NEP 2009 offered autonomy (though fake) in terms of selecting the medium of instruction until grade four, but the Government of Punjab has implemented ELP right from grade one. Moreover, English and Urdu languages have been implemented according to the ELP, but no local languages (such as Punjabi/ Saraiki) have been taught in the province of Punjab. This stringent approach of the Government of Punjab in fact is a classic example of the situations where local elites (local colonizers, or the heirs of the colonizers) parrot the language of the Western colonizer more rigorously than the Western colonizer whether to prove their faithfulness to their masters or to become an embodiment of the colonization of the mind. Minh-ha (1989) beautifully captures this idea, "the powerless have learned to parrot the language of the powerful. It all depends on where you stand and on which side the scale is weighted" (p. 58).

Unity and quality of the educational system were used as slogans to win the public opinion for ELP but the implementation of ELP in fact challenges both of these very slogans. First, there is need for an in-depth exploration of the question of quality of language instruction in these public schools under ELP. According to my personal

experience of being a student, a teacher, and a teacher trainer in the schools of Punjab province, and also observing closely my nephews' and nieces' schooling experiences, I can tell with certainty that many teachers in the public schools of Punjab cannot understand the text books written in English. Given below is an extract from the British Council's (2013) report, which also testifies to that fact:

> Punjab's teachers are currently illequipped to deliver effective English medium lessons to their pupils. According to the Aptis tests we conducted, most of the province's primary and middle school teachers – in both public and private sectors - have no measurable standard of functional English language ability, and are unable to understand and use familiar everyday expressions and simple phrases. Of those teachers who do possess some knowledge of English, very few scored above beginners' level.
> Perhaps as a consequence of this weakness, English is used infrequently in class, even in English language lessons. (British Council, 2013, p. 28)

By "no measureable standard functional English language ability," this document means that the teachers' English proficiency was below A1 level. The explanation of A1 is given in this figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1A
Explanation of A1

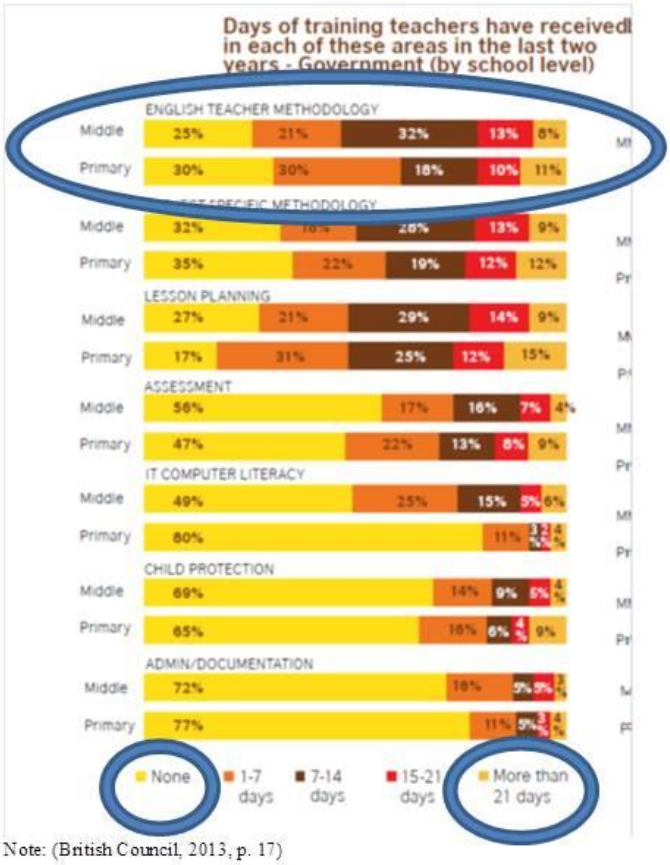
Basi	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

13 Council of Europe (2001) Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (p. 24)

Knowing that the teachers were not linguistically or pedagogically ready to teach English, the Government of Punjab in collaboration with the British Council launched teacher training workshops for a selected group of teachers from selected schools. The big blue circle in the graph given below highlights that only 8% of teachers (most of whom fall

below measurable functional proficiency in the English language) received more than 21 days of training, 25% of teachers were given less than seven days of training, 32% of teachers received seven to14 days of training, while only 13% of teachers were given training for 15-21 days in English language teaching methodology. Furthermore, this training was inconsistent, “a large minority of teachers having had a lot of training and an almost equally large number having received none” (British Council, 2003, p. 21).

Figure 5.1
Duration and Percentage of the Teachers who Received English Teaching Methodology Training



Note: (British Council, 2013, p. 17)

This training was not adequate to enhance the linguistic and pedagogical aspects of the teachers, and a large number of teachers were not yet able to read the textbooks that they were supposed to teach the students. In order to overcome this deficiency, the British Council suggested controlled lesson plans. However, it is explicit from the quotation above that up to 57% of teachers were not able to understand the lesson plans and guide books being handed over to them:

> Under the Punjab Schools Reform Roadmap, lesson plans in the form of Teachers' Guides were developed by DSD for maths, English and science for Grades 1-5. Every primary teacher in Punjab received the Teachers' Guides, with 180,000 teachers trained to use them. Such a measure tallies with the McKinsey finding that schools that have made the journey from poor to fair have controlled teaching and learning processes tightly from the centre, and the number of teachers using the lesson plans has risen sharply, from 17% to 56% between September and October 2012. Most of Punjab's teachers do not yet have the language skills to understand lesson plans designed for English medium instruction. (British Council, 2013, p. 30)

The evidence this British Council report provides regarding teacher preparedness for teaching in the English language (both pre and post-training) is concerning at multiple levels. First, a large number of teachers cannot comprehend the textbooks and the supporting materials; second, teachers do not have any autonomy because the controlled lesson plans have been provided. This second point raises serious questions about the quality of the teaching and learning processes. Since teachers do not have adequate linguistic and pedagogical skills to provide students with the required support in English medium of instruction, students need to heavily rely upon educational support from home.

Most students in public schools cannot afford home tutoring for extra help outside of school, and their parents are not literate enough in English to teach their children. Compared with these public school students are the students in non-elite or elite English

medium schools whose teachers have received language and pedagogical training in English-speaking countries. As a long term consequence of the implementation of ELP, all Pakistani students would be considered to have graduated in the same medium of instruction, hence would be supposed to have roughly similar proficiency in the English language. Upon entering the higher education system, they all will be treated the same way and will be offered the same standardized syllabi and exams built on wrong assumptions about their proficiency in the medium of instruction. Therefore, those coming from public schools or so-called English medium schools will again be at a serious disadvantage. Hence, based on the false suppositions about the unified medium of instruction, this fake label of unity will hide under it the stark inequalities in the proficiencies (and consequent issues related to academic achievement) and thus will make these inequalities hard to be diagnosed and treated.

Moreover, this decision of giving provinces the autonomy to choose their own medium of instruction in fact questions and challenges the argument around a unified educational system. The argument was made that different mediums of instruction are the root cause of the socio-economic stratification in Pakistan; therefore, there should be a unified medium of instruction across Pakistan (which is a concept borrowed from the European model of the Bologna Declaration which emphasizes a unified educational system in Europe). The concern, however, is that this European concept of unity through educational coherence to foster student mobility across Europe is problematic when applied in the context of Pakistan. In the case of this new policy, where all the provinces are independent in choosing their own medium of instruction, Pakistan will have at least four

mediums of instruction because there are four provinces in Pakistan. In the case of student mobility across provinces, when these students get together for higher education, there will again be a problem of a representative medium of instruction. In additions English has become the medium of instruction and was ordered in the "shortest possible time" (Extract 4.9, line 4); and Urdu is taught as one subject but no regional language (such as Punjabi/ Saraiki in the case of the Punjab province) is being taught from grade one in the Punjab province. The worry is that English, and to some extent Urdu, will be implemented as the medium of instruction whereas the regional/local languages will continue to be marginalized, excluded, and under-valued.

It is not certain that giving provincial autonomy for choosing the medium of instruction was a poor decision. Rather, what is certain is that 1) Provinces are not autonomous in reality. They are obliged to follow whatever international donor agencies choose for them; 2) Using the argument of a unified educational system in order to promote the English Language Policy is a weak argument and is equivalent to befooling the people of Pakistan because this English Language Policy does not cure those inequalities caused by the medium of instruction but rather deepens them. Although the current NEP 2009 aims to reduce the divides within academia as well as society, through over-emphasis on English, the language used in the policy text reproduces and further strengthens those divides. There is a serious need for an in-depth investigation of (un)intended and long as well as short term consequences of policy.

Although the Bologna Declaration addresses higher education only, it is a fact that no HE system exists independently of K-12. Therefore, in order to synchronize HE and

pre-HE, countries like Pakistan have to make adjustments in their K-12 educational system. Analysis of extract 5.2 revealed that international competition in Pakistan has been entextualized as competition through the English language. In order to compete and develop at the international level, competence in the English language is necessary. Since English is the mother tongue of less than 1% of Pakistanis and before the implementation of ELP less than 20% of students had English as the medium of instruction in K-10, the majority have problems with English medium of instruction at the higher education level. In order to facilitate compatibility with English medium of instruction at the HE level, an English language policy right from grade one has been introduced. Therefore, it cannot be said that the Bologna Declaration is limited to the realm of HE only, but rather countries like Pakistan have to re-vamp their entire educational system to prepare individuals for competition through HE and the internationalization of HE. For example, the British Council asks for re-vamping the teacher education programs in order to train teachers with better English language proficiency and English language teaching skills: "Pre-service teachers are a key audience for training programmes. English medium instruction should be incorporated into pre-service training for English, mathematics and sciences teachers, and should also become part of the testing procedure for trainee teachers" (British Council, 2013, p. 34). Thus, in the Pakistani context, the call for competition through HE is not restricted to HE only, but rather it means Englishization at all levels of education including K-10, teacher training and professional programs, and HE.

With the perspective of international education reform, one can make direct connections between the Bologna Declaration and NEP 2009 of Pakistan; however, stark

differences do exist. For example, HE in Europe has been used to increase the unity and coherence within Europe, which will be used to accelerate competition with the rest of the world. In contrast, under the pressure of the wave of competition with the global world through HE, NEP 2009 implemented English as a medium of instruction, which further strengthens the socio-economic divides present within Pakistani society. Hence, although NEP 2009 emphasizes the need for a unified educational system, in a real sense the new English language policy works to the disadvantage of the principle of unity.

Moreover, HE in the Bologna Declaration has been used as a tool to promote European civilization, which is, by extension, used as a means to attract more students towards Europe, hence winning the competition of student mobility towards the West. In contrast, NEP 2009 in Pakistan pushes back the local languages and does not value the local cultures but rather sees local cultures as a hurdle that can cause challenges to compete internationally: "The challenge is that a child is able to carry forward the cultural assets and be at the same time able to compete nationally and internationally" (line 6). By promoting English only for competition through HE, NEP 2009 is ranking Pakistani languages and cultures in a subordinate position to the colonial language English. In fact, NEP 2009 portrays Pakistan as a perfect role model of subordination to the neocolonial agendas.

The aim of the Bologna Declaration is a united and more powerful Europe to compete for money, prestige, influence, students, and power from around the world. This aim seems to be working successfully in Pakistan, because Pakistan is supporting European education and language over the prestige and influence of its local cultures, languages,

educational systems and people. According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), St. Lucia is another such example, in which the influence of Western-based educational models, which emphasized global competitiveness at the expense of other capitals "such as social and cultural capitals" (p. 113) have resulted in the increasing influence of US popular culture. Many other countries in the world keep English as the pre-dominant medium of instruction officially (Naz-Rassool, 2007). Polynesia, Melanesia, and Fiji are some examples many of these countries in the world have reduced the age limit to start English education. Korea has reduced the age limit from 12 to nine years, and China has lowered it from 11 to nine (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), whereas Pakistan introduces English at the pre-school level. There is a clear policy trend towards lowering the age of English instruction around the world, as well as an increase in the number of courses for which English is the medium of instruction, particularly, in science, mathematics, technology and finance.

Competition through English: Perspectives of Pakistani Policy Stakeholders

The Discourse of English hegemony is not limited to the official NEP text, but rather it penetrates into other levels of policy implementation and interpretation as well. In this section of this chapter, I analyze the interviews of a policymaker at the provincial level in the Province of Punjab, a teacher in HE institute of Pakistan, and a recent graduate from HE in Pakistan. The purpose of these analyses is to understand the entextualization of the concept of competition through HE in the perceptions of the local actors in Pakistan. I am intentionally withholding detailed information about him, his position and role, in order to protect the anonymity of this high level government official who is more vulnerable to scrutiny than the general public.

I conducted the interview with a policymaker at the Punjab province level in July of 2014. This interview was conducted within the office of the interviewee during a routine day, and our interview was temporarily interrupted a few times because the interviewee was also accommodating some of his visiting staff members' queries and eating his lunch during the interview. A few times during the interview, I interrupted his responses for some clarification questions because I wanted my interview notes to be nearly perfect to be sure I fully understood. The interviewee was very cooperative, and he would repeat his statement or make clarifications whenever asked. This extract (5.4) that I have quoted here was the beginning of our interview. Although my participant was very open, and very willing for this interview, he was reluctant about audio-recording because the high level government officials are more vulnerable if identified. This is one more reason that this is the only extract from his interview analyzed for this dissertation. He himself offered me the option for note taking; his slow pace of speaking made note taking very convenient for me. I relate his slow pace of speaking to three factors: 1) I observed that generally he spoke with a slower pace with everyone who came to visit him during my stay in his office; 2) His pace was slow probably because he is not a native speaker of English but chose to converse with me in English only; and 3) He was considerate about me taking notes and not audio-recording. Since he spoke with me in English all this time, the extract below is exactly as it occurred. The discussion in this interview was around NEP 2009's English language policy and the Government of Punjab's implementation of this policy in the province of Punjab.

Extract 5.4, Policymaker and Bureaucrat, Lahore, Pakistan. (Summer, 2014)

1 S Sir, I was wondering if ….so my question is, why shift from Urdu to English medium

2 of instruction was required and what are challenges in this policy decision?
3 PM Shift from Urdu to English medium was required and essential…because ... all the
4 knowledge of science particularly science and maths.and other subjects in general is in
5 English. If you want to encourage your students through internet…that is English…it
6 is becoming increasingly difficult to shift from Urdu to English. If you have to
7 compete internationally, there is no second opinion on it. All the educationists of the
8 country agreed to it.

These first two lines of this extract question the need of the English policy in Punjab province which makes my linguistic bias explicit. The policymakers' very quick answer and selection of the words "required and essential" (line 3) adds significance to the need for this ELP in Pakistan according to his perception. His answer opens with an emphasis on the absolute need of the shift toward ELP (line 3) and closes with a declaration of unanimous consensus on the need of English for international competition (lines 6-8). The lexical structures of this answer also resonates with the tone of NEP 2009 and hence illuminates how the policymaker conditions the preparation for international competition with competence in the English language. In addition to this inherent and implicit conditioning, two of the three sentences in this answer are conditional (lines 5-6) and hence start with *if*. The first of these two sentences conditions student motivation through IT with English competence as if students can be motivated through information technology only if they have English language competence. Does that mean that the students who are not proficient in the English language are not motivated and would not benefit from information technology? If the answer is yes, it is a deficit approach towards proficiency in other languages and the ability of non-Anglophonic languages to be used for the IT field.

In addition to the grammatical structure, the packing of clauses is also indicative of the power of ELP in the perspective of my interlocutor. The first clause that ends with "required and essential" (line 3) is an independent clause, which is connected with another

independent clause through the coordinating conjunction "because" (line 3). Gee's (2011) "the integration tool" (p. 61) helps us ask how these clauses are packaged into sentences and what argument is being built through this packaging. The connection of the two independent clauses within one sentence establishes that: both these sentences are carrying significant information; and although the clause after the coordinating conjunction—"because… all the knowledge of science particularly science n maths...and other subjects in general is in English" (lines 3-5)—is supporting the argument made in the first clause, this supporting detail is significant enough that it can exist as a standalone sentence. Thus, by the use of two independent clauses, the speaker has established the authority of his perception about the need for ELP.

The very definitive and inflexible tone of the policymaker also presents ELP as something unavoidable and the ultimate solution. The use of phrases like "required and essential" (line 3), "have to" (line 6), and "there is no second opinion on it" (line 7) make it very emphatic. The use of the word "required" (line 3) marks that ELP is not a superfluous or unnecessary addition but actually was highly needed. The word "essential" (line 3) has a connotation of unavoidable. Had he used words like *wanted* and *important* instead of "required and essential" (line 3), the intensity of the need for ELP would have dropped significantly. The phrase "there is no second opinion on it" (line 7) and "All the educationists of the country agreed to it" (line 8) reveal policymakers' total submission to the hegemony of English. In addition, in order to authenticate his point of view more rigorously, he uses his agency to speak on behalf of the educationists. This reference to the educationists earns him greater legitimacy for unanimous subordination to the English

language and establishes that: the educationists were invited in the process of ELP formation; and not just policymakers but also the educations have the same view point about the hegemony of colonial language. The use of "have to" (instead of a less emphatic phrase such as *want to*) with "compete internationally" (lines 6-7) suggests the greater pressure of international competition and engagement in it.

Whether it is this pressure of international competition, total subordination to the English language, or lack of confidence in the local languages, my interviewer totally overlooks any kind of role that the local and national languages of Pakistan can play in competition through HE. By complete reliance only on English, he totally excludes the non-Anglophonic languages in Pakistan from this Discourse of competition through HE and re-affirms the role assignment and linguistic hierarchy that we observed in NEP 2009's extracts 5.2 and 5.3 (English for HE competition, Urdu for cohesion and integration at the national level, and local languages just as the markers of cultural diversity). This can also be interpreted as the international Discourse of international competition has been used to further marginalize the national and local languages of Pakistan, and the historical conversation about replacing English with Urdu medium of instruction has been totally altered. The utterance "it is becoming increasingly difficult to shift from Urdu to English" (lines 5-6) refers to the *shift away from Urdu* attitude, which has been confirmed by the NEP 2009's policy actions that I have analyzed in the section above.

This perception of a policymaker with total approval of the hegemony of English and a lack of trust in the local and national languages is not exclusive to him but rather is pervasive across other layers of policy interpretation in Pakistan. Given below is an extract

(5.5) from writings of a recent graduate from a HE institute of Pakistan. I have known her since she was in the first semester of her Master's program. She comes from a middle class family and attended an English-medium private school in the city of Lahore. She completed her Master's degree in the field of English teaching and linguistics. After completing her degree, she got married and became a housewife. During my last conversation with her, she was planning to go abroad for higher education. I conducted this audio interview with her over Skype, and we switched between languages very frequently. This extract is in fact the opening episode of our interview and the very first question that I asked her. The right hand column presents the translation into English while the left hand column offers the bilingual communication (Urdu and English) as it occurred.

Extract 5.5, Zubaida, (Summer, 2012)

		Original	English
1	Sadaf	Achaa…Zubaida, kuch thora sa… is	Well, Zubaida let us talk about this a bit…
2		barei mein baat kartei hein… English	English definitely is not our first language
3		definitely hamari first language to nahi	right?=
4		hei naan?=	
5	Zubaida	=Yes, ma'am exactly	=Yes, ma'am exactly
6	Sadaf	To kya. kya khayal hei English kei barei	So, what. What do you think about English?=
7		mein?=	
8	Zubaida	=aa. *actually. personally*.	=aa. Actually. Personally
9		agar deikha jai to.	if it is considered.
10		agar yei hoti **hamari** first language	if it were our first language
11		to most probably	then most. Probably
12		**hamein itnei zyada confusions**	we would not have as many confusions and
13		**problems** na hotei	problems
14		jo **hamein** abhi. *eik international.*	that we have now. At *international* [level]
15		jo. jisei kehtei hein naan.	that. what is called
16		jo **first world** hei uskei saath compete	in competing with. the first world.
17		karnei mein	we <<face so much problem>>.
18		hamein **bohat** zayada <<problem hoti	
19		hei.	
20			

Her response in line eight opens with her struggle in choosing the voice (first person active or third person passive). She begins her response with "actually" (line 8) which

signals as if she is going to explore some objective facts but then she shifts to a more personal and subjective note by choosing the word "personally" (line 8). However, this personal stance is in contradiction to the next passive construction "agar deikha jai to" [*if it is considered*]. This passive, impersonal stance resonates with the objective nature of the word "actually". Starting from line ten she chooses first person plural "hamari" [*our*] (line 10) and "hamein" [*us*] (line 14) and sticks with this choice until the end of this response. This shift between personal and impersonal and then settling on a more inclusive and collective first person plural pronoun in fact reveals her struggle about using her agency to voice her personal perspective as an established fact. She wanted to authenticate it with the agreement of the others in the community/ society that would raise her perspective to the level of uncontested objective reality. Thus, starting from line ten, she speaks with a more authoritative tone voicing not just herself but everyone else in the Pakistani community as well.

Analysis of her code-switching between English and Urdu reveals that in her 50-word response, 14 English words/phrases are used. "Personally" (line 8), "actually" (line 8), "exactly" (line 5), "Yes", madam/ ma'am (line 5) are very frequently used words in Pakistani Urdu whereas, for the rest of the English words that she used, Urdu equivalents are available and are frequently used in every day conversation in Pakistan. In order to explore the reason for choice of English vocabulary over Urdu equivalents, such as competition for *muqabla*, first world for saff-e-awwal kei mulk (line 18), international for bein-al aqwami (line 16), confusions and problems for mushkilat; I re-read all the interview and Facebook chat transcripts from all the participants. It was revealed to me that all my

participants have used the English words *competition, developed country, first world, international, problems,* and *challenges* and none of them have used Urdu equivalents of these words, including the participants who code-switched minimally to English. Interestingly, there were utterances that were completely in Urdu but when it came to any of these words, an unconscious and automatic switch to English vocabulary was made. One interpretation could be that since policy rhetoric uses this vocabulary, which later penetrates to educational institutions, opinions of people have been framed and people borrow their language from the pervasive policy rhetoric. Supporting evidence to this argument is that each student participant –whether from rural background or urban, whether from very low SES or high SES—declared *English as the international language* and the *language of competition*. Irrespective of the fact of whether they can financially afford it, they all mentioned that they need English for higher education and to compete and communicate with the world when they go abroad for further education.

Another example of this resonating rhetoric is about the role and status of English which is present in this interview extract 5.5 as well. My first confirmation question to my participant in line number one reveals my bias about the English language not being our mother tongue. My hope was that in response she would say something about English's relationship with the colonizer. Although, her very quick and concise "Yes, ma'am exactly" (line 5) confirmed my stance about othering English; her response beginning with line eight brings an entirely different perspective, and this is where a very subtle tension between our perspectives started. She conditions English not being the first language with the presence of confusions and problems which develops the following equation:

English as first language =no problems and confusions.

She further explains what constitutes a problem and that is: “in competing with. first world we <<face so much problem>>” (lines 18-19). This develops another equation:

English as a first language=successful competition with the “first world” (line 16). Thus, her response “if it were our first language probably we would not have as many confusions and problems that we have now. at an international. What is called in competing with. first world. we <<face so much problem>>” (lines 10-19) confirms the role and the status of English that has been established in NEP 2009 and in the interview of the policymaker as *English being the language for international competition*.

The tension here is not about the status and power of the English language in Pakistan and its role in the international world. In fact, with the help of this extract (5.5), I assert that the European concept of competition through HE has been entextualized in Pakistan as competition through the English language. This entextualization has deeper psycho-socio impacts for the people of Pakistan. For example: (1) My participant perceives that there would be no problems if English were her first language which by extension means that she has problems because some other language that she and the other members of her society speak does not have ability to compete with the first world. (2) The competition with the world is so important that for its sake she is willing to compromise her linguistic identity and desires for English to be her first language. (3) Her response can also mean that the “first world” does not have problems because English is their first language and whatever (second, third, or fourth) world she belongs to is a problematic place. (4) She compares her world with the so-called “first-world” and accepts

the identity of her world as being lesser than the “first world”. This similar concern was present in many other participants’ interviews. For example, Ms. Malika, who teaches English in a private, degree-awarding fashion school, shared with me in one of our Skype interviews that she views English language teaching as a social service through which she wants to enable Pakistan to compete with the world (extract 5.6). It is more than a way of earning money for her.

Extract 5.6. Malika, Lahore (Summer 2014).

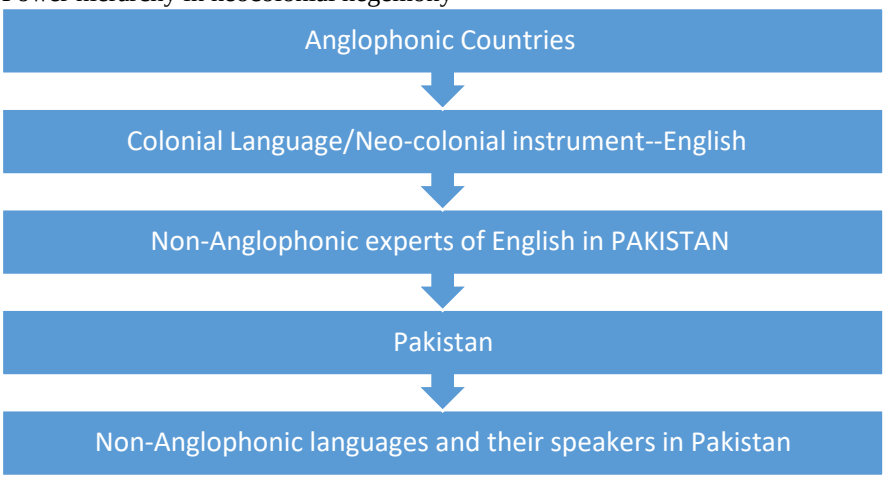
		Original	English
1	Malika:	To wahan bilkul English ki language ko	And there totally English language
2		aap samajh lein bilkul different andaz	You imagine that you are tackling it in a
3		sei tackle kar rahei hotei hein.	completely different style.
4		Aapka mulk qabil ho jai kei wo	Your country becomes able to that it can
5		communicate kar paei[	communicate[
6	Sadaf:	[Hm.hm=	[Hm. Hm=.
7	Malika:	[=Properly. Takei	[Properly. So international
8		international kei ooper jana hei ya xx	[level] if it has to go at Or xx there it should
9		wahan pei wo is waja sei na reh jai[	not fail because[
10	Sadaf:	[Hm.hm=.	[Hm. Hm
11	Malika:	[Kei wo zaban nahi hei jo	[That [it] does not have the
12		wo bol sakta	language that should be spoken.

This notion of competition through English has not just re-shaped the broader Discourse of HE but also lines 1-3 explain that in the case of my participant teacher, Ms. Malika, the purpose of language teaching, the role of the English language teacher, and the power of post-colonial countries have all been re-shaped. Since the power of the English language has been raised enormously, by extension, the power of the English teacher has also increased significantly. She imagines herself in the role of a person who can empower and save. Her job is to teach English to the students who are pursuing a Bachelor’s degree in fashion and design. But the way she projects this task, it is as if she is doing this service not just for the students but for the country itself. The first interpretation is that teaching English is such a noble and highly demanded cause that it is equivalent to serving the

country ("Your country becomes able to that it can communicate[…[Properly. So international [level]" (lines 4-7)). (I wonder if she would also consider it a service to the nation if she was teaching any non-Anglophonic Pakistani language such as Punjabi.)

She is also projecting students' inability to communicate in English as the inability of the country of Pakistan. By putting the country in the subject position, she personifies the country as a deficit learner characterized with the inability to learn. Hence, she places Pakistan at a disempowered position where it has to be helped to rise to the level of other countries who communicate in the colonial language. A power hierarchy is explicit here according to which Pakistan is a country that is being helped by a non-Anglophonic English language expert in developing the ability to communicate in English which by extension will save Pakistan from failure. This establishes that Pakistan's success is conditioned with the proper communication in the English language: "So if it has to go at international [level] Or xx there it should not fail because[….[That [it] does not have the language that should be spoken" (lines 7-12). Thus, in the community of practice of the English-speaking world, Pakistan's position is at risk because of the inability to speak English. Therefore, in the competition of the countries of the world, the criterion of success, as she has defined it, is English language proficiency and not any other qualities/ strengths of the nations. Hence, she places the ability to speak in English at the top of all other capabilities a nation might have. Thus, the most empowered are the Anglophonic countries and their language—English, and then by virtue of knowing the English language, the non-Anglophonic experts in the English language, and lastly the independent country of Pakistan. The figure in extract 5.2 is a visual representation of this hierarchy.

Figure 5.2.
Power hierarchy in neocolonial hegemony



By applying Gee's (2011) "why this way and not that way tool" (p. 54) at line four:

"Your country becomes able to that it can communicate" [sic] (line 4)

I propose to replace the subject of the sentence, i.e. "country" (line 4), with the word *student*:

Your student becomes able to that s/he can communicate.

By replacing "country" with "student," I alter the power distribution. English is still at the dominant position but instead of the country being at the deficit, subordinate position, it is now the students. Enabling/equipping students to successfully communicate in the target language might sound more like a routine practice in language classrooms compared to declaring a country being in danger of failure because it cannot communicate in the Anglophonic language. Hence by extension, this saves the position of Pakistan from this deficit perspective and also positions the teacher of the colonial language at equal level to the teachers of the rest of the 56 languages of Pakistan.

Her utterance “Your country becomes able to that it can communicate” (lines 4-5) was interrupted by my “Hm. Hm=” (line 6) which she continued in line 7 by adding “properly” to “communicate” (line 7). This infers that not just communicating but communicating properly is important. The definition of “communicate properly” (line 7) has been provided in lines 11 and 12. That is, communication is not proper and hence can cause failure if “that [it] does not have the language that should be spoken” (lines 11-12). By this, Ms. Malika means that communication in a non-Anglophonic language is not proper communication.

This section shows that my participants—policymakers, teachers, and HE graduates—exhibit a lack of trust in their mother tongue and the local and national language. Hence, they demonstrate lack of satisfaction with the current linguistic membership. In contrast, they all reveal over-dependence on the English language for competition in the world, HE, and social prestige. In addition, they compare their country with the other countries of the world based on the linguistic membership. Since Pakistan is not an Anglophonic country, they position Pakistan and the people of Pakistan at a position of inherent deficit compared to the other English speaking countries. Hence, it establishes that the power of a neocolonial language is greater than an independent country. The colonized mind creates a sense of inferiority and an uncritical approach to accepting the dominance of the neocolonial master. Hence, the colonized mind returns to the neocolonial master for support, despite knowing that we are already under the oppression of the neocolonial machinery.

From Have More to Be More

From Lord Macaulay's infamous minutes in February, 1835, which declared English to be the medium of instruction in schooling and the language of the court until the independence of Pakistan in August, 1947, all the way to Pakistan's English Language Policy 2009; there is only a "surface transformation" and a new way "of reorganizing and reproducing the older hierarchies" (Apple, 1995, p. xii). This chapter's analysis provides further support for the notion that neocolonialism is just an extension of colonialism with a more sophisticated, tacit, and disciplined mechanism for not only colonizing the people but also the minds of the people (Tikly, 2009), or what Apple (1995) calls the "project of changing our common sense" (p. xvi). In colonial rule, ELP did not need any legitimation for its implication except for a directive from the colonizer. Since Pakistan is now in a *post*-colonial era, and is considered *in*dependent, the dominance of ELP needs some legitimation, which has been sought through different channels, and "competition through HE" is one of them. For example, ELP 2009 establishes English as the language of global competition and HE. The policymakers also confirm that English is the language of science and technology and commerce worldwide. Hence, ELP 2009 formally, officially, and explicitly becomes the connection between colonial rule and neocolonial because "power . . . . never dies out: tracked, pursued, wornout, or driven away here, it will always reappear there" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 52).

In addition, this policy analysis includes not just the decoding of texts, but also the contexts in which the policy is imbedded and the subsequent context constructed by the policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Thus, by decoding the text of these interview and policy

documents, I have briefly elaborated on the European context of global competition in which ELP is embedded, revealed the entextualization of *competition through HE* into *competition through English language* as a subsequent context constructed by ELP, and showed the hegemony of English in Pakistan. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) are concerned about the effects of such contexts on the broader social-practices, to which I include psycho-social aspects as well. Therefore, my concern here is not about the empowerment of the English language, but rather about the consequent sense of inferiority, lack of trust in national and regional languages, and the threat to the linguistic membership and identity of the speakers of local and national languages that is posed by the hegemony of English. It is through education that one develops the sense of self-worth, BUT if educational Discourse challenges the students' sense of self-worth by officially excluding and marginalizing their languages and cultures, which by extension takes away the national pride from students, encourages them to feel inferior about and ultimately detached from their linguistic membership and culture, I strongly believe that this is a matter of "educational justice" and "linguistic human rights" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006, p. 277).

While acknowledging the significance of the social, political, cultural, and psychological dynamics of Englishization through competition in HE, I do not want to shy away from the economic implications that ELP can cause to a Pakistani economy already in crisis. The need for ELP in NEP 2009 has been supported with the argument for the need of unity in the educational and, by extension, socio-economic systems of Pakistan. However, we have seen in the analysis sections that this deceptive unity through ELP will not reduce the existing splits, only hide them. My major concern is about the hidden

inequality that is hard to diagnose and eradicate. According to Apple (1995), "The ultimate effects of such educational [de]'reforms' will be to create a form of educational apartheid that will be disastrous to the children of the poor and disenfranchised" (p. xxi).

Moreover, I want to clarify that this analysis is not an anti-English or an anti-West movement. References to neocolonial global funding agencies and the global hegemony of English were unavoidable, although intentional. This is because issues of authority are central in policy interpretation and analysis and hence require an investigation of the source of the authority and how it is further exercised and allocated (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Therefore, the role of neocolonial funding agencies, Western educational reforms, and the hegemony of English became central to where the power of ELP comes from and how it further re-enforces the power of the colonial language, sometimes called the "global lingua-franca". This dominance of English is neither explicit nor exclusive to the global south only. As a result of the Bologna Process, many European countries seem to face this challenge:

> In recent years, European higher education has been faced with mounting challenges from abroad. Transnational education delivered in English by foreign/overseas providers through branch campuses, franchising, or by electronic means has grown rapidly in many European countries; a whole new sector of higher education is emerging alongside traditional, national, state-regulated systems, but until now it has been largely ignored by governments as well as universities in Europe. (Haug & Tauch, 2001, p. 12)

Finally, although "policies are a product of various compromises" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 12), it is essential to be aware of what is being compromised, why, and for whom. In addition, we need to be consciously aware of the price of that compromise and whether we are pledging it or someone else is taking the liberty to bind us into the

commitments that probably do not make sense to more than half of the nation, and the majority of the rest would not agree to them. For example, in the case of ELP, it would be essential to know what we are compromising in the pursuit of business and competition through HE. My data analysis does not indicate the presence of this awareness either in the policy document or in the interviews of the participants. Instead, my data analysis reveals that the policymakers in Pakistan trusted the professional advice of the representatives from the neocolonial agencies, but not the recommendations from the national language authority in Pakistan. I am neither advocating for an educational policy that operates in isolation from the world in ways that neglect major trends and the requirements of global competition, nor for NOT promoting Pakistan's status in the world. What I want to emphasize through this work is the need to be more critical and ask ourselves some basic questions. For example, "who is the 'we' who will be helped" (Apple, 1995, p. xvi) by this neocolonial policy? Pakistani policymakers and educators need to think critically about whether Pakistan and the people of Pakistan are a part of this "we". What my data reveals is that through blindly following the global policies, we are officially perpetuating dependence on the English language—colonization of the mind—into the minds of Pakistani people. In this cyclical process, this colonization of the mind is in turn empowering the colonizer economically, politically, academically, linguistically, and ideologically.

In the wave of global competition and in the midst of this whirlwind of internationalization through Englishization, educators and students must think critically and creatively of ways to use this neocolonial hegemonic English language for our own

benefit. My data analysis for this chapter reveals the absence of an agentive and ideological approach in the overall policy rhetoric in Pakistan; instead, the relationship of my participants with the English language is for more materialist and tangible purposes. Our relationship with the English language should not just be limited to the consumeristic approach, but rather we need to evaluate it on ideological, political, and agentive grounds. We should ask "How might English be a language that allows us to be more, rather than just to have more?" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 220). We the post-colonial nations must take charge of determining who we are and who we want to be; we cannot do so unless we change our priority from having and taking to becoming.

Chapter 6
Internationalization, Englishization and Quality of HE

> *Goal 2*
> *Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good* ***quality****.* (UNESCO, 2000)

Introduction

This chapter explores the meaning and purpose of the word *quality* in the West-based educational reform and policy documents such as Education for All (EFA). I also analyze the entextualization and power of this concept in NEP 2009 and the Punjab Educational Reform, and the bilateral relation of power between the English language and the word quality. In addition, I analyze the way local actors make sense of quality education through English. Furthermore, this chapter delves into an investigation of the ways in which this Western enfranchised, very abstract concept of quality (re)shapes, informs, and disrupts other basic concepts/criterion such as education, educated, quality teaching, and teacher. Based on my analysis I elaborate on where this concept of quality education through English leads to. In other words, this chapter explores ways in which language is used to determine the quality, authenticity, and legitimacy of education. Doing so helps answer research question one: (1) In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?

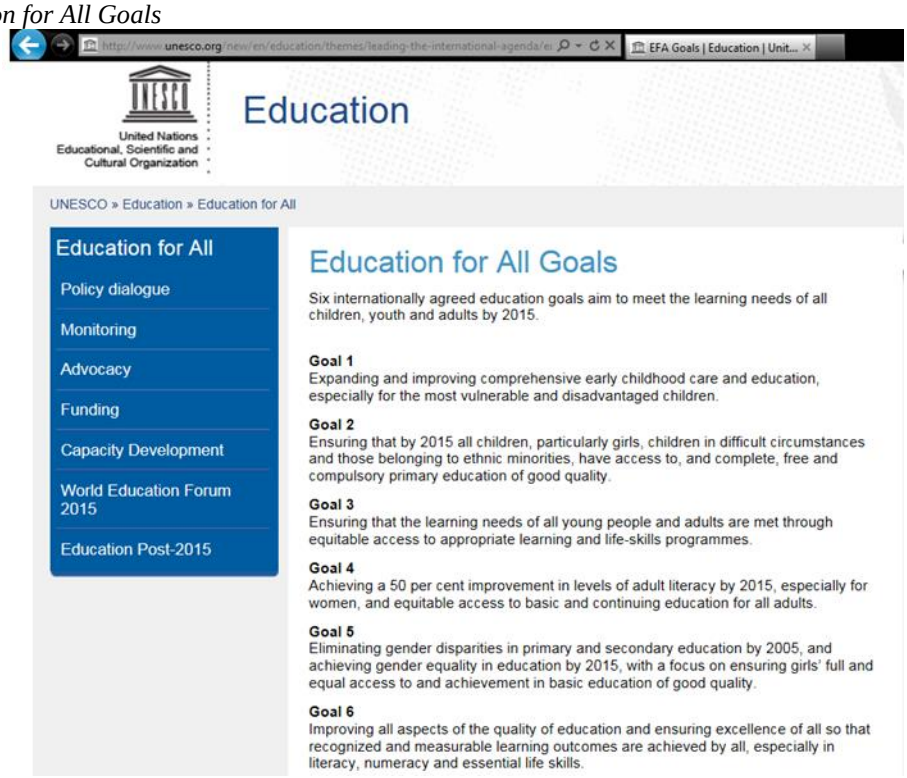
Employing the hybrid of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis which I name as multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA), this

chapter analyzes extracts from EFA documents (1990, 2005), NEP 2009, Punjab Educational Reform Roadmap, directives of the Government of Punjab being issued to the schools, and interviews with a policymaker and a HE recent graduate. This chapter is comprised of five sections. The first section elaborates the evolution of the concept *Evolution of Quality Education=English Medium of Instruction (MOI) in EFA Documents*. This section has been divided into two sub-sections: "EFA 1990" and "EFA 2005". The second section, "Quality of Education through English MOI and the Case of Pakistan", analyzes the entextualization of this concept in NEP 2009 and Punjab province's School Reform Roadmap. The third section, "Quality Education through English Medium of Instruction & the Power Re-distribution", examines the (re)distribution of power and the hierarchies in Pakistani society that emerge under ELP. The fourth section, "English Language Policy and the Local Perspectives", analyzes the perceptions of Pakistani policy stakeholders about English Language Policy. The fifth section, "From Independence to in-Dependence", presents discussion and implications.

Evolution of Quality Education=English Medium of Instruction in EFA Documents

Two of the six EFA goals (2 & 5) (UNESCO, n.d.) heavily emphasize the mandate of "quality" education for all. Goal two emphasizes "free and compulsory primary education of quality" (Figure 6.1) for each child while goal five advocates "women's full access to and achievement in basic education of good quality" (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1
Education for All Goals



Note. UNESCO. (n.d.). *Education: Education for All Goals.* Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/efa-goals/

Based on the EFA mandate, countries in the world have been pressured to ensure quality in education. However, the intensity of pressure varies depending upon the way countries are positioned against these global reforms; for example, the global south faces greater pressure compared to the global north (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Countries have been monitored and ranked high or low, scrutinized, provided with or disenfranchised from the international education aid/loan program due to their high or low quality of education. According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), "in the area of education, the UNESCO headquarters in Paris collect data from each country to monitor its progress towards each of the goals, producing annual reports that are widely used to consider ways of moving

forward" (p. 147). As a consequence of this mounting pressure, especially the developing countries of the world have had to either incorporate significant alterations in their existing educational policies or suspend, and manufacture the brand new educational policies that are faithful to the EFA mandate. The countries who fail to fulfil the mandates of these neocolonial reform agencies risk their loans or aids coming from these agencies. The language used in Pakistan's NEP 2009 makes it evident that NEP 1998 was suspended because it did not reach the *equity, access, and quality* mandate of EFA. Thus, "quality" has been a major scrutinizing tool used by the neocolonial agencies, especially since the 1990's World Conference on Education for All. However, my document search reveals that despite all the significance built around the mandate of quality, the term quality was never very well defined until 2005. In the World Conference on Education for All's document, "Meeting Basic Learning Needs: A Vision for the 1990s" (UNESCO, 1990), four sets of indicators for improving quality were discussed but very vaguely. These indicators were: "student characteristics, educational inputs, educational processes, and educational out-puts and outcomes" (UNESCO, 1990, p. 49). Note that medium of instruction was not a part of these indicators but rather was an indicator of "increasing relevance" (UNESCO, 1990, p. 46).

Thus, an elaborated discussion and a comprehensive framework for what stands as *quality* education has been missing, and this weakness has been acknowledged in the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005, p. 28). The countries of the world have been monitored, scrutinized, and positioned high or low based on a quality mandate for 15 years—from 1990-2005—without any clear understanding of what quality means despite the repetition

of the phrase *the international standards of quality* in EFA documents. The theme of 2005's global monitoring report was quality in which a framework for evaluation of quality was given. Thus, this section argues that countries in the global educational reforms such as EFA have significant influence on the policy making of the developing countries. Developing countries in the world have been evaluated for their quality of education; however, there was no framework for quality education present until 2005. The section below explores the evolution of the term "quality education" by analyzing extracts from the background document for the World Conference on Education for All in 1990.

EFA 1990

The history of quality education=quality education through teaching in the English language tracks back to the World Conference on Education for All in 1990. The background document for this conference did not include medium of instruction as an indicator of the quality of education, but rather placed it as an indicator of relevance in education. However, a closer analysis of the ways in which this document attests to English as *the* medium of instruction informs our understanding regarding the historic bias of the EFA movement. Given below is a brief analysis of the extract from the background document for World Conference on Education for All.

Extract 6. 1

1 If **vocationalization and localization** of the curriculum are carried too far, the learners will not
2 have the skills necessary to adapt to the changes that are inevitable in all nations. The
3 curriculum should make appropriate use of local materials, local examples, local languages,
4 and local personnel to create a relevant and efficient learning experience; however, the core
5 content of the learning experience should focus on literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and
6 problem-solving—general skills and essential learning tools that are applicable across locations

7 and over time. Ultimately, of course, each society will have to decide for itself the appropriate
8 balance between local, immediate relevance and general, long-term relevance.
(UNESCO, 1990, p. 48-49)

Emphases on the local knowledges and languages have been referred to in this extract as "vocationalization and localization" (lines 1-2). This extract serves to delegitimize (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 112) an emphasis on local knowledges and languages in curriculum through developing an instrumental rationalization for the application of the English language as the medium of instruction. According to Van-Leeuwen (2008), "instrumental rationality legitimizes practices by reference to their goals, uses, and effects" (p. 13). In this case, the goal is to limit the localization in order to be able to "have the skills necessary to adapt to the changes that are inevitable in all nations" (line 2). The question of what "the skills necessary" (line 2) refers to has been addressed in lines six and seven as "general skills and essential learning tools that are applicable across locations," especially literacy and numeracy skills. However, there is no explanation of what "the changes that are inevitable in all nations" (line 2) are and whether the people in the country believe that those changes are inevitable.

The structure of the first sentence in this extract reveals the power struggle between the local and the so-called global language. I apply Gee's (2011) organization tool to unpack this structure. Lines two, three, and four allow the use of local languages in primary education in ways that are efficient, appropriate, and relevant. The use of "however" (line 4) at the end of this independent clause functions to: 1) oblique the power of this independent clause by marking that the information coming forward is contradictory and hence reduces the authenticity of the information presented in the first clause; and 2)

highlight the power struggle between the two clauses and by extension the information between them—the local languages and the *languages* "*applicable across locations and over time"* (lines 6-7).

Although this document does not name English as the prescribed medium of instruction, it constructs the choice of the medium of instruction in a way that local languages cannot be carried too far in terms of relevance in wider application and progression in post-primary education (lines 1-2); hence, they become irrelevant. In this context, lines four and five prescribe the relevant forms of literacy and numeracy, and they are the ones "that are applicable across locations and over time" (lines 6-7). There is an explicit deficit orientation towards the role of local languages and cultures and a lack of trust in the ability of the local languages to be used for higher studies and in the project of national and international development. Moreover, there is also explicit prescription in terms of what should be the "core content of the learning experience" (lines 4-5), which includes literacy and numeracy that are "applicable across locations and over time" (lines 6-7). This, by extension, discourages the teaching of literacy and numeracy skills in local languages and hence encourages teaching the literacy and numeracy skills in the so-called global language of English.

The last statement of the extract, "ultimately, of course, each society will have to decide for itself" (lines 7-8), on the surface sounds like a democratic approach as a result of which each country is free to make the best educational decisions for its people. However, this constructs a false autonomy for the countries because an across the board "appropriate balance" (lines 7-8) has already been prescribed in the previous sentence and,

that is, the local should not become the core/focus. It is said that choice is socially constructed, but in the case of neocolonial hegemony, choice is globally constructed and politically and economically imposed. When the prescribing authority is the international donor agency (that attests the application of local as a bad future perspective and promotes global lingua franca as the rational choice), the donation-receiving and developing countries' default decision is to say yes to what has been prescribed by their neocolonial masters.

Thus, EFA 1990 explicitly favors the application of English in post-primary education and emphasizes reduced focus of the uses of local knowledges and languages in post-primary education. No other substantial framework or definition of quality was offered by EFA until the year 2005; however, the pressure on the countries to improve their quality remained consistent. The section below closely analyzes an extract from this EFA global monitoring report (2005) in order to understand EFA's vision about the nature and role of medium of instruction in quality education. This section also conducts multimodal critical discourse analysis of the EFA's framework for quality. So doing helps us understand the entextualization of this framework on Pakistani NEP 2009's quality mandate.

EFA 2005

EFA's global monitoring report in 2005 was focused on quality. Multiple indicators that impact the quality of education have been discussed at length in this document, one of which is medium of instruction. This report declares that "in multilingual societies, the choice of language of instruction and language policy in schools

is critical for effective learning" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 160). The policy also emphasizes the need for teaching local vernaculars to the students and demands that "to be sustained, vernacular education must be successful in the eyes of communities and the educational establishment" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 157). This emphasis on the importance of preserving the status of the local languages sounds contradictory to the background document for EFA conference 1999 that I have analyzed in the section above. However, the acknowledgement of the emphasis on local languages has been delimited by a consistent reminder of the *balance* between local and global languages: "A careful balance also needs to be made between enabling people to use local languages in learning and providing access to global languages of communication through education" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 154). The extract, given below, has been taken from the same document in order to elaborate the meaning of *balance between local and global languages*:

Extract 6.2.

1 In the most successful models, the mother tongue is used in the early years of schooling so that children can
2 acquire and develop the literacy skills that enable fuller participation in learning activities (Benson, 2004). In a
3 growing number of countries, after four or five years (earlier in some cases) there is a transition to learning and
4 using the second or foreign language as the medium of instruction. In this way initial literacy is acquired more
5 easily, facilitating the acquisition of the language that will become the medium of instruction for the rest of the
6 school years"
(UNESCO, 2005, p. 156).

All three sentences in this extract given above carry in themselves an interesting contradiction where legitimation for two illegitimate functions has been sought. The contradiction is about the role and scope of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. The two illegitimate functions are: limiting the scope of the mother tongue indefinitely;

and promoting the so-called global language at the expense of the mother tongue. Through critical policy analysis, the section below elaborates these functions in detail.

In order to unpack this inherent contradiction within this extract, I consult Van-Leeuwen's (2008) legitimation framework. Sentence one opens by applying "role model authority" (p. 107) to establish the application of the mother tongue through the initial grades of schooling. This function has been legitimized by making a reference to "the most successful models" (line 1)—since the most successful models have opted for this approach, so should you if you want to become successful. However, the critical questions such as what is "success" and by whose criterion have been completely overlooked. Although this first sentence reads in support of *the mother tongue/local language as a medium of instruction approach*, the second sentence contradicts and limits this approach: "after four or five years (earlier in some cases) there is a transition to learning and using the second or foreign language as the medium of instruction" (lines 3-4). Since limiting the scope of the local languages in education is an illegitimate action in the eyes of local people as well as the proponents of linguistic human rights and hence carries a potential risk of resistance, "authority of conformity" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 109) has been used to legitimize this function. This kind of legitimation is sought to answer the question of why this should be done, and the answer is because "everybody else is [most people are] doing it, and so should you" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 109). The opening of the second sentence, "In a growing number of countries" (line 3), establishes that since most countries in the world are shifting away from mother-tongue in post-primary education, so should you.

The third sentence (lines 4-6) serves as a summative statement or resolution. The first resolution it reaches is that mother-tongue is the medium of instruction at the most until grade 5 and no later. Next it establishes that "medium of instruction for the rest of the school years" (5-6) is a second/foreign language. Third, it clarifies the reason to allow mother tongue to be the medium of instruction for the initial grades which is "facilitating the acquisition" (lines 5-6) of the colonial language. Elsewhere in the same document another reason for using mother tongues for initial literacy has been quoted as an economic reason: "it seems clear both from the technical literature and experience on the ground that initial first language instruction improves the quality of education cost-effectively, at best by building on" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 157). However, none of these reasons attest mother tongue to be the medium of instruction because of its ability to become the academic language, or the necessity of respecting and acknowledging students' linguistic and cultural identity. Instead, the status of the mother tongue has been delimited only to a supportive function for the promotion of the literacy of the colonial language. The figure given below visually represents how this extract also establishes an interesting contradiction in terms of time flexibility.

Figure 6.2
Timeline for Medium of Instruction Shift

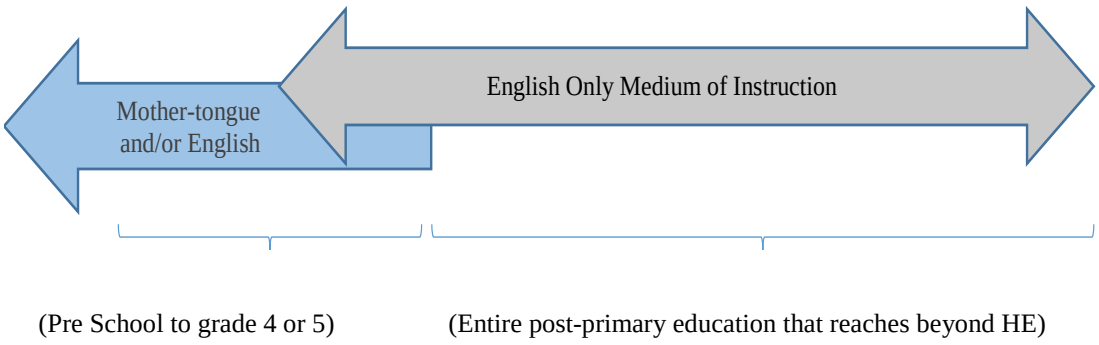


Figure 6.2 demonstrates that the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction has been restricted to grade five at the most; hence, it has been represented with only a one-sided arrow. In contrast, the second or foreign language (English) has been prescribed an unlimited period of time which has been represented in the graph through a double-sided arrow. Line three specifies that transitioning away from the mother tongue should be made after the first "four or five years (earlier in some cases)," however, there is no limit to how "early." Similarly, line six established the time limit for English language to be the medium of instruction in post-primary context and that is "the language that will become the medium of instruction for the rest of the school years." The rest of the school years do extend to doctoral or post-doctoral levels. Thus, there is special caution to specify the inflexibility and the time limit for which mother tongues are allowed to be the medium of instruction, whereas, there is indefinite limit for the second/ foreign language to be the medium of instruction.

This inflexibility calls into question the authenticity of the quality of education in multiple ways. Take, for example, the schools where teachers are not prepared to teach students in the English language after grade four or five. If teachers do not have the content or pedagogical competence to teach English in post-primary education and are forced to do it, it jeopardizes the entire teaching and learning experience, "for the individual, educational achievement may be constrained by the capacity to function in an alien language and academic culture" (Hughes, 2008, p. 1). If students are not yet ready to embrace English as the medium of instruction in post-primary education and probably need

a few more years to get ready for this transition, it does not only impact their learning achievement, but also their identity as learners. In the case of Pakistan, the directive to change the medium of instruction came but the text books were not yet published in English. Students had to wait for months and months before they could access the text books. There are countless ways in which this inflexibility can, in fact, deteriorate the quality of education; therefore, Hughes (2008) worries about this "Anglophonic asymmetry" and hence suggests that "where a non-native language is adopted for provision in a country, give opportunities of high quality first and second language support" (p. 16).

By close analysis of extracts from EFA 1990 and 2005, this section reveals that the multilingual "balance" that EFA suggests for countries is in fact seriously skewed. Hence, it restricts mother tongue education to grade four or even lower. In contrast, it allows unlimited freedom for English as a medium of instruction. This suggested *"balance"* of EFA has profound implications for the quality of education. The section above examined the medium of instruction dimension of quality education mandate in EFA over the history. The section below elaborates how this interpretation of quality education through English medium of instruction is translated into the national and provincial educational policies in Pakistan and its province Punjab. My focus in the sub-section below is more on content analysis and less on linguistic analysis.

Quality of Education through English MOI and the Case of Pakistan

Global pressure for quality education transcends the national boarders especially of developing postcolonial countries like Pakistan. The neocolonial educational development agencies become instruments that carry this pressure to the national levels. As mentioned

earlier in this dissertation, so-called universal educational reforms are being enforced through the support of multiple neocolonial agencies simultaneously working in the same country. For example, the British Council, USAID, World Bank, and DfID are some of the organizations working to ensure successful implementation of the EFA agenda in Pakistan. In its report, the British Council (2013) pressurizes Pakistan for the implementation of English medium of instruction in order to improve so-called quality of education in Pakistan: "In a highly competitive global economy, an emphasis on quality as well as quantity of education is essential, and with English the lingua franca of much of the world's business, quality of English instruction is particularly important" (p. 28). Such pressure informs the educational policies at national, provincial, local, and institutional levels in the developing countries. This, by extension, informs the perception of policy actors regarding basic concepts in and about education. (The question of whether this influence is one sided or bilateral is discussed in later chapters.) The following extract taken from National Education Policy 2009 provides us with the definition or the criterion for quality education:

> Extract 6.3
> The bulk of lower middle class to poor children study in the non-elite low quality private and public schools. Most of these schools fail to produce students who can compete for high end jobs to allow vertical social transition.
>
> 74. A number of factors lead to the differences that allow students of the elite schools to do better. The management, resources and teaching quality being the main ones. Most of these elite schools follow the Cambridge or London University O/A levels systems that have a different curriculum, assessment system and textbooks. A major bias of the job market for white collar jobs appears in the form of the candidate's proficiency in the English language. It is not easy to obtain a white collar job in either the public or private sectors without a minimum level proficiency in the English language. Most private and public schools do not have the capacity to develop the requisite proficiency levels in their students. English language also works as one of the sources for social stratification between elite and non-elite. Combined with employment opportunities associated with proficiency of the English language the social attitudes have generated an across the board demand for learning English language in the country.
>
> (NEP, 2009, p. 27).

I interpret from this extract that education is called low-quality education when it is not according to a Western/European model(s); and it fails to develop in the students a certain level of English proficiency which they can use to secure good jobs. In contrast, quality education follows the Western/European educational model(s) and in particular develops in students English language proficiency. Since the non-elite public and private schools fail to reach specifically this criterion, they are providing low-quality education. Hence, there is an urgent need to enhance the quality of education through English medium of instruction. NEP 2009 enforces the immediate implementation of ELP in the shortest possible time. (Detailed analysis of ELP has been given in Chapter Five of this dissertation).

The Road Map of the Provincial Educational Reform for the province of Punjab also justifies the implementation of English language policy by situating it under the mandate of quality education. The major partners in education reform in Punjab province were the provincial government and the donors, including DfID (United Kingdom's Governmental Department for International Development, responsible for administering overseas aid) and the World Bank. According to the British Council:

> As the Government of Punjab moved towards a policy of English Medium of Instruction in schools, so the British Council's Punjab Education and English Language Initiative (PEELI) puts English at the heart of the education system in Punjab, Pakistan.
>
> PEELI aims to ensure that by 2018, all children (~15,000,000) enrolled in schools across Punjab will be receiving high quality English language teaching and reach internationally comparable attainment levels for the learning of English. (British Council, 2013)

Given below is a screenshot of the homepage of the Government of Punjab's School Education Department's website. I scrolled towards the middle of the page that publicizes the most significant initiatives being taken by the School Education Department under the Government of Punjab. My focus here is the left hand corner of this screenshot that announces the shift of schools from Urdu medium of instruction to the English medium of instruction.

Figure 6.3
Notification of the Conversion of All Schools from Urdu to English Medium

Note. Government of the Punjab. (2011). School Education Department. Retrieved from schools.punjab.gov.pk

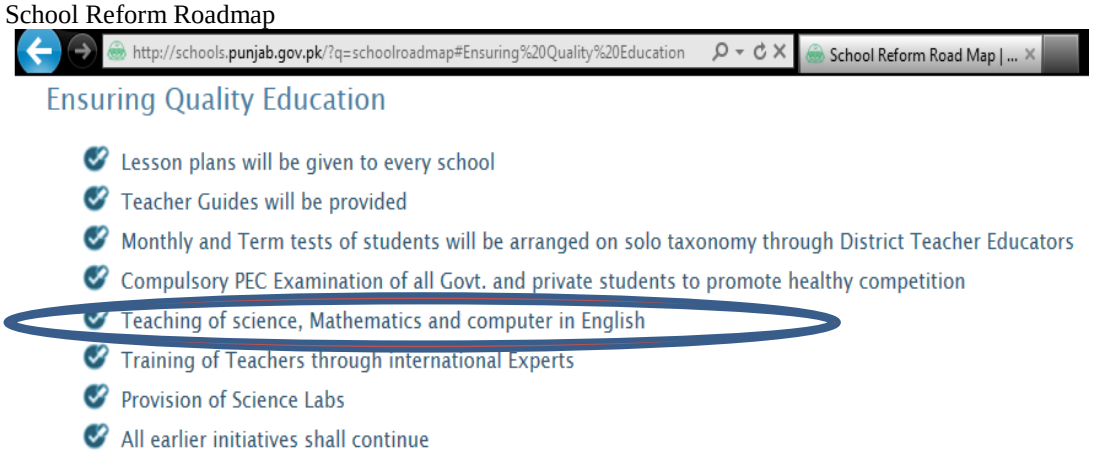
In order to grasp more clarity, I opened the link for "School Reforms Road Map" which is the first bullet point on the right hand side of the screenshot. This website enlists eleven milestones under the "School Reform Road Map," and "Ensuring Quality Education" is one of them.

Figure 6.4
School Reform Roadmap

Note. Government of the Punjab. (2011). School Education Department: School Reform Roadmap. Retrieved from http://schools.punjab.gov.pk/?q=schoolroadmap

The link for "Ensuring Quality Education" enlists teaching of mathematics, sciences, and computer through English medium of instruction as one of the eight ways to achieve quality in education. Below (Figure 6.5) is a snapshot of the link:

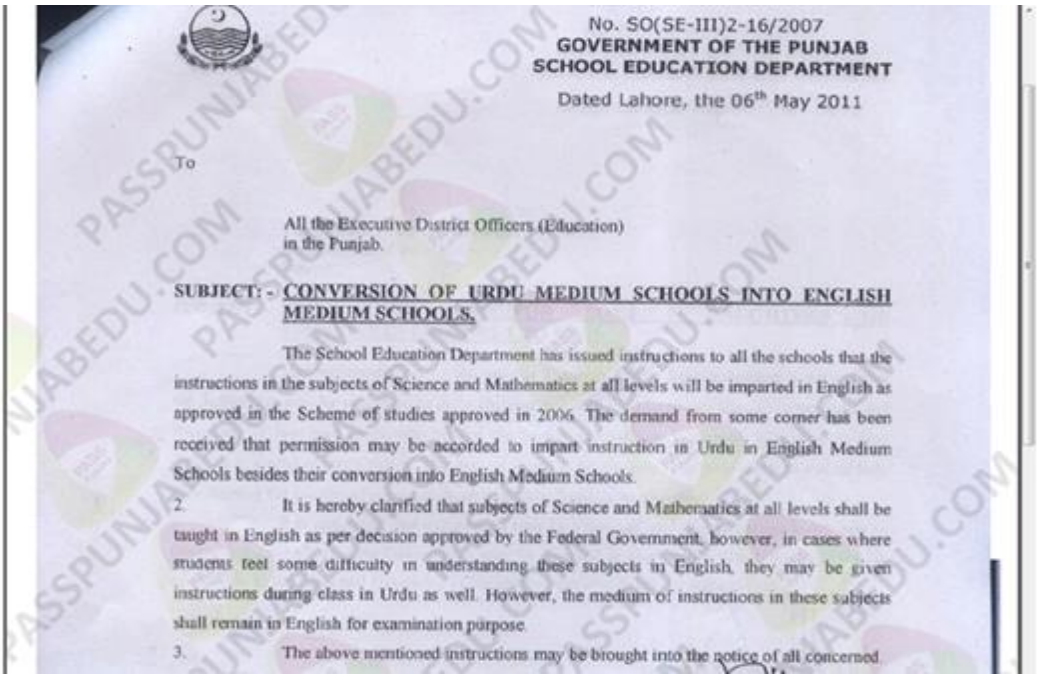
Figure 6.5
School Reform Roadmap



Note. Government of the Punjab. (2011). *School Education Department: School Reform Roadmap*. Retrieved from http://schools.punjab.gov.pk/?q=schoolroadmap#Ensuring%20Quality%20Education

In order to implement these decisions in the schools, a directive from the undersecretary of the government of the Punjab School Education Department was issued to the schools in the Punjab province on May 06, 2011 (see Figure 6.6 below). According to this directive, all the Urdu-medium schools in Punjab province were converted to English medium schools. Specifically, instruction of science and mathematics at all levels was directed to be done in the English language.

Figure 6.6
Notification for the Conversion of Urdu Medium School into English Medium Schools.



No. SO(SE-III)2-16/2007
GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB
SCHOOL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Dated Lahore, the 06th May 2011

To

All the Executive District Officers (Education)
in the Punjab.

SUBJECT: - CONVERSION OF URDU MEDIUM SCHOOLS INTO ENGLISH MEDIUM SCHOOLS.

The School Education Department has issued instructions to all the schools that the instructions in the subjects of Science and Mathematics at all levels will be imparted in English as approved in the Scheme of studies approved in 2006. The demand from some corner has been received that permission may be accorded to impart instruction in Urdu in English Medium Schools besides their conversion into English Medium Schools.

2. It is hereby clarified that subjects of Science and Mathematics at all levels shall be taught in English as per decision approved by the Federal Government, however, in cases where students feel some difficulty in understanding these subjects in English, they may be given instructions during class in Urdu as well. However, the medium of instructions in these subjects shall remain in English for examination purpose.

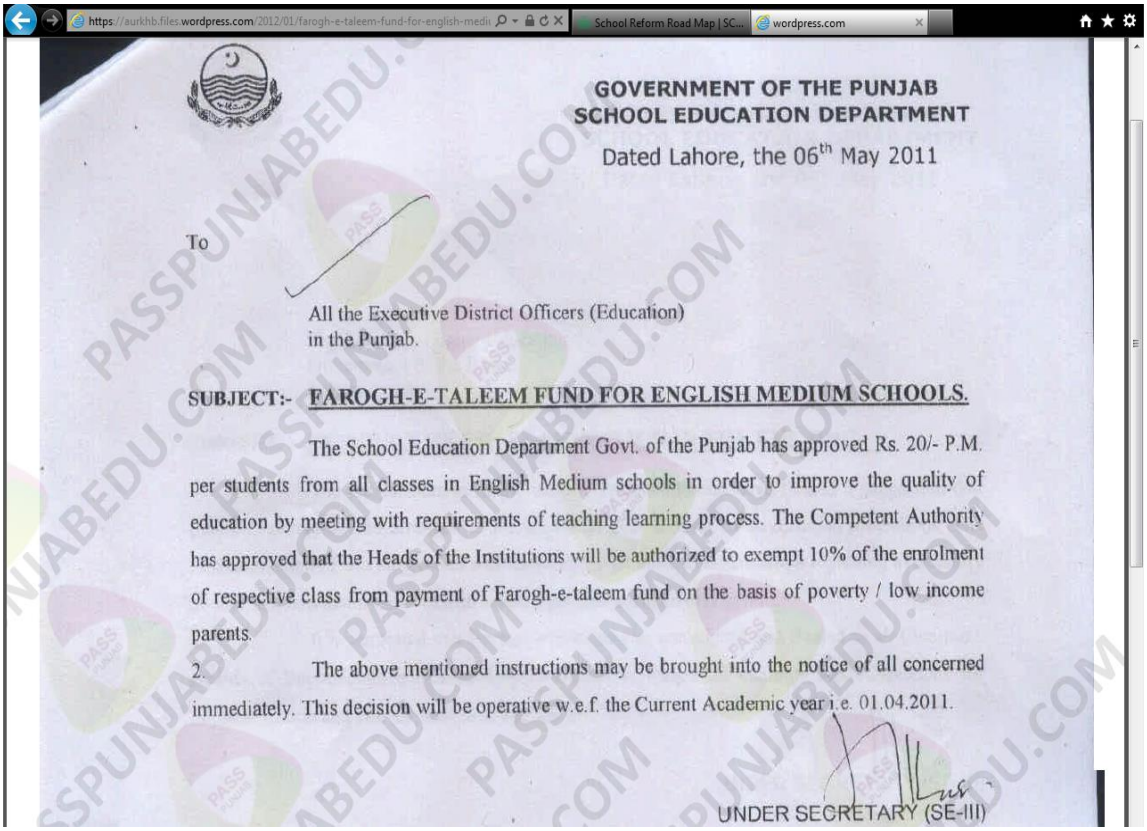
3. The above mentioned instructions may be brought into the notice of all concerned.

Note: *Government Order No.SO(SE-III)2-16/2007 (200), Conversion of Urdu medium school into English medium schools. Retrieved from https://aurkhb.wordpress.com/notifications/*

The same day, another directive was issued by the same undersecretary of the Government of Punjab, which is given below (see Figure 6.7). The website and the directive given below are evident that the misconception accelerated by EFA—English medium of instruction=quality education—has not just travelled the global, national, provincial, local,

and institutional levels but it has also been well received and implemented by the Education Department in the Government of Punjab. Although there have been enough media campaigns and other related work in order to establish a common sense about English language=quality education, the directive given below (Figure 6.7) marks the official entry of this English medium of instruction=quality education into the schools of Punjab province.

Figure 6.7
Quality Education Through English Medium of Instruction



GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB
SCHOOL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Dated Lahore, the 06th May 2011

To

All the Executive District Officers (Education)
in the Punjab.

SUBJECT:- **FAROGH-E-TALEEM FUND FOR ENGLISH MEDIUM SCHOOLS.**

The School Education Department Govt. of the Punjab has approved Rs. 20/- P.M. per students from all classes in English Medium schools in order to improve the quality of education by meeting with requirements of teaching learning process. The Competent Authority has approved that the Heads of the Institutions will be authorized to exempt 10% of the enrolment of respective class from payment of Farogh-e-taleem fund on the basis of poverty / low income parents.

2. The above mentioned instructions may be brought into the notice of all concerned immediately. This decision will be operative w.e.f. the Current Academic year i.e. 01.04.2011.

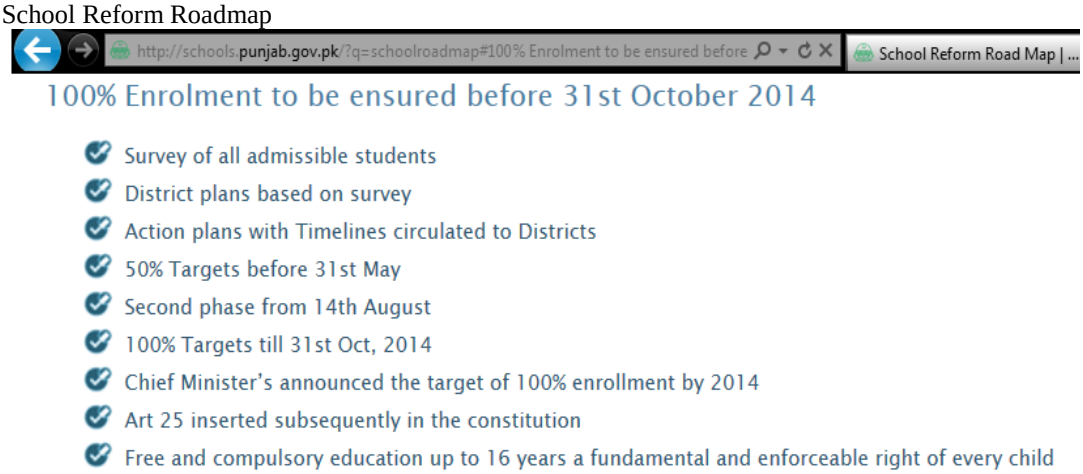
UNDER SECRETARY (SE-III)

Note:. Notifications: Farogh-e-Taleem Fund for English Medium Schools (2011). Retrieved from https://aurkhb.wordpress.com/notifications/

This directive (Figure 6.7) was issued by the Government of Punjab, School Education Department, Lahore, May 06, 2011 to all the executive district officers

(Educational) in Punjab. According to this directive, a fee of 20 rupees per month per student has been applied in order to financially support this initiative of quality education through English medium of instruction. Keeping aside the debate of whether students can afford this fee, let's turn to some historical and policy related facts. Twenty years ago, when I was in grade 10 in a public school, the regular fee was three rupees per month (roughly three cents in American currency at the time). Until 2010, that is, before the implementation of EFA's quality education mandate, the government school fee per students per month was between 8-12 Pakistani rupees (now roughly equivalent to 8-12 cents in American currency). It is also a fact that Pakistan has been highly criticized in EFA monitoring reports for not having free and compulsory education which is one of EFA's mandates. This criticism in EFA monitoring reports comes in the form of rankings based on qualitative data to measure progress towards reaching EFA mandates, and Pakistan has been ranked very low. My concern is about this odd and contradictory position of the Government of Punjab. On one hand, EFA's free and universal education mandate requires free education (no fee at all) under which the Roadmap of Educational Reform makes free and compulsory education as one of its targets to be achieved before October, 2014. The last bullet point in the snapshot of the Punjab Government's web site (given below – Figure 6.8) is evidence of that.

Figure 6.8
School Reform Roadmap



Note. *Government of the Punjab. (2011). School Education Department: School Reform Roadmap. Retrieved from http://schools.punjab.gov.pk/schoolroadmap*

On the other hand, following the EFA's quality education mandate, the Punjab Government implemented English medium of instruction in 2011. In order to fulfill the financial pressures of this English medium of instruction initiative, the Punjab Government had to impose fees nearly twice the amount of the 2010 school fee as "Farogh-e-Taleem funds" (which means educational development funds). The directive verbalizes that this fee is to support English as the medium of instruction in order to improve the quality of education in Punjab province. The two changes that have occurred are: change in the name—from "school fee" to "Farogh-e-Taleem fund;" and an increase in the amount of fee from 8-12 Pakistani rupees per student per month to 20 rupees per student per month. The name change of the fee may be an attempt to avoid violating the free and compulsory education mandate while meeting the EFA's other mandate of quality education through English medium of instruction. This financial tension between the two mandates of EFA is not de-political. In fact, when this decontextualized policy was implemented on a local

level, it required manipulations—both fiscal and administrative—from the Government of Punjab such as imposing student fees for financially supporting English medium of instruction. The sub-section given above elaborates how EFA's message that English medium of instruction=quality education formally and officially travelled from the global to provincial, local, and institutional levels through policy and policy related official documents. The question now is how this mandate of quality education through English medium of instruction (re)informs the linguistic hierarchy and redistributes power from global to local and individual levels. The section below will answer this question.

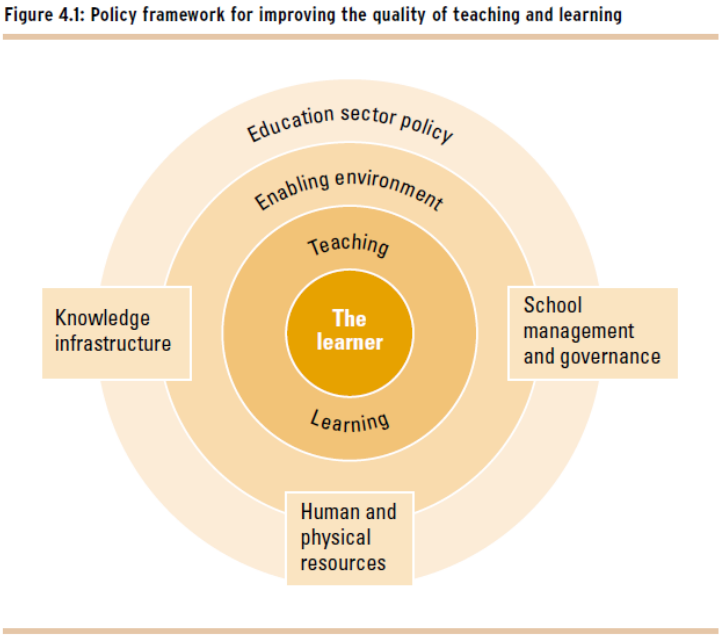
Quality Education through English Medium of Instruction & the Power Re-distribution

In addition to the languages of the policy documents and the monitoring reports, the visual representations of the models in the EFA documents also reveal the power struggle and the contradiction. Given below (Figure 6.9) is the visual representation of the Policy "Framework for Improving the Quality of Teaching and Learning" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 143). This framework "places learners at the heart of the teaching and learning process" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 142). The section below analyzes the ways in which this framework has used learner centeredness to achieve moral legitimation. Van-Leeuwen (2008) attests that multimodal legitimation can be expressed visually (p. 119). The image and the text of the framework have been analyzed by applying Van-Leeuwen's (2005) analysis of composition and the framework of legitimation (Van-Leeuwen, 2008).

The word "learner" is at the heart of these concentric circles while "teaching-learning," "enabling environment," and "education sector policy" are on the respective

outer circles. "School management and governance" and "knowledge infrastructure" are on the right and left sides respectively. A quick interpretation is that, in order to achieve the goal of quality education, this policy framework claims for the learner a central position in the entire educational project whereas all the other stakeholders work in the service of the learner in order to make teaching and learning a successful experience. All sorts of governance, management, and infrastructure work as supportive machinery while the overall educational policy is at the outermost circle which is apparently not central.

Figure 6.9
Policy Framework for Improving the Quality of Teaching and Learning



Note: UNESCO. (2005). *Global Monitoring Report: Education for All. The Quality Imperative.* Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001373/137333e.pdf

This composition of the image and the claim that the model "places learners at the heart of the teaching and learning process" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 142) requires contextual, non-simplistic, and critical exploration because without any context "it is difficult to formulate any meaning of the centre-margin model of composition. It is only in specific

contexts that this meaning becomes defined" (Van-Leeuwen, 2005, p. 208). In the case of this particular model, although the elements in the surrounding concentric circles have been shown subservient and marginal in comparison to the leaner who is placed in the middle, "just how marginal the margins are depends upon their salience relative to the salience of the centre" (Van-Leeuwen, 2005, p. 208). The learner, although placed at the center, holds minimal power: s/he does not have any official say in the entire process of the medium of instruction shift. Whether the learner wants it or not, s/he is taught in the colonial language. There is a complete oversight from all sorts of challenges that the learner faces in the comprehension and processing of the content in a foreign language, the lack of competence of teachers in this foreign language, lack of parental support at home (because most of them can neither understand this foreign language nor pay to buy any additional educational support for their child in this foreign language), and the fact that the assessment and evaluation will be conducted in the foreign language. Owing to all these challenges, if the learner does not perform well in school, s/he is labelled as a failure. There is no consideration for the trauma and identity crises that this learner goes through each day of school because s/he is unable to understand and reproduce the content being taught in a language that does not exist in her/his language except at school. Knowing all these facts, my question is: *Is the learner still at the center*? No! The center is *empty*. The presence of the learner has not even been considered.

The arrangement of the elements in this model, which is comprised of concentric circles and an "empty centre" (Van-Leeuwen, 2005, p. 208), subverts the traditional representation of power significantly. The largest circle, which is farthest away from the

center of the figure, also subsumes all circles in it and acts as the panoptic gaze upon other elements of the figure. In this case, the larger circle, that is, policy, still holds a position of power from where the panoptic gaze of the policy oversees the entire process in order to ensure the delivery of *quality* education. The critical reading of this image, including the panoptic gaze of the circles of authority on the learner and their authoritarian control over the medium of instruction of the learner, leaves the center circle empty as the cultural and linguistic (and by extension academic) identity of the learner is vacant.

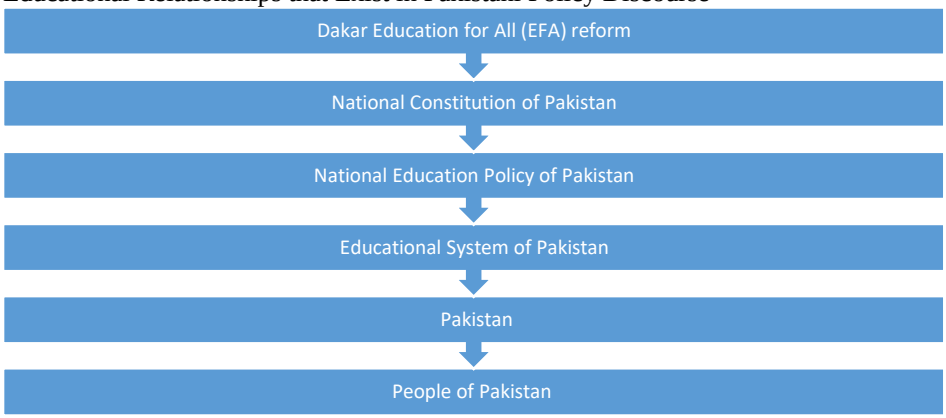
One might ask: What was the need to put the learner in the center if in fact s/he is so disempowered and has no official control over the policy formation process? First, the learner has been placed at the center because "centrality[…]does not admit degrees. Even when the centre is empty, it will continue to exist in absentia" (Van-Leeuwen, 2005, p. 208). No matter how disempowered, officially, the learner had to be there—in fact the *business* of teaching and learning cannot happen without the learner. Hence, the existence of a colonized learner is essential to in fact legitimize the existence of the neocolonial policy.

Second, the rationale behind placing the learner at the center is that "discourses are never only about what we do but always also about why we do it" (Van-Leeuwen, 2005, p. 104). This model of quality education that in fact enhances the power of the policy and consequently disempowers the learner has literally been sold to the local and non-local educationists, policymakers, and the proponents of linguistic human rights under the fake label of learner centered discourse. Thus, EFA's model of quality education uses learner centered discourse in order to gain moral legitimation. According to Van-Leeuwen (2008),

“another way of expressing moral evaluation is by referring to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that 'moralize’ them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values” (p. 111).

The findings in Chapter Four of this dissertation elaborate the educational relationships that exist in Pakistani policy discourse in a visual form. I have posted the same visual below (Figure 6.10). Referring back to it helps us entextualize EFA’s quality education framework for Pakistani national and provincial policy discourse. Data analysis in Chapter Four revealed that although EFA has not been mandated by the people of Pakistan but rather has been imposed upon them by the neocolonial masters, the language of NEP 2009 positions EFA at the most powerful position. Hence, the entire machinery, and the *in*dependent country of Pakistan, and by extension its people, work in the subordinate position to the neocolonial educational reforms, especially EFA.

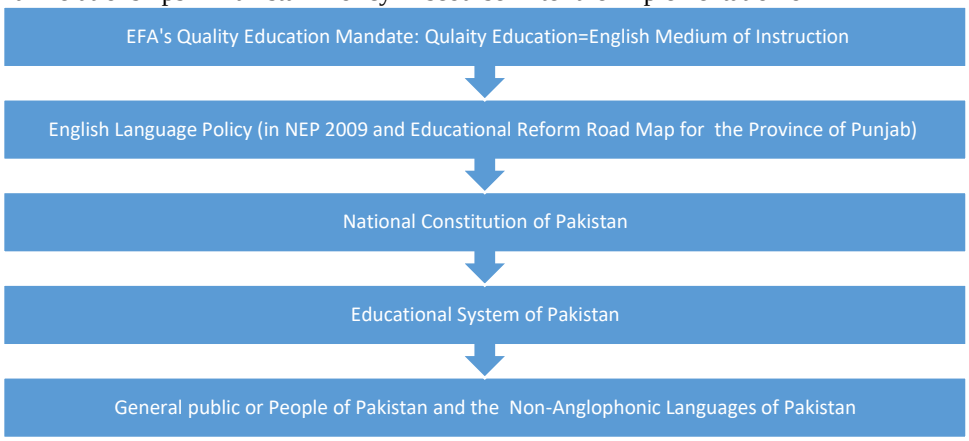
Figure 6.10
Educational Relationships that Exist in Pakistani Policy Discourse



Keeping in view the enforcement of the English Language Policy (in NEP 2009 and School Reform Road Map of the Government of Punjab) under the quality education mandate of EFA and the power ELP has over the national constitution, educational system, people,

and the local and national languages in Pakistan, I modified the visual that I presented in Chapter Four. Below is a modified version of the visual followed by its explanation.

Figure 6.11
Educational Relationships in Pakistani Policy Discourse After the Implementation of ELP



In imagining the educational relationships in Pakistan as described in NEP 2009, the EFA's figure of quality education framework is more linear than circular. This new figure given above represents the power of the so-called quality education mandate of EFA by placing this mandate at the top of the hierarchy. This mandate legitimizes and authenticates the implementation of the English Language Policy (ELP) in overall Pakistan and particularly the province of Punjab through NEP 2009 and Punjab Educational Reform respectively. The NEP has placed the ELP above the Constitution of Pakistan because ELP overrides the protection provided to the local and national languages through the constitution at national, provincial, institutional, and personal levels. Given below is an extract from the National Constitution of Pakistan:

Extract 6.4: National Constitution of Pakistan

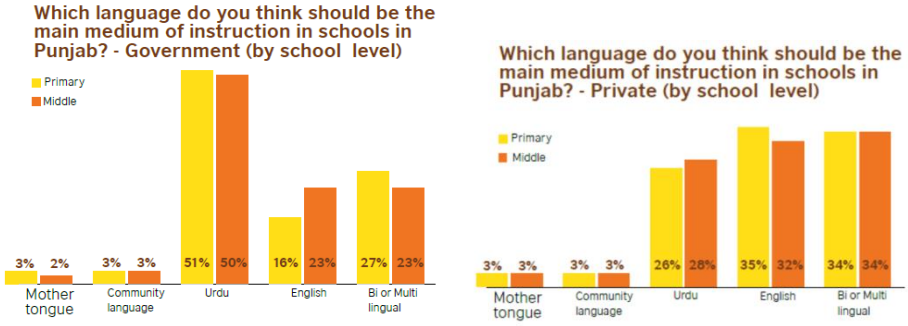
> National language
> 251. (1) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.

> (2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
> (3) Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.
>
> (National Constitution of Pakistan Article 251, p. 149)

The constitution emphasizes the development and protection of national as well as local languages, but, in contrast, NEP 2009 policy actions do not at all address the issue of enrichment of the national and or/local languages. Instead they support and promote the English language at the cost of national and local languages.

By virtue of the power destined through EFA, the enforcement of ELP upon the educational system of Pakistan continues despite the resistance from the local actors of the policy such as school administrators and teachers; and lack of readiness of the educational system for the implementation of ELP. The people of Pakistan including learners and their languages have been positioned at the bottom end of the hierarchy because: 1) ELP fosters and develops at the cost of the local languages and cultures; 2) According to NEP 2009, local and national languages are mere cultural markers while only the English language is the language of science, technology, and higher education (NEP, 2009, p. 28); and international competition, globalization (NEP, 2009, p. 11), and upward social mobility (NEP, 2009, p. 27); and 3) ELP was enforced upon the teachers despite resistance from them. Given below are the results from a report published by the British Council (British Council, 2013, p. 24) on the implementation and future of English medium of instruction intervention in Pakistan.

Figure 6.12
Teachers in Favor of English Medium of Instruction



Note. British Council. (2013). Can English Medium Education Work in Pakistan? Lessons from Punjab. Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.pk/sites/britishcouncil.pk/files/peeli_report_0.pdf

According to this report: "Only 16% of government primary school teachers and 23% of government middle school teachers believe English should be the main medium of instruction" in schools (British Council, 2013, p. 23). It is important to note that the majority of the teaching force is comprised of teachers in the public sector; teachers working in the private sector are a very small percentage of this work force of teachers. The same report quoted teachers' perceptions about ELP in Pakistan: "'English is being imposed as a language on the students who could perform better when taught in community language'" (Public school teacher, central Punjab) (British Council, 2013, p. 23). However, the British Council report does not consider the professional opinion of these public school teachers and rather offers contradictory recommendations such as: the promotion of English medium of instruction, the requirement that schools receive accreditation for English medium of instruction (MOI) (pp. 31, 33), targeting pro-English MOI teachers for training earlier than resistant to MOI teachers (p. 34), controlled instruction (p. 34) and strict long term monitoring (p. 33), re-vamping teacher education

programs (p. 34) and making English proficiency as a criterion for teacher recruitment (p. 33). The report states:

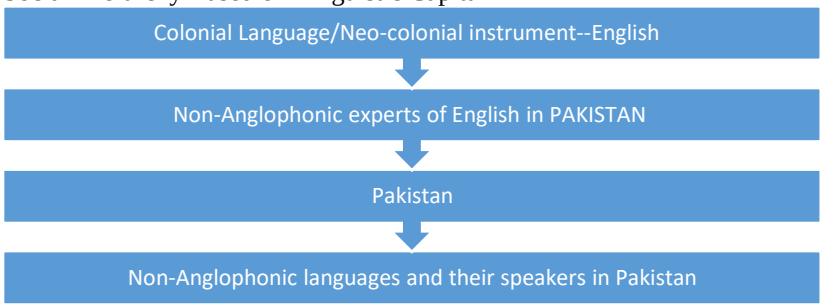
> Although many teachers have qualifications that help them attain teaching jobs, these qualifications do not necessarily leave them well placed to deliver quality lessons. There is a case, therefore, for adding testing in English to the recruitment process for teachers, and the Aptis system is well suited for this. (British Council, 2013, p. 32)

This new criterion for teachers is not about content or pedagogy but only English language proficiency. Not that I am prejudiced against young teachers or the English language — I myself am a young teacher; my concern is the British Council's rationale. All other integral factors in the recruitment of teachers such as content knowledge, pedagogical skills, teaching experience, and motivation to teach have been discounted because of English language proficiency. This initiative for quality Education through English medium of instruction can have serious implications on the teacher labor market and teacher training programs. While quality of English teaching might improve due to the induction of English proficient teachers, it will come at the expense of the quality of content in subjects other than English and the overall real 'quality of teaching.'

Data analysis in Chapter Five of this dissertation delves into deeper exploration of this hierarchy caused by the hegemony of the English language and shows how the people of Pakistan have been divided into superior and less superior positions based on their relation with the language of colonialism, neocolonialism, and the medium of instruction. Those with better English language skills have more influence and prestige than those who have marginal or no proficiency in the English language. The figure below (6.13) that I

borrowed from Chapter Five of this dissertation is a pictorial representation of this hierarchy:

Figure 6.13
Social Hierarchy Based on Linguistic Capital



One such example of this hierarchy is the way the British Council (2013) in its report discriminates between teachers based on their English language proficiency and advocacy:

> Data on teachers could be used to ensure that schools contain a mix of older and younger faculty. Those schools with predominantly older teachers are likely to have a culture that is more resistant to change, and an influx of younger teachers into such schools will give students better prospects of being taught with the latest methods and in English medium, to which younger teachers are more receptive. (p. 34).

Acting upon the traditional *divide and rule* philosophy of British colonizers, this statement of the British Council given above creates divides and a new hierarchy in the teaching force. This divide has been created by supporting, privileging, and rewarding one group over the other. So, the young English proficient teachers will be hired at better salary packages than the seasoned non-proficient ones; the pro-MOI teachers will be given rewards (p. 35), and they will be given priority when opportunities for professional and linguistic training arise (p. 34). Seeing the younger, more English proficient teachers gain prestige and rewards, the unprivileged group will feel pressure to change their linguistic ideology. These politics around MOI raise concerns such as job insecurity, unfair treatment at the workplace, the concept of upward mobility through the English language, and lower

status of other languages and cultures, many of which are concerns of educational justice and human rights.

English Language Policy and Local Perspectives

This section closely analyzes the interview data from a state level policymaker and a HE recent graduate in order to understand how the local actors make sense of the concept "quality" with reference to English language and, by extension, how the other concepts are redefined. The following data excerpt (6.5) has been extracted from my face-to-face interview with an administrator in the higher education commission (HEC) of Pakistan in June of 2014 in his office. He reports to be the "part and parcel" of the national policy making process and an educationist and educational researcher. He chose to be bilingual throughout the interview. In this episode except for the first two words, for which I have provided English translation in parentheses, the rest of his talk was all in English. The interview was mainly about the role of language education policy in Pakistan, its implications on the linguistic hierarchy, and the stakeholders who participated in the NEP 2009 formulation process. The following episode is the beginning of our ninety-minute-long conversation. I opened this conversation by providing some information on the purpose and context of the study, and then I asked the policymaker's opinion about those socio-economic linguistic divisions that are present in our Pakistani society at large and in our educational system in particular. The analysis of the extract below reveals how the policymaker equates English language with quality.

Extract 6.5. State level Policymaker (Summer, 2014).

PM Jee deikaein, [Yes, Look]
I think
we have discriminatory educational system in Pakistan.
…. I would like to recommend you to

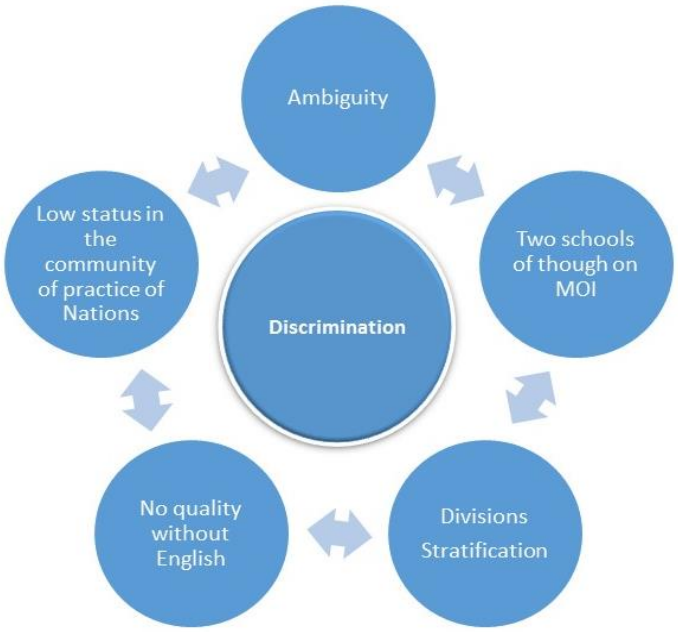
before going to analyze the post-colonial student achievement in Pakistan

you must have to study
very various national educational policy from 1947 to onwards.
…As far as your question is concerned
about divide of the nation
into two major segments.
I do agree with you
but, I will go one step forward
we are not divided into two but more small segments
Also. We have in Pakistan two school of thought
one is the favor of that English should be the medium of instruction
and the one school of though is in the favor of Urdu as a medium of instruction.
Still if you analyze the policy in 1992 policy and policy 1998, 2010 Iqra policy
you will get clarity about the medium of instruction
whether it is English or Urdu.
There is clear divide in school of thought
and we are still in ambiguity
we are not clear
what is to be done with the instruction.
They both
the school of thought have their arguments
of the basis of the favoring one type of education……
I can say we have divided
the Pakistani Nation into various societies
we have discriminatory educational system in Pakistan.
I have some information
involved in UK, USA education system
they have one thing in my point of view
I might be quite wrong
you may be disagree with me
they have umm by choice
or by nature
English as a mother tongue
and unfortunately
we could not get that status in the nations of the world.
That is why
they are better than us
they can educate their children
in better quality of education quality of teacher.

The analysis of this extract performs the following two functions: By applying Van-Leeuwen's (2008) framework of discursive construction of legitimation, my analysis elaborates how the policymaker delegitimizes the educational system of Pakistan; And using Gee's (2011) "grammar interlude", I unpack the construction of this extract. Application of Van-Leeuwen's (2008) framework and Gee's (2011) tool for this analysis

elaborates the ways the policymaker legitimizes and establishes authenticity for his implied resolution - English is the solution to problems in Pakistan. Moreover, this analysis explores the ways in which the policymaker's stance of quality education through English medium of instruction has implications for the language shift; and it illuminates the policymaker's deficit perspective about non-Anglophonic languages, his perceptions about the colonial and neo-colonial powers as authentic role models, and his perceived hierarchy of the nations in the world. By doing that, this section contributes to answer the second part of my first research question, which is: How do local actors make sense of the international influences on LEP in Pakistan? The policymaker performs the negative moral evaluation (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 109) in order to build a discourse of de-legitimation (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 112) about the system of education in Pakistan. His discourse centers on his use of the adjective "discriminatory" to characterize the educational system. He then establishes the causes and effects of this discrimination as he builds his case for de-legitimation. Below is a figure representing the policymaker's discourse of de-legitimation.

Figure 6.14
Visual Representation of the Discourse of De-legitimation that the Policymaker Constructed



Since the word "discrimination" carries serious negative connotation in the postcolonial, modern, liberal educational model, its usage performs negative moral evaluation (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 109) of the educational system in Pakistan. The policymaker further authenticates this moral evaluation through his intertextual reference to the current and past policy texts in Pakistani history, many of which, especially NEP 2009, acknowledge the presence of this discrimination. The policymaker's references to past policies also adds to the chronic nature of the problem of discrimination in the education system in Pakistan.

The policymaker's reference to my question about the "divides of the nation" (line 9) further projects the negativity of the moral evaluation of the educational system, escalating the division and thus the discrimination in the system to the national level. Use of the word "segments" (lines 10, 13) refers to the socio-economic segmentation of the

society caused by the discriminatory educational system and lack of employment opportunities that I mentioned in my opening question. He complicates this elevated socioeconomic division in Pakistani society by acknowledging that there are "more small segments" (line 13) in Pakistani society and not just "two major segments" (line 10).

After positioning educational discrimination at the central position, the policymaker constructs around it a cause and effect cycle to build his de-legitimation discourse. According to the policymaker, there is tension between the two schools of thought regarding the medium of instruction— "*one is the favor of that English should be the medium of instruction and the one school of thought is in the favor of Urdu as a medium of instruction*" (lines 15-16). This tension has caused (and is caused by) a great deal of ambiguity (line 21-22). The use of the broader generic word *instruction* in "*we are still in ambiguity. We are not clear what is to be done with instruction*" (lines 21-23) makes it less explicit whether *ambiguity* is limited to medium of instruction only or extends to the entire discourse of instruction. According to him, this ambiguity leads to (and is led by) stratification of "Pakistani nation into various sections" (line 29). These very different kinds of schooling entitle students for very different kinds of future employment and occupations, which by extension places them into explicitly different socioeconomic categories. This division, therefore, leads to discrimination and by extension low quality education.

This act of de-legitimizing the current education system of Pakistan has been further supported by reminding the role model authority (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107) of the colonial and neo-colonial masters UK and USA (line 31). In the community of practice

of nations, UK and USA in particular and other Anglophonic countries in general have been assigned as the role model authorities, and other countries have been positioned with reference to these role model authorities. The "mere fact that these role models adopt a certain kind of behavior, or believe in certain things, is enough to legitimize the actions of their followers" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107), and, by extension, the deviation from role model behavior can delegitimize certain actions. Since, according to the policymaker, colonial masters have "by choice or nature English as a mother tongue" (lines 35-37), the legitimate behavior is to have English as the mother tongue or at least a medium of instruction. Because Pakistan does not faithfully follow that behavior by not having English as a mother tongue (or at least as a medium of instruction), it "could not get that status in the nations of the world" (line 39).

Although the policymaker does not explicitly recommend any solutions for this problem, he offers an implied resolution for the situation. The structure of his response builds up this implied resolution as the only legitimate solution to the problem. This can be made explicit through unpacking the structure into parts and stanzas by applying Gee's (2011) "grammar interlude" (p. 74). The analysis below reveals that the extract has four broader, rough, and more permeable parts: 1) Setting; 2) Catalyst; 3) Crises; and 4) Evaluation and Resolution.

Part 1: Setting (current and historical)

Stanza 1

1 Jee deikaein, [Yes, Look]
2 I think
3 we have discriminatory educational system in Pakistan.

Stanza 2

4 I would like to recommend you to
5 before going to analyze the post-colonial student achievement in Pakistan

6 you must have to study

very various national educational policy from 1947 to onwards.

Part 2: Catalyst (Usually sets up a problem, in this enlisting the factor(s) that contributed to the problem of discrimination)

Stanza 3

As far as your question is concerned
about divide of the nation
into two major segments.
I do agree with you
but, I will go one step forward
we are not divided into two but more small segments

Stanza 4

Also. We have in Pakistan two school of thought
one is the favor of that English should be the medium of instruction
and the one school of thought is in the favor of Urdu as a medium of instruction.

Implied Resolution

Stanza 5

Still if you analyze the policy in 1992 policy and policy 1998, 2010 Iqra policy
you will get clarity about the medium of instruction
whether it is English or Urdu.

Part 3: Crises (Builds the problem to a point where it requires a resolution)

Stanza 6

There is clear divide in school of thought
and we are still in ambiguity
we are not clear
what is to be done with the instruction.
They both
the school of thought have their arguments
of the basis of the favoring one type of education

Stanza 7

I can say we have divided
the Pakistani nation into various societies
we have discriminatory educational system in Pakistan.

Part 4: Evaluation and Resolution (Why this problem is of interest and what is the possible solution)

Stanza 8

I have some information
involved in UK, USA education system
they have one thing in my point of view
I might be quite wrong
you may be disagree with me
they have umm by choice
or by nature
English as a mother tongue

Stanza 9

and unfortunately
we could not get that status in the nations of the world.

Stanza 10

That is why
they are better than us
they can educate their children
in better quality of education quality of teacher.

The policymaker opens his response with a brief description of the current setting, which is the discriminatory educational system in Pakistan (line 3). The reference to past educational policies in Pakistan since independence (lines 4-7) sets up the historical background of educational discrimination. Stanzas three and four work as a catalyst where the policymaker sets up the problem of segmentation in Pakistan by declaring that the major cause of stratification/segmentation (lines 9-13) within the society is the presence of two schools of thought on medium of instruction (lines 14-16). Stanzas six and seven re-summarize the entire problem of MOI divide and further project it to the level of crises where it needs a resolution. The policymaker does so in the following ways:

1) He establishes an equation that Pakistani=various societies (line 28) and not just segments (lines 10, 13). The word *various* has an inherent connotation of differences whereas segments may or may not be different. Thus the first crisis is that the Pakistani nation is not a unanimous nation but has inherent differences and splits.
2) He links this notion of division into various societies with the discriminatory educational system. Although he does not use any conjunction to connect both statements, the fact that his assertion "divided the Pakistani nation into various societies" (line 28) is immediately followed by his evaluation of the educational system as "discriminatory" (line 29) links them both into a cause-effect relationship.
3) Lines 21, 22, 27, and 28 use the inclusive pronoun "we" in contradictory ways, building an inherent call to action as well. Who comprises the "we" is not

clear—the general public in Pakistan, policymakers (local as well as foreign), or everyone in Pakistan. However, this inclusive pronoun "we" has been positioned at contradictory places with regards to the MOI. In "we are still in ambiguity" (line 20), "we are not clear" (line 21) and "we have discriminatory educational system" (line 29), "we" refers to the group of people who are suffering from lack of clarity and the discriminatory educational system. In contrast, "we have divided the Pakistani Nation" (line 28) positions "we" at an active position of power in which this group of people has committed this action of dividing the nation. Thus the inherent call to action is that "we" are the ones suffering from lack of clarity and a discriminatory educational system, and we are guilty of dividing the nation; hence we should be the ones to resolve these crises by removing the dividing factor, which is Urdu medium of instruction.

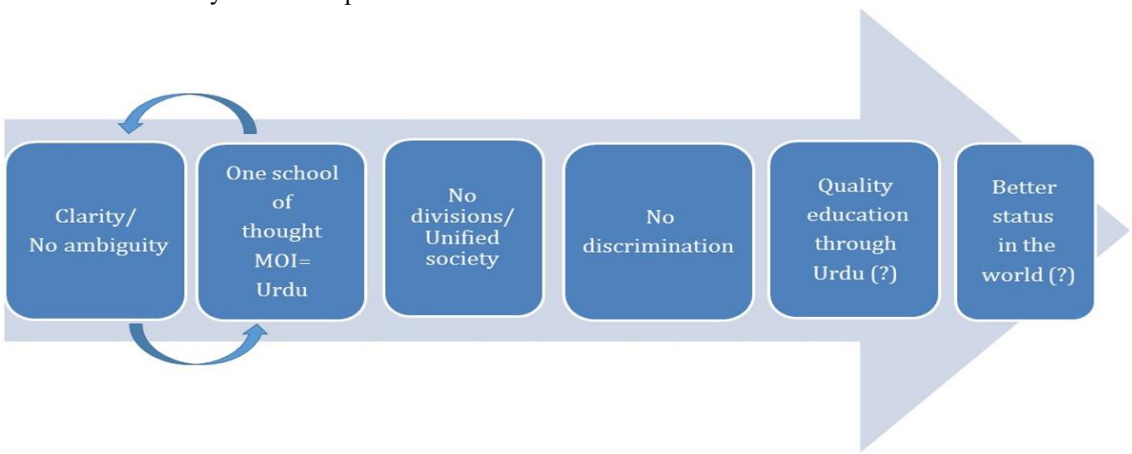
These crises lead to evaluation in stanzas eight, nine, and ten. The policymaker places Pakistan at a position of deficit in comparison to the Anglophonic world especially the colonial and neocolonial masters: "*and unfortunately we could not get that status in the nations of the world*" (lines 38-39). So doing elevates the crises from the national to global level and hence generates need for immediate attention. Embedded within this evaluation is an implicit recommendation to learn from the role model authority of the (neo)colonial masters who have "by choice or by nature English a mother tongue" (lines 35-37). Stanza six (lines 17-19) also offers the similar implied resolution by referring specifically toward Pakistani NEPs that mark the shift towards English medium of instruction and away from Urdu and/or local languages. Hence the resolution the policymaker offers is to get rid of

the two schools of thought and have broader consensus on only one MOI: English. Since the tension between English and Urdu medium of instruction has divided the society into multiple segments, English only medium of instruction will remove that divide. By extension, discrimination in education will end which will lead to better quality of education because divisions deteriorate the quality of education. Below is a pictorial representation of this implied solution to the problem:

Figure 6.15
Pictorial Representation of Implied Resolution that Policymaker Constructs

The concern, however, is whether it is really only the question of an unequal and divided educational system which raises concerns for educational discrimination and educational quality. The claim that projects division as the problem is false. If division was the problem, why wouldn't the policymaker suggest eliminating English and making Urdu the MOI to establish unity through one medium of instruction? Applying Gee's (2011) "The why this and not that way tool" (p. 55), if we replace the English only model with Urdu only and/or local languages, we can still achieve the similar goal of quality education and unity. Below is a pictorial representation of that alternative:

Figure 6.16
Alternative to Policymakers' Implied Resolution



Of all the layers of policy—EFA, NEP 2009, Punjab Education Reform Road Map, or the policymaker's perception—none has considered removing educational discrimination and providing quality education through Urdu because of the underlying deficit assumption that only English medium of instruction=quality education. The concern of removing divides and improving the quality of education is fair and legitimate, but my concern is about the ways it is being done and the direction it is leading towards. The policymakers' perception is quite explicit; he states that by implementing English as a medium of instruction, Pakistan can hope to reach a status closer to those countries of the world who have English as a mother tongue by choice if not by nature (lines 35-37). So the dream of quality of education through English medium of instruction is not innocent and simple, because the question of medium of instruction is deeply implicated into the future survival of local and national languages that have been or will be replaced by English. Coleman (2006) and Dunbar (2011) provide evidence that medium of instruction in education is directly related to the question of language shift, while Tsui and Tollefson (2004) inform

us that the language of instruction is the most potent means of culture and language maintenance, revitalization, and intergenerational transmission.

Data from many other participants in my study also indicate the intergenerational transmission of English, over-dependence on English, lack of trust in the academic value of the local languages, and hence lack of satisfaction with the current linguistic membership. The data extract given below is one such example. The first 19 lines of this extract have already been analyzed in the previous chapter; however, I posted them again in order to prevent de-contextualized data. This analysis focuses on lines 20 onwards.

Given below is an extract from a recent graduate from HE institute of Pakistan named Zubaida. She completed her Master's degree in the field of English teaching and linguistics. After the completion of her degree she got married and became a housewife. I conducted this audio interview with her over Skype, and we frequently switched between Urdu and English languages with occasional Punjabi and Arabic phrases. This extract is in fact the opening episode of our interview and the very first question that I asked her. The right hand column presents the translation into English while the left hand column offers the bilingual communication (Urdu and English) as it occurred.

Extract 6.6

Interview with a recent higher education graduate from Pakistan

1	Sadaf	Achaa…Zubaida, kuch thora sa… is	Well, Zubaida let us a bit…
2		barei mein baat kartei hein… English	talk about this… English
3		definitely hamari first language to nahi	definitely is not our first language
4		hei naan?=	right?=
5	Zubaida	=Yes, ma'am exactly	=Yes, ma'am exactly
6	Sadaf	To kya. kya khayal hei English kei	So, what. What do you think about
7		barei mein?=	English?=
		Part 1: Setting & Implied Resolution	

8	Zubaida	**Stanza 1**	
		=aa. *actually. personally*.	=aa. Actually. Personally
9		agar deikha jai to.	if it is considered.
10		agar yei hoti hamari first language	if it were our first language
11		to most probably	then most. Probably
12		hamein itnei zyada confusions	we would not have as many confusions and
13		problems na hotei	Problems
		Part 2: Crises at International level	
14		**Stanza 2**	
		jo hamein abhi. eik international.	that we have now. At international [level]
15		jo. jisei kehtei hein naan.	that. what is called
16		jo first world hei uskei saath compete	in competing with. the first world.
17		karnei mein	
18		hamein bohat zayada <<problem hoti	we <<face so much problem>>.
19		hei.	
		Part 3: Crises at national and individual level	
		Stanza 3	
20		Hamarei log educated ho kei bhi	Even being educated. our people
21		They are not as much educated	they are not as much educated
22		as they think they are.	as they think they are.
		Stanza 4	
23		like. after their studies	like. after their studies
24		they can't write applications.	they can't write applications
25		or even small things.	or even small things.
26		Even a graduate can't speak for ten	Even a graduate can't speak for ten minutes
27		minutes	
28		…in English	… in English
		Part : Resolution	
		Stanza 5	
29		So. agar yei hoti	So. if it were.
30		agar yei hamari first language hoti	if it were our first language
31		to hamari bohat sari	most of our
33		problems <<solve ho jatein	problems would have solved.

My very first question began with an awkward act of othering English. My participant, Zubaida, seemed to agree with my stance of distancing from English in "English definitely hamari first language to nahi hei naan?" [*English definitely is not our first language, right?*] (lines 2-4). After that I asked Zubaida's opinion about the English language. However, the interlocutor chose an unusual route and instead of focusing on the question "What do you think about English?=" (line 6), the response was focused on my

initial comment regarding othering English. By applying Gee's (2011) "grammar interlude" (p. 74), I unpack the construction of her response. So doing helps reveal whether the actual problem that this participant, the policymaker, and policy documents are constructing is *the absence of quality education in Pakistan* or *English not being the mother tongue of Pakistanis*.

The first stanza in Zubaida's answer serves many purposes in this very short yet explicit response of my interlocutor. First, it sets up a scene in terms of what the current conditions are. She explains the current conditions in the form of a hypothetical, conditional statement (lines 9-13). According to this conditional statement, if English were the first language in Pakistan, there would not be as many "confusions problems" (lines 12-13), which implies that currently Pakistan does have problems and confusions because English is not the L1. Second, she offers an implied resolution which is English as an L1=fewer problems and confusions. We can further understand this resolution by applying Gee's (2011) "The why this and not that way tool" (p. 55). Instead of constructing a conditional statement between two facts, she might have stated those facts independent of each other. For example:

- *English is not our first language in Pakistan but we have 56 non-Anglophonic languages. Pakistan has some problems and confusions.*
  Or
- *Pakistan is a linguistically rich country and we do have more than one L1. English is not our L1. There are problems and confusions in Pakistan.*

Neither of these alternatives that I have suggested condition the absence of English with the presence of problems and confusions in Pakistan; hence, by extension none of these alternatives offer an implied resolution that the conditional statement does: If + English as

L1=No confusions and problems. Hence, the way Zubaida and the policymaker have framed the problem is misleading. They have conditioned the two standalone issues of Pakistan not being on the top of global competition and the Pakistani educational system not being the best quality with the absence of English in Pakistan as an L1. So doing by default leads the decision making towards the direction of demanding English as an L1.

Third, this stanza also serves as a thesis statement for Zubaida's argument in which she states her simplistic understanding and admiration for the language of the colonizer as a savior. By extension she positions the existing local and national languages in Pakistan at a position of deficit because they do not have the ability to solve the "problems" and "confusions". Stanzas two, three, and four build up the crises by elaborating these "confusions problems" (lines 12-13) that Pakistan faces to a level where they require immediate resolution. Stanza two projects the absence of the English language as L1 to the global level where Pakistan faces problems "first world hei uskei saath compete karnei mein" [*in competing with the first world*] (lines 16-17). The underlying assumption is that Pakistan faces problems because English is not Pakistan's L1.

Next, stanza three builds up the crises at national and individual levels where Zubaida: 1) discredits the educational experience and value of the Pakistani graduates, 2) places them in a position of linguistic deficit, 3) establishes a criterion for who is educated, and 4) distances herself from the English non-proficient educated people. For a low SES or a public high school graduate in Pakistan, it takes huge investment in terms of their physical, psychological, social, and financial resources to successfully attain higher education. My data shows that Pakistani students make this huge investment in order to

attain a positive identity, and one of the most desired identities is to be known as "educated." However, my participant denies the Pakistani higher education graduates this status of being educated (lines 20-22) because they do not satisfy her criterion of English proficiency. Because Pakistani graduates cannot "write applications" (line 24) or "speak for ten minutes…in English" (lines 27-28), she discounts their entire educational experience.

These higher education graduates that my participant is referring to are Pakistan's educational elites. If we accept her criterion, we declare inauthentic the education of the most learned Pakistanis, and this by extension nullifies the educational experience of all those who have received less than higher education or are currently enrolled in higher education institutions in the Pakistani system. Consequently, the Pakistani system of education and its graduates have been placed at a permanent position of serious deficit and linguistic disadvantage only because they do not have the same L1 as the colonial masters do. By establishing English proficiency as the only criterion for being educated, she is discounting the continuous hard work, motivation, and other personal characteristics required to achieve HE. She is also undermining the value of the other languages that these students have used as medium of instruction as well as discrediting the value of non-linguistic knowledges and skills a person acquires through higher education. If Pakistanis cannot attain this identity of being "educated" or "fully educated" only because English is not their mother tongue, then: 1) she is placing English speaking countries and their people at a position of inherent benefit; 2) in contrast, she is placing Pakistan at a perpetual place of deficit compared to the Anglophonic countries unless Pakistan embraces English as L1;

3) she is re-emphasizing her implied resolution that if Pakistanis want to become really educated, they have to acquire English as an L1.

Zubaida positions herself as educated because she has proficiency in English, and she uses pronouns to establish her position in relationship to others. She distances herself from the less English proficient people by shifting from pronoun "hamein [*we*]" (lines 14, 18) to "they" (lines 21-22, 24) and "their" (line 23). By using an inclusive pronoun "hamein [*we*]" (lines 14, 18), she registers herself as a part of the whole Pakistan or Pakistani nation that faces problem in competing with the world. However, shifting from this inclusive "*we*" to "*they*" she distances herself from the less English proficient educated people in Pakistan. If she had not shifted the pronoun from 'we' to 'them' in lines 23 to 24, the phrase would read as: *after our studies we can't write applications;* she would have accepted that deficit position of lack of proficiency in the English language for herself as well. Instead, she not just explicitly distances herself through a pronoun shift but also frequently code switches from Urdu to English as an evidence of her proficiency in English. She code switches between English and Urdu in stanzas 1, 2, and 5 but in these two particular stanzas 3 and 4 where she performs the act of distancing, she shifts from being bilingual to English *only*. By doing so she practically demonstrates herself English proficient and hence further distances herself from the English language non-proficient Pakistanis "them". Fanon (1952) deliberates on this distancing:

> …and by developing further this distance, this incomprehension and discord, he discovers the meaning of his true humanity. Less commonly he wants to feel a part of his people. And with feverish lips and frenzied heart he plunges into the great black hole. (p. xviii).

However, Zubaida switches back to an inclusive pronoun "hamari [*ours*]" (lines 30-31) in her summative statement, where she develops the conditional statement "agar yei hamari first language hoti to hamari bohat sari problems <<solve ho jatein [*if it were our first language most of our problems would have solved*]" (lines 30-33). By switching back to the inclusive pronoun "hamare [*our*]" she positions herself with the entire Pakistan and presents Pakistan as a united nation that is suffering because of the absence of English as an L1. Although she does not directly spell out the resolution in the last stanza, by re-stating the conditional statement English as L1=Problems solved, she is constructing conditions that in her opinion would lead towards a resolution. If she had made her conditional sentence If+English as medium of instruction=problems solved, she would be making a case for English medium of instruction. To the contrary, she is conditioning the solution of the problems with English being the mother tongue. Hence her suggested resolution is a shift in mother tongue from local languages in Pakistan towards English.

Based on this analysis, the call for English medium of instruction that Zubaida, the policymaker, and many other participants in my study are making is not a genuine question of quality of education or even medium of instruction, but rather of language shift. Because if the concern was quality of education only, my participants would have looked at the alternative ways to improve the quality of education and not focus only on one option—enforcing English medium of instruction to all. The other probable options would include improving the quality of education through empowering local languages. Moreover, the uncritical and deficit perspective that my participants exhibit towards local languages and cultures in Pakistan is threatening and dangerous. Neither the policymaker nor the teacher

or student participants ever mentioned that they desire to improve the quality of education in order to be strong enough to protect their languages and cultures. In contrast, what we see is a desire to be like the (neo)colonial master! In addition, what is more threatening is that their approach towards language shift has been supported by the provincial and national policies of Pakistan that are formed under the direct influence of EFA. The colonized brain has been disciplined—to look at and parrot the colonizer!

From Independence to *in*- Dependence

If this decision of English language policy is based on the super-projected hype that one should learn English because according to EFA documents (UNESCO, 1990; UNESCO, 2005) most valuable and prestigious knowledge is accessible in the English language ONLY, then we are questioning the worth of not just local languages but also local knowledges and declaring a permanent dependence on Western knowledge and scholarship. So doing has serious implications for the academic and intellectual future of our generations. According to Singh (2008):

> German political scientist Weiler (2001) identifies the relationship between global knowledge and power as involving a hierarchy of knowledge where one form of knowledge is privileged over another; where a particular knowledge is legitimated by power because it legitimizes that power; and where a transnational system of power working through global organizations, such as publishing corporations, research organizations, higher education institutions, professional organizations, and testing services, legitimates one form of knowledge. (p. 336)

A linguistic hierarchy has been established by EFA documents (especially 1990 and 2005) in the name of "linguistic balance" between students' mother tongues and English as the medium of instruction. This balance is in fact a serious imbalance where local languages have been restricted in their academic (and by extension all other

significant) roles, and English has been granted unlimited support and leverage. My data analysis further reveals that the purpose of recommending the mother tongue as medium of instruction in the early years of schooling is not to promote or enrich these local languages but rather to ease the transition towards learning English. This creates a dangerous imbalance between the languages in terms of their role, status, and future in academia. Therefore, there is a need to understand and investigate the reasons behind the construction of this imbalance and reveal:

> in what form unequal power manifests itself. Who benefits from current relations in and among these institutions? In what ways? In order to understand this, we need to take the position of those who are culturally, politically, or economically disenfranchised or oppressed, or who during the current conservative restoration are losing what they had spent so many years trying to gain. (Apple, 1995, p. xxv)

A common sense narrative has been established that second or foreign language learners of English and their respective communities and economies benefit from the fruits of world class education and upward social and economic mobility. To some these benefits do come! Our attention has been directed towards those limited benefits, and we have overlooked the larger losses. My concern is about what happens to the majority, to know what is lost and compromised and who benefits from that loss. Loss of national and linguistic pride, restrained growth (especially academic) of non-Anglophonic languages and knowledges, deteriorated quality of education, significant pressure and re-shaping of the teacher labor force, a very narrow understanding of basic concepts such as “education”, “educated”, and perpetual dependence on the English language are among a few of these losses that non-Anglophonic Pakistan trades off with as a result of trying to gain English language proficiency.

Further, it is important to know the ways in which this imbalance is manifested. One of these manifestations is an emerging commonsense policy toward language shift. This common sense policy did not initiate with the English language policy in NEP 2009 but rather has been carefully and systematically constructed over time, under economic, academic, and political pressures. Although it does not officially name language shift, NEP 2009 allows this common sense policy to penetrate into global, local, and institutional levels through multiple channels. Tracking the spread of this common sense policy is not a trivial, straightforward, or easy task. Doing so would require critically investigating our "social formation differently …. It requires that we consciously bracket what we take for granted about how our schools, media, government, and economic institutions work" (Apple, 1995, p. xxv).

However, the way the educational system plays a role in developing this common sense policy is very evident. A huge body of research indicates that the languages that lose their active role in academia start losing their status and importance in the eyes of their users. This is because people want to invest in the languages that buy them and their coming generations higher education, better employment opportunities, and, by extension, upward social mobility. In contrast, priority is not given to the languages that are not schooled literacies. This chapter analyzes that although Punjab province's decision to implement English medium of instruction across the board for K-12 and in all school types (government, semi-government, and private) does not directly apply to higher educational institutes, it is a way to prepare students in pre-HE education for the linguistic challenges of English medium in HE. This is the English dominant higher education that the Bologna

Declaration has been pushing towards. This is what my data analysis reveals as well. My participants (policymakers as well as teachers and students) have lost trust and interest in their local languages and favor English medium of instruction in the early years of schooling. For example, "So. agar yei hoti agar yei hamari first language hoti to hamari bohat sari problems <<solve ho jatein" [*So, if it were. if it were our first language most of our problems <<would have solved*] (extract 6.6, lines 29-33). This is because they believe in the common sense narrative that English medium of instruction in early schooling will facilitate the transition towards higher education and hence better employment opportunities.

This chapter has investigated the historical and current understanding of the linguistic dimension of the term quality education in EFA documents, NEP 2009, the Punjab Educational Reform, and the perceptions of local actors in Pakistan. From 1990 to 2005, there was no well-formed definition or framework for quality education in EFA documents. Most of the time, countries have been judged for quality education against an arbitrary criterion of "international standards." Neither in policy documents nor in participant interviews or chats did the word "international standards" mean *any* international country, but particularly Western and European models and standards. Similarly, the policymaker I interviewed did not compare Pakistan with the developing countries that have English medium of instruction such as Malaysia, Singapore, or Philippines, but he compared Pakistan with the UK and US. Thus, the term *quality in education* has been entextualized as "European [Western] space" or "European dimension"

for higher education (Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences, & The Association of European Universities, 1999, p. 4).

The question that then arises is, after compromising their local languages and accepting perpetual dependence on the English language, would people in Pakistan receive real quality education? The answer is likely 'no' unfortunately. My data suggest that the promised quality of education and unified educational system that were the apparent key motivating factors in medium of instruction shift have actually been compromised because of this shift. According to a Pakistani newspaper, the British Council and Directorate of Staff development, Punjab conducted an English proficiency test in order to rate teachers' proficiency on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) scale. Thirty percent of public school teachers and 22% of private teachers are at the beginner's level for English A1.

> During the course of the study, a new A0 level was established for those with no measurable standard of functional language ability. Fifty-six per cent of government teachers and 62% of private teachers were found to be in this category…38% of middle teachers and 65% of primary teachers judged to be in the A0 category. Almost 94% of teachers at English medium schools were deemed to be in the pre-intermediate (A2) or lower levels (A1 or A0) of English language ability. (The Tribune, October 11, 2013)

A select group of teachers were then provided training in the English language, which ranged from 7-21 days (British Council, 2013). One can very well understand the quality of English medium of instruction when such a large number of teachers are at below functional or the beginning level of functional English. This example is just one of the countless ways in which quality of education has deteriorated after the implementation of English language policy as a neocolonial reform.

This English language policy as neocolonial educational reform is in fact an extension of colonial rule in the Pakistani educational system. In the twenty first century, while developed countries like the U.S. are raising slogans of *education for freedom*, *education for liberation* and *independence*, this English medium of instruction is affording Pakistan more and perpetual dependence on colonial and neocolonial masters: "Those working in Punjab's education system should endeavor to enlist help from external partners" (British Council, 2013, p. 32). Although colonialism in Pakistan ended in 1947, we are still in a position in which we are required to seek acceptance and approval from our neocolonial masters. In its report, the British Council (2013) recommends for the province of Punjab:

> It is suggested that schools that meet the Directorate of Staff Development's minimum standards of English for teachers at each grade level would receive the badge of 'Aptis Certified School'. To encourage further development of English medium teaching beyond this basic threshold, higher award levels might be created – schools that achieve higher than average Aptis results among students, for example, might receive "Excellence in English Language Teaching" awards, while those that score higher than average in assessments of subjects taught through the medium of English might receive an "Excellence in English Medium" award. These awards could be developed as steps towards the already existing International School Award, which recognises schools that integrate a global dimension in their teaching, with the ultimate aim of developing engaged global citizens. (p. 31)

This system of surveillance, monitoring, and a constant need of approval is a form of colonial, epistemic, and academic violence done through the language education policy. And the purpose is not just to create linguistic hegemony but also the "goal pursued is the spread of a hegemonic dis-ease" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 52) and to ensure that the colonial master is present if not physically, then systemically. This sense of surveillance, when internalized, takes away the sense of self, self-pride, and trust and perpetuates in people a

sense of inferiority and a constant pressure of being compared, monitored, and judged. Zubaida and the policymaker offer us a window into the lives of such Pakistanis who have internalized this sense of surveillance and live in an inferiority complex. According to Foucault, as quoted in Taubman (2009),

> In…the system of surveillance…there is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze with each individual under its weight will end by internalizing to the point that he is his own supervisor, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over and against himself. (p.88)

Thus, this gaze keeps the colonized always at the inferior peripheral position and the colonizer at the heart of the educational discourse. Colonizers have always used the educational system of the colonized to develop their own hegemony and create an inferiority complex among the colonized so as to ensure their perpetual subordination. "We educated you and now you are turning against your benefactors. Ungrateful wretches! You will always be a disappointment" (Fanon, 1952, p. 18). In this case, NEP 2009 of Pakistan represents a miserable situation where the colonized have completely lost hope and trust in their language(s) and look up at the language of the colonizer as a way to survive. This inferiority complex created about linguistic identity works at two levels, what Fanon (1952) calls "a double process: First, economic. Then, internalization or rather epidermalization of this inferiority" (p. xv). It is as a result of this internalization of inferiority that the colonized is willing to compromise and transform his or her identity—linguistic as well as cultural-hence proving the colonization of the mind!

According to Norton (1997), identity is a means to understand our relationship with the world: "I use the term identity to refer to how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people

understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 410). Under the light of this definition and the role of identity, how does the colonized identify him/ herself: 1) in relation to the world as a result of learning the colonial language and 2) in relation to the colonial language and by extension colonial culture that is (re)shaping his/her identity. Fanon (1952) helps answer this question:

> All colonized people—in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave—position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e. the metropolitan culture. The more the colonized has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis, the more he will have escaped the bush. The more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become. (p. 3)

Having said all that, the colonized are not any monolithic reality; they are human beings endowed with qualities to question, negotiate, resist, and rationalize as well. The subjugation to English dominance is not the complete reality. There are other parts of this truth that we need to investigate. In the following chapter through a close examination of portraits of Pakistani higher education graduates, I investigate the other necessary segments of this truth.

Chapter 7
Post-Colonial Students as Contact Zones of Subordination and Resistance

> *An investigation of the structural forces and lived experiences of people in this society does not show a monolithic victory by the ideologies of [the] powerful….a closer look reveals something more tenuous, more contradictory, more capable of being transformed into a positive movement in education… (Apple, 1995, xxiv)*

Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer two of the dissertation's questions: (1) *What are the perceived impacts of language education policy of Pakistan on the academic and professional trajectories of low socio-economic status (SES) higher education (HE) students*; (2) *How do the students from varied socio-economic backgrounds subordinate, resist, appropriate, and/or negotiate the gatekeeping role of language education policy (LEP) in Pakistan*? Through in-depth multimodal critical discourse analysis of the Facebook chats, pictures, interviews, and biographic interviews of three higher education graduates, one urban, one rural and one small-town, this chapter provides evidence of how global and neocolonial reforms tend to inform the perceptions and the academic and professional trajectories of individual students in a developing and post-colonial country like Pakistan. Since qualitative research neither aims at nor advocates determining causality, this work voices the perceptions of these students regarding the role of the colonial language English in their lives, their struggles, tensions, fears, and their reactions towards the gatekeeping role of the colonial language in order to achieve their goals in life. This chapter focuses on how students position themselves with reference to LEP in Pakistan in general (irrespective of NEP 2009). This chapter also elaborates how complicated the reality of a colonized student is—there is no clean binary between

subordination and resistance; between being agents and targets. The delicate dance between subordination and resistance can only be understood through reading the experiences of people around these themes and how these people from varied backgrounds perceived, suffered from, submitted to, and fought against the gatekeeping role of the colonial language that has been promoted by a system set up to fail students.

The data for this chapter are multimodal comprising of interviews of HE students and recent graduates, and a Facebook discussion between HE students and me. The interviews include one picture each as a visual representation of the perceptions, relationship, and positioning of my participants with reference to the English language. These are the pictures that my participants were asked to share with me at the beginning of the first round of Skype (audio) interviews. Our very first interview opened with the discussion on these pictures and revolved around these pictures. The interviews about their demographics especially were conducted later on because, although I knew many of my participants personally for the last few years, I was not comfortable starting interviews with very personal and sensitive information such as socio-economic status and the description of the failures, challenges, and successes in life.

The Facebook discussion data was gathered from a private discussion group with HE students and recent graduates. Initially, I was the one to begin a string of conversation either by a picture prompt or text, and my student participants responded to it or engaged in discussion with each other. Later my participants also started sharing picture prompts, which initiated rich discussion among us. I started this Facebook page in the summer of 2012 and continued discussions in the group until summer 2015. There are a few students

who stayed in the group for the entire period of time but others either joined the group late or joined in the beginning but quit in the middle.

This chapter is comprised of three sections. The first section, "Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance in Postcolonial Discourse", is comprised of three sub-sections. The first sub section narrates the story of a Nepalese woman, Gyanumaya; the second sub-section extends upon the story in order to explain the metaphor of the Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance; and through Gyanumaya's Story the third section elaborates what subordination and resistance to LEP looks like in Pakistan. The second section, "Life Trajectory Portraits of HE Students from Pakistan", is also comprised of three sub-sections. Each sub-section is constructed around the life trajectories of an HE student or recent graduate in Pakistan, and analysis of the most relevant emerging themes in each portrait, drawing on extracts from Facebook discussions and interview data. The third section, "Living the Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance", outlines the discussion and implications.

Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance in Postcolonial Discourse

This section is organized around the story of a Nepalese woman (Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte, & Cain, 2001) to further our understanding of the contact zone of subordination and resistance within discourse. Understanding the notion of the contact zone of subordination and resistance will help us all understand the conflicted and complicated relationship of each of my participants with the English language and the ways they negotiate, subordinate, resist, and appropriate the power of English in their lives in particular and within the discourse in general. Ultimately this story aims to develop our

understanding of the varied rationalities of LEP within the higher education (HE) discourse of postcolonial Pakistan, a discourse which is historically entrenched within the tensions of linguistic and socio-economic divides. This story also serves as a point of departure to our understanding of the interplay between LEP in Pakistan --a tool of the colonizer-- and the contact zone of subordination and resistance. Explicitly, this story helped me navigate through the following questions, which are the main themes of this dissertation: How do the divides created by LEP impact the trajectories of students coming from different socio-economic and linguistic backgrounds? How does LEP play a gatekeeping role for students from lower socio-economic statuses (SES)? How do students from varied socio-economic backgrounds negotiate with, subordinate to, or resist the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan?

The postcolonial image of the colonized does not accept the colonized as a monolithic entity which is an embodiment of subordination and misery or as mere "cultural dupes, incapable of interpreting, accommodating, and resisting dominant discourses" (Rizvi, 2009, p. 52). Rather postcolonialism views the colonized as an agentive being that possesses the agency to resist the domination as well as negotiate with and re-shape the vestiges of colonialism according to their own circumstances. Ramanathan (2005) calls this re-shaping of language as postcolonial hybridity: "Postcolonial hybridity […] by its nature implies nativizing; i.e. appropriating the colonizer's language (in this case, English) to fit and reflect local ways of thinking, knowing, behaving, acting and reasoning in the world" (p. viii). Thus, the flow of power is not just unidirectional but rather is reflexive: "…colonizers not only shape the culture and identities of colonized but are in turn shaped

by their encounters with the hegemonic processes of colonization" (Rizvi, 2009, p. 52). This is why Ramanathan (2005) presents the notion of the nexus of subordination and resistance within the colonized self. Given below is the story of Gyanumaya to further elaborate our understanding of this contact zone.

Story of Gyanumaya

Holland et al. (2001) were doing data collection in Naudada, a rural community of Nepal. The community is based on deeply entrenched racial and ethnic segregation. According to ethnic rules of this community of practice, it is not legitimate for people from a low caste to socialize with, sit close to, and even to stay in the houses of upper class members of this society. An incident occurred during one interview session that was held at the balcony of the second floor in the house of one of the researchers. This house was actually three-story. Initially, there were two female interviewees present; these women belong to two different classes: The Sunar caste (untouchable class) and the Chetri caste (higher-caste). The researchers report that there was an obvious discomfort on the part of the Sunar woman. The researchers emphasize that the discomfort was because culturally these two women from different castes were not supposed to sit together. Doing so was in violation of power roles. However, the major episode started when Gyanumaya, an elderly woman in her late fifties, arrived the researchers' house. This woman also belonged to the Sunar caste. The researcher asked this woman to come to the balcony through the kitchen. However, on her way to the stairs the researcher realized that the woman had opted for an alternate way to the balcony: "…she scaled up the house. She somehow crawled up the vertical outside wall" (p. 10) and made her way to the balcony without using the kitchen

and stairways. Holland et al. asserts that "Gyanumaya knew that Debra the researcher did not prohibit lower-caste people from entering her kitchen, but she found a way to get to the place of our interview without going through the house" (p. 10). According to the researchers, this action was neither a cultural practice nor had the elderly woman done the same before.

Gyanumaya and the Metaphor of the Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance

This story raises many questions: Why did the other Sunar woman not opt for this route? Why did Gyanumaya invent this option? A quest for the answers takes us back to the postcolonial theory which offers an interesting yet realistic view of the colonized. According to Ramanathan (2005) postcolonialism is a strange contact zone of subordination and resistance, and these are two sides of the same coin. The colonized is not a monolithic entity but rather a fluid and dynamic personality (Hickling-Hudson, Matthews, & Woods, 2004) that oscillates between subordination and resistance. The colonized being is a multifaceted reality where multiple faces might co-exist in simultaneous contradiction to each other. Coming from a postcolonial society, I personally believe that these contradictions are inherent and mostly unconscious. There is never just one way to define the actions of the colonized. Taking the example of Gyanumaya, her action can be interpreted in multiple ways and probably none of them might be the ultimate truth. Concomitantly, some or all might be partially true simultaneously.

One interpretation of Gyanumaya's action could be her subordination to the power relations existing in the community of practice (Holland et al., 2001). She has internalized

the rules of power and is expert in reproducing them. She is very well aware that being a member of the low-caste she cannot enter the house from the kitchen. So doing might result in violating the power structure and the negation of the authority of the higher-caste women. Thus, she submits to the traditional categorization and decides not to violate them hence does not use the kitchen entrance. However, it might as well be viewed as her resistance to the gatekeeping mechanism of the discourse that restricts her entry to the researchers' house. She makes her way into the researchers' house bypassing the gatekeeping mechanism as if she says, *I don't want to give up and I do not want my access to be restricted*. Concomitantly, it can be the contact zone of subordination and resistance. She subordinates herself to the defined rules and respects the prohibition that is imposed upon her that refuses her entry through the kitchen. She submits to the category being inscribed upon her (Holland, et al., 2001), yet at the same time uses her agency to invent a way for a legitimate entry into the balcony that was otherwise not approved. Her action proclaims: *I know how to make ways that are legitimate*. Thus, she carved out a way to make her entry possible avoiding the looks and gazes of the woman from the so-called higher caste.

My concern, however, is regarding the silenced pain that this Nepalese woman might have withstood during the process of *(re)inventing her way*. In her paper "Multilingual Subjects," Kramsch (2006) borrows an allegory of a Bedouin from Kilto. This Bedouin was passing through the desert when, during night time, he lost his way. In order to find his way and re-locate himself among other human beings he decides to bark like a dog with a hope that the other dogs in the nearby human habitation (if any) would

bark in response. Following their barking, he would find his way. Thus, in order to re-locate himself among other humans, he had to first dehumanize himself. Though intentional, this process is filled with the pain of disrespect and humiliation. The pain of barking like a dog is similar to the pain, which Gyanumaya might have to bear while scaling up the wall like a reptile. Although this choice was intentional in both cases, it refers to the paradox of choice. The section below applies Gyanumaya's story to the educational system of Pakistan, the painful process of identity negotiation, and the possibilities of subordination and resistance that Pakistani students with low SES face.

Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance in Pakistan through Gyanumaya's Story

In this section, I analyze the class-based HE discourse of postcolonial Pakistan using Gyanumaya's case in order to present some examples of how subordination and resistance to LEP looks like in Pakistan. In this class-based society, the power of LEP has different rationalities for different students. There are some low SES students in HE who are, like Gyanumaya, experts in the delicate dance of subordination and resistance. These are the ones who do not rely on the traditional access through the legitimate kitchen door and stairways only, but rather they carve their routes to bypass them. These are the ones who keep navigating their way from the legitimate peripheral positions (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to the heart of the community of practice of HE. Like Gyanumaya, they reach their desired goal without necessarily violating and subverting the status quo yet challenge it in significant and sometimes mysterious ways. In fact, their mere presence in the balcony of power questions the power position that their counterparts from higher SES enjoy. In

general, LEP in HE tends to sharpen the relation these rationalities of colonialism have with the individual thus strengthening and widening the socio-economic divide in academia that transcends into the society later on. However, there are students (though in small number) who challenge the status quo and try to subvert these rationalities, inscriptions, and categories.

Students in HE who master this delicate dance of subordination and resistance have to be prompt in deciding when to offer resistance, to whom, in what ways, and to what extent. These decisions are mainly based on their role, their position in the figured worlds (FW), and their relevant agency in the discourse. According to Holland et. al (2003) figured worlds are "socially produced and culturally constructed activities" (p. 40), and "social encounters in which participants' positions matter". (p. 41). During these social activities and encounters participants are divided, grouped and categorized. Hence social positions and relationships are conducted in the figured worlds in ways that "people fashion senses of self—that is, develop identities" (Holland et. al, 2003, p. 60). Hence it is within figured world that "characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (Holland et. al, 2003, p. 52). For example, the figured world of the English language learners (ELLs) in Pakistan students are labelled as (un)intelligent, (in)capable, or (not)hardworking not just with reference to their proficiency in English language but also how they are understood and ranked compared to the other students who may or may not have the similar life conditions. It is during this process of categorization, division, labelling, and positioning that students assume for themselves different identities. For example, in chapter seven, Nazia assumed

for herself the identity of an unintelligent and incapable student who could not study English language. In chapters five and six, the policymaker assumes for Pakistan an identity of an uncompetitive country which cannot compete with the other nations of world because they have English as their mother tongue and Pakistan does not

These students simultaneously hold the membership of multiple figured worlds (FW) such as FW of academia, FW of their mother tongue, FW of their social class. It would be interesting to see how these multiple memberships intersect, disrupt, contradict, and/or support each other in different situations. For example, my participant Farid belonged to the figured world of low SES, working class, Punjabi speakers where he was born and raised and where his entire family belongs even today. However, he was also a member of another conflicting figured world of Urban, elite, Westernized, and English speaking business college in which he was studying at. He had to learn to oscillate between them both.

Concomitantly, there are multiple sub FWs within academia such as the figured world of high scorers, and the figured world of struggling students. It is also important to see how students acquire, maintain, switch, and negotiate these memberships under their linguistic pressures/ bonds. Based on my personal experience, language proficiency and preference play an integral role in group memberships. LEP intersects with the academic trajectories of each group differently; thus each of them might have their own strategies to respond to the power of the LEP, and each of them might use their agency uniquely. Thus, the nexus of voice, power, and agency works differently in each case. At the same time, each of these groups is heterogeneous in itself due to a combination of multiple factors that

include: parental education, the schooling these students have experienced, the teachers and peers they studied with, their family history, varied personality traits, approach towards life, and motivation about learning the colonial language. On top of everything, what might make a difference is their understanding of the power of English in academic discourse, awareness of their agency, and their strategic use of available resources to negotiate with these power relations. This participation in the figured worlds can be temporary, partial and inconsistent (Gee, 2011) because figured worlds are situated into socio-cultural and political discourses which are not static. Since these socio-cultural, economic and political conditions change the membership in these figured worlds also change. Similarly, people's experiences, opinions, and positions change. All these factors make figured worlds less-stable and less permanent.

Resistance. My use of Gyanumaya's action also reflects the fact that there is no monolithic, linear, and single manifestation and simplified explanation of resistance, but rather it is a complicated phenomenon in itself. There are students who resist learning English in K-12; resultantly they fail legitimate entry into HE institutions. Those who fail the English compulsory examination in the matriculation (grade 10) examination or later on in the intermediate (grade 12) examination put a full stop to any kind of further education. Those who pass these exams, but not with flying colors, either opt for non-elite subjects (civics, social work, etc.), which earn them the least paid or *no* jobs in Pakistan. Some of them get admission in vocational training institutions, and the remaining abandon education forever. Unlike Gyanumaya, none of them is able to scale-up and resist the gate-

keeping mechanism of the English medium of instruction, and so they are denied access to the educational-elite's balcony of power.

Coming from a postcolonial society, I argue that resistance might even take its route from submission. It is not necessary that resistance appears in entirely oppositional ways to subordination; rather, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two until very late. One such example in Colonial British India was the learning of English by the Muslims. British colonizers imposed English as the medium of instruction. Most Muslims resisted it and stopped going to schools that had English as the medium of instruction (Khan, 2001). In the late 19th century, under the guidance of Shibli and Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan, Muslims opted for an entirely opposite way of resistance-- they started learning English (Rahman, 2002). Initially, it seemed to be subordination to the LEP of the colonized; however, later on, it became explicit that most Muslims used the language of the colonizers as a tool against colonial powers and to resist the gatekeeping role of language in education (Rahman, 2002). The schools, colleges, and universities to which Muslims got admission for HE later became the major platforms for independence movements (Rahman, 2002). Thus, in this case resistance took its route from subordination, and this route was intentionally carved out probably as in Gyanumaya's case.

Post-colonial Pakistan also has many such examples in educational Discourse. A conservative group in Pakistan declared English as the language of non-Muslim European powers; hence, they refused to learn it. However, later on they realized that their resistance to learning English was actually reinforcing the agendas of the oppositional forces; thus,

they decided to take the opposite route. They started learning English! Now, they use English in their speeches, press releases, print their literature in English, and even have English as the medium of instruction in the schools they run (Rahman, 2002).

This dissertation in itself is one such example of resistance against English hegemony through the use of the English language. Being a citizen of a post-colonial country and an alumnus of Pakistani HE, when I voice out against the linguistic injustice and academic violence being practiced by the colonial language, I use English as a tool to be heard in international communities of researchers, policymakers, and educators. Keeping this theoretical and contextual background in mind, I now transition into the life trajectory portraits of my three focal student participants and the analysis of major themes emerging from their lives.

Life Trajectory Portraits of HE Students from Pakistan

This section is comprised of three stand-alone, yet interconnected sub-sections named on the pseudonyms of my focal participants: Nazia, Zaheer, and Farid respectively. Each sub-section starts with a picture that these students shared with me before the start of our very first interview and illuminates the relationship of my participants with the English language. Each sub-section is constructed around two parts. One, the life trajectory of an HE student or recent graduate in Pakistan is a compilation of my understanding of the biographical interview with the participant. This part is descriptive and does not do any critical discourse analysis of the data. Section two is an analysis of the most relevant emerging themes in each portrait, drawing on extracts from FB discussions and interview data. These themes are not exclusive to the three focal participants; in fact, they were the

most recurring themes in my entire data collected from the other participants as well. However, the reason I associated each theme with one student's life trajectory in particular is because the shaping of the life trajectory of the particular student reflects the natural emergence of the theme.

The study includes 24 HE male and female students and recent graduates from the universities of Punjab Province. The minimum age of the participants was 20 years. I reached all these student participants and three teachers through my previous and current acquaintances and directly asked them if they wanted to participate in this study. For this chapter, I have chosen three of my student participants as focal participants. Nazia, Zaheer and Farid are all pseudonyms for my participants. Detailed narrative descriptions of these students are provided in the next section. I chose them for being focal participants for multiple reasons. First, they represented three different levels within low SES of Pakistan urban, rural and small town in Pakistan; and educational backgrounds of their parents ranged from totally uneducated to Bachelors' degree. Secondly, they represent a range of relationship with English language, from encouraging and rewarding to embarrassing, punishing and failing. Thirdly, at this point in life they stand at three different stages in the academic and professional trajectories and are looking forward for three different kinds of imagined futures.

My rationale for focusing on these exceptional students from low SES is based on many reasons: my low SES background, my schooling mainly in public schools of Pakistan, my siblings' struggle in HE, my investment into learning English language, and my struggles in this process and the fruits of learning English that I have reaped in my life.

However, this long route taught me some important lessons and posed some critical questions worth exploring. In the struggle to re-enter the English medium HE, can everyone afford to invest so heavily in terms of time and money? Do all the students get enough guidance and support at home to be able to carve out this re-entry for themselves? The second reason for focusing the study on this category is the extra-ordinary nature of the struggles that these students have to do in the absence of enough guidance in the Pakistani HE. Thirdly, this category constitutes the biggest majority in HE and in the overall population of Pakistan. Helping them out would mean contributing towards the welfare of the largest section of the society. Lastly, this is the group of students who are most vulnerable to becoming agents of negative elements in the society. Faced with failure and utter disappointment, they can be engaged into negative activities and unfair means of moving up the ladder of economic mobility. It is therefore, important to acknowledge their efforts, shun the historical labels, comprehend the nuanced complexities of their struggles, be able to reduce the pain of this process, voice out the injustices and engage the policymakers, curriculum designers, administrators, teachers, parents and students into this joint project of succeeding in HE by students from various SES.

Nazia

"… jis din suna kr baithna naseeb hota tha buht proud proud feel hota tha 😐 "
(… the day when after having demonstrated successful memorization [pronoun absent] was ordained the opportunity to sit, [pronoun absent] would feel very proud 😐)
(Nazia, Fall, 2013)

I met Nazia when she was doing her Masters in Pakistan approximately six years ago. I always found her to be a very quiet, serious, engaged, but struggling student. When I started using Facebook, she became my Facebook friend. Initially our conversation was very limited, but it grew incredibly when I came to the U.S., and she started her M.Phil. degree (18 years of education and equivalent to an MS in the U.S.) in English Language Teaching. Clearly, she highly valued my educational experience in the U.S. and wanted to learn from me. By the time I started this study, she was finishing her M.Phil. thesis and beginning her career as an English language teacher trainer in a public sector educational reform program.

Nazia's parents came from a small village in the province of Punjab. According to her, "my father did his graduation and my mother was primary. She she. She just. Did just did 5 classes. 5 classes." Although her mother's village had a school for girls, she had to help her sick mother who had "nine other siblings so she was elder one so she had to take care of them as well." The rest of the siblings all had the freedom and support to go to school, but they made their own choices. One of Nazia's khalas (mom's sister) was able to get a teaching licensure after grade 12, one of her mamoons (mom's brother) did a Bachelors in Sciences and the youngest uncle is a chartered accountant. The rest of her mother's siblings stopped going to school after grade 10. "Matlab koi zabardasti nahi thi kei parhna hei kei nahi parhna. Her kisi ki apni marzi thi." (*There was no compulsion whether someone wanted to go to continue studies or not. It was every one's personal choice*). The case was similar with Nazia's cousins. Some of them wanted to go to school,

while the majority preferred to remain as farmers. Her father's family had a similar composition.

As far as the experience with English is concerned, English was not taught at the primary level in public schools when Nazia's mother started going to school. So Nazia's mother could not even read the English alphabet. "No, after 6th class after 6th class in they will teach it as a subject. I remember my youngest khala used to learn abc [English alphabets] from me when I was young when I was small and she was in 5th class and she was asking aa. What are these?" However, Nazia's father was able to do limited official communication in the English language and used to teach basic English grammar to his kids at home.

After marriage Nazia's parents moved from the village to Lahore city where they gave birth to three children—Nazia and her two brothers. Nazia's elder brother is a computer operator in a government office, because he could not reach higher education, while her younger brother is doing software engineering at a public university. According to Nazia, he can comprehend and speak English very well. "But he is not a confident one. He once he told me that he had to do a presentation…in English language so he was like 'Ok now. It is so difficult for me… me to speak up there confidently I stammer a lot what can I do... to save myself from that humiliation in the classroom.'" She explained that it was mainly because in engineering classes students do not have enough opportunity to communicate, and if they have to, they prefer using the Urdu language. But the major fact is that "he is not bothered about language learning. For him other courses were important so it was important for him to get B [grade] in language classes."

In Lahore city, Nazia's father started working in a government office. Initially, they lived in a rented house, but then moved to government accommodation. With the passage of time they bought a piece of land on installments (on which to construct their house) in a lower middle class housing neighborhood in the peripheries of Lahore. It took them 20 some years to pay off that lot, build their house, and finally move into it. Substantial development activities in the neighborhood have resulted in the area now being considered to be in the upper middle class.

Nazia went to a non-elite private school for the first ten years of schooling. The school advertised itself as operating in English medium of instruction. Very similar to the new ELP in the Punjab province of Pakistan, Urdu, social studies, and Islamic studies were taught in the Urdu language and "baqi science maths yei donon English mein hotei thei" (*the rest of science and mathematics were all in English*). The teachers and school administrators only used English:

> When they had to read the stuff from the book they would speak English. Otherwise, they do not ever speak English. They would just communicate to us in our mother tongue and... And we learn like we learn everything by memorizing it...We had to. we had to memorize the rules of English language. OK. Past tense, it has a past form, it has a this and this. So we used to memorize stuff in English language and structure of English language.

Nazia was considered a struggling student at school who was frequently punished for not having memorized the lesson and was not liked by the teachers. Despite all the challenging circumstances at school, her father used to tutor her at home and especially focus on English grammar. When she reached grade 9 it was the time to decide whether she would opt to study sciences or humanities. Her principal suggested that she should opt for humanities and social sciences because "mein weak thi na. science meiri liyei mushkil hoti"

(because I was weak [in studies] and science would be difficult for me). This was the time when Nazia's father took a firm stance and insisted that if his daughter wanted to study sciences, she should be admitted in the sciences. The principal agreed, but she placed Nazia in a science section where Urdu was the medium of instruction, because the principal said, "She cannot study those all stuff in English it will be too difficult for her to understand and learn it." With the guidance and encouragement of her father at home, she passed her matriculation exam and "I still remember mere 9th k marks dekh kr heraan hoye thay mere principal k itny marks Nazia k" (*I still remember seeing my 9th grade result my principal was surprised that how could Nazia secure such good grades*).

In the college (grades 11 and 12) she was admitted into a public college where she opted to study economics, psychology, and education; but she chose to take them in Urdu and not in English—partly because out of the class of 60 girls only four or five opted for the English medium of instruction, because "they were more intelligent" and partly because Nazia had started to believe in what had been told to her about her language skills and by extension her academic caliber and intellect. This decision made grades 11 to 14 less challenging and also the fact that the college teachers who taught English compulsory would translate for students all important paragraphs from English to Urdu.

After earning her Bachelor's degree Nazia had two options—banking or teaching. "It was my father's suggestion that I should go for teaching. That is the best profession for girls, so I should go there." She and her father decided she would do a Masters in English language teaching in a public sector university in Lahore. This decision proved to be the turning point in her life because "there is a lot of difference between.aa between that girl

who was graduation..the graduate and the girl who was masters in English Language Teaching because her language was far more better than that girl." Nazia attributes this change in her life to the teachers in the Master's Program, who would speak English and encourage their students to do so. "They just they just like asked us to to watch movies and read stuff in Urdu un.no. in to read stuff in English language because a.a.a. before that I had never read any book other than my course." Since this was a public university and the majority of students in the class were not from the elite social class, Nazia found in her class many others going through the same struggles that she was going through. In fact, most of them "never had a chance of speaking language other than their classroom." Teachers understood this common struggle and focused on improving the English language proficiency of these aspiring ESL/EFL teachers or teacher trainers. This supportive, nurturing environment eased for her English language learning. Although "everyone was struggling," they were able to speak with each other in English after the first year. Learning to speak English "was not big that was not. a big task"; the real challenge was learning to write English:

> Because I I can't write a lot I can just explain my stuff in two or three lines and not more than that so writing was…you know. I had small concept and I was able to translate aa I was able to write it down in English that was not undoable. That was not difficult. It was fine. It was not so easy but that was fine. It was not that difficult as well.

Continuous mentoring, motivation, and hard work improved her writing skills, as well. Nazia successfully completed her Master's degree, right after she completed M.Phil. in English language teaching from a prestigious private college. She has recently started training teachers in the remote areas of Punjab province, and the focus is on the teachers

who do not have any resources other than the white or black board. One of the major focuses of the training is needs assessment of the teachers and students to be able to provide support "according to their needs, according to the students' type. Try to develop their skills we have to see what kind of material they have in their classroom and what kind of problems they face in their classrooms and as a we found out that most of the areas they are they. Are not very much. a. well versed." When I asked Nazia, why it was important for her to focus on improving teachers' language skills, she referred to her experience and reported that most often:

> He [teacher] is the model for them to a. to speak that language. They are xx to follow their teachers not anyone else because they hear. They only hear her in the classroom as an English speaker not anyone else as they in their homes and other places they won't find anyone speaking English. Other people are speaking aa talking in mother tongue. So this is only the teacher who is going to. who is resource for them for target language.

Nazia's life trajectory illuminates her changing and conflicted relationship with the English language. Her early schooling was a painful experience, filled with the embarrassment and fear of punishment and characterized with the labels such as *unintelligent* and *weak*, because of her not being able to memorize and perform English language lessons. However, her university experience shifted the direction of her life and helped her become a successful and confident speaker of the English language and by extension an active participant in the classroom and a successful teacher trainer later on. The section given below analyzes her and other participants' conflicted and tense relationship with the English language.

The figured world of English language learners. During one of our Facebook chats when we were discussing the educational system in Pakistan and especially different kinds of English language teaching practices, Nazia co-constructed her English class experience with me. Although Nazia and I are at least 12 years apart in age, we both experienced some similar classroom English teaching practices (Extract 7.1).

Extract 7.1: Facebook Discussion, March, 2014.
Sadaf
March 7, 2014 · Minneapolis, MN
There is just a very small number of people who can reach Higher education in Pakistan...why?

		Original	English
1	Sadaf	YES!!! Leikin hamarei Pakistan mei to language teachers ki bhi bohat sari types hein nan? Right? What do you think about that?	YES!!! But in our Pakistan there are many types of language teachers, no? right? What do you think about that?
2	Nazia	Gee han wo jo angrezi urdu mai parhatey hain phr us ka rata lagwatey hain or buchon ko sick leave lazmi yaad krwatey hain chahe phr wo beshak graduate ho kr b ek job application na likh sakey	Yes. Well those who ([they] teach English in Urdu, then make [students] memorize it and essentially make students memorize the application of sick leave irrespective of the fact whether the student remains unable to write an application [in English] by her/himself after Bachelors degree
23ss3	Sadaf	hahahahaha..... that is hilarious....but a bitter truth!	hahahahaha..... that is hilarious....but a bitter truth!
4	Sadaf	Mujhei yaad hei wo sick leave ki application yaad karna....Allah ki Qasam...bara scene hota tha.	I remember memorizing the application for sick leave…I swear to God…that used to be a [theatrical] scene.
5	Sadaf	Aur Qaid-e-Aazam ka mazmoon bhi	And also an essay on Quaid-e-Azam.
6	Sadaf	Did you also have to learn them?	Did you also have to learn them?
7	Nazia	Yes maan or yeh sub hum ne buht bardasht kia ..... Haye sara period class mai khara rehti the k essay k paragraph ko rata ku ni lagayaaa 😬	Yes man, and we tolerated enough of it. ..Oh my, the entire period [we] would keep standing because [we] would not have memorized a paragraph 😬
8	Sadaf	hahaha...aur kabhi kabhii to deewar ki taraf munh kar kei khara karti theen miss jee. Yad hei na?	Hahaha….and sometime dear teacher would make [pronoun absent] stand up facing the wall. You remember that, don't you?
9	S	:P	:P
10	S	😬	😬
11	S	ab nikali zaban deikha...	Now the tongue is stuck out see.
12	Nazia	Hum b dewaar ki tarf mun kr k aisey he zuban nikaltey thay or dheet ho k class mai enjoy krtey thay jb dusrey kharey hotey thay sath.	In stubbornness we would stick the tongue out facing the wall in similar way and would enjoy in the class when others were standing with us.

13	Sadaf	Hahaha	Hahaha
14	Sadaf	leikin kabhi kabhi team thori choti hoti thee...jab sirf do ya teen log kharei hotei thee aur un mein sei eik hotei thei, phir kya hota tha?	But when sometimes, when the team was a little smaller in size…when only two or three people were standing and [pronoun absent] was one of them. What would happen then?
15	Nazia	Haye bari sharm ati the k aj toh mai akeli hun or jis din suna kr baithna naseeb hota tha buht proud proud feel hota tha 😐	Oh my that used to be very embarrassing that today I am alone and the day when after having demonstrated successful memorization [I was] ordained the opportunity to sit, [pronoun absent] would feel very proud 😐
16	Sadaf	YES!!!	YES!!!
17	Sadaf	🙂	🙂
18	Sadaf	aur yad hei jab bari madam class room kei visit pei aati thee aur hum beecharei deewar ki taraf muh kar kei kharei hotei the?	And remember when the headmistress would come to visit the class while we poor souls would be standing facing the wall?
19	Nazia	Wo kehtei the yeh aj b khari hai .... I still remember mere 9th k marks dekh kr heraan hoye thay mere principal k itny marks Nazia k :|	She would say, she is standing today too… I still remember seeing my 9th grade result my principal was surprised that how could I secure such good grades.
20	Sadaf	unki twaqa sei zayada number aa gai thei kya?	Did you get grades more than her expectation?
21	Nazia	Han na underestimate kia mje	Oh yes, [pronoun absent] under-estimated me.
22	Sadaf	what did you feel when you MESSED UP her expectations	what did you feel when you MESSED UP her expectations
23	Sadaf	Weisei yei eik norm si hei hum kuch students ko itna zayada underestimate kartei hei bas had hi ho jati hei.	Well, by the way, its just a norm that we extremely underestimate few students
24	Nazia	Yes underestimate kr k un ka sara spark khtm kr dia jata un ko yeh realize nhi krwatey in which thing they r good at or try to make learning easy	Yes by under estimating their spark is extinguished. [Pronoun absent] never let them realize which thing they r good at or try to make learning easy
25	Sadaf	bilkul...eik ehsas-e-kamtari nahi peida ho jata bachon mein, kya khayal hei	Exactly…a sense of inferiority is produced in children, no? What do you think?
26	Nazia	Yes off course	Yes off course
27	Sadaf	to kya kiya phir us situation mein?	So what did you do in that situation?
28	Nazia	Kuch ni jo jaisa tha chalny dia ku k sb ne he yeh kaha tha k ye kahan bechari itni intelligent na bojh dalo is per itna	Nothing. I just let that go as it was. Everyone said, this poor girl is not that intelligent, don't burden her this much.
29	Sadaf	....hmmm...phir us bechari nei M Phil keisei kar liya....wo bhi intelligence kei bagheir..?	Hmmm…then how did that poor girl do M.Phil...and that too without intelligence?

30	Sadaf	kabhi un logon ki in statements pei yaqeen bhi aya kei nahen?	Did you ever believe in the statements that they made?
31	Nazia	Ghusa ata tha mje k awien log batien krtey itni b nalaik ni hun mai	I would get angry that they are gossiping for nothing, I am not that incapable.

Although this co-construction of the narrative emerged out of our discussion around the systemic and historical problems in English language teaching, it also reveals many significant factors such as: 1) how students are placed in the figured world of English language learners in Pakistani public schools; 2) how in this figured world a lack of performance in memorizing the English language was used to construct labels, categories, and identities for my participant and how, when she gained a certain degree of proficiency in the English language, she was able to get rid of these labels; 3) the painful process of English language learning; and 4) Nazia as a contact zone of subordination and resistance [see the discussion on the contact zone of subordination and resistance in section two of this chapter].

Applying "The doing and not just saying" tool (Gee, 2011, p. 45) helps us understand not only what the interlocutors (Nazia and I) are saying. but also what we are trying to do through the co-construction of this narrative on English language learning that we both share with many other Pakistanis. However, in order to understand the functions this co-construction performs, we need to gain clarity about the context to which this co-construction is referring. Gee's (2011) "Fill in tool" (p. 12) requires us to understand the tradition of memorization (also called rote learning, cramming, and ratta in Pakistan) and the historical pedagogical practices around teaching the English language in public and

non-elite private schools in order to gain clarity about not just what is said and why it is said, but also the context in which it is said.

In Pakistani public schools and most non-elite private schools, teachers have English language skills below functional level, which means they are not able to speak or understand basic conversational phrases in the English language, let alone the complicated structures or grammar of the language. Most English language teachers in these schools do not have any degree such as a Masters in TESOL or English language teaching. Furthermore, they have been taught English by teachers with similar linguistic and educational backgrounds. These teachers end up teaching what Nazia correctly recalls as "angrezi urdu mai parhatey hain phr us ka rata lagwatey hain" (*[they] teach English in Urdu, then make [students] memorize it*) (turn 2). This memorizing is usually not conditioned with the understanding of the meanings of the English text. Hence, comprehension exercises that include short question-answer, fill in the blanks, true or false, multiple choice questions, sentence formation, rules of grammar, phrases, and even questions such as translating from English to Urdu and Urdu to English are all prepared through rigorous memorization. What supports this pedagogy of memorizing is a system of examination. Exam questions are set up in such a way that students with better memorizing skills have more chances to outperform the students who do not like memorizing. For example, in the typical pattern of examination, there is an essay, an application, and a letter that everyone has to write. These letters and applications are set up on a traditional, generic pattern on some specified themes such as application for sick leave, application for urgent piece of work, or application for fee waiver. With few

exceptions, these texts are common and circulate among all students from all public schools. This is what Nazia referred to when she mentioned, “buchon ko sick leave lazmi yaad krwatey hein chahe phr wo beshak graduate ho kr b ek job application na likh sakey” ([*teacher*] *essentially makes students memorize the application of sick leave irrespective of the fact whether the student remains unable to write an application [in English] by her/himself after Bachelors degree*) (turn 2).

In this figured world (Gee, 2011, p. 171) of English language learners at Pakistani public or non-elite private schools, this narrative of rote learning is very familiar. The intensity of the problem grows in non-elite so-called English medium schools where all subjects, especially mathematics and sciences (and sometimes social studies as well), are officially declared to be taught through the English medium of instruction. However, in reality the pedagogy is not much different than how English is taught in public schools. Thus, the students in these non-elite private so-called English medium schools end up memorizing enormous amounts of texts in the English language. This practice of memorization in both kinds of schools, however, shapes the participants’ “activities, ways of interacting, …environments… as well as values…in these figured worlds” (Gee, 2011, p. 171). For example, it creates a comparative and punitive environment in a classroom where students are punished in front of the other students based on their ability to memorize English and perform it: “sara period class mai kharei reheti the ke essay ka paragraph ka rata kun nahi lagayaa😬”. (*Oh my, the entire period [we] would keep standing because [we] would not have memorized a paragraph* 😬) (turn 7).

The interactions between different participants of this figured world of English language teaching are worth examining. Paulo Freire calls for teaching as an act of love, which is quite inverse to this situation in which students are scared of the moment when the teacher enters the class and wait for the bell to ring so that their punishment will end. As in turn seven Nazia writes, "yeh sub hum nei boht bardasht kia" (*and we tolerated enough of it*); instead of developing an atmosphere of love and respect what emerges is an atmosphere of fear, embarrassment, escape, and rebellion. These episodes (re)shape students' identities and challenge their self-perception and sense of self-worth. For instance, when the school principal entered the class room and saw Nazia standing in punishment, "Wo kehtei the yeh aj b khari hai" (*she [principal] would say, she [Nazia] is standing today too*) (turn 19). This response of the school principal builds an identity (Gee, 2011, p. 89) for Nazia as a student who is frequently punished because she does not do her homework, which is to memorize the lesson. The identity that was built for Nazia as a result of these interactions remained permanent, and when Nazia was able to score good grades in the terminal examination of grade 09, "<u>I still remember</u> mere 9th k marks dekh kr heraan hoye thay mere principal k itny marks Nazia k?" (*<u>I still remember</u> seeing my 9th grade result my principal was surprised that how could Nazia secure such good grades*) (turn 19). This questioning statement about "itny marks Nazia K?" (*how could Nazia secure such good grades*) reveals the deficit perspective of the principal towards Nazia's abilities. Instead, if she had used a non-questioning statement and said, *Nazia k intny zyada marks! (Nazia has scored such good grades!)* it would have conveyed the principal's excitement and happiness over Nazia's success and not the deficit perspective.

Through its systemic examinations, school is considered as an expert authority (Van-Leeuwen, 2008) to evaluate students, and it is not uncommon for people to base their perceptions of individuals on the evaluations done by the school. In the case of Nazia, the label of struggling student was inscribed upon her institutionally, and later everyone else also started categorizing her as (Holland, et. al, 2003, p. 26) unintelligent: "sb ne he yeh kaha tha k ye kahan bechari itni intelligent na bojh dalo is per itna" (*Everyone said, this poor girl is not that intelligent, don't burden her this much*) (turn 28). The inscription of this label was life changing for Nazia. Since she was not good at memorizing English and hence "not intelligent," she was placed into a non-sciences track in high school. Nazia gave up resisting that labeling, and she "kuch ni jo jaisa tha chalny dia" (*Nothing. I just let that go as it was*) (turn 29). Nazia's reaction "chalny dia" (*let it go*) can be interpreted in three ways:

First, this response can be understood as reflective of her hopelessness against this system in which despite the awareness that she was being under-estimated, she could not do anything against this system that was declaring her as "nalaik" [incapable]. This *let it go* would have a different meaning if Nazia was in a position of power, a teacher, a principal of schools or a policymaker, and could make that decision to let it go out of many other choices present or if she was allowing things to go as they were. The power structure would also be different if she was a student in an elite private school. However, in the capacity of a public school student who does not like to rote learn and gets frequently punished for this reason, her utterance "let it go" is an indication of her helplessness.

Second, the fact that "selves are socially constructed through the mediation of powerful discourses" (Holland et. al, 2003, p. 26) can become damaging when these circulating narratives affect the self-perception of the students. This is because our perception of the self is based on how others perceive us (Sarup, 1993). Nazia believed in these narratives and developed a low perception about herself and let go her positive self-identification as an intelligent person. When I asked her in the interview why she had chosen Urdu medium of instruction in both her Intermediate (grades 11-12) and Bachelors (grades 13-14) degree programs, she reported to me that only the girls who were more intelligent than Nazia opted for English medium of instruction in college. Hence, she accepted for herself the identity and categorization of being less intelligent. This narrative about being not intelligent prevailed until the end of her Master's program when she gained enough functional proficiency to speak, read, and write in the English language. Nazia was seen as unintelligent institutionally and interpersonally and began to see herself that way (Holland, et. al, 2003, p. 26). She suffered until the Masters level, and her self-perception was seriously damaged not only at the time of the action, but recalling the incidents are painful for her as she mentions "han na underestimate kiya mujhe" (*Oh yes, [pronoun absent] underestimated me*) (turn 21).

Third, this reaction of "Kuch ni jo jaisa tha chalny dia" (*Nothing. I just let that go as it was*) (turn 29) can be interpreted as her rebellion against the system that she thought was unfair and insensitive towards her. Instead of believing in that system and taking the pain to change herself, she started feeling angry against it, and one way of resistance was demonstrating a less obedient attitude: "Ghusa ata tha mje k awien log batien krtey itni b

nalaik ni hun mai" (*I would feel angry that they are gossiping for nothing, I am not that incapable*) (turn 31). One expression of this behavior is making faces and sticking out the tongue while standing in punishment as a way to demonstrate an *I do not care* attitude. Furthermore, her routine non-compliance of the memorization-based pedagogy and her acceptance of the punishment as it was just a ritual that will be over in thirty minutes at the most also reveals Nazia's resistance towards the system as if she was saying, *if you underestimate me, I do not care to be compliant to you. I have my own plans to move forward.* Nazia's statement of "let it go" holds and expresses that resistance she felt towards the system that was failing her. This interpretation can be supported by the fact that although Nazia was routinely punished in the classroom, she was able to exhibit astonishing results in her grade 9 examination and surprised her principal who had been under-estimating her.

A closer analysis of the data reveals that all three interpretations are true, but only partially. It is true that Nazia did not have power to stand against the pedagogical oppression associated with the English medium of instruction in her school. She had to subordinate to this oppression specifically because the figures of power such as her teachers and school principal demonstrated similar perspectives and practices towards punishing students based on their ability to memorize. Moreover, the others in the community accepted school practices as legitimate and authentic. It is also true that Nazia did not resist or challenge the identification and categorization of her as incapable, which was imposed upon her, but rather accepted it and started thinking that students in the college who had opted for English medium of instruction were more intelligent than her. However, we also

observe her explicit instances of resistance (i.e. sticking her tongue out as she faces the wall and not memorizing despite knowing the consequences), which are not confrontational, but allowed Nazia to process her frustration with her fellow students without explicitly communicating them to the teacher and thus to move forward in her own way. Thus, Nazia embodies in herself a practical example of the contact zone of subordination and resistance in which there is no clean binary between subordination and resistance, and the two actions are not always intentional.

Considering Nazia as a contact zone of subordination and resistance, a significant theme worth investigating is the pain that she experienced during this process of learning the English language. Analysis of the use of emoticons, laughter, and absent pronouns can help us understand how Nazia and I both dealt with that pain while reconstructing this narrative. According to Gee's significance building tool (p. 92), "Things are not trivial or important all by themselves. We humans make them trivial or important or something in between" (p. 92). In the case of this narrative, we both used emoticons such as 🙂, 😐, and 😛 as well as laughter to reduce the pain of the embarrassing retelling of being punished in front of the whole class.

Although I started turn three with *hahaha* which represents a big laughter and declares Nazia's reminder about the practices of memorization to be "hilarious," I also admit that it is a bitter truth. This reflects a conflict in my own statement as through laughter I seek to trivialize the painful significance of our experience in school. Similarly, in turn eight when Nazia shares her pain and embarrassment of being punished to stand in the class, I laugh at her response "hahaha" instead of sympathizing. This reflects not just

that we are trying to trivialize the embarrassment, but also the fact that: 1) the painful event has passed; and 2) neither of us believes in the authenticity of that evaluation and consequent punishment imposed on us. This evaluation of us being incapable, reflected through our punishment, did not actually indicate our worth as human beings or define our potential as students. Despite the fact that we were declared non-intelligent in our elementary schooling, we both exist as successful and accomplished educational elites today - as teachers and teacher trainers. This laughter could also mean that we are laughing at the shallowness of those wrong judgements that were constructed and prevailed about us. If we had believed that the assessment was true, our response would probably be different, perhaps with an expression of embarrassment or an emoticon representing sadness. However, we two are examples of those who resisted and survived successfully despite these negative identity constructions against us. My concern is about those students and parents who did not survive these negative identity constructions and either gave up on continuing education or still hold tight to those negative perceptions.

Life experiences and interactions do not always project easily identifiable and monolithic emotions and expressions such as sarcasm, humor, irony, happiness, or pain. Use of emoticons 😀, 😐, and 😛 in this co-construction reflect these complex and conflicted emotions of the language learners during and after the experience of language learning. According to Wikipedia, 😛,:P, or sticky tongue means "disgust" or…silliness" (Wikipedia, Emoticon), or "cheeky/playful" (Wikipedia, List of emoticons); smiley, 😃 or :) represents a happy face (Wikipedia, List of emoticons); whereas, 😄 or =D represents "laughing or big grin" (Wikipedia, List of emoticons). In our co-construction of this

narrative, Nazia starts using these emoticons and I follow her lead. Nazia begins turn seven expressing frustration and anger on the past meaningless practices of memorizing: "Yes maan or yeh sub hum ne buht bardasht kia…" (*Yes man, and we tolerated enough of it*). After a little pause, which is represented by the elliptical marks, she shares her pain: "…Haye sara period class mai khara rehti the k essay k paragraph ko rata ku ni lagayaaa😛" (*...Oh my, the entire period [we] would keep standing because [we] would not have memorized a paragraph*😛). The sticky tongue emoticon in this case refers to both parts of the response and elaborates that: 1) the faulty system of teaching the English language was disgusting and she had "tolerated enough of it"; and 2) the entire pedagogy of punishment was painful and ridiculous. However, it is not explicit whether the emoticon refers to the students who were silly enough to tolerate it, the teacher who was mindless enough to punish students for such meaningless activity, or the entire system of teaching the English language through memorization which is useless and ridiculous.

In turn eight, I advance her argument by adding that the punishment of standing was not enough; sometimes students were made to stand facing the wall which was considered an even more serious punishment. Adding "yad hei na?" (*You remember that, don't you?*) serves as my attempt to seek collaboration in advancing the co-construction of this narrative. The structure that ends at the tag question "don't you" also indicates a degree of certainty about the occurrence of the event although we both went to different schools with the time lapse of at least 12 years. This question represents the existence of shared knowledge and its static condition over the period of more than a decade. In contrast, if the structure was *do you remember any such thing* or *did any such event happen to you*, it

would have implied that I was not certain about the English language teaching pedagogy at her school. In the next three turns, I continuously try to make a sticky tongue face in solidarity of my emotions with that of Nazia. In turn 12, Nazia associates the sticky tongue emoticon with an embodiment of her past experience: "Hum b dewaar ki tarf mun kr k aisey he zuban nikaltey thay or dheet ho k class mai enjoy krtey thay jb dusrey kharey hotey thay sath" (*In stubbornness we would stick the tongue out facing the wall in a similar way and would enjoy in the class when others were standing with us*). This turn positions Nazia as both subordinate and resistant to the authority that punishes her. Standing in punishment shows subordination to the authority of the teacher and submission to the system that has legitimized this practice of punishment; however, making faces towards the wall is like the sticky tongue emoticon representing resistance and rebellion against the authority and powerful system. If sticky tongue emoticon means an expression of disgust then this action of making faces while standing in punishment means, I hate your disgusting system of punishment and this pedagogy of memorizing. If sticky tongue emoticon means feeling silly or ridiculous, the making of faces during punishment implies that the system that empowers and trains teachers to punish and embarrass the students, teachers' belief in the pedagogy of memorization, and the students' subordination to this system are all ridiculous. If 😛 emoticon refers to playfulness, making such faces would refer to the emotion of rejecting the punishment and an expression of *I don't care*.

Turns 12, 14, and 15 reflect upon an interesting dynamic of resistance around the punishment. The days Nazia was punished along with the majority of the students, they were able to vent their resistance through making faces and would rather enjoy the

punishment. However, "*when only two or three people were standing and [pronoun absent] was one of them*," her response was different. She would feel singled out, more pressured, and embarrassed: "Haye bari sharm ati the k aj toh mai akeli hun" (*Oh my that used to be very embarrassing that today I am alone*)? As a result, she would not resist, but rather follow the underlying ideology behind the punishment, and that was if someone was punished for not memorizing, she would keep standing until either the period was over or she could successfully demonstrate the memorization. Thus, "jis din suna kr baithna naseeb hota tha buht proud proud feel hota tha 😐" (*and the day when after having demonstrated successful memorization [I was] ordained the opportunity to sit, [pronoun absent] would feel very proud*😐). This loud grin 😐 reflects two contrasting emotions. One, she feels happy that there were some moments when she was able to regain a positive academic identity and sit with the rest of the class and, hence, this emoticon 😐 reflects the pride that she felt at that moment. Two, just as laughter has positive emotions such as happiness attached to it but can have multiple interpretations such as cruelty or hatred, here this 😐 represents her present sarcasm on the past ridiculous state of subordination when she would feel relieved and proud after performing this meaningless activity of memorization. Or it can also be interpreted that despite the pain she still feels about those moments, she is laughing to trivialize the humiliation she had to go through. Hence, these emoticons and laughter do not just reflect the trivializing of the pain, but also the fluid and conflicting nature of academic identities that kept shifting during our entire academic trajectory.

At this point in the co-construction of the memory, we almost disown those labels, categorizations, and negative identities that were falsely imposed on us. This disenfranchisement is obvious through the many absent pronouns from the turns in which we share our experiences of painful punishment. For example, in turn four, the pronoun "I" is present in "I remember memorizing the application for sick leave" (turn 4). In contrast, this pronoun is absent in turn eight when I talk about punishment: "hahaha…aur kabhi kabhi to deewar ki taraf mu kar ke khara karti theen miss jee" (*hahaha.. and sometimes dear teacher would make [pronoun absent] stand up facing the wall. You remember that, don't you?*) (turn 8). I intentionally decided to omit the pronoun you or us because, if I had used the second person pronoun you, I would have singled out my participant with a presumed negative academic identity because she did not follow the school protocol. If I had used the first person collective pronoun 'us', I would be making assumptions on her behalf and leading her towards accepting that she was being punished, and perhaps out of courtesy, she would have followed my lead. I repeat the similar practice of omitting personal pronouns in turn fourteen, "jab sirf do ya teen log kharei hotei thee aur un mein sei eik hotei thei, phir kya hota tha?" (*when only two or three people were standing and [pronoun absent] were one of them. What would happen then?*). Here, I intentionally leave out the pronoun in order to not specifiy who was punished, but Nazia chose to specify herself by using the pronoun "mai" (*I*) (turn 15). After she has been personalizing these painful experiences for a few turns, in turn 18 I use the collective pronoun we: "aur yad hei jab bari madam class room kei visit pei aati thee aur hum beecharei deewar ki taraf muh kar kei kharei hotei the?" (*And remember when the*

headmistress would come to visit the class while we poor souls would be standing facing the wall?). To sum up, I chose to leave out the pronouns for several reasons such as: 1) I wanted to generalize the experience of being punished in public or non-elite private schools' English class where these practices are pervasive even today. My data with some other participants also presents similar stories around the pedagogy of teaching English through memorizing; 2) I wanted to depersonalize the pain or embarrassment of the experience; 3) I did not want to claim the story and instead wanted to give Nazia more control of the story; and 4) I did not want to impose on Nazia any kind of identity through the careless use of language. Thus, by doing so, I allowed her to distance herself from these presumed negative academic identities of the past that emerged as a result of the pedagogy of memorizing. All these factors together helped achieve a greater goal to temper the pain of my participant. However, Nazia continues using the first person singular pronoun in the response, which represents her ownership over the story. According to Gee (2011), language can be used to "be recognized as taking on a certain identity or role" (p. 89); however, Nazia's use of the first person pronoun cannot be interpreted as her accepting the labels or identities that were falsely imposed on her in the past. The rest of the data also indicates that Nazia takes ownership of the story, but not the labels or identities inscribed on her.

My decision to become her partner in co-construction was instant, yet intentional. By voluntarily sharing my past and accepting for myself an identity of a struggling student, I was able to position myself in a similar figured world of the struggling English language learners in Pakistani schools as that of my participant. Doing so provided her a safe and

less painful space to share her experiences. There are many other participants in my study who share these similar painful experiences with Nazia. Nazia's painful relationship with the English language shifted into an empowering relationship during and after her Master's degree program; in contrast, for many others this relationship became seriously troubling during higher education.

Whn teachr calz 4 askng thn my face waz totly bent. In the section below, I analyze my participants' conflicted and complicated relationship with the English language. I posted an image on Facebook and asked: "meirei shakal to school mein aksar eisi hi ho jati thi, kya aap ko kuch yaad aya?" (*My face in school often looked like this. Does it remind you of something?*). This Facebook string (Extract 7.2) focused on exploring students' past experiences in school. Although, I clearly used past tense while constructing the sentence which explicates that I was asking for examples from past educational experiences, one participant, Zaheer, shared examples from his current experience at the university. Other participants joined this Facebook discussion, as well.

Extract 7.2: Facebook Discussion, September, 2014.

1 **Sadaf Rauf Shier**
September 18, 2014 · Edited
میری شکل تو اکثر سکول میں ایسی ہی بن جاتی تھی۔ کیا آپکو کچھ یاد آیا؟

Discussion started at 2:50 am with Zaheer's response and ended at 1:15pm the same day.

		Original	English
2			
3	Zaheer	sometimes mje smj hi nai aa rhi hoti	Sometimes I do not understand

4	Sadaf	@ Zaheer kya samajh nahi aa rahi Zaheer?	@ Zaheer what do you not understand Zaheer?
5	Sehar	Aur bilawja khra kren tb book mu k aagy kr k shrminda hty hn k kaaaaaaaash aisa na hta	And [pronoun absent] make [pronoun absent] stand up for nothing then [pronoun absent] hide the embarrassed face behind the book and wished this had not happened
6	Zubaida	Hahaha when my teacher use to call my name to read out something LOUD ...	Hahaha when my teacher use to call my name to read out something LOUD ...
7	Zaheer	tab to mein bilkul confused ho jta hon or jo thora boht mind me hota hai wo bhi skip ho jata hai	Then I get totally confused and whatever limited [response] might come to mind otherwise, also skips.
8	Noor	Phr bhanyy find krna k assignmnt dy transfr ho jay or mazeed dn ml jay	Then [pronoun absent] find excuses that the assignment day gets transferred and [pronoun absent] get more days.
9	Sadaf	@ Sehar han kaash eisa na hota...leikin keisa hota? kuch baat kartei hein kei cheezein keisei behtar ho saki theen..	@ Sehar. Yes [pronoun absent] wish this had not happened…but what would have happened? Let's talk a bit about how things could have improved
10	Zaheer	jab kuch present krna ho class mein wo bhi Eng me tab kuch smj ni aa rha hota	When have to present something in the class and that too in English language, I feel lost.
11	Noor	Whn teachr calz 4 askng thn my face waz totly bent	Whn teachr calz 4 askng thn my face waz totly bent
12	Sadaf	@Zaheer han zaheer mujhei yaad hei...yehi halat hotei thei meirei bhi...presentation and wo bhi angrezi mein...Allah kheir...	@ Zaheer Yes I remember. I would have similar condition…presentation and that too in English…God Mercy, please…
13	Sehar	Khrbi dono sid p h studnt care ni krty bd me pachtaty hn aur techr b kuch aisa e krty hn	Fault is at both sides students do not care and they repent later and teachers do something similar
14	Sadaf	@Zaheer so do you know some strategies for this? kahan sei help miltei hei phir?	@Zaheer so do you know some strategies for this? Did you get help from somewhere then?
15	Zaheer	friends & teacher	friends & teacher
16	Sehar	Agr hmy qualified teachr milen aur start se e englsh seekhty to ye nobt na ati	Things wouldn't be this bad if we had had qualified teachers and learnt English from the start [beginning].
17	Sadaf	@ Zaheer han friends and teachers are good resource to take help from.	@Zaheer yes friends and teachers are good resource to take help from
18	Sadaf	.han agar shuru sei seekhtei aur teacher bhi qualified hoten to zindagi kafi asan hoti.	Yes if we had learnt from the beginning and had had qualified teachers, life would be so much easier.
19	Zaheer	but its big problem speech in English myself	but its big problem speech in English myself
20	Sadaf	yes, I agree...to kya solution hei is problem ka?	Yes, I agree…so whats the solution of this problem?
21	Sadaf	@Zubaida ... ji mein? mujh sei kaha...yei kya keh diya aap nei...? yehi khyal ata tha ya kuch aur? ..lol!	@Zubaida ... Oh me? Did you say this to me...What [weird thing] have you said...? These feelings would prevail or some other? lol

22	Sadaf	@Zubaida Leikin loud mushkil kyun lagta tha?	@Zubaida But why would [reading] loud feel difficult?
23	Sehar	G bilkul now feel alot of hurdlz	Yes exactly now feel alot of hurdlz
24	Sadaf	to kya kabhi socha in hurdles ko keisei cover kar sakte ho? What do you do to solve these problems?	So have you ever thought how to cover those hurdles? What do you do to solve these problems?
25	Sadaf	@Zaheer How do friends and teachers help?	@Zaheer How do friends and teachers help?
26	Zubaida	Ma'am aik tou english parhna n i think i was very shy at that time so ...	Ma'am, firstly, learning English n i think i was very shy at that time so
27	Zubaida	Ma'am yeah kuch aisa hie haal hota that my legs use to shiver at that momen	Ma'am something similar would happen my legs use to shiver at that momen
28	Sadaf	@Zubaida...hahaha...awaz bhi kampti thi meiri to...phir halat behtar kab huei?	@ Zubaida …hahaha…my voice would also shake…when did the situation improve?
29	Sehar	Bilkul thk kaha ap ne zubaida mene prezntation dyni thi englsh me lkn lake ov confidnc accent problm i becam so much confusd nd loss my marks:(	You have very rightly said Zubaida I had to present in English but lake ov confidnc accent problm i becam so much confusd nd loss my marks
30	Zubaida	I guess when i clear my 5th grade .... Actually then i realise that mu cousins of same grade are performing better then me so i realise that i know how to read n speak English but it was just a phobia	I guess when i clear my 5th grade .... Actually then i realise that mu cousins of same grade are performing better then me so i realise that i know how to read n speak English but it was just a phobia
31	Sadaf	@Sehar han the struggle starts...saying the right content and that too in correct English and most of all...in front every one	@Sehar han the struggle starts...saying the right content and that too in correct English and most of all...in front every one
32	Sadaf	@Zubaida...we as Pakistani nation have English phobia...but who brought that phobia in us?	@Zubaida...we as Pakistani nation have English phobia...but who brought that phobia in us?
34	Zubaida	I cant exactly state that who brought that phobia but yeah its for sure that most of us feel shy to speak English	I cant exactly state that who brought that phobia but yeah its for sure that most of us feel shy to speak English
35	Sadaf	yes, we do. probably because we don't practice that enough.	yes, we do. probably because we don't practice that enough.
36	Zubaida	Exactly	Exactly
37	Sehar	It,s so sad	It,s so sad
38	Sadaf	What is sad Sehar?	What is sad Sehar?
39	Sehar	Ye e k hm hr lihaz se bht peechy hn	The fact that we are behind in all aspects
40	Sadaf	Wo keisei Sehar?	How is that Sehar?
41	Sehar	Hmari stdy ka standrd ni h na e hmy languag p aboor h	Our education is not standard and nor do we have proficiency in language

This image of a student who is holding a question mark sign in front of her/his face visually completes my Facebook string: " میری شکل تو اکثر سکول میں ایسی ہی بن جاتی تھی۔ کیا

آپکو کچھ یاد آیا؟" (*My face in school often looked like this. Does it remind you of something?*). Through using the image of a question mark in front of a human face, I am trying to perform what Van-Leeuwen (2008) calls "Symbolic process" through "pictures in which an object symbolizes an attribute of a depicted person and in which that object is represented in a visually conspicuous way" (p. 98). In this image the object is a question mark that depicts a student who is feeling lost, confused, or challenged. Purpose of using this image was to allows participants freedom to (dis)associate this picture with their academic experiences in broader ways rather than my limiting use of the vocabulary.

This image and string, which I posted on Facebook for discussion, were related to broader educational experiences and not limited to the English language specifically. Yet, all my participants delimited the image to English language related issues only. Zaheer could have shared any of his general experiences in which, due to difficulty in any other subject or school practice, he felt lost. However, he specifically mentioned, "jab kuch present krna ho class mein wo bhi Eng me tab kuch smj ni aa rha hota" (*I feel lost when I have to present something in the class and that too in English language*) because "<u>but its big problem speech in English myself</u>" (turn 19). It is a norm in Pakistani higher education that all students are required to do multiple presentations in the English language irrespective of their linguistic background, experience, and fluency with speaking the English language. These events are nightmares for many students who have not had an English medium of instruction in schools. As Sehar expressed, during a class presentation in English, she "<u>become confusd nd loss my marks</u> ☹" (turn 29). For some of the students it can become a learning experience full of pain, but others like Sehar develop this deep

sense that "Hmari stdy ka standard ni h na e hmy language p aboor h" (*our studies are below standard nor do we have linguistic competence*) (turn 41). Because she cannot communicate well in English, she considers herself behind and her educational experience as below standard. My concern here is that 16 years of hard work and struggle in education are equated to nothing, if a student does not have competence in the English language.

Several other times when I asked questions related to a very broad range of school experiences, neither in Facebook discussions nor during any of the interviews did participants mention difficulty understanding or mastering other content areas. This does not allow us to perceive that my participants did not have trouble in any other content areas; we can interpret that they clearly understand English as the biggest challenge. Sehar mentioned her experiences of embarrassment (turn 5) in the class when she was punished to stand up for not being able to perform well: "Aur bilawja khra kren tb book mu k aagy kr k shrminda hty hn k kaaaaaaaash aisa na hta" [*And [pronoun absent] make [pronoun absent] stand up for nothing then [pronoun absent] hide the embarrassed face behind the book and wished this had not happened*]. Although turn five did not directly connect this embarrassment with a lack of English proficiency, when I asked her how things could be better, she responded by wishing that "Agr hmy qualified teachr milen aur start se e englsh seekhty to ye nobt na ati" (*things would not be that bad if we had had qualified teachers and learned English from the beginning*) (turn 16). Learning English from the beginning would have brought her competence in English and saved her from embarrassment in the class. But because she had not learnt English from the beginning, she "<u>now feel a lot of hurdlez</u>" (turn 23), especially during class presentations in the English language.

My concern is about this painful relationship with the English language that often makes success difficult, and takes away from students their sense of self-worth, academic pride, and sense of academic achievement. As Zaheer told me in our interview, failure in grade 11 sparked hatred towards the English language in his heart. During the rest of his interview and Facebook discussion session, I did found repetition of this emotion of hatred again, but I did not find any positive affiliation with the English language, either. However, he explicitly and repeatedly mentions that if we want to succeed academically, we must negotiate this linguistic barrier. He re-iterates this explicitly in the Facebook discussion above (Extract 7.2). Its true in the case of my other participants as well who, despite shaking legs, stumbling tongue, shaken confidence, and embarrassments that they faced in this relationship with the English language, did not give up learning the English language.

This relationship with English caused my participants social resistance as well. Specifically, not everyone received positive social response to learning English. One of my focal participants, Farid, reported that when he was over-emphasizing learning of the English language in his childhood, people around him started predicting in the Punjabi language, "wekh lena angrez bane ga wada ho ke….yei bhi eik dar ha meire dil mein kei yaar log kya sochein gei mein jab bolon ga [English]" (*You will for sure witness that he will become an Englishman (white-man) when he grows up…this was also my fear that what will people think when I speak [English]*). My research findings repeatedly made me think: "Why do my participants still pursue learning the English language despite their troubles relationship with the English language?" This is the question that the next section addresses.

Zaheer

"Its [English] our needs.Every thing is possible in this world. jab kuch krna ho na to to ho jata hai.es world me koi bhi kam aisa nai jo nai ho skte.koi aisa kam jo insan nai kr skte."Man can be destroyed but can not be defeated."

("Its [English] our needs.Every thing is possible in this world. When you really want to do something, it gets done. In this world there is nothing that cannot be done. There is nothing that a man cannot do. "Man can be destroyed but can not be defeated.")
(September 30, 2014 at 11:43am).

"because its a international language.in future speaks in English will be compulsory for everyone".
(September 23, 2014 at 1:21pm)

Zaheer was introduced to me by one of my relatives when Zaheer and a few of his class fellows were doing an internship in an office in Lahore during the summer of 2014. This unpaid internship in a government office was a part of their Master's program that they were undertaking in one of the public sector universities in Lahore. At this time, I was finishing my data collection and analysis in the U.S. In contrast to the others, most of Zaheer's portrait is based on data from Facebook because in our one-on-one interview he focused more on his family trajectory and overall socio-economic and structural challenges and did not accept English as a hurdle for him. Rather, his overall approach was towards an acceptance(?) of the necessity of English. It was during our detailed Facebook chats that he started exploring his linguistic struggles and hurdles in detail.

Zaheer was born in a village a six-hour drive away from the city of Lahore in the province of Punjab. The village did not have electricity, gas, a high school, nor any hospital until Zaheer was in college. According to Zaheer, his father could not pursue education beyond eighth grade. He works on someone's farmlands, but highly values education. Zaheer's mother also never went to school, but has always supported her children's education. One of Zaheer's dad's cousins was able to attend a public school until ninth grade. He had been considered the most educated man in the entire village, and he took responsibility to counsel and tutor Zaheer's generation in educational affairs. Zaheer has six siblings. His eldest brother could not go beyond eighth grade, because he had injured his leg in an accident. The family was not wealthy enough to pursue the entire medical treatment nor could the boy ride his bicycle to high school, which was located in a nearby town. Zaheer's elder sister married after tenth grade and hence left the school. Zaheer's

two younger brothers had recently passed twelfth grade and tenth grade respectively; they both planned to pursue higher education. Zaheer's youngest sister was in eleventh grade at the time of the interview.

Like his siblings, Zaheer would take a daily walk on a muddy road approximately 45 minutes each way to an elementary school for K-8 education in a neighboring village. The school was private and advertised to have English medium of instruction, but in practice the medium of instruction was bilingual—Punjabi and Urdu. The books, however, were in Urdu, and like other public schools the English language was a compulsory subject taught using Urdu medium of instruction. Students were supposed to have memorized in English a selected number of stories, essays, applications, Urdu translations of the English lessons from the text book, and the answers to the comprehension exercises given at the end of each lesson. However, understanding the meaning of anything from the above given list was not a practice emphasized in the school. This practice of memorizing English had mostly been a challenge for Zaheer. Sharing his experiences about memorizing the classic application of sick leave he reported that "us time boht mushkil laga the yad krna 1,1 sentence kr k yad kiya the… itnaa zada yad krna k bad phr bohl jta tha" (*Memorizing felt difficult at that time. I had to memorize those sentences one by one. It was easy to forget even after such rigorous memorizing*). Zaheer took the district wide (district does not mean a school district as in the U.S. but rather refers to a way of geographical and administrative distribution of a province) standardized test at the end of eighth grade and passed it with a grade of A.

Promotion in school grades for Zaheer increased the travel distance to school for him. His public high school was located in a smaller town a 40-minute bike ride away from his house on a muddy road where he slipped countless times during the raining season and got his uniform, books, and bag all wet. In high school, he opted for the sciences track. The official medium of instruction in school was Urdu; all the written work and examination pattern followed the medium of instruction policy, but teachers used a bilingual approach—Punjabi and Urdu languages—towards teaching, and other school communication was dominated by the Punjabi language. English language teaching was done in the same pattern of memorization and recitation that he had experienced in grades K-8. Zaheer passed the tenth grade examination with a grade of A, and with that score he became the first person in his village to reach and pass matriculation.

After matriculation, Zaheer was admitted to a public college located even farther away from his home. He would first ride a bicycle approximately 40 minutes each way with his father to the nearby town where he used to go for grades 9 and 10. From there they would ride a bus to a nearby small city; it would take them approximately 20 more minutes each way on the bus. The buses were over-crowded during rush hours, would come sporadically, and he often could not afford to pay his bus fare. Almost always he had to travel "bus ke opper chat pei beith kei jana parta tha" (*sitting on the roof top of the bus*); initially he "dar lagta tha par jab roz jana shuru kiya to dar khatam ho gya" (*felt scared but when I started going daily, this fear vanished*). On the roof of the bus, he tolerated extreme weather conditions without any protection; hence, "November, December, January ka maheena hota hei to zukam ho jata hei" (*in the months of November, December*

and January, I would catch cold). He also witnessed many accidents that happened due to passengers slipping off of the bus roof tops: "Taqreeban teen char logon ki death hoi hei jo na chat pei sei gir gay hein" (*approximately three, four people died who fell off of the [bus] roof*). However, there were some days when he was fortunate enough to find a place to stand inside the bus. Every single day he had to endure this extraordinary mental and physical exhaustion even before he entered the college doors.

With a sense of pride and achievement and great motivation, Zaheer started college. In college, he again chose to study sciences. However, now English medium of instruction was required for all the science subjects; hence, all the science textbooks and examinations were in English. Zaheer's teachers used a bilingual approach—Punjabi and Urdu—towards instruction, but since the science textbooks were all in English, and he was never trained to write or comprehend the text in English on his own, he had to go through a painful process of memorizing/cramming the textbooks in English and reproducing the answers on the examination. Most of these books did not make sense to him because he could not decode the English text into Urdu/Punjabi.

Given the magnitude of the task and his lack of proficiency in the English language in F.Sc. (Grades 11-12 in science), "jab mje first time sarii books English mein parni parii to meri F.Sc. Ist mein 3 supplees aa gie" (*When I had to for the first time read all the books in the English language, I failed in three courses in F.Sc. first year*). In Pakistan, students who choose sciences in grades 11 and 12 are the ones who aspire to become doctors, engineers, or scientists. However, failure at grade 11 or 12 determines a change in one's entire academic and professional trajectory. For most students, failure is the end of their

academic trajectory and has devastating effects on their self-esteem as Zaheer wrote on Facebook, "us time mje bhooot ronaa aayyyeee… to mein fail ho gya the f.sc me" *(At that time, I cried a lot…I had failed in F.Sc.)*. Compared to some other student who has never been confronted by these exhausting and life-risking experiences every day just to access school, the severity of Zaheer's failure and the damage it caused is much more intense. Zaheer's failure was not a personal failure, but failure of the system to provide Zaheer with the necessary support, scaffolding, resources, and guidance he needed, in addition to the basic geographic access to school.

Zaheer did embrace his failure and decided to continue his education, but by-pass the English dominant academic path and *phr f.a kiya and b.a (then did F.A [grades 11-12 with humanities and sciences major]and B.A. [Bachelors in Arts]).* So doing allowed him to study all the courses in the Urdu language. His switch to humanities changed his entire academic and professional trajectory. Zaheer had realized that his failure in F.Sc. was due to the linguistic barrier and *g us time mje nafrat ho gie thi english say (yes, at that time, I started hating English [language]).* However, he still had to pass an English compulsory course in the grades 11-12 examination. He started working hard towards it, and "FIRST TIME THORE MUSKIL HOVA US K BAAD ROTUINE BAN GIE*" (the FIRST TIME it was difficult but then it became a routine [to memorize selected text in English]).*

Zaheer did not move straight from intermediate (grades 11-12) to bachelors because he could not see a bright professional career ahead without studying the sciences; he had lost his motivation to pursue higher education. He instead decided to go abroad and work hard as a security guard in a country in the Middle East. The agent fee, traveling, and other

related costs summed up to a hefty amount, which his father endured with the hope of a bright earning career for his son. They sold some valuables and borrowed the rest of the money. Zaheer reached the Middle East and was able to work for only two months when the law enforcement conditions of that country worsened, and the best option was to not risk his life and to return to Pakistan safely.

With his limited qualification of intermediate school and that too in humanities, Zaheer could not hope for any job other than as a driver, a gatekeeper at some office, or a farm worker. Therefore, he decided to resume his education. His father who had always supported his education but was financially overburdened, hoped that Zaheer would help by earning the bread for the family and resisted this decision seriously. After the consecutive failures that Zaheer faced, and despite his serious struggles, it would not be surprising if he had completely forsaken his education. It was only through his determination not to fail that he resisted the socio-economic, psychological, and domestic pressures that many others relented to. He did not become a narcotics addict, or start laboring on someone else's farmlands for less than a dollar per day; instead, he decided to pursue a Bachelor of Arts degree.

Because the academic session had started six months prior, Zaheer could not enter any government or private college, but he was not willing to compromise a year and stay out of school until the next academic session started. He decided to prepare for the examination as a private candidate (which means a person can self-study for a certain grade level without being admitted to school, register with the school board or university as a private candidate, and take the exam) and not to waste a year waiting for admission to re-

open. He chose economics and Arabic majors, which he studied in the Urdu language by himself: "mein khud hi parh loon ga meirei pas nahi hei kei mein aap ko hazar rupei doon" (*I will self-study. I don't have enough to give you [the tutor] a thousand rupees*). However, he needed tutoring in English for which he paid "bara hazar" (*12,000 rupees* [$120.00]). Once again it was the same tough routine: he would bike with his father to a nearby town 40 minutes each way and from there take a bus to the nearby small city where his tutoring center was located. The days they could not catch the bus were disasters, because he was not able to reach the tutoring center. In order to receive two hours of tutoring in English he would travel approximately three hours each day. The examination center for the Bachelors examination was also roughly three hours each way from his home. Since Zaheer had taken a late start and had to spend an enormous amount of time traveling and working for his family as well, the tutoring center had clearly informed him that they did not have high hopes for his result. However, he passed the Bachelors examination with high first division which boosted his confidence "…kyunkei yay sari batein hoti hein. Yei bani hoti hein. Halan kei jab insan dil sei mehnat karta hei yay kuch bhi nahi hei. Chahei kuch bhi ho jai wo hasil kar leta hei jo cheez wo chahei*" (…because these are just gossips. They are fabricated. Whereas, when a person works sincerely this [learning English] is nothing. No matter what it is, [a person] can get the thing s/he wants).*

This success in his Bachelors of Arts made Zaheer's father and the entire family very proud, because he was the first in the entire village who had gone beyond tenth grade. With the encouragement of his family, he immediately embarked on his Masters in a planning and development related program at a public university in Lahore. This time, the

daily commute was not manageable because he would have to travel at least six hours each day. Moving to a dorm was exciting, but the $160 per year extra expenditure in the form of dorm room rent, other living expenses such as food, and tuition fees were a big struggle. He started working in a factory during after-school hours in order to pay all of the related fees.

Once again the official medium of instruction in the Master's Program was the English language. Although many teachers tried to accommodate students coming from a non-English medium of instruction background and chose to deliver lectures that multilingually incorporated English, Urdu, and Punjabi languages, the textbooks, examinations, assignments, and presentations were all in the English language. Another effort that many teachers made was to provide the lectures in elaborated written versions which they called 'notes.' For Zaheer, a shortcut to getting good grades was to read those notes very carefully and sometimes memorize parts of them. So doing saved him from reading multiple textbooks in English— "unke jo notes waghera hotei hein wo hi tayyar karnei hotay hein. Koi books waghera nahi hoti university mein" (*[we] have to work on their notes etc. There are no books etc in the university*). His ability to reproduce the content in the English language was very limited. After years and years of navigating ways of learning the English language, in the Masters level classroom "jab sir class me keh den k me ne abhi definition sun'ni he tab…phr mein wo 6th, 7th wala ratta lagata hon" (*when teacher says in the class room that he wants to hear from us a definition right then…I use the same [old] memorizing exercise as from grade 6, 7 [of elementary school])*. Zaheer's struggle continues! At the time of the interview, he was in the third semester of his Master's

program, counseling his younger siblings and cousins in their educational life as well as exploring for himself better employment opportunities. His life trajectory portrait is evidence of the serious struggles and life-threatening risks he has experienced in order to achieve higher education, as well as the ways in which he has had to negotiate success with the gatekeeping mechanism of the English language. The question that can arise in readers' minds is *what is all this struggle for?* The next sub-section answers this question by elaborating a major theme that emerged from Zaheer's life trajectory—*the imagined future*.

The imagined future. Including Zaheer, all my participants who were higher education students or graduates had expressed a desire for a better imagined future, and they perceived English as necessary to actualize this imagination into reality. It is this imagined future that provides motivation and meaning to the obscenely stressful struggle that Zaheer and many others go through. The glimpses of Zaheer's lifestyle from his portrait reveal how, in order to reach his primary school, he had to walk daily on a muddy road approximately 45 minutes each way, and the distance and the hardship grew as he moved up the educational ladder. In addition, he remained hungry each day until he returned home around supper time, because he could not afford to buy food from the school cafeterias during the day.

His struggles towards learning the English language in order to achieve higher education are, in fact, struggles for a more prosperous future. In our interactions, Zaheer emphasized that learning the English language is important to getting a higher education. However, when I posted on Facebook the incomplete string "<u>my purpose to learn English language is</u>.....," (Extract 7.3), Zaheer did not say to get access to the current research

which is written in the English language; to become a linguist, multilingual, a different human being; because he admires Westerners, or that he likes English. In contrast, he and many others wrote "for betterment and change lifestyle":

Extract 7.3: Facebook Discussion, October, 2014.
Sadaf
October 13, 2014
my purpose to learn English language is.....

	Original	English
Sehar	To improv my languag skill and to become perfect perfesional person October 13, 2014 at 6:04am	To improv my languag skill and to become perfect perfesional person
Zaheer	for betterment and change lifestyle October 13, 2014 at 8:57am	for betterment and change lifestyle
Dar	to get higher education and good job. October 13, 2014 at 9:34am	to get higher education and good job.
Ali	To grasp attention of every person For acknowledgement of myself October 14, 2014 at 12:48am	To grasp attention of every person For acknowledgement of myself
Noor	To improve my living standard n achieve high rank in my social life, academic n professional career October 14, 2014 at 1:16am	To improve my living standard n achieve high rank in my social life, academic n professional career
Hafiza	Mera English sikhny ka purposes sirf ye h k me better job achieve karon or apna life style change kr sakon .... October 14, 2014 at 1:40am	My only purpose to learn English language is that I achieve better job and change my lifestyle.

Zaheer's life in many ways is representative of many Pakistanis who make incredible investments in academics and in learning the English language. As my data reveals, one of the major reasons my participants pursued the English language was to "change lifestyle" and scale up the socio-economic ladder. Not all students from low SES in Pakistan have to commute these dire distances as Zaheer did—the nature of the challenges do vary—but what is common among these students is the presence of the contact zone of subordination and resistance, and the huge investments they make in order to learn the English language in the hope for a better imagined future. One of the clearest ways that the imagined future was present in my data was through "Heaven House," a

visual description of one of my participant's, Zubaida's, imagined future. The sub-section below analyzes Zubaida's description of her Heaven House which in turn serves as the framework for discussing four embedded themes that emerged from Zaheer's life trajectory portrait and other participants' data. Together these discourses reveal how and why my participants afford this painful and conflicted relationship with the English language.

Heaven House. "Heaven House" (Picture 7.1) is a graphic description of the imaginary future that Zubaida, Zaheer, and many others alike associate with learning the English language. My data shows that often it is in the search for this imagined future that these students develop a painful, complicated, and conflicted relationship with the English language. In the summer of 2014, my participant Zubaida shared this picture at the outset of our first interview. (Previous chapters have elaborated necessary information about Zubaida. I am not re-stating that here in order to avoid repetition). Zubaida presented this picture in response to my request to share a picture that depicted her relationship with the English language. She identified the two children in the picture as herself and her brother. The picture shows an imaginary colorful house up in the air while Zubaida and her brother are standing on ground that resembles a desert. Most of our interview was in the Urdu language but Zubaida chose the English words "Heaven House" in order to name this picture.

Figure 7.1
Heaven House

Zubaida (Summer, 2012)

Below is an analysis of Zubaida's discursive construction of the social space in the picture, which goes beyond only indicating the location, settings, and atmosphere. In fact, "it is informed also by the functions and meanings of space" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 95-96) within larger broader Discourses of language education policy and socio-economic divide in Pakistan.

Extract 7.4: Skype Interview, Zubaida, June, 2012.

	Original	English
1	Leikin mujhei yei lgtei hei	but this seems to me
2	heaven house hei	is a heaven house
3	Whan ooper beauty hei.	up there is a beauty
4	Eisei eik. eik. peace hei like	like a. a. peace is there
5	<<jo kei hum logon ko mil jai>>.	<< that we will get>>
6	Us kei saath	along with that
7	aap ko eik ladder nazar aa rahi hei	you see a ladder
8	jo kei hum log is ko learning kei liyei	that we [symbolize?] for learning
9	isei step by step humein seekhna hei.	we have to learn it step by step
10	Like Pehli humein na	like first we
11	like kehtei hei naan	Like as it is said
12	like like it start from the abc	Like like it starts from abc
13	and ends on the abc	and ends on the abc
14	yani abhi hamei	means that we still
15	is ko seekhna hei	need to learn it
16	aur sekhtei raheen	and just keep learning it
17	aur bas step by step	And just step by step
18	is ko seekhei jana hei.	and have to keep learning it
19	Aur us kei baad	And after
20	jub mein seekh jao'on gi	When I have learnt this language
21	to mujhei wo sari luxury wo sari desires mil ja'en gi	Then I will get all those luxuries and desires
22	jo kei hamari society mein	that in our society
23	us bandei ko mil jati hein	That person gets

24	jo jis ko yei language aa jati hei.	who who has learnt this language
25	This is all about that.	this is all about that
26	Colorful is liyei. Yei is liyei hei	this is colorful because it is because
27	because is mein dikhaya hei kei	because it has been shown in this
28	different luxuries,	different luxuries,
29	different accessories	different accessories
30	sub kuch milei milei ga	will get get everything
31	Peace bhi milei ga	will also get peace
32	aur wahan wo neechei	and there down there
33	jo aap ko show hoya huwa hei	what has been shown to you
34	wo eisei hei jis tarah desert hei	that is like as if that is a desert
35	Its like kei hum jahan pei reh rahei hei	its like that the place where we are living
36	wahan pei	There
37	hamari apni language ki importance	the importance of our own language
38	kum hoti ja rahi hei.	is decreasing there
39	Agar hum is[English] language ko seekh jae'in gei	If we have learnt this [English] language
40	to hum jahan pohunch jae'in gei	then we will reach the place
41	wo bohat zayada beautiful aur bohat peaceful ho jai ga	that will become very beautiful and very peaceful
42	jis ki is waqt	Which at this time
43	hamein bohat zayada zaroorat hei.	we badly need now
44	It all about this=	It all about this=

By presenting this picture of Heaven House, colorful and positioned high, Zubaida offers a visual representation of her imagined future and hence provides an instrumental rationalization (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 113) for learning the English language. According to Van-Leeuwen (2008), instrumental rationalization "legitimizes practices by reference to their goals, uses, and effects" (p. 113). Hence, the implied goal that Zubaida suggests for Pakistanis is that they should work towards reaching the Heaven House, which is their imagined future, and "<<that we will get>>" (line 5) there by learning the English language.

When I asked Zubaida to describe her picture, her response began with naming the picture as "Heaven House" (line 2). She then identified the location of the Heaven House "up there" (line 3), and listed two characteristics of this place: "beauty" (line 3) and "peace" (line 4). Lines two and three, "wahan ooper beauty hei. Eisei eik. Eik. Peace hei like" [*up*

there is beauty. Like.a.a. peace is there] also signal the fact that beauty and peace are up there, but not here. Applying Gee's (2011) "the why this way and not that way" (p. 54) tool, an alternative of this statement could be: *Wahan ooper bhi beauty hei* (*beauty is present up <u>there as well</u>*). This suggested alternative emphasizes that the beauty and peace that are present "up there" are present here on the ground, as well. As they stand, lines three and four do not construct this sense, instead positioning Heaven House as a place of beauty and peace and Zubaida's current environment as lacking such characteristics.

A comparison between Zubaida's imagined future in the form of Heaven House and her current reality is revisited in line 27. First, she compares their locations— "Heaven House" is "up there" (line 3) whereas "jahan pei hum reh rahei hein" (*the place where we are living*) (line 35) is "wo neechei" (*down there*) (line 32). Use of these adjectives of location and distance creates a visual representation of the linguistic hierarchy in Pakistan that I have explored and analyzed in the previous chapters. Zubaida places these languages and associated imagined futures into a hierarchy; English is on the top, "up there," in Heaven House, whereas local languages are "down there."

The second comparison she draws is between qualities—Heaven House is "colorful" (line 26) while the place where she is living currently is like a "desert" (line 34). Zubaida explains that the colorfulness of Heaven House is because it has "different luxuries" (line 28), "all accessories" (line 29), "peace" (line 31), and "sub kuch" (*everything*) (line 30); which are the fruits of successful English language learning. She has assessed that "hamari apni language ki importance kam hoti ja rahi hei" (*the importance of our own language is decreasing*) (lines 37-38) and that is because these local

languages cannot buy her the lifestyle she imagines in Heaven House. In comparison, the desert represents dullness, and that dullness is because it does not have the colorful fruits of Heaven House.

Embedded themes. The major theme that emerged from Zaheer's life history portrait is imagined future and embedded in it are several Discourses including: 1) Discourse of determination and resistance—determination to achieve this imagined future through learning the English language; 2) Discourse of need and desire—the English language as the need and successful learning of the English language helps satisfy other needs; 3) Discourse of dislocation—a state of un-connectedness in which my participants feel and desire to be distanced from their linguistic community, but are not members of the English speaking community either; and 4) Discourse of trust–an unflinching trust in the benefits of learning the English language. In order to explore these Discourses, I analyze this picture presented by Zubaida and her description of this picture, and then analyze discussions from Facebook with Zaheer and other participants. Therefore, this analysis will not be centered around Zaheer only and will read like a departure from him. However, doing so was important because it allowed voices and perspectives of multiple participants to be presented around the themes that emerged from Zaheer's life trajectory.

Discourse of determination and resistance. My participants revealed strong determination to resist the gate-keeping role of the English language that made success difficult for them at many occasions of their academic and life trajectories. They clearly understand that they need to negotiate their entry into a better future through learning the English language; hence, they have worked hard to learn this (neo)colonial language

despite all the pain they endured in this often complicated and conflicted relation with this English language. In the description of Heaven House (Extract 7.4, lines 6-18), Zubaida establishes an elaborated procedure to reach the Heaven House. First, she informs us of the path to reach the Heaven House via the ladder hanging from the side of the house (lines 6-8). She relates the ladder in the picture to learning the English language, as it can take people who are *down* on the ground to a higher level, which is a Heaven House "up there" (line 3). This spatial anchoring (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 92) of the ladder with the Heaven House in the picture is reflective of association of the English language with a better imagined future in everyday life of low SES Pakistanis, for whom the most probable path for upward social mobility is expertise in the English language and hence success in higher education.

Next, Zubaida describes the transition from one position, ground, to the other, Heaven House, by climbing up this ladder of [English] language learning by "isei step by step humein seekhna hei" (*we have to learn it step by step*) (line 9). In multimodal discourse analysis, "position provides an explicit representation of the spatial arrangement for a social practice or a stage thereof" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 91), while transition from one position to another represents motion from "space of one social practice or part thereof to that of the next" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 91). In the case of Pakistani educational discourse, this transition from one position (ground) to another (Heaven House) refers to the mobility of social status—from low SES to high SES. Zubaida's detailed description of this procedure reveals: 1) Her awareness that the process is long; 2) Her determination to climb the ladder of learning and reach the imagined future; and 3) Her deficit perspective

about Pakistani learners of the English language who belong to public or non-elite private schools.

Lines 12 and 13 of Zubaida's description, "Like. like it starts from abc and ends on the abc," present insight into the process of and relationship to English language learning by a non-native learner of the English language, especially a Pakistani learner. English alphabet letters "a.b.c." are three letters that represent abstraction for a beginning English language leaner because the learner is unable to connect these letters to the larger semantic, syntactic, morphological, or stylistic systems of meanings. Based on this, one interpretation of this line is that for a Pakistani learner, the process of English language learning starts from abstraction and ends at abstraction. This abstraction could relate to the meaningless pedagogy of teaching the English language only through cramming/memorization. The contemporary pedagogies of teaching the English language do not enable a language learner to independently navigate research, academic, professional, or routine communicative functions in the English language even at the higher education level. Therefore, for most Pakistani learners of English the process of learning English remains meaningless and abstract from beginning to end. A second deficit based interpretation of Zubaida's description is that "a.b.c" are the first three letters of the English alphabet and mark the very beginning of the process of language learning. In comparison to native speakers of English, Pakistani learners of the English language never acquire significant competence in this language, thus learning both starts and ends with a.b.c.

A third related interpretation is that for a Pakistani leaner of the English language, learning English is a never-ending process. Lines 14 to 18 further elaborate the process of

English language learning as never-ending and continuous “and just keep learning it” (line 16). Thus, there is an explicit awareness about the indefinitely long and difficult process of learning the English language and, later in the response, commitment to engage in this process.

Zaheer’s life history and his Facebook post also reveal a similar awareness and commitment towards the very long journey of learning the English language and his determination towards facing the linguistic challenges. In a Facebook post (Extract 7.5), I asked about the moments in past educational experiences where my participants felt lost.

Extract 7.5: Facebook Discussion, September, 2014.

Sadaf Rauf Shier
September 18, 2014 · Edited

میری شکل تو اکثر سکول میں ایسی ہی بن جاتی تھی۔ کیا آپکو کچھ یاد آیا؟

Discussion started at 2:50 am with Zaheer’s response and ended at 1:15pm the same day.

		Original	**English**
For turns 3-41, please read Nazia’s life trajectory portrait in section two of this chapter (Extract 7.2)			
42	Ali	"Journey of thousands miles, Starts with a single step."	"Journey of thousands miles, Starts with a single step
43	Sadaf	Ali yes, the first step is significant but it is also important to be determined after that first step.	Ali yes, the first step is significant but it is also important to be determined after that first step
44	Sadaf	Ali but what is that first step?	Ali but what is that first step?
45	Zaheer	reading newspapers, & books, listening English news, speech, and songs, and watch ENGLISH movies. then kuch betterment aa sakti hai.	reading newspapers, & books, listening English news, speech, and songs, and watch ENGLISH movies. then some betterment can come.

46	Zaheer	newspapers sya colums readout kr k khud sya apni wording mein precis kiya jye har roz. U know partice makes a man perfact.	Reading out columns from newspaper and doing precis writing in your own words everday. U know partice makes a man perfact.
47	Zaheer	according to Hemingway: Man can be destroyed but can not be defeated.	according to Hemingway: Man can be destroyed but can not be defeated.
48	Sadaf	@Zaheer...say something more about defeat, pl.	@Zaheer...say something more about defeat, pl.
49	Shumail	Nai as such school me to esa mery sath kabi kuch nai hua .....Han university me hua h jb all subject english me parny pary	No as such there was nothing like this with me in the school…yes, it happened in the university when [I] had to study all subjects in English.
50	Sadaf	@Shumail ...hm...to phir university mein kya kiya?	@Shumail…hm…so what did you do in the university then?
51	Zaheer	its means try try again	its means try try again

Zaheer was the first one who named the English language as a challenge. However, later it was also Zaheer who clearly closed the discussion by quoting, "According to Hemingway: Man can be destroyed but can not be defeated" (turn 47). When I asked him for an explanation of defeat, he wrote, "its means try try again" (turn 51). Zaheer has quoted these two proverbs on Facebook repeatedly. One interpretation is that he associates failure and defeat—not just academic—directly with the outcome of unsuccessful English language learning only. By extension, success—through "try try again"—is associated with successful mastery over the English language. Zaheer's academic life is an example of resilience and resistance against the gate keeping role of the English language in a socio-economically and linguistically classified educational system. We observe that at many times he put his life at stake, by travelling on the roof top of the bus, but was never willing to accept failure. This is evident especially after his eleventh grade results where he had failed three subjects because his language proficiency did not rise to the level of official English medium of instruction and examination. Moreover, at the beginning of his Bachelors of Arts his only financial support, his father, was reluctant to invest any more in

Zaheer's study; he could not enter regular college because the school year had already started six months ago, and his tutoring center was not very hopeful about his success. Zaheer remained determined, worked hard, took the bachelors' examination, and passed with high first division. Similar is the determination that he expressed through quoting Hemingway. In the same Facebook discussion string (Extract 7.5), Ali also refers to the never ending journey of English language learning as a journey of "thousands miles" (turn 42) and encourages others to embark on this journey: "Journey of thousands miles, Starts with a single step."

My data reveal that all my participants made intentional investments towards learning the English language, and they are not only aware of that fact, but determined to continue working hard to further improve their competence in the English language. Thus, both their investment and commitment towards English are intentional. The next sub-section examines the Discourse of need and desire as one of the major motivations behind commitment towards learning the English language.

*Discourse of need and desire***.** In the description of Heaven House Zubaida suggests learning the English language in order to reach the imagined future. She raises this interest in her recommendation (lines 19-25) in many ways. First, she legitimizes her suggestion by establishing a role model authority (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107). The role model authority in this case is a person from within Pakistani society who has already achieved this fruit of learning the English language: "to mujhei wo sari luxuries wo sari desires mil jae'n gi jo kei hamari society mein us bandei ko mil jati hein jo jis ko yei language aa jati hei" (*I will get all those luxuries and desires that a person in our society gets who has*

learnt this language). It can also be interpreted that learning the English language, though a long term project, is worthwhile and not unprecedented. Drawing attention to such role models performs three functions: 1) authenticates her suggested solution; 2) determines a criterion of who should be looked up to—a person with a luxurious life style; and 3) constructs a Discourse of need and desire.

It is not ethical to accept an authority as legitimate only because of its material value. In that case, Van-Leeuwen (2008) suggests that "reflecting on the crises of legitimation, we need to consider not just legitimation, but also and especially the intricate interconnections between social practices and discourses that legitimize them" (p. 123). It is, therefore, important to critically look into the cyclical construction of the Discourse of need and desire in Pakistan—the English language as both a need and desire. In addition, learning the English language helps satisfy other needs and desires—hence, needs and desires are also the driving forces behind learning the English language.

It is necessary at this point to differentiate between desires and needs, and I do that based on my perception of my participants' rationale for learning the English language, their socio-economic positionality, and their identity. Zubaida, who comes from a middle class, urban, and educated family, has attended non-elite and, for a limited time, elite English medium of instruction schools. She does not have the responsibility to financially support her family. At the time of the interview, she had completed a Masters in English language teaching and was about to get married. Her husband to be was Pakistani, but was working in a European country, and it was her desire to get admission to a European university in the same city where her husband was living. She wanted to learn the English

language in order to achieve “different luxuries, different accessories, sub kuch and peace” (*different luxuries, different accessories, everything, and peace as well*) (lines 28-31). Thus, her rationale to learn the English language was to fulfill her desires which, if they did not get fulfilled, might disappoint her, but not risk her life. In contrast, Zaheer was from a low socio-economic, rural, and uneducated family who used to work on other people’s farm lands as laborers. At the time of the interview, he was finishing his Master’s program from a public university in Lahore and was worried about switching jobs so that he was able to pay the tuition fee for the upcoming semester (approximately $100) and the bed rent in the dorm (approximately $160 for the entire year). His rationale for learning the English language was to get a higher education in order to improve his life style, a life style in which he could afford basic needs such as medical treatment for his brothers’ wounded leg, school fees for himself and for his siblings, electricity and gas for his house, and less painful access to education.

It is also important to mention that this distinction between needs and desires and luxuries and necessities is probably only for outsiders—me as a researcher and you as a reader. My participants might categorize and differentiate between needs and desires differently. For example, the intensity of Zubaida’s desire to gain the luxuries and accessories of life might be so high that she starts imagining them as needs; for instance, getting admission to a European university as a self-sponsored student and later getting lucrative employment. In contrast, in Zaheer’s childhood a luxury for him could be the days when he had money enough to pay the bus fare and stand inside the bus instead of on the bus roof top, or had enough money to buy lunch from the school cafeteria and not stay

hungry until supper time to reach home and then eat. English language learning would benefit both by providing upward social mobility, but will have different rationalities for them based on their social positioning and identities.

I use both words *needs and desires* because for many, like Zubaida, who are already middle class, learning the English language is a way to access the luxuries of life; but for others like Zaheer, it is a question of fulfilling basic needs of life such as employment, ability to pay his university fee, continue higher education, easy and safe access to school for his younger siblings who are ready to enter higher education, and better medical treatment for his eldest brother. The Discourse of need that Zubaida establishes is evident in Zaheer and many other participants' discussions as well. When I posted this string on Facebook: "The role of English in my academic life is…," (Extract 7.6), my intention was to focus only on academic life; but in his response, Zaheer expanded it to life in general: "role of English is very important to achive any goal of life" (Extract 7.6, turn 1). Another participant, Sameera, also expanded the role of English to professional life. Hence, it is clear that for my participants the role of the English language is not limited to academic life only.

Extract 7.6: Facebook Discussion, October, 2014.

Sadaf Rauf Shier
October 8, 2012 · Minneapolis, MN
The role of English language in my academic life.....

		Original	English
1	Zaheer	role of English is very important to achive any goal of life September 23, 2014 at 5:31am • Unlike • 1	role of English is very important to achive any goal of life
2	Sadaf	wo keisei Zaheer? September 23, 2014 at 5:39am • Like	How is that Zaheer?
3	Zaheer	because english is our needs September 23, 2014 at 8:33am • Like	because english is our needs
4	Sadaf	please tell me in detail. meiri to koi need nahi hei English language.	please tell me in detail. English language is not my need at all.

5	Sameera	September 23, 2014 at 8:35am • Like english language plays crucial role in my academic and professional carrier.	english language plays crucial role in my academic and professional career.
6	Munira	October 4, 2014 at 10:00am • Unlike • 1 Role of English language meri acadmic life me ye h k marks gain karny hen then better job	Role of English language in my acadmic life that I have to gain marks [grades] then better job
7	Zaheer	October 14, 2014 at 2:50am • Unlike • 1 need hai ap ki kyun nai hai?.without English language ap future mein study kaise kro gi.pl tell me? October 14, 2014 at 5:53am • Unlike • 1	This IS your need, how not?.without English language how would you study in future.pl tell me?

Use of the word 'any' in Zaheer's response that "role of English is very important to achive any goal of my life" is significant because it expresses complete dependence on the English language. Using Gee's (2011) "the why this way and not that way" tool (p. 54), if we replace the words "any goals of my life" with *many goals of my life*, the level of dependence on the English language will reduce significantly. Furthermore, in turn three when Zaheer declares "english is our needs," he uses a first person plural pronoun to refer to all Pakistanis instead of talking about himself only. Hence, he maintains that all Pakistanis are in need of the English language. In response, by declaring that English is not my need (turn 4), I try to remind Zaheer to limit the scope of his "we" only to himself and not make assumptions about the others. He remains consistant and asserts that "need hai ap ki kyun nai hai.without English language ap future mein study kaise kro gi.pl tell me?" [*This is your need, how not.without English language how would you study in future.pl tell me?*] (turn 7). Thus, this assumption that the English language is a need is so pervasive among many of my participants that they do not hesitate in generalizing it for every one and rather remain very firm in their approach.

Similarly, when I asked in a Facebook discussion about my participants' opinions regarding the new English language policy in Punjab province through which the Government of Punjab implemented English medium of instruction in K-10 in all government schools, Zaheer clearly stated that "its a good step of Punjab Govt" because "[English]its our basic need." The choice of words is again significant here because he does not only re-iterate that English is our need, but he adds the adjective 'basic' to need. This structure reads comparable to structures such as: *Clean water is our basic need* or *education is our basic need*. Had he not added the adjective basic to the noun need, the significance of English would not have been raised so much.

When I asked him to explain how it is our basic need, he stated that "without english ap ssc exam bhi pass nai kar sakte" (*without English you cannot pass ssc exam* [*grade 10 examination*]). Knowing some integral facets of Zaheer's life, it is not hard to interpret that this realization about the English language being a 'necessity' developed due to his own academic and life experiences. Examining his entire life trajectory, the two challenges that prevailed all the way through are: 1) socio-economic and 2) linguistic—the English language. Zaheer clearly sees a connection between the two.

Discourse of trust (?). My participants demonstrate an unflinching trust in the power of the English language and the associated gains they believe they will achieve after passing through the painful process of learning this language. Concomitantly, they exhibit minimum trust in the local and national languages of Pakistan for any economic and academic gains. While describing the imagined future, Zubaida started an explicit comparison (lines 19-38) of the two locations—the Heaven House (lines 19-31) and the

present reality (lines 32-38). She describes the Heaven House as "colorful" (line 26) but does not use the exact opposite of colorful such as dull, plain, pail, colorless to describe the Pakistani society or present reality. Instead, she chooses the lexical item "desert" (line 34) which carries with it the connotation of infertility and unproductivity. By doing so, the "space [desert] is substituted for a social actor" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 98) that lacks the ability to produce and grow and hence, by extension, reveals her distrust in the ability of Pakistani society and its local languages to buy Zubaida the kind of imagined future she desires. Had she used words such as dull, colorless, or unattractive instead, the sense of distrust would not be as strong. In addition, desert also refers to a place where living conditions are hostile. In comparison, her Heaven House is "colorful is liyei" [*It is so colorful because*] (line 26) it contains all the "different luxuries, different accessories, sub kuch and Peace" [*different luxuries, different accessories, everything and peace as well*] (lines 28-31). This is the imagined future that she desires in contrast to Pakistani society which she thinks is unlivable.

One can argue that she rightly understands Pakistani languages and local knowledges not being functional academically or economically. In that case, her resolution might be to enrich these languages and knowledges which in turn will empower people of Pakistan. That is, if "Apni language ki importance kam hoti ja rahi hei" (*the importance of our language is decreasing*) (lines 37-38), we will work hard to increase its value and make it as lucrative and powerful as any neocolonial language; but rather she suggests a totally different route—to leave our language and "agar hum yei [English] language seekh lein gei" (*if we have learnt this [English] language*) (line 38), we will reach the imagined

future which is “bohat zyada beautiful aur bohat peaceful” (*very beautiful and very peaceful*) (line 41). So the commitment and trust in the process of language learning is not driven by linguistic ideology or identity, and thus enriching or empowering the local languages is not even a possibility that she could mention. In contrast, she emphasizes her recommendation by adding that reaching this imagined future through learning the English language is the need of the time: “Jis ki is waqt hamein bohat zayada zaroorat hei” (*which is what we badly need right now*) (lines 42-43).

This discourse of total dependence on and trust in English and an unflinching belief in the fruit of English language learning is also evident from the overall structure of the response. First, Zubaida describes the characteristics of heaven; she then elaborates on the laborious process one must take to reach the Heaven House through learning English (lines 6-18); and lastly, she authenticates the recommendation by constructing a role model of a Pakistani person who has acquired all the fruits of learning the English language (lines 19-24). Right after she states, “This is all about that (line 25)” which reads as if she is saying that this entire struggle is to acquire the fruits of English language learning (i.e. luxuries, desires). A roughly similar pattern is repeated in the second half of her response. Nowhere in her response does Zubaida mention any doubt or lack of trust in this stressful process of reaching the imagined Heaven House through learning English. She completely overlooks the possibilities that someone might have very good English language skills and yet cannot get all the material comforts. While portraying the imagined future, she continuously carries one tone - that she “will get it.” Nowhere does she use less definitive modality such as might get, could get, or will get. She also overlooks the possibility of reaching the better

future through any other routes other than learning English. Instead, she clearly conditions a better future with learning the English language.

Zaheer poses the similar unflinching determination in the process of learning the English language. Numerous times he has stated during Facebook discussion that learning the English language is the path to a successful academic career which in turn guarantees good employment. It is because of this trust in the process of English language learning despite his failures due to lack of proficiency in the English language that he recommends others to keep working hard and trying to learn this language. Zubaida's trust in the English language was constructed due to the role models that she has seen in the upper middle class. In contrast, Zaheer did not have any role models to look up to and admire for learning the English language in his family or friends or in his village. Instead, he had observed anti-role models such as his father who could not get higher education, because he failed the English examination at matriculation (grade 10) and hence could neither get better employment nor climb up the ladder of socio-economic mobility. It can also be interpreted that Zaheer developed his trust in the English language through his own failures. After failing in grade 11, instead of going against the system that failed him despite his serious struggles, he learnt that if he wanted to succeed in academia, he needed to learn the English language. This is why he clearly states, "without English language ap future mein study kaise kro gi.pl tell me?" *(without English language how would you study in future.pl tell me?) (*Extract 7.6, turn 7*).*

Furthermore, Zaheer's trust in the English language is not a matter of choice. This is by default his only option for upward mobility. If Zaheer was the son of the landlord in

the village and had inherited huge property from his father, he would have the choice to further flourish socio-economically without having to depend upon English language learning. He did not have to struggle to succeed in higher education; instead, he could have hired a few learned assistants to help him in the business. Since low SES Pakistanis do not have any financial support, their only opportunity to break the vicious circle of poverty is through getting higher education and lucrative employment. Otherwise, a son of a farmer will become a farmer or a mason or a driver.

Discourse of dislocation. In order to understand the discourse of dislocation that Zubaida constructs, it is essential to critically analyze the "subjective space representation" in both her image and speech. "Subjective space representations link the space construction to an actor either by means of 'relative' circumstances…or by projecting spatial descriptions through perception clauses" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 101). Thus, in the section below, I analyze both visual and linguistic elements of the subjective description of the space. In the image, Zubaida's positioning of her own self and her description of her current status and imagined future is indicative of two things: 1) power positioning and hierarchy; and 2) dislocation.

In the picture, their imagined future, associated with learning the English language, is on the top, Zubaida and her brother are in the middle, and their current reality, associated with local languages, is the ground on which they are standing. So, the imagined future, connected to learning English, is at the top of the picture while the current reality of Pakistani society and its local languages are at the bottom. This "symbolic process" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 98) of positioning the Heaven House high up in the air compared to the

other objects in the picture in a "visually conspicuous way…which is clearly not related to the normal function of the object [a house]" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 98) is reflective of the functional hierarchy, official language policy, and language educational policy in Pakistan. Zubaida could have disrupted that linguistic hierarchy and status quo by situating the Heaven House down on the ground where the desert and the Heaven House would coexist without any disjunction or vertical hierarchy. However, she has not only accepted and approved that hierarchy, but also recommended other Pakistanis to master the English language in order to reach the Heaven House, which is the top of the hierarchy, up and away from the desert.

The positioning of people and objects in the picture is also significant because it marks the Discourse of dislocation. In the picture, Zubaida and her brother are standing with their feet on the ground, which she names as desert. However, when she refers to the desert, which is in fact a non-Anglophonic Pakistani society, she chooses an adjective of location that marks objects at a distance: "wo" (*there*) twice in "wahan wo neechei" (*there down there*). Using Gee's (2011), "why this way and not that way" tool (p. 54), the alternative, *yahan ye neechei (here down here)*, would have performed a "spatial anchoring process" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 92) and associated her with Pakistani society. Instead, she chose to distance herself from the non-Anglophonic Pakistani community through her use of the adjective of distance—there. However, she is not close to the Heaven House either—it is far above her, out of her close approach. She uses the same adjective of distant location "wahan" (*there*) to refer to the Heaven House in "wahan ooper beauty hei" (*up there is beauty*) (line 3). I refer to this state of not being able to associate with any location,

community, or situation closely as the state of dislocation. My participants who are Pakistani learners of the English language are lurking in this state of dislocation where, due to instrumental reasons, they have stopped valuing their connection with the local languages, but despite intense investments, they are not members of Anglophonic communities of practice either.

This Discourse of dislocation does not always develop explicitly and intentionally. Zubaida is intentional and explicit in dis-anchoring herself from the non-English speaking Pakistanis, but Zaheer is not. He is serving as a counselor for the youth of his village and guiding them in English medium educational discourse, but he has never talked about abandoning Urdu and Punjabi languages. However, Zubaida did signal this distancing when she suggested that if English were the mother tongue in Pakistan, most problems and confusions of Pakistanis would be solved (Chapter 6, extract 6.4). Zaheer also mentioned on Facebook that Urdu and Punjabi are the languages in Punjab, Pakistan. However, he explicitly, ardently, and excessively advocates English language policy in Punjab, demands for English medium of instruction to be implemented from pre-school onwards, and believes that each Pakistani must learn the English language. In contrast, he never emphasizes learning or preserving national or local languages. Hence, the shift towards the English language is very explicit in Zaheer's case, but a shift away from national languages is neither very explicit nor intentional. Thus, the Discourse of dislocation is not monolithic or unanimous, but is rather a spectrum with wide ranges in it. The major concerns that this Discourse of dislocation raises are the questions around linguistic

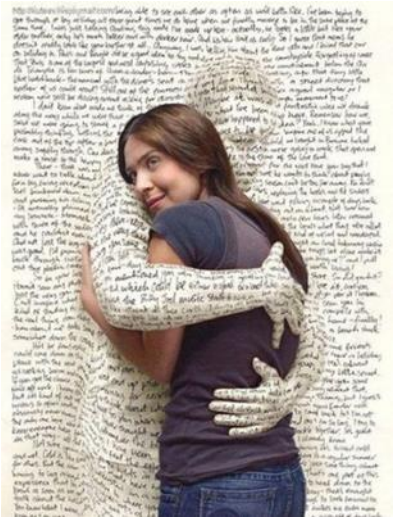
identity, membership in the community of practice of different languages, and the language shift.

Farid

[11]

"Isnei [English language] mujhei itni mazbboti sei apnei andar samo liya[12] hei kei mujhei apnei culture sei matlab itni mohabat hi nahi rahi hei." (*It [English language] has immersed me in itself so firmly that I with my culture, I mean am no more in that kind of love [with my culture] any more*).

(Farid, March, 2015)



[*As a result of my relationship with English language*]

"Zindagi mein bohat se changes aein. Mein eik end sei uth kei doosrei end pei aa kei beith gaya hoon."

(*A lot of changes have come to my life. I have moved from one end to another*).

(Farid, March, 2015)

[11] . In this picture, the girl represents Farid and the background from which a man is emerging is the English language.

[12] Absorb, immerse, submerge--none of these correctly convey what the Urdu word "Samo liya" means. Here is my interpretation of this word in order to help my readers understand Farid's relationship with the English language. Word "samo leina" (past form liya) can be understood with the help of this example. An ocean immerses and absorbs small bodies into it and then those small entities lose their own functional identity within the ecology of the ocean and complete identity with respect to an outsider who is just looking at the ocean and not what is inside it. Moreover, the adaptations that these little bodies have to go through in order to be able to survive in the ocean might include loss of memory about how these bodies used to survive in the world—similar is the example of my participant Farid and the local languages and cultures and knowledges associated to him compared to the English language as a huge ocean.

Farid was introduced to me through an acquaintance in the U.S. in the Fall of 2014, when Farid was studying in a U.S. university. He had come to the U.S under a scholarship program and was bound to return to Pakistan right after he had finished his academic program in the U.S. I always loved Farid's enthusiasm to talk about difficult topics, his explicit and honest opinion, and his critical approach towards life. He was able to speak very good Urdu and English and while talking to me, he never restricted himself from speaking the Punjabi language. He would frequently switch between languages in search of the best suitable expressions. Farid and I became Facebook friends and shared our stories of academic struggles and achievements with each other, and he agreed to be a participant in my study.

Farid's grandmother migrated from to Pakistan and was married there. She had four children from that marriage: one son and three daughters. Her husband died and she was left alone to take care of children because her parents couldn't migrate with her to Pakistan. She became a seamstress. There was no school in her village. She could not send her girls to school, but she worked hard to ensure that the boy went to school. The boy ran away from school at grade eight and never went back. He started playing with other un-schooled boys in the street. Later, he married a woman from another village. This woman—Farid's mom— "ammi kabhi school nahi gaei theen. Kyunkei wo eik ga'oon sei theen…To unhon nei kabhi school ka moonh bhi nahi deikha" *(Mom never went to school. Because she was in a village…so she she never even entered a school)*. She gave birth to six children and Farid was number five. Farid's father was unemployed while his paternal grandmother and his mother were the bread winners for the family.

Both these women took charge of all six children's education while living in a neighborhood where "Aur baqi jo thei koi kaam kar raha hei. kheil raha hei, koi parhta nahi hei…Ammi jo hein parhai pei shuru sei hi zoar deiti theen" (*the rest [of the kids] some are working, some are playing, no one studies…it is my mom who stressed on education right from the beginning*). This is how Farid and all his siblings were able to go to the school. His mother made sure that all kids go to school regularly and do well at school. Since she had learned to read the Holy Quran, she was able to read Arabic and Urdu texts. This ability to read Urdu helped her monitor her kids' progress at school. All the kids went to a public school, because that is all the family could afford. Farid was in primary school while his other siblings were in high school. Farid's eldest brother had always had a hard time with the English language, which was taught as a compulsory course. The boy somehow survived until eighth grade, but failed in ninth grade's standardized examination of the English language. This put a full stop to his educational career. Farid's elder sister also has a similar trajectory. His mother saw that his older siblings:

Original
…English mein struggle kar rahei hein. Kyunkei agar aap ko yaad ho 2001 sei 2004-5 mein yei wo time than kei English wo jo hei na wo I would say middle class families ya lower middle class families. Yei wo time tha jab in logon nei English pei tawajja deini shuru ki. Ya school mei kheir itni tawwaja nahi di jati thi to. Us sei pehlei to kheir jo elite class ya upper middle class jo thi un ki to wo to of course focus kartei hi thei English pei. Leikin ammi ammi nei jab deikha kei meirei jo barei behan bhai hei wo English pei. struggle kar rahei hein English mein specially to hum log tuition jaya kartei thei … To ammi un kei paas gaein ammi nei kaha kei "Farid ki jo English hei us kei ooper zor dein"

English Translation
…are struggling in English. Because if you remember from 2001 to 2004-5 was the time when English's. that.that I would say middle class families or lower middle class families.That was the time when these people started focusing on English. Or. Well, there was not much focus on English in schools [public schools]. Before that, well, elite class or middle class.well they they of course used to focus on English. But my mom. mom when she saw that my elder siblings they were struggling in English especially so we used to go to a tuition center…my mom went to her [the tutor]. My mom said, "pay special attention on Farid's English"

The tutor did focus on Farid's English and that became the turning point in Farid's life, because after grade 5th "mein nei English mein taqreerein shuru kar dein. Declamation speeches" *(I started delivering speeches in English. Declamation speeches).* In elementary school, he was chosen to be placed in a separate section with the gifted students at his grade level. Because he was very outgoing, outspoken, and confident he was chosen to participate in school declamation competitions. Growing up in a small town Farid had acquired an accent and his school teachers who would help him prepare for declamation contests "wo zyada focus kartei thei pronunciation pei" *(they focus more on the pronunciation).* In this competition, teachers would write for him speeches in English and he would rote-learn (a term used in Pakistan to refer to the process when a person memorizes something by heart without essentially knowing what it means. Rote-learning, cramming, or ratta are used as a synonym to each other) them at home: "...to wo cramming hoti thi. Ratta lagata tha. Khob ratta lagata tha usei ghar mein oonchi awaz mein" *(so that was cramming. Would be memorized. Memorize that really well at home in loud voice).* His interest in learning English increased, and "Acha wo poorei paanch saal mein nei naan English pei bohat tawaja di" *(Well, all those five years, I paid a lot of attention on [learning] English).* He became curious in knowing the meaning of what had been given to him to memorize for the declamation contests. This is where he learnt to consult the dictionary. All this took him a step ahead of his other class fellows. He started developing a larger word bank.

At grade 8 his elementary school's math teacher became in charge of their class. This teacher who, according to Farid, did not have good English language skills, but highly

valued learning English, started working hard at improving the English grammar of his students. Since the boys in this section were chosen to take the optional standardized grade 8 examination, special attention was paid to them, and they were asked to stay after school, as well. One of the after school activities was serious focus on learning English grammar. This was the time when Farid started idealizing characters he would see in English dramas and movies, which were played occasionally on different television channels in Pakistan. This inspiration to be able to speak like native English speakers motivated him to take English grammar lessons seriously. In early grades Farid started representing the school at the city and district level in speech competitions. This practice continued until Farid passed his grade 10 standardized examination.

Original
Jab high school sei mein nei graduate kiya to meirei paas direction nahi thi. Even though kei mein English mein bohat accha tha leikin mujhei yei nahi tha kei mein agei karon ga kya? To jub high schoo mein achei. mein 94%. mein show off nahi kar raha (laughter). Leikin 94% marks thei meirei mujhei scholarship mili mein prestigious private college in our city college mein chala gaya.

English Translation
When I graduated from high school, I did not have direction. Even though I was very good at the English language but I did not know what to do next. When in high school I got good .I 94%. I am not showing off (laughter) but I secured 94% and I got a scholarship for a prestigious private college in our city.

Farid's family could never afford to pay for the expensive private college. In the college, Farid made friends with hard working, studious boys who valued education. Many of these boys belonged to middle and upper middle class families and valued Farid's extraordinary devotion towards education despite very challenging socio-economic circumstances. One of the greatest challenges that Farid faced in college was adjustment with the English medium of instruction, because his instruction in high school was in Urdu, except for after school English help and tutoring.

Original

College mein yei hamara four students ka ganag hota tha (laughter) gang kahon ga usei mein. To un kei darmayan I was the one who used to speak English. Aur wo meira mazaq uraya kartei thei.. Just because kei mein koshish karkei English bolna chahta tha. Kei achi bolon.to wo mazaq uraya kartei thei leikin mujhei naheen feel hota than kunkei of course friendship hei to chlta hei sab kuch eisa chalta hei.

English
We had a gang of four students in college (laughter) I would call it a gang. So amongst them I was the one I was the one who used to speak English. And they would make fun of me. Just because I would make effort to speak English. Wanted to speak. That I speak well. So they would make fun of me but I would not feel [bad] because of course it was friendship and it all works OK in friendship.

One interpretation of why only Farid had this phobia of speaking English among his friends and others did not is probably because for Farid this was the very first and only opportunity and resource group where he could practice his language skills. In contrast, the others probably already had English medium of instruction backgrounds in K-10 settings or had other family members or support groups which Farid did not have. Another interpretation is that some of his friends might not value English as much as he did. Farid had to spend an enormous amount of effort and time in figuring out the meanings of the text books that were written in the English language. It was through his friends who belonged to very educated families that for the first time in his life, Farid heard the name of a prestigious school in one of the largest metropolitan cities in Pakistan. One semester in this school costs around $2500 which was many times more than what his mother could earn in a year. These curious and very ambitious boys figured out that this university offers fully funded scholarships to outstanding students. After going through a yearlong process of multiple tests and interviews, Farid and one of his friends were able to secure that scholarship. Admission in this prestigious university opened for them doors to very different kinds of challenges—linguistic and socio-economic challenges. Studying in a public school where the majority of students came from a lower and lower middle class background and competing in the prestigious private college of a small city, the school

uniform often hid the socio-economic differences; and his English language did not stand out among the other fellow students. But this prestigious university built on a Western model posed challenges that he had probably never thought of:

> Original
> aap ko pata hei kei already eik environment hota hei kei A level sei students ai huwei hotei hein aur especially Karachi kei jo students hotei hein wo to shuru sei hi un ki English based hoti hei. un kei accents deikhein to wo British accents hotei hein. wo to phir wo deikhei na to eik inferiority complex aap ko hota hei wahan par ja kar. Acha to pehla saal meira eisa tha kei mein nei struggle kiya.
>
> English
> You know that there is already an environment that students have come from A levels [Cambridge System] especially students from Karachi they are based in English right from the beginning. If you see their accent. they are British accents so then you see there you feel an inferiority complex. Well, so my entire first year passed in this struggle.

What helped him at the university was his last seven to eight years' worth of investment in learning the English language. Although "lectures English mein hotei thei" *(lectures were in English)*, he was somehow able to navigate them. "Of course struggle kiya shuru mein" *(Of course I struggled in the beginning)* because it was his first experience in a true English medium of instruction atmosphere. The real challenge was speaking, although

> Original
> Urdu mein bhi prefer kartei ho bolna leikin yei hota hei kei jo na aap sarei English bol rahei hotei hein to aap darmyan mein to aap ko hota hei kei yaar mein Urdu boloon ga to kya kahein gei loag. Um. Wo. Eik effect tha leikin yei
>
> English
> ([we]would prefer speaking in Urdu as well but the point is that when everyone is speaking English amongst them you feel that "O'dear, how would it feel if I speak Urdu." Um. That is an effect.

"But I started speaking English in my first year within the group and within class room…and I And I feel it's just because of those seven or eight years." Farid's college friend who was "Bohat acha tha" *(very good [in studies])* in grades 11-12 was able to win this competitive scholarship and admission to this very competitive university, but "wo

nahi survive kar paya" *(he could not survive)* during the first year "*just because of English*. Wo bohat zyada struggle kar raha tha*" (He was struggling very hard).* In the end, Farid's friend was expelled.

Towards the beginning of the second year, "kei kafi experience ho gaei thei" *([he] had had enough experience).* And Farid had learnt "kei survive kis tarha karna hei. Ab humein survival sei agei jana hei" *(how to survive. Now we have to go beyond survival).* Farid began scoring better grades in the later years of his education. Farid kept progressing in academics and ultimately he competed for a scholarship program offered to selected Pakistani higher education students in U.S. schools under a cultural exchange program. At the last stage of selection, short listed candidates had to appear on an interview panel, which was comprised of some Pakistanis and an American. Until then he had never been interviewed in the English language only. This was a nerve wrecking time for him because:

Original
"kya ho ga yei agar sentences ghalat bolei. Grammar ghalat boli".. um. "vocabulary na aai to kya ho ga". Nervousness thi. Doston sei bhi bat ki. "Yaar mujhei interview deinei jana chahyei nahi jana chahyei". Leikin yei tha kei unhon nei kaha kei nahi mujhei deina chahyei interview.
English
"What would happen if I speak wrong sentences, Wrong grammar". Um. "What would happen if I don't get the vocabulary". There was Nervousness. Talked to my friends. "O' friend, should I go and take the interview, or should I not go?" But it was that they told me no, I should go.

Although it was his first experience of an interview in English only, he felt *"*that wahan mein nei un ko heiran kar diya" *(there I surprised them).* Farid was selected for this year long fully funded undergraduate experience. This not only boosted his confidence, but also "bohat izzat mili" *(brought him a lot of respect)* among family and friends, as well. On the way from Pakistan to the U.S., Farid was once again very nervous. He did not know how to handle all the upcoming pressure, especially because "matlab English mein itni fluency

nahi thi hameisha jo hei na hesitation thi bolnei mein" *(I mean, I didn't have that fluency I always had hesitation in speaking).* But at the port of entry when he was waiting for the next flight, an English Speaking American woman sat next to him and started talking. At the end of the conversation she did what no one had yet done for Farid; according to Farid she said, "Your English is really good. Even its better than those like some of people. um. Some of the people from here. To mein mujhei jo hei na wahan pei eik thora sa relief mila tha kei yaar now it's OK" *(So, there I got some relief that "O' dear, now it's OK).*

Farid began his academic year in the U.S. with the chronic linguistic fear— "mein kis tarha bolon *(how would I speak)* in front of the native speakers?" But to his surprise in his first class presentation: "log suntei thei aur appreciate kartei thei aur hanstei naheen thei …matlab aap boltei hi is liyei nahi ho kei agar ghalat bola to hansein gei log. To wo jo eik factor tha us ka kafi asar huwa kei ab mein class mein bolta hoon jo bhi jeisa bhi bolta hoon" *(people would listen and appreciate. And. They wouldn't laugh…I mean, you don't speak only because if you speak wrong, people would laugh. So that one factor that had great effect that now I speak in the class no matter what I speak, how I speak).*

Farid returned home (Pakistan) with the ambition to utilize the next few years for three conflicting tasks: 1) preparation for securing admission to Harvard University for a PhD program; 2) promote the local languages and cultures of Pakistan; and 3) teach his five-year-old nephew (who still lived in Farid's small home town) good English language skills because "Jab meira bhanja Punjabi bolta hei to mujhei bohat ghusa aata hei" (*When my nephew speaks Punjabi, I feel very angry*).

Living neocolonialism. Farid's life trajectory portrait distinguishes Farid from the other participants in multiple ways; however, most important of them all is his proficiency in the English language. Compared to the other two focal students and most other participants who were struggling with the English language, Farid stood on the other side of the spectrum. He was very proficient in the English language, and it was his proficiency that had always supported his academic achievements and helped him win a scholarship for a U.S.-based cultural exchange educational program. His stay in the U.S. further developed his English language skills but, most importantly, provided him a chance to physically distance himself from Pakistani society and hence be able to critically reflect on the current as well as future perspectives of Pakistani society with reference to the English language and by extension neocolonial hegemony. This sub-section will analyze some extracts from Farid's interview around this theme.

tei hun tei poora angrez ban gaya ei."
(*So now he has become a perfect Englishman [American/Britain]*). Analysis of this extract reveals a critical and often ignored nuanced connection between control and power of language to the issues of identity shift and subordination in the neocolonial era. My participant conducts this evaluation by exploring his relationship with the English language with the help of a picture. He then compares the intensity of control between his relationships with English and his mother tongue and the consequences and reasons for having a firmer hold of the English language. I analyze his evaluation through multimodal critical discourse analysis of: (1) the symbolic process of holding and personification of the English language depicted in the picture; and (2) his performance of multivoicedness

and code switching he uses in order to authenticate the multiple voices he is presenting and identities he is constructing. I begin with the analysis of the picture:

Figure 7.2
Relationship with the English language

Farid (2015)

In his interview Farid stated that the background of the picture, which is a written text in the English alphabet and from which a person emerges, in fact represents the English language; the hands, hence, represent the hands of the English language while the girl dressed up in Western costume represents Farid. While language is accepted to have material and concrete roles and functions in everyday life, it can be represented in the form of texts, alphabets, and sounds; however, language does not have a physical, tangible body or human organs such as hands and a face, which are represented in this picture. According to the Merriam Webster online dictionary, "attribution of personal qualities; especially representation of a thing or abstraction as a person or by the human form" is called personification. The extract given below presents Farid's own interpretation of this picture and my analysis:

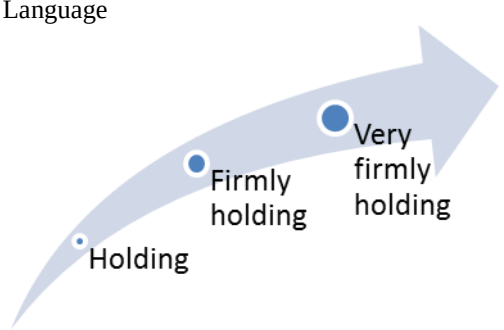
Extract 7.7: Interview, Farid, March, 2015.

	F	Original	English
1		just yei effect	Just this effect
2		kei us nei mujhei bohat mazbooti sei thama hei.	That it is holding me firmly
3		Aur itni mazbooti sei thama hei	And is holding me so firmly
4		kei shayad mein agar doosrei culture ki taraf jana chahoon	That perhaps if I want to move towards another culture
5		to bara mushkil ho ga.	It will be very difficult
6		Meiri khud ki zaban nei itna naheen thama	My own language has not held me so firmly
7		kyun? Wo I don't know why	Why? That I don't know why
8		leikin yei hei kei	But it is that
9		mein nei che saat saal ki umar sei	I have since age six or seven
10		English pe focus karna shuru kar diya	Started focusing on English language
11		to us mein yei hota hei kei	So what happens in that is
12		aap apni zaban ki taraf jo hein na zyada zor nahi deitei.	That you do not focus on your own language
13		Aan zahir si baat hei maadri zaban hei	Aan. Obviously it is mother tongue
14		"koi baat nahi seekh lein gei.	"No problem, we will learn it
15		Aati hei, bol leitei hein, likh leitei hein"	We know it, we can speak it, we can write it"
16		leikin English pei zyada zoar deitei hein	But focus more on English
17		"Naheen, seekhni hei zaroor seekhni hei".	"No, [we] have to learn it, [we] must learn it".
18		Kyunkei English mein	Because in English
19		aap zyada agei jana chahtei ho kyun,	You want to advance why
20		kyunkei logon ko yei cheezein pasand hein	Because people like this thing
21		aur mein logon ko impress karna chahta hoon.	..and I want to impress people
22		Show off kar kei.	By Showing off
23	S	@show off karnei kei liyei?.	@ in order to show off?
24	F	Bilkul yehi hota tha	For sure, exactly this happens
25		ke yaar aap ko jab angrezi aati hei	That when you have learned English
26		to aap zyada sei zyada angrezi bolna chahtei ho	So you want to speak more and more English
27		to wo log log impress hotei hein.	So people get impressed.
28		Log kehtei hei kei	People say that
29		"na'een yaar, mundei nu bari changei angrezi aa gai ei	"No dear, the boy has learnt very good English
30		tei hun tei poora angrez ban gaya ei."	So now he has become a perfect Englishman [American/Britain]

Through this picture, my participant not only personifies the English language, which has hands and a face, but also in his interview he attributes human functions such as holding in the arms "just yei effct kei us nei mujhei bohat mazbooti sei thama hei" (*Just this effect that it is holding me firmly*) (lines 1-3) to the English language. According to Van-Leeuwen (2008), this is a symbolic process "in which an object symbolizes an

attribute of a depicted person in which that object is represented in a visually conspicuous way, for instance…in a way that is clearly not related to the normal function of the object" (Van-Leeuwen, 2008, p. 98). Thus, through this symbolic process, Farid establishes the fact that not only is the English language very much present, but it is also functional and one of its functions is to hold and control. In line three, "mujhei bohat mazbooti sei thama hei" (*is holding me very firmly*), the use of the adverb "mazbooti" (*firmly*) elaborates that the action of holding is not any ordinary holding but firm holding. In addition, the adverb "bohat" (very) intensifies the degree of firmness. By doing so Farid describes the degree of control the English language has over him.

Figure 7.3
Degree of firmness of the hold of the English Language



Using Gee's (2011) "The why this way and not that way" tool, the figure given above also reveals that had Farid only said language is holding me, it would show less power and a lesser degree of control of the language over Farid.

Furthermore, Farid's sentence structure also reveals the active and powerful role of the English language. In line two, "kei us nei mujhei bohat mazbooti sei thama hei" (*That it is holding me firmly*) the pronoun "us nei" (*it*) refers to the English language and has been placed at the subject position as an actor and doer, whereas Farid places himself "mujhei" (*me*) at an object position as a passive receiver of the action. By doing so, he

attributes greater control to English over himself. If he had instead said, we both are holding each other (which is also evident in the picture), that would have reduced the power imbalance between Farid and the English language. The consequence of this control is restricting Farid to the English language only and hence limiting his liberty to shift towards other languages or cultures: "kei shayad mein agar doosrei culture ki taraf jana chahoon to bara mushkil ho ga" (*That perhaps if I want to move towards another culture, it will be very difficult*) (lines 4-6). Furthermore, in the first three lines he refers to the English language having controlled him, but in line four he points towards his consequent restricted shift towards another culture. This reveals Farid's perception about the inter-connectedness between language and culture. If Farid had instead said "kei shayad mein agar doosri language ki taraf jana chahoon to bara mushkil ho ga" (*That perhaps if I want to move towards another language, it will be very difficult*), this suggested alternative would have implied the interconnectedness between the two languages instead of two cultures or language and culture.

In line six Farid says, "Meiri khud ki zaban nei itna naheen thama" (*My own language has not held me so firmly*). First, Farid distances himself from the English language by accepting that English is not his "meirei khud ki zaban" (*own language*) but rather his mother tongue is some other language. In this line he also compares the degree of control his own language and the English language exert on him and establishes that his own language has a less firm hold on him. This less restricting control of his own language (Urdu or Punjabi) could either be due to the less restricting nature of these languages, the history of slavery and subjugation of Urdu and Punjabi speakers by British colonizers, the

overarching imperial power of English in the neocolonial era, or due to the fact that he has never prioritized his own language over the English language.

Although, in line seven Farid asks himself the reason why his own language has less firm control over him, and in the answer to himself, he states "kyun? Wo I don't know why" (*why? that I don't know why*) (line 7). However, immediately afterwards he starts telling the history of his relationship with the English language: "mein nei che saat saal ki umar sei English pe focus karna shuru kar diya" (*I have since age six or seven started focusing on English language*) (lines 7-8). It is the result of this intense focus on the English language that "aap apni zaban ki taraf jo hein na zyada zor nahi deitei" (*That you do not focus on your own language*) (line 12). Hence, according to my analysis of this extract from Farid, the power imbalance between the languages and hegemony of the English language was created because: 1) Punjabi and other languages are not at all considered schooled literacies; 2) Urdu language is taken for granted in schools: "Aan zahir si baat hei maadri zaban hei koi baat nahi seekh lein gei. Aati hei, bol leitei hein, likh leitei hein" (*Aan. Obviously it is mother tongue No problem, we will learn it we know it, we can speak it, we can write it*) (lines 13-15); and 3) an over-emphasis on the English language is initiated at a very early age: "Naheen, seekhni hei zaroor seekhni hei" (*No, [we] have to learn it, [we] must learn it*) (line 17). "Naheen" is an Urdu word that means *No*, but here Farid does not use *No* for negation, but rather to insist on and emphasize the commitment to learning the English language. In addition, the use of present tense instead of future tense adds to the urgency of action. Had Farid used future tense: "No, we will have to learn it" it would not have the element of urgency of doing the action in the present time. The

use of two auxiliary verbs, *have to* and "zaroor" (*must*), with the action "seekhni" (*to learn*) add to the emphasis on learning the English language. Had he instead used auxiliaries such as *can learn it*, or *might learn it*, he would not have emphasized the commitment towards learning the English language.

Farid builds significance around his argument that a lack of emphasis on local languages strengthens the hegemony of the English language by bringing in a narrative from his life in order to personalize the experience. In this part of the extract he uses a first person singular pronoun: "mein nei che saat saal ki umar sei English pe focus karna shuru kar diya" (*I since age six or seven started focusing on English language*) (lines 9-10). Since this narrative is representative of the lives of many other Pakistanis, Farid generalizes the narrative first, by shifting from past to present simple tense "to us mein yei hota hei kei" (*So what happens in that is*) (line 11). One of the attributes of present simple tense is that it represents a habit or a trend. Thus, by shifting the tense, he is representing a trend common for some Pakistani school children. Had he instead continued using past tense "to us mein yei huwa kei" *(So what happened in that was)*, he would have restricted the experience to himself only. Second, he shifts the pronoun from first person singular to the second person either plural or deferential "aap" (you), although he is not addressing me, nor is he telling my experience. In colloquial Urdu language, second person pronoun is sometimes used for neutrality. In "aap apni zaban ki taraf jo hein na zyada zor nahi deitei" (*That you do not focus much on your own language*) (line 12), he neutralizes the experience, and by doing so he de-personalizes it, addressing an entire class of students that performs this action of not focusing on their mother tongue. Then, in lines 13 to 16 he

uses a collective plural pronoun which does not specify first or third person; the doers of this action are not specified, which once again increases the generalizability of the experience. For example, in line 14 he says, "koi baat nahi seekh lein gei [future marker is plural]" (*No problem,* [pronoun absent] *will* [tense marker is plural] *learn it*). However, in lines 18 and 19, he once again shifts to the neutral and more generalizable second person plural pronoun: "Kyunkei English mein aap zyada agei jana chahtei ho kyun" (*Because in English you want to advance*). He does not specify whether the advance "in English" means proficiency in English language skills or whether it refers to academic, cultural, and socio-economic success through leaning the English language.

Farid reclaims his story in lines 21 to 22 by shifting back to the first person singular pronoun "mein" (I): "..aur mein logon ko impress karna chahta hoon show off kar ke" (*..and I want to impress people by showing off*). Culturally, he performs a very daunting act by admitting that a major incentive behind all his struggles is to "impress people by showing off." In surprise of his admission, I interrupt him and repeat his statement for confirmation. My half laughter not only reveals my surprise, but also lightens the weight of his confession. If I had uttered my question with only exclamation and without laughter, it might have conveyed discomfort with his revelation and might restrict his freedom to narrate his past experiences. In response to my surprise, he takes a slight defensive position, once again generalizing his experience to the entire community of early English language learners in Pakistan by: (1) initially, omitting the pronoun i.e. the doer or the subject in line 24 and later moving to a more neutral second person plural pronoun: "k yaar aap ko jab angrezi aa jati hei to aap zyada sei zyada angrezi bolna chahte ho to wo log

impress hote hein" (*That O' dear when you have learnt English so you want to speak more and more English so, people get impressed*) (lines 25-26); and (2) adopting present simple tense to refer to a trend or a habit and not just a onetime event. If Farid had instead said, "Bilkul yehi huwa" (*Exactly this happened*), it would have reduced the utterance to his personal experience and a one-time event, and thus would carry less weight as legitimate evidence for the truth of his claim.

In addition to generalizability, pronoun shift also performs the function of authenticating Farid's argument in this extract, because through pronoun shift, he is claiming that his argument represents the voice of the community of early English language learners in Pakistan and not just his own subjective perspective. Farid also authenticates his overall argument with the use of direct speech and code switching. Through his mastery over Urdu and Punjabi languages, which he demonstrates by inserting quotations in these languages, he proves himself a member of these two linguistic communities, but also by extension a member of these social groups. Hence, he claims to have practiced, experienced, and observed these linguistic and social practices directly. Had he quoted the reported speech in English instead of code switching to Punjabi and Urdu, he would have claimed those linguistic memberships, but not performed them, and claiming a linguistic identity is less authentic than performing that identity.

Furthermore, Farid's use of reported speech and code switching helps him and his readers/listeners imagine those different identities of early learners of the English language and other members of Pakistani society including Urdu and Punjabi speaking people. So doing also helps him develop the genre of storytelling in which the narrator adopts multiple

voices and inserts quotations not only to bring life to his story, but also to help the listeners imagine it and by extension enhance the engagement and overall impact of the story.

Two significant factors that this narrative establishes are:

First, this control of the English language and its restrictive effect on Farid's shift towards any other culture or language has deeper meanings. Although Farid acknowledges and understands the limiting nature of the English language, he is intentionally working towards earning the identity that English language proficiency will earn for him in Pakistani society and that is: "na'en yaar, mundei nu bari chungi angrezi aa gaei ei tei hun tei poora angrez ban gaya ei" (*No, dear, the boy has learnt very good English, so now he has become a perfect Englishman* [*American/Britain*]) (lines 29-30). The identity he desires is the identity of not just an English speaker but also of an Englishman (and in Pakistan the word "Angrez" is used for Americans/British people interchangeably). Hence, English language learning is not restricted to language shift only, but also has implications for cultural and identity shift—a total transformation. Farid is not regretful towards this identity shift, but rather he admits that this is what he has been and is working towards. Had he regretted it he would not have desired it for the next generation. Talking about his family, Farid has mentioned that when his nephew, who is currently going to kindergarten, speaks Punjabi, Farid gets upset. Farid also shared that he grew up without any guidance, but his nephew has a guide and that is Farid. He will guide his nephew to stay away from Punjabi and master the English language right from the beginning.

Second, there are implications of Farid's experience on the English Language Policy (ELP) that has recently been implemented in the entire Pakistan and according to

which all public schools have been switched to English medium of instruction. Until grade four, the medium of instruction is by the discretion of the provinces but: 1) English will be a compulsory subject until grade four; and 2) after grade four all schools should switch to the English medium of instruction. Although Farid had almost graduated from his high school when this ELP was implemented in the Punjab province, this early focus on the English language is similar in both cases. Moreover, I am mainly concerned with ELP's implementation on low SES students who attend public schools and have the least educated parents and least qualified and almost untrained teachers for teaching the English language. All these factors are present in Farid's case as well, with the only difference that in Farid's case it was an individual person and his family's decision (or few others like them) to have an early focus on the English language whereas, in the case of ELP, this is a state mandated universal policy for the entire country. The pressure of English was present in the case of Farid as well but was not explicit, whereas, in the case of ELP, it is explicit and official. Hence, there are lessons to be learnt from Farid's experience that can have direct implications for ELP such as identity shift due to an early focus on English language learning.

The section above analyzed Farid's relationship with the English language, Farid and his local languages' positioning with reference to the English language, and the place of English and native speakers of English in the eyes of Pakistanis and the desire to be identified with the native speakers of English. This section also elaborated the tension between Farid's concern about his weakening connection with his local languages and cultures, but at the same time he reveals his continuous investment towards learning the

English language. The next section below analyzes Farid's own prediction about the future status of various local languages and cultures in relation to the dominant English language.

Language shift leading to cultural shift. This excerpt was also extracted from the same interview in which Farid was describing his relationship with the English language. The following is my analysis of Farid's apprehension that local languages and cultures will become extinct due to the hegemony of the English language and Western culture, and the factors that support this shift at both local and international levels.

Extract 7.7: Interview, Farid, March, 2015.

		Original	English
1	F	As a nation jo hei…apparent cheezon pei zyada focus kartei hei	As a nation that is…[pronoun absent] focus more on apparent things
2		kei hamara wo vision hi nahi hei kei ham log	That we do not have that vision through which we
3		door ki cheezein soach sakein	Could have a foresight
4		kei aaj sei pachas saal kei baad	fifty years after today
5		hum log itna ehsas-e-kamtari ka shikar ho jaein gei kei	We will be suffering from such inferiority complex that
6		hum apni cheezon ko matlab kamtar feel karein gei	We will look down upon our own things.
78		to be honest	To be honest
8		agli eik century mein meirei nazdeek	With the next one century, in my opinion
9		bohat sei culture wipe out ho jaein gei	Many cultures will wipe out
10		just because of this.this culture. The culture	just because of this.this culture. The culture
11		we are living in [kyun, we . we.	we are living in [why, we . we.
12	S	[Konsa culture?	…….[which culture
13	F	Because we. We. [Yei jo Western culture hei.	Because we. We. [This Western culture
14		Kyunkei yei itna extend kar raha hei, kyun?	Because it is extending so much, why?
15		yei log apnei culture ko promote karnei kei liyei	In order to promote their culture these people
16		exchange program kar rahei hein	Conduct exchange programs
17		apnei aap ko apni values ko promote kar rahei hein.	Promoting themselves and their values
18		Tabhi to yei itna pheilta ja raha hei.	That is why it is expanding so much
19		Aur hamarei han logon ko is ki tameez hi naheen hei.	And in our [country] people do not have awareness about it
20	S	Acha zara yahan sei wapis aatei hein eik step back….	Ok, so let us just move a step back from here
21		kya baat yei hei kei hamarei paas intellectuals, ya hamarei paas think tanks, ya hamarei paas achei log naheen	Is it the fact that we do not have intellectuals, or think tanks, or good people

22		ya baat yei hei kei hamari vision ko limit kar diya gaya hei	Or the fact is that our vision has been restricted
23		kei hamein hamein har waqt sirf yehi khayal hei kei=	That all the time we.we are only wondering about
24	F:	acha roti. Roti=	Ok. Bread [food]. Bread [food]=
25	S	=Sirf roti kamani hei?	=we just have to earn our sustenance
26	F	Naheen yei factor bhi mein aap sei is baat pei agree karon ga	No, this is also a factor I will agree with you on this thing
27		kei hum log pretty much tight ho gae hein	That we have become pretty much tight
28		wohi eik cheez na ki	That one same thing
29		aaj mein agar mein eik dukan pei kaam karta hoon	Today, if I am working on a shop
30		to sara din kaam karoon ga, sham ko aaon ga,	I will work the entire day, return at evening
31		khana khaon ga aur so jaoon ga.	Will take meal and go to bed
32		Yei eik routine ban gai hei. Theek hei?	This has become a routine. Right?
33		…Phir baat yei hei kei majority eisi hei kei	…Then it is a fact that majority is such that
34		offices mein kaam nahi karti hei.	[they] do not work in offices
35		Majority jo hei na sarkoon pei kaam karti hei,	Majority works on the roads
36		majority dukanon pei kaam karti hei,	Majority works on the shops
37		majority mazdoor hei,	Majority is laborer
38		to un logon ko matlab eik to	So those people, one that
39		wo log parhei likhei nahi hotei	They are not educated
40		eik to in cheezon ki soojh boojh hi nahi hoti…	They do not have much awareness about these things
41		kyunkei wo peisa kamanei kei liyei itnei magan hein kei	Because they are so engaged in earning money that
4		unki zarooryat poori nahi ho rahi hei	Their needs are not getting fulfilled
43		aur wo kamatei ja rahei hein kamatei ja rahein	And they are continuously earning and earning
44		With out thinking kei wo kar kya rahei hein.	without thinking about what they are doing
45		...eik to meirei nazdeek hum logon ko eisa banaya bhi gaya hei.	…one is, in my opinion, we people have been made like this
46		Eik had tak na. wo eik. Wo. eik hota hein na.	To some extent, that one, that, what that is
47		qomon ka eik tazad hota hei.	The conflict of the nations
48		Kei ab jo mein straight eik baat karoon ga	That now I will tell you one thing straight forward
49		kei ab jo jang hein na wo ankhon deikhi jang nahi hei.	That the fight now is not the one that can be visible with eye
50		Wo pardei kei peechei lari ja rahi hei.	That is happening behind the scene
51		Wo hamari tehzeeb pei hamla karahei hei.	They are attacking on our civilization
52		Ham unki tehzeeb pei hamla kar rahei hein.	We are attacking on their civilization
53		Hamein mehroom rakha ja raha hei…meirei nazdeek wo zyada kamyab ho rahei hein.	We are kept deprived…according to me they are becoming more successful

In this extract, Farid is conducting a deficit-oriented evaluation of the Pakistani nation. By using the collective plural pronoun "ham" (*we*) in line two, he accepts his membership in the Pakistani nation who must "apparent cheezon pei focus kareti hein" (*focus on the apparent things*) (line 1), but "hamara wo vision hi nahi hei" (*we do not have that vision*) or foresight that will help Pakistanis imagine their future fifty years from now. Although he does not explain what "apparent cheezon" (*apparent things*) mean, applying Gee's (2011) "Fill in" tool (p. 12) and focusing on the context in which he utters this phrase will help us gain clarity about what *apparent things* mean. Farid speaks within the context of the spread of the English language in Pakistan and social attitudes that support the dominance of the English language. However, these social attitudes around the crucial importance of the English language support (and have been supported by) the official language education (LEP) policy at local, national, and international levels. Language education policy in Pakistan has been written in the context of 1) economic development of the country through higher education and 2) an over-emphasis on compliance of the international educational policies. Hence, both these things take away from the Pakistani educational system the freedom and the concept of empowerment of local people. Instead, the focus shifts to having more—money, resources, and the pleasure of the neocolonial masters. However, an over commitment to these goals causes what Farid refers to as "vision hi nahi hei" (*do not have vision*), or lack of vision and foresight about the long term consequences of language shift. According to Farid, the future consequence of the dominance of the English language and an over-emphasis on the current and apparent needs is "hum log itna ehsas-e-kamtari ka shikar ho jaein gei kei hum apni cheezon ko kamtar

feel karein gei" (*We will be suffering from such inferiority complex that we will look down upon our own things*) (lines 5-6). According to Farid (Extract 7.4), culture and language are directly and closely associated to each other: "Yei loag apni cultural values ko in other words apni zaban ko phelanei kei liyei bohat kaam kartei hein" (*These people are to their cultural values in other words working a lot to spread[expand] their language*) (lines 6-7). In this case, he uses the words culture and language alternatively and hence establishes this equation:

Language = culture or spread of culture through language

Therefore, an inferiority complex towards local languages leads to an inferiority complex towards local cultures and knowledges. According to the data I collected for this study, my participants are already suffering from an inferiority complex and look down upon themselves, their language, and their culture when compared to the people of Western nations, especially the U.S.A. and U.K. One such example of the manifestation of this inferiority complex is Farid's own deficit-oriented approach to the Pakistani nation. In line two he states, "hamara vo vision hi nahi hei" (*We do not have that vision*). This statement positions Pakistanis at a default position of deficit and helplessness–a nation that does not have the vision to move forward or make progress. Applying Gee's (2011), "Why this way and not that way" tool (p. 54), if Farid had instead said, "wo vision develop hi nahi kiya" (*have not developed that vision*), this would have at least left a possibility that the vision was not developed in the past, but there is hope that it can still be given attention and the vision might be developed.

According to Farid, this inferiority complex leads towards the extinction of cultures and hence, "to be honest, agli eik century mein meirei nazdeek bohat sei culture wipeout ho jaein gei" (*To be honest, within the next one century, in my opinion many cultures will wipe out*) (lines 7-9). Again applying Gee's (2011) "Fill in the gap" tool, we can find a connection between inferiority complex and cultural shift. This connection will help us gain clarity about Farid's hypothesis. If Farid's hypothesis is correct, according to my data, Pakistani local languages, cultures, and by extension local knowledges are already on the way to extinction because the inferiority complex is explicitly evident in my data gathered from higher education students. All of my participants have expressed an inferiority complex about their languages and culture, and in response they rely heavily on the English language and desire to adopt the Western culture, which they view as superior.

Moreover, Farid hypothesized that the spread of Western culture is the reason why many cultures will be wiped out "just because of this [Western] culture" (lines 10-13). If Farid's hypothesis of cultural extinction is true, Pakistani languages and cultures are already under threat because, Pakistanis have already started living the Western culture "The culture we are living in…Western culture (lines 10-13)."

Farid, who came to the U.S. through an exchange program, perceives these exchange programs as one of the reasons for the spread of American culture among Pakistanis. He perceives that these exchange programs are a tool to "Ye log apnei culture ko promote karnei ke liye exchange programs kar rahei hein. Apnei aap ko apni values ko promote kar rahei hein" (*In order to promote their culture, these people conduct exchange programs. [They are] promoting themselves and their values*) (lines 15-17). According to

Farid, these exchange programs establish a relationship in which education, language teaching, and educational exchange programs are used to promote American culture, which by extension promotes American values and Americans. However, elsewhere in the same interview, Farid also deliberates it is not just a simple connection between education, language, culture, and power; but rather monetary values and explicitly money plays a vital role in this entire process: "Yei loag apni cultural values ko in other words apni zaban ko phelanei kei liyei bohat kaam kartei hein. Itna peisa lagatei hein. Itna dheir sara peisa lagatei hein. Bohat incentives dei rahei hotei hein logon ko" (*These people are to their cultural values in other words Working a lot to spread [expand] their language Invest a lot of money Invest so much money Keep offering a lot of incentives to people*). For example, in the interview Farid shared that his exchange program was fully funded, including the travelling cost, health insurance, and a modest monthly allowance. He was given the opportunity to study in a U.S. educational institute. However, as a compulsory part of his exchange program, participants are bound to report in writing to the sponsoring agency their "activities of engagement in the U.S. culture" each month. Farid has to write narratives about his attendance at or participation in different cultural events in the U.S., and as proof he had to provide pictures demonstrating that he was physically present in the event; he also had to provide a list of the connections he had developed in the U.S. with local American community members. The purpose of these cultural activities is to ensure that the enforced learning of the American culture is taking place and that these "influential leaders" and "rising stars" (USAID, 2014, p. 8) acquire American culture and values and disseminate them in Pakistan.

The ultimate goal of this one way cultural exchange between other countries and the U.S. is to support American security. These connections can be testified through the ADS Chapter 253 of the "Participant Training and Exchanges for Capacity Development." The document already existed, but substantial changes were made in and made effective on September 26, 2015. According to this document one of the "program design considerations" for long term cultural exchange programs which extend over 6 months is: "This venue, while more expensive, offers cultural exposure and is often used to further the knowledge, skills, and 'place in society' of influential leaders and 'rising stars'" (p. 8). Another extract from the same document explains this rationality deeply and the fact that the goal is not limited to cultural awareness only. The following excerpt has been extracted from 253.3.7, "U.S.-Based Training Requirements: ADS Chapter 253 Participant Training and Exchanges for Capacity Development":

> Cultural Focus "Experience America" -- U.S.-based Participant Training programs contribute greatly toward fulfilling the foreign policy goals of the United States and furthering its national interests…U.S.-based programs enable individuals to reach across borders and interact with one another on a personal and professional level. Such programs help to foster mutual understanding and cooperation between nations and to dispel myths and misunderstandings of U.S. culture and society among people, building a richer understanding of American people, places, and practices. USAID programs touch thousands of people throughout the world. They strengthen the bonds of our global community and promote international development and stability. U.S. programs act in concert with U.S. national security interests…They provide participants not only with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they need to improve their societies and work places, but also with the opportunity to gain a broader understanding of different people and different professional cultures. (USAID, 2014, p. 41)

This goal resonates closely with objectives of the Bologna Declaration to promote European culture and economy through internationalization of higher education (Detailed analysis of the Bologna Declaration is in chapter four of this dissertation).

Although Farid has never read these policy documents of USAID or Bologna, he has experienced (as well as observed in the case of his other friends) one of these cultural exchange programs based in the U.S. Farid's perception regarding the role of money in the mechanism of such exchange programs is that these neocolonial agencies "Itna peisa lagatei hein itna dheir sara peisa lagatei hein. Bohat incentives dei rahei hotei hein logon ko" (*Invest a lot of money invest so much money Keep offering a lot of incentives to people*) (lines 8-10). One interpretation of the objectives of such a cultural exchange program which are heavily dependent on the monetary aspects is that these neocolonial education reform agencies spread Western culture not because, like other cultures, Western culture has some inspiring and empowering aspects to learn but because *We have political, monetary and other powers and resources and through which we can impose our culture on to the others*. Education has been used only as a tool for the promotion of such neocolonial objectives. Hence, by developing that relationship, Farid establishes that the nature of education and educational exchange programs is not neutral. By extension he also questions the authenticity of the advertisements that frequently run on Pakistani Television channels: "USAID, amreeki awam ka tohfa, Pakistani bhaion kei liyei" (*USAID, a gift from American people for Pakistani brothers*). Who do these international educational reform agencies actually help in the name of supporting students from *developing countries*. Who is the ultimate beneficiary of this support? This answer is very explicit from the relationship that Farid established in his response; Figure 7.4 below is a visual representative of this relationship:

If Farid's hypothesis (Language = culture or spread of culture through language) is true, by extension the next hypothesis is if:

- Promoting neocolonial language and culture = Promoting neocolonial masters and their values

And hence by extension:

- Weakening local languages and culture = weakening local people and their values.

Furthermore, an interpretation drawn from Farid's interview is that culture is being used and controlled for the (dis)advantage of particular people in the world, and hence creates a hierarchy of power between people. The Neocolonial masters control the Western culture and use it to fulfill their agenda to control people in the "developing world." As a consequence, people in the "developing countries" shift away from their cultures and languages and by extension weaken them. Thus the hierarchy that develops is:

Neocolonial Masters
Culture and Language of the Neocolonial Masters
People from the so-called "developing world"
Local languages and cultures in the "developing world."

Farid echoes this hierarchy in the extract. In line 19 he asserts, "aur hamarei han logon ko is ki tameez hi naheen hei" (*And in our (country) people do not have awareness about it*). The pronoun "iski" (of it) does not have a very clear reference, hence, it can represent multiple possible things, such as the political purpose of exchange programs, the need to strengthen Pakistani local languages and cultures, what shifting away from local languages and cultures means, or the damage caused by linguistic and cultural extinction. However, if any one of these references to the pronoun "iski" (of it) (line 19) is true, the consequences can be detrimental for the preservation of local cultures and languages and can have implications for all the other connected referents mentioned in the above list.

In lines 20 to 23, I interject in order to question Farid's deficit orientation towards Pakistanis--when he describes them as not having a vision--and I ask him if that is true or if the vision has been restricted intentionally. Since we both belong to the same country and have spent all our lives in Pakistan, we both share the knowledge about circulating discourses. He, therefore, interrupts me and completes my question inserting the phrase: "acha roti roti[" (*O' yes, bread* [sustenance]. *Bread* [sustenance]) (line 24) which I confirm by interrupting his response in line 25: "sirf roti kamani hei" ([pronoun absent] *have to just earn the sustenance*).

Farid begins his response (line 26) with "Naheen" (*No*), which in fact has been used to positively confirm my statement. However, he then divides the problem into three interconnected reasons. First, he focuses on earning a livelihood only; second, he describes a lack of education connected to a lack of awareness; and third, he mentions difficult economic conditions. He initiates his discussion about the condition of Pakistani society with a collective plural pronoun "hum log" (*we people*) in order to position himself as a member of the Pakistani community "kei hum log pretty much tight ho gae hein" (*That we people have become pretty much tight)* (line 27). This *tightness* refers to the restrictive work conditions that surveil people physically and mentally, leaving them no time to critically think about the conditions of their life or society. In order to explain this phenomenon, he imagines for himself the identity of a worker at a shop, and hence shifts from "we" to the first person singular "mein" (*I*) (line 29). While this is not a future he is working for, it is probably easy for him to imagine because of such examples present in his immediate family. By the use of "agar" (*if*), he makes it a hypothetical conditional

statement—if I work at the shop, this is what my life will look like: "aaj mein agar mein eik dukan pei kaam karta hoon to sara din kaam karoon ga, sham ko aaon ga, khana khaon ga aur so jaoon ga yei eik routine ban gai hei. Theek hei?" (*Today, if I am working on a shop I will work the entire day, return at evening. Will take meal and go to bed. This has become a routine. Right?)* (lines 29-32). Although he finishes his statement with a tag question, "theek hei" (*right*), he does not wait for my confirmation or response, which establishes that the tag question here functioned only to keep me engaged as a listener, not to solicit my feedback.

Second, according to Farid, the majority in Pakistan is working class people who work on the roads (as street venders, laborers in road construction, drivers, conductors of public transports, or police constables), in shops (as sales persons, helpers), or as laborers (such as masons, janitorial staff, custodial staff). People in all these three categories (lines 35-37) "wo log parhei likhei nahi hotei" (*They are not educated*). It is interesting to see the pronoun shift from first person singular (lines 29-32) to third person plural (lines 33-45). By shifting his pronouns to "wo" (they), Farid distances himself from the same working class community that he was initially claiming membership in. This is because until line 32 Farid's discussion was only about working hard which he accepts as positive, but from line 33 to 45 it is the identity of working class people as uneducated and unaware citizens of Pakistan that Farid must distance himself from. My data shows that Farid is very proud of being hard working, being working class, but more than anything else he is proud of being educated and very well aware, critical, and reflective towards life in the global world. His perception of himself as a reflective and critical thinker is also evident

from the structure of his responses. As he responds to my prompts, he justifies his arguments through the use of examples, reasoning, and logic; and one of the stylistic approaches he adopts is asking and answering his own questions. For instance, Farid says, "Kyunkei yei itna extend kar raha hei, kyun? Yei log apnei culture ko promote karnei kei liyei…" (*Because, this is extending so much, why? In order to promote their culture these people…*) (lines 14-15). If he had accepted the identities of an uneducated and unaware working class Pakistani, he would have negated his own self-perception.

Third, Farid says, "eik to in cheezon ki soojh boojh hi nahi hoti" (*One is, they do not have much awareness about these thing*) (lines 39-40). However, from line 45 on, Farid characterizes this lack of awareness as not by default, but rather as intentional: "...eik to meirei nazdeek hum logon ko eisa banaya bhi gaya hei" (*...one is, in my opinion, we people have been made like this*); limiting their chances of education and as a result their employment opportunities bring them hardly enough monetarily to fulfill their needs. Consequently, their entire attention goes to making both ends meet, "kyunkei wo peisa kamanei kei liyei itnei magan hein kei unki zarooryat poori nahi ho rahi hein" (*Because they are so engaged in earning money that their needs are not getting fulfilled*) (lines 41-42) rather than working towards the preservation and development of language, culture, and identity. This is what Farid refers to as "jang" (*war*) (line 49) between the cultures and civilization (line 49) which is "pardei kei peechei lari ja rahi hei" (*being fought behind the scene*). Due to their lack of education and awareness, and the stringent economic conditions, people are forced to just let go of their cultural values and identity either intentionally or unintentionally.

In this extract Farid expresses his apprehension about the extinction of several languages and cultures due to the hegemony of the neocolonial languages and cultures. He then analyzes the different factors that contribute towards the language shift at international, national, and local levels. By doing that, he also illuminates the ways in which language teaching, education, and educational programs have been used as tools to promote neocolonial hegemony in systematic patterns. The next extract elaborates how these linguistic and cultural shifts are indicative of the probable slavery of the Pakistani nation to the neocolonial powers.

Towards slavery? In the extract below, Farid in depth explains how the selfish and insincere local politicians work (un)intentionally in the benefit of the neocolonial agenda to keep the colonized restrained and impoverished especially economically, academically, and intellectually. By doing that he illuminates how economic and educational impediments at local levels empower the domination of the neocolonial language and culture, and hence weaken the local languages, cultures, and economy which consequently lead towards what Farid calls "ghulami" (*slavery*).

Extract 7.9: Interview, Farid, March, 2015.

	Original	English
1	Kyun? Hamarei han deikhei hakoomtei jitni bhi aati hei	Why? See whosoever makes a government at ours [in Pakistan]
2	wo apnei aap pei zyada focus karta hei…	They focus more on themselves
3	leikin aaj bhi aap sindh mein jaein	But even today if you go to Sindh
4	to log phir hakoomat ko vote dein gei.	People will again vote for the [People's Party's] government
5	Hakoomat ko phir lei aaein gei.	They will again bring them to govern us
6	Kyun samajh boojh hi nahi.	Why? There is no awareness and wisdom
7	Wo kehtei hein "karei to karei kerein kya".	They say, "what can we do at all"
8	Wo kehtei hein "wadeirei hein yar Saee'n hein."	They say, "these are land lords and tribal lords"
9	Chalta rehta hei. Kyun? In politicians nei bhi	This is how it keeps working. Why? These politicians as well
10	apnei maqasid poorei kiyei hein.	In order to reach their goals

11		Agar aaj aap farz karein inhein achi education deitei hein	Today, just imagine if you give them [these people] good education
12		kal ko yei aap kei khilaaf bolein gei.	Tomorrow they will speak against you
13		Kal ko yei kahein gei "yaar yei tum kya kaam kar rahei ho?.	Tomorrow they will ask, "what are you doing dear?
14		Tum to ghalat kaam kar rahei ho	You are doing a wrong thing
15		mein tumhein vote hi naheen doon ga".	I will not vote for you."
16		"Aaj mein inhein achi taleem doon ga	"Today if I give them good education
17		kal ko yei meirei khilaaf bolein gei" kei "yaar..	Tomorrow, they will speak against me", that "O' dear..
18		yei inhon nei kal question karnei lag jana hei" .	That tomorrow they will start questioning [me]"
19		"bhai ji aap nei wo kam kal aap nei wo wada kiya tha. Aaj aap nei wo kaam nahi kiya.	"O brother, you that work, yesterday you promised with us. But you have not done that thing until now.
20		Kyun naheen kiya."	Why have you not done that?"
		Acha ab siyasat daano ko dar kya ho ga?	Now what is the fear of these politicians
21		Dar yei ho gay. "Yei meirei meirei khilaf na[	The fear is, "these [people] against me, me[
22	S	[Awareness	[awareness
23	F	=vote dei dein".	=might vote"
24	S	Awareness aa jai gi.	They will get awareness
25	F	Bilkul. To yei sab.sari cheezein hein.	Exactly. So these are all the things
26		Matlab sirf yei hi nahi hei kei	I mean, it's not just that
27		external factor ko blame kar raha hoon.	I am blaming the external factors
28		Wo bhi kisi na kisi had tak kaam apna chala rahei hotei hei.	To some extent they are also carrying on their task
29		Leikin siasatdaan bhi eisei hotei hein kei	But politicians are also of the type that
30		wo society ko hi nahi phalta phoolta deikhna chahtei. Phaltei phooltei huwei.	They do not want to see society flourishing. Flourishing
31		To. yei sab baatein mil kei	So. All these things together
32		us eik cheez ki taraf lei jati hei jahan aap kehti hein kei	Lead towards one thing where you say
33		yei zaban hamein is nei itna jakar liya hei	That this language has so much tightly bound us with it that
34		kei hum log roti kamanei mein.	That we in earning sustenance
35		Matlab roti kei peechei zyada lag gaei hein.	We are pursuing after sustenance more
36		Banisbat doosri cheezon kei. To ultimately	Compared to the other things. So ultimately
37		is zaban ko,is culture ko faida ho raha hei us sei.	This language, this culture is getting benefitted from this
38		Kyun, in ki apni industries hein Poori dunya mein	Why? They have their own industries around the world
39		deikhei to is eik mulak ka bohat zyada role hei poori dunya mein.	If we there is a great role of this country in the entire world
40		Meirei nazdeek iski apni kashish kam ho gi	In my opinion, it's own attraction will be less
41		leikin wo jo doosrei factors hotei hei na	But those other factors, right
42		wo is ki kashish ko barha deitei hein. Jis mein	They add to to its attraction. In which
43		at the end inhein faida ho raha hota hei.	At the end these people are getting benefitted
44		Log is kei ghulam ho rahei hotei hei.	People are becoming slaves of it

I start analyzing Extract 7.9 from line nine, but the first eight lines of Farid's response help develop a context for the analysis. This extract is a continuation of the previous extract regarding the reasons that Pakistan is at a loss in the war of civilizations with the West. According to Farid a major reason is dishonest and corrupt politicians in Pakistan who work only for the advantage of their own power and keep Pakistani people ignorant and illiterate (lines 5-30). Farid brings the example of Sindh province (line 3), which has been the guaranteed vote bank of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) for the last several decades. This is because most of the interior of Sindh is under the control of these landlords and tribal lords and has been for generations and generations. People in these villages consider themselves slaves to the tribal lords, because they have been working on the lands of these tribal lords for generations. Most of these tribal lords and landlords were granted hundreds and thousands of acres of land by the British colonizers as a reward for their loyalty to the colonizers. Hence, people living and working on these lands think of themselves as totally at the mercy of these landlords. Consequently, they feel it a moral obligation and a symbol of loyalty to vote for these landlords and tribal lords in elections. As a reward to this loyalty, these landlords and tribal lords who are the politicians in Pakistan keep these people ignorant and uneducated (line 11). These people have been suppressed and kept deprived of their very basic rights for generations by these landlords. Today, if the landlord or politician allows these ignorant people access to education, the people will gain awareness of their rights and the power and knowledge to fight for their rights and stop voting for these landlords: "kal ko yei aap kei khilaaf bolein gei. Kal ko yei kahein gei "yaar yei tum kya kaam kar rahei ho?. Tum to ghalat kaam kar rahei ho, mein

tumhein vote hi naheen doon ga" (*Tomorrow they will speak against you. Tomorrow they will ask, what are you doing dear? You are doing a wrong thing. I will not vote for you*) (lines 12-15). Thus, in order to limit the people's freedom of speech (line 17) and power to question (line 18), the politicians keep them uneducated and ignorant. Hence, the business of colonizing continues.

When the foreign colonizer left, what remained was a system of local colonizers keeping the traditions of colonialism alive at g janitorial local levels (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). However, there is always underlying fear in this relationship. The colonized people are afraid of the displeasure of the master, and the master is afraid of the power of the colonized people. The day that the colonized becomes aware of his own power and the ways to exercise it, he will not be colonized any more. But the fact is that the existence of the colonized is necessary for the existence of the colonizer. In this case, Farid states, "acha ab siyasat daano ko dar kya ho ga? Dar yei ho ga, "Yei meirei khilaf na [vote dei dein" (*Now what is the fear of these politicians? The fear is, these people against me, me [might vote]*) (lines 20, 21, 23). So, the local colonizers or politicians are afraid of the fact that if local people get awareness of their rights, they might vote against the politicians, challenging the power of these local colonizers or politicians. This is how local colonizers and politicians downplay the benefit of the people in Pakistan and deprive Pakistanis of their right to education—quality education. These politicians end up promoting the policies that favor only the selected few, but work to the disadvantage of the majority. Language education policy in Pakistan is one such historical example of this local, neocolonial leadership.

After Farid has categorically mentioned several internal and external factors (Extracts 7.8 and 7.9) that escalate the crises of medium of instruction in Pakistan, he offers a summative statement in lines 25 to 30: "To. yei sab. sari cheezein hein. Matlab sirf yei hi nahi hei kei external factors ko blame kar raha hoon. Wo bhi kisi na kisi had tak kaam apna chala rahei hotei hein" (*So these are all the things. I mean, its' not just that I am blaming the external factors only. To some extent they are also carrying on their task*) (lines 25-30). In contrast to many who only look at one side of the picture, Farid analyzes the problem at international, national, local, and individual levels. Had he not blamed the local politicians and the people of Pakistan, his argument would have sounded prejudiced against the West and Westerners and Western values. In contrast, he is critical towards everyone. He builds for the Pakistani politicians an identity of insincere and non-patriotic leaders who "apnei maqsad hasil karnei kei liyei" (*in order to reach their goals*) (line 10), "society ko hi nahi phalta phoolta deikhna chahtei" (*They do not want to see society flourishing*) (line 30). By building identities of uneducated and restrained Pakistani people, insincere and non-patriotic Pakistani politicians, and the hegemonic neocolonial powers of the West, he establishes that the neocolonial agenda is supported at global, national, and local levels. Ultimately, it is the English language that runs through these multiple levels of power to reaffirm neocolonial hegemony: "To. yei sab baatein mil kei us eik cheez ki taraf lei jati hein jahan aap kehti hein kei yei zaban hamein is nei itna jakar liya hei" (*So. All these things together lead towards one thing where you say that this language has so much tightly bound us with it*) (lines 31-33).

Farid explores this connection between the neocolonial powers and their languages and the subordination of Pakistanis in lines 34 through 44. It is because of the hegemony of the English language that the major focus of the majority in Pakistan is to earn sustenance: "Matlab roti kei peechei zyada lag gaei hein banisbat doosri cheezon kei" (*We are pursuing sustenance more compared to the other things*) (lines 35-36). Gee's (2011) "Fill in tool" (p. 12) suggests contextualizing what is said and why in order to gain clarity. Historically and especially in the last few decades, those who do not have proficiency in the English language cannot succeed in higher education in Pakistan. Those who do not have higher education cannot achieve upward social mobility, and they remain low SES. Thus, those who do not find better employment because they failed to learn the English language are offered the least paid employment, which cannot fulfill their basic needs in life. So, the major focus of this class remains to earn money to be able to meet the very basic needs of life such as food, shelter, and very basic health care. On the other hand, those who have successfully learned the English language treasure it as a valuable currency and continuously work to improve their use of the language, because it is due to their proficiency in the English language that they have been offered lucrative jobs in multinational companies. Moreover, literates in English are required to prove their language skills in official communications. Hence, the English language has been associated with Pakistani economy in such critical ways that earning sustenance without the English language is becoming almost impossible. This is what Farid states elsewhere in the same interview:

> To wo in the end jo hei na zaban itni mazboot ho jati hei kei wo aap ki luxury sei ya aap aap eik eisei maqam sei usei utha kei eik eisi jaga pei lei aatei hein jahan pei wo aapki zarooryat-e-zindagi mei shamil ho jati hei.
> (*So that in the end language becomes so much powerful that that from your luxury That you uplift it from such a place take it to a place where it becomes a part of your necessity of life*).

In this global economy boundaries are fading and more powerful economies are extending their control over smaller *developing economies*. Also, many large corporations are West-based and have their branches in developing countries like Pakistan; for instance, Farid states: "in ki apni industries hein Poori dunya mein" (*They have their own industries around the world*) (line 38). These large corporations and powerful economies favor and are favored by the promotion of English as the lingua franca, "To ultimately, is zaban ko, is culture ko faida ho raha hei us sei" (*So ultimately, this language, this culture is getting benefitted from this*) (lines 36-37). Consequently, the focus at local, national, and global levels becomes the English language and by extension Western culture while other local cultures and languages are ignored academically, economically, and at all other levels. Consequently, the English language becomes a cuckoo (Phillipson, 2006) in the nest of the local languages and cultures.

Hence, Pakistani people are (un)consciously and (un)willingly drifting away from local languages and cultures and adopting what Farid describes as "Log is kei ghulam ho rahei hotei hein" (*People are becoming slaves of it*) (line 44). Sentence structure in this line is suggestive of subordination through consensus. The word "log" (*people*) has been placed at the subject position as actors or doers of the action, which implies that people are controlling their action of becoming slaves. However, if the sentence structure were

different and "it" (the English language) was at the subject position and people at the object position as in: *The English language is making people its slaves*; the language would become the actor and the intentionality of the action by the people would be reduced drastically. Moreover, if this active structure was instead passive such as in:

People are being made slaves of it,

This would also take away the active role and intentionality of people in the process of their own enslavement. Thus, it can be interpreted from Farid's sentence structure that people are intentionally becoming slaves of the language of (neo)colonialism. However, intentionality should be read differently from willingness, because it is explicit in the data that it is not the Western language and culture that is directly influencing people, but rather this language and culture has been made attractive to people due to the academic and economic benefits that have been associated with it: "leikin wo jo doosrei factors hotei hein na wo is ki kashish ko barha deitei hein" (*But those other factors, right, they add to its attraction*) (line 41-42).

To sum up, through this extract Farid has established that the chains of this neocolonial and linguistic slavery are invisible, economic, transgenerational, and often interpreted to have been accepted through consensus; hence, they are hard to be tracked and rectified. Neocolonial hegemony becomes very dangerous when supported by the local colonizers for their own selfish and non-patriotic interests. The next and last sub-section connects this economic, cultural slavery with the colonization of the mind and total eraser of local cultures and identity.

From colonial rulers to the neocolonial masters. According to Farid, slavery is not the end to this journey of subordination. In the following extract, he expands on the relationship between: 1) the conflicted nature of the colonial language; 2) perpetual dependence on a neocolonial master; 3) ideological and economical enslavement; and 4) a total identity shift. The focus of my analysis is on lines 18 to 23 and 35 to 53; however, I am including the entire extract to allow readers a chance to observe the development of his entire argument.

Extract 7.10: Interview, Farid, March, 2015.

		Original	English
1		To doosra factor jo wo yei hei kei yei loag jo hein naan. Yei loag. Agar mein aap ko bataoon [	So the second factor is that these people, right, these people, if I tell you [
2	S	[Yei loag kon loag?	[these people which people
3	F	Bartania ki baat karein kyunkei	Let's talk about Britain because
4		English wahan sei aati hei.	English came from there
5		Bartania ki baat karei ya aap America ki baat karein.	Whether you talk about Britain or America
6		Yei loag apni cultural values ko in other words	These people are to their cultural values in other words
7		apni zaban ko phelanei kei liyei bohat kaam kartei hein.	Working a lot to spread[expand] their language
8		Itna peisa lagatei hein.	Invest a lot of money
9		Itna dheir sara peisa lagatei hein.	Invest so much money
10		Bohat incentives dei rahei hotei hein logon ko	Keep offering a lot of incentives to people
11		bohat zyada to wo a.a.	A lot. So that.a.a.
12		doosra factor yei hei kei yei loag of course	Second factor is that these people of course
13		yei loag educated eik class hei	These people are an educated class
14		educated eik class hei dunya kei undar	an educated class is present in this world
15		to us mein yei loag hein is ko pata hei	So these people are in that. This [class] is aware of
16		inki apni cultural values ko promote kartei hein.	That their own cultural values have to be promoted
17		Zaban ko promote kar rhei hotei hei.	They are promoting their language
18		To wo in the end jo hei na	So that in the end
19		zaban itni mazboot ho jati hei kei	Language becomes so much powerful that
20		wo aap ki luxury sei	That from your luxury
21		ya aap aap eik eisei maqam sei usei utha kei	That you uplift it from such a place
22		eik eisi jaga pei lei aatei hein jahan pei	Take it to a place where
23		wo aapki zarooryat-e-zindagi mei shamil ho jati hei.	It becomes a part of your necessity of life

24		Aaj aap deikhtei hein kei	Today you see that
25		aap kei agar aap kei mulak mein	In your, if in your country
26		tourist atei hein	Tourists come
27		aur aap kei paas English translator nahi hein	And you do not have an English translator
28		ya muqami log eisei hein	Or the local people are such that
29		jinhein English nahi aati hei	Who do not know English
30		to wo bara masla ho jata hei	So that becomes a big problem
31		kei matlab aap unhein achi tarha handle nahi kar paatei.	That I mean you cannot handle them very well
32		Aap us sei achi tarha faida nahi utha patei.	You cannot benefit from them very well.
33		Economically bhi.	Economically as well
34		To yei sarei factors hotei hein.	So these are all the factors
35		to at the end of the day jo hei na.	So at the end of the day,
36		eik to yei hei na ke inferiority complex ki taraf bhi lei jatei hein	one is that these take you also towards inferiority complex, don't they
37		aur jo doosri qoam hoti hei, matlab kei	And the other nation, I mean
38		jo upper class hei	Which is upper class
39		us ki dominance ka bhi bais banti hein.	It becomes a reason for their dominance
40	S	Hm. Saheeh. Aan. Doosri qoam?	Hm. Right. Aan. Other nation?
41	F	Matlab eik do divisions a agaein na.	I mean, one, two divisions came, right
42		upper class aur lower class mein	Between upper class and lower class
43		kei jo upper class hei us ki dominance barhti jati hei	That the dominance of the upper class is increasing
44		jab aap apnei aap ko unkei tabei kartei jaein gei	What you keep letting yourself in subordination to them
45		un ki har cheez ko apnanei ki koshish karein gei.	Try to adopt everything from thing
46		Jab un ki har cheez aap ki zaroorat banti jai gi	When everything of theirs becomes your need
47		to wo automatically jo hein na aap pei dominate kartei jaein gei	So they automatically will keep dominating you.
48		aur eik eisa doar aei ga kei	And such a time will come that
49		hum har cheez unki apna rahei hon gei.	We will be adopting everything from them
50		Apna culture hamara ho ga hi nahi.	[We] will not have any of our own culture
51		Apna culture sirf is had tak ho ga ke	Our own culture will be limited only to the extent that
52		bas theek hei koi event hei bus us pei chalei gaei.	Just all right there is some event you just go to it.
53		That's it.	That's it.

A quick read from lines 18 to 23 reveals the way Farid establishes his argument about the ultimate empowerment of language: "zaban itni mazboot ho jati hei kei" (*Language becomes so much powerful that*) (line 19). In this process of the empowerment of language the status of language shifts from being a "luxury" (line 20) in life to the "zarooryat-e-zindagi" (*necessity of life*) (line 23). Applying Gee's (2011) "Situated

meaning" tool (p. 200), I ask "what specific meanings do listeners have to attribute to these words and phrases given the context and how the context is structured?" (p. 200). In this case, I ask what situated meanings do "luxury" (line 20) and "zarooryat-e-zindagi" (*necessity of life*) (line 23) carry for Farid? According to the online Merriam Webster dictionary, the word "luxury" refers to "something adding to pleasure or comfort but not absolutely necessary" which implies that its absence will not cause serious hardship or life threatening conditions; the word "zarooryat" (*necessity*) means, "something that you must have or do" or "physical or moral compulsion" which suggests that the absence of that particular thing can cause some hardship, or some violation of some moral or physical obligation. However, the phrase that Farid uses is "zarooryat-e-zindagi" (*necessity of life*), which signifies that the absence of this thing will cause serious hardship or threat to life like absence of water, food, shelter, or medical treatment. Hence, Farid has built up the significance of the English language (Gee, 2011, p. 198) from being optional to not just necessary but necessary for life.

However, a deeper analysis through the use of Gee's (2011) "connections building" tool helps me analyze how these words such as necessity and luxury are "used in communication to connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things" (p. 199). In the case of lines 20 to 23, the imagery Farid uses of moving language from place to place, "eik eisei maqam sei usei utha kei eik eisi jaga pei lei aatei hein" (*you uplift it from such a place, take it to a place*), and his use of the words "luxury" and "necessity of life" connect language with social class. At what place and time was the English language only a luxury? Before the movements of Internationalization of Higher Education and

Education for All (EFA), English was limited, restricted, and confined to one class—a community of practice of elites and upper middle class people in Pakistan. At what place and time has English become the necessity of life? In the present day, the English language has been moved beyond borders to all socio-economic classes of Pakistan, especially since the implementation of English Language Policy (ELP) in the Punjab province under the influence of Internationalization of HE and EFA. This spatial and temporal aspect of the spread of English language across the boundaries of class does not represent socio-economic unity but rather enhances the differences between the classes (see a more detailed discussion on this issue in chapter five of this dissertation).

Yet another interesting interpretation of this section of the extract is Farid's account of the conflicted nature of the English language. In these four lines (20-23) Farid's perception of the English language is as a mere commodity that can be moved from one place to another. On the other hand, through the life trajectories of my participants and the other data presented here, I have observed that the English language has a very powerful role in people's lives. It not only controls the lives of people but also the socio-economic and political Discourses at local, national, and global levels. The data show that language is both controlling and controlled. But it is not inherently evil. It is through its implementation and its use that power gets (dis)attached to it. Thus, the problem that creates the conflict is not the English language itself, but rather the powerful strings attached to it. However, there is no either/or distinction between all the above interpretations. Moreover, none of the three interpretations fully and completely characterize Farid's relationship with the conflicted nature of the English language.

In lines 37 and 38, Farid develops an equation according to which "aur jo doosri qoam hoti hei, matlab kei jo upper class hei" (*And the other nation [West], I mean which is upper class*). In other words:

"doosri qoam" (*other nation* [West]) = upper class.

Later, when I interject and ask for an explanation regarding "doosri qoam," he explains: "Matlab eik do divisions a gaein na. upper class aur lower class mein" (*I mean, one, two divisions came, right. Upper class and lower class*) (lines 41-42). In doing so, he performs three actions: 1) accepts the world as a global society; 2) acknowledges that the world (global society) is divided and hierarchized between upper and lower classes; and 3) equates upper class with West and lower class with the rest of the world and in this particular case here with the Pakistani nation. Thus, he accepts for the Pakistani nation the identity of lower class. By doing so, he himself performs what he calls in line 36 an "<u>inferiority complex.</u>" He then builds a connection between this psychological condition of being inferior and material subjugation: "us ki [doosri qoam] dominance ka bhi bais banti hein" (*It becomes a reason for their [other nation's] dominance*) (line 39). Ultimately, this connection leads to identity and culture shift. Farid de-constructs this connection in lines 44 to 53 in a step-by-step approach. First, he says, people start feeling inferior about themselves and their things compared to others, and they mentally accept the superiority of the others to the extent that allows others to rule over their desire. Then, people start adopting (material or otherwise) what the others have to the extent that they let go of control over their own desires and needs, believing that they cannot survive

without looking up at the masters. This is the point when they in/voluntarily let their freedom and autonomy go and allow the master to BE THE MASTER!

But this is not the end. The shift continues. Once the master becomes the ideal, the position and identity of the master becomes the colonized's desired identity: "aur eik eisa doar aei ga kei hum har cheez unki apna rahei hon gei" (*And such a time will come we will be adopting everything from them*) (lines 48-49). This pursuit to be like the master never ends and can never fully be achieved—what if the mind has changed but the accent and the skin color remain the same? The colonized remains the colonized—at least in the eyes of the colonizer. What happen instead is that "Apna culture hamara ho ga hi nahi. Apna culture sirf is had tak ho ga ke bas theek hei koi event hei bus us pei chalei gaei" (*[We] will not have any of our own culture. Our own culture will be limited only to the extent that just all right there is some event you just go to it*) (lines 50-53). Four to five decades ago, Pakistanis went to American or Western cultural events just as outsiders or visitors. But the end Farid is predicting is the exact opposite—becoming visitors to our own culture. In a neocolonial system, the colonized leave their culture and identity in pursuit of the colonizers' identity, which they can never have…! Always floating like a rhizome (Ramanathan, 2005) never able to find roots; the question the colonized have, then, is: Who am I? Where do I belong?

At the end, I wish I could go back in time and ask the slaves of colonial rulers how their identities shifted in order to compare their experience to the ideological, economical, academic, linguistic, cultural, and psychological slavery of the neocolonial masters of today. How did the erasure of identity work at that time? What is clear from my data

analysis and the perceptions of my participants is that from colonialism to neocolonialism what has changed is name tags, faces, and the mechanism of enslaving people—but enslavement continues. Furthermore, the lives of the colonized then and now have one thing in common—their conflicted identities of being agents and targets (King & DeFina, 2010) at the same time within the contact zone of subordination and resistance (Ramanathan, 2005), exactly as we observe in Farid's case. The shifting pronouns from a neutral "you" to a more collective "we" (lines 44-53) portrays Farid's tension between performing different identities and acquiring different voices. This internal battle is revealed as he attempts to distance himself from the entire narrative of slavery and reject the imposed identity of a slave, while simultaneously admitting to being a member of this society, in effect, a slave himself.

Living the Contact Zone of Subordination and Resistance

Gyanumaya's story and Kilto's allegory (Kramsch, 2005) both illuminate the historically silenced pain of these language learners from low SES or less advantaged strata of the society who somehow make it to the balcony of power or acquire what Kramsch (2006) calls the "third place of art and imagination" (Kramsch, 2006). However, Minh-ha (1989) believes that "Power … has always inscribed itself in language" (p. 52) in immortal ways because "Power… never dies out: tracked, pursued, worn out, or driven away here, it will always reappear there, where I expect it least" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 52). Thus, after passing all the gate-keeping obstacles posed by the language education policy—such as the compulsory English exam in grade 10 and 13 standardized examinations and university entry tests in English—when these students reach higher education institutes they have to

once again struggle against the linguistic challenges, which are more consistent and intense than what they faced previously. These linguistic issues threaten their identity and linguistic as well as ethnic membership in multiple ways.

One of these continuous linguistic pressures posed by LEP through the institutional practices in HE and the members of the figured world of HE is not just learning the English language, but rather acquiring native-like proficiency in it. The colonial vestige, LEP, is serving the colonial agenda: "'Be like us' [colonizers]. The goal pursued is the spread of the hegemonic dis-ease. Don't be us. This self-explanatory motto warns. Just be 'like' and bear the chameleon's fate, never infecting us, but only yourself" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 52). Thus, the fear of linguistic surveillance by the panoptic gaze of the LEP keeps them under pressure all the time—speak in the native English accent; write the standard English language (everything including all exams, class assignments, memos, grant and job applications, etc.); read and comprehend the text and research written in standard English; completely comprehend the native speakers on standardized tests—such as GRE and TOEFL. A question thus arises: What kind of success does this colonial agenda offer—"Be like us" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 52) and disown or devalue the linguistic membership of your community of practice; bring yourself to a default servility where you continuously try to reach 'our' standards and wait for 'our' approval and verification? What does this entail? Let us understand it through Fanon (1952), who observed and experienced that "not only must the black be black; he must be black in relation to the white man" (p. 90). Thus, being positioned in perpetual comparison with the colonizer—local/ European—the colonized is an embodiment of what Tikly (2009) calls the "colonization of mind" (p. 37).

This chapter began with the story of a so-called low cast Nepalese woman who scaled up the outer wall of a house (like a lizard) in order to reach the balcony on the third floor of the house where some so-called upper cast ladies were sitting. She did so because in order to access the stair case she would have to enter the house through the regular entrance (kitchen door). However, culturally so-called low-caste people were not allowed to enter the kitchens of upper class people. In doing that she subordinates the culturally established class divide yet resists the gatekeeping mechanism by carving out for her a very painful yet successful way to reach the balcony of power. This contact zone of subordination and resistance is present in the life trajectories of all three focal student participants in my study. All these three belong to low socio-economic status yet they resisted the gatekeeping mechanism of English language all through their lives and carved out ways for them to enter higher education. In doing so, they had to subordinate and learn the same English language that had been hindering their success. Hence, all my focal participants became an embodiment of the contact zone of subordination and resistance. Although they all belonged to low SES, their family backgrounds, geographic locations, their experiences, and degrees of struggles significantly vary from each other. However, their life trajectory portraits reveal several common themes around the role of the English language in their lives and the lives of the other non-focal participants of my study.

This chapter has presented these themes in an interconnected manner. Nazia's life trajectory portrait projects the theme of a contested and complicated and often dehumanizing relationship of low SES English language learners with the English language. Through the elaboration of the Discourse of determination and resistance, the

Discourse of need and desire, and the imagined future, Zaheer's life trajectory portrait illuminates the reasons how and why Pakistani low SES English language learners live this contested and painful relationship with the English language. The analysis also reveals some consequent Discourses such as (dis)trust, and dislocation. Farid's life trajectory portrait is an example of those Pakistani low SES English language learners who are very successful and endure this painful, conflicted, and dehumanizing relationship with English language. However, after having invested all of his childhood and youth in gaining tremendous proficiency in the English language, he is horrified with the realizations that: 1) learning the English language is not an innocent project; 2) the implied political consequences of English language policies in Pakistan are leading towards linguistic, identity, and cultural shifts. The greater goal behind is in fact to succeed the (neo)colonial agenda of invisible economic, linguistic, ideological, academic, and cultural slavery.

One can question whether local actors such as administrators, teachers, students and parents in Pakistani educational discourse do not have agency to resist such damaging language education policies. In fact, the education policies in Pakistan are made under global influence and are "handed down" (Naz-Rassool, 2007, p. 232) to the institutions for implementation. Thus, they reduce the ability of local actors (teachers, administrators) to make decisions that will bridge the gap between social classes as "the English-Vernacular chasm is, to a large extent, rule-governed, with rules delineating the scope and direction of individual and institutional action" (Ramanathan, 2005, p. 116). The role of donors and international agencies, such as British Council and USAID, is fairly significant in developing and supporting English policies in Pakistan. For example, the British Council

in Pakistan offers English language courses, books, teacher training programs, and workshops and libraries at subsidized rates. It works in close collaboration with different educational institutes in the spread of English.

The hegemonic and divisive role that Education policy in Pakistan awards to the colonial language is highly questionable and creates socio-economic and psycho-social problems. However, Canagarajah (2005) believes that these tensions in the field of LEP are *not* unusual, thus instead of taking them as "problems of policy formation, we should think of tensions as opening up for more complex orientations to language in education (LIE)" (p. 195). This gives us hope to move forward and find solutions to the "complex orientations" that LEP poses to academic trajectories and ultimately to the social fabrication and economic stability of the country. This hope can also be seen in the life trajectories of my participants such as Farid, although he had to submit to the hegemony of the English language and spend an awful amount of time and energy in learning the English language, he is now at a position to critically reflect upon the hegemony of the English language and its connection with (neo)colonialism and hence raise serious questions from policy making and implications perspectives.

Although policy decisions are made at the macro level and are handed down to the educators, there is always a space for the local educators to use their agency to resist and counter the hegemonic influence of the policy at the students' academic trajectories. "Indeed, locality is the site in which the micro strategies and techniques of governmental power are directly experienced and sometimes resisted and it is from these direct experiences and conflicts that relevant and creative innovations around policy arise"

(Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007, p. 449). We need these "creative innovations" from our educators in order to resist and even re-shape the policy according to our local realities. So doing will not just impact students' academic trajectories positively, but will also save their academic identity because "it is in education that students learn to develop their sense of self-worth" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 160). We might not get desired results until our very well informed and culturally sensitive educators play their role as agentive policy implementers. These life trajectory portraits of my participants reveal the practices of educators that have been carried on for decades and need to be critically reflected upon such as the pedagogy of rote learning and memorization. All my participants shared that: 1) the pedagogy of teaching the English language through memorization seriously hampered the true learning of the English language; 2) for them the practice of memorization is associated with memories of pain and insult.

Policy decisions made without taking into confidence the local actors (teachers, administrators, students, and their families) and the historical and contextual realities remain hegemonic, unrealistic, and imposed from the top. It is important NOT to consider the opinion of the colonizers (local or European) *only*. According to Canagarajah (2005), "Policies will have to be developed with considerable involvement from the local community. The place and mix of languages in education for its children needs to be negotiated by the community, including the students and their families in relation to its history, needs, and aspirations" (p. 199). So doing will help bridge the gap and resolve the representation problem.

It is of crucial importance to be aware of the micro level complexities while making any education policy. We need to be aware of the fact that policy intends to bring change, "…but in articulating desired change always offers an account somewhat more simplified than the actual realities of practice. In many ways policies eschew complexity" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 5). We as educators and policymakers need to be aware of these oversimplifications of social, academic, and linguistic relationships and their unintended consequences. Disrupting any of these elements can create disorder, chaos, and stratifications. As it happened in the case of Pakistan, the superimposed focus on the English language created linguistic divides within educational institutions that created chaos in the social and economic structure of Pakistan. Since this relation between educational and social order is dialectic, great caution as well as foresight is a pre-requisite for any policy change. ELP in Pakistan is an oversimplification of the medium of instruction dilemma in Pakistan. Under the influence of some irrational global level policies such as EFA and Internationalization of HE, NEP 2011 in Pakistan has adopted an English medium of instruction for all without acknowledging the level of proficiency of teachers in the English language, their varied backgrounds, and the available support and existing proficiency of students in English. A child who attends an elite private English medium school will be taught by highly qualified and trained teachers who are also very proficient in the English language. These teachers help and encourage students to communicate only in the English language. These students also have enough resources at home for linguistic help, or their parents can afford to arrange tutors for these students. In comparison is the student who comes from a public school and is taught through official

English medium of instruction, which in practice means teaching English through Urdu or any other local language mainly because the teacher has below functional level of English skill. The parents of these children in most cases are not literate in English and cannot afford to provide children extra tutoring services. Now, both these kinds of children will be judged through the same criterion—taught through English medium of instruction. This offers a very false blanket of unity, which hides under it stark differences in linguistic proficiency and by extension content knowledge that has been and will be taught through English medium of instruction.

In our excitement to develop internationally acceptable communication skills, we ought not to ignore the importance of national and local languages and the role they play in order to reduce the gap in a stratified society. We also need to be aware of the consequences of linguistic hierarchies that we create under foreign influences. Although my participants like Farid and Zubaida had finished their high school before the implementation of ELP, they had a focus on the English language from a very early age. Their entire life trajectory, national pride, and linguistic and cultural identity were explicitly informed by their early English language learning. Hence, the life trajectory of Farid, Zubaida, and many others like them inform us that implementing ELP will in fact magnify the same problem of identity shift to the entire Pakistani nation which is the target audience of this ELP. This, by extension, has drastic implications towards the extinction of Pakistani languages and cultures. All my other participants also rank English as their top priority, and local languages do not fall anywhere within the formal realm of their priorities. Instead, Zubaida clearly stated that Pakistan would not face so many problems

if English was the mother tongue here. Zaheer and many others are very explicit in sharing that if they want to progress they need to learn the English language and not the local languages. What the policymakers and educationists need to track from here is the signs for language shift and identity shift, feelings of distrust and dislocation, and fear of enslavement by neocolonialism.

In our endeavors to produce individuals who are able to compete at the international level in this globalized world, we should not forget that school has to be a safe space for each individual of the society and not just for any one particular group. The examples of Nazia's punishment, Zaheer failing in intermediate examination despite his daunting struggles and ultimately moving from sciences to social sciences, and my other student participants wanting to quit/give up on education are examples when practices around teaching the English language made my participants' educational experiences unsafe, discouraging, and insulting.

It is within the school boundaries that students' academic identity is developed and negotiated—for example, when Nazia was determined to be unintelligent or incapable of learning—and it is right here that their academic trajectory is shaped, threatened, and even disrupted. We have to eradicate categorizations and division from schools first, if we are sincere in our determination to eliminate these divides from our society. This needs pre-emptive actions from all levels. I mean to say that the responsibility lies not just on policy-makers or school administrators; we --as teachers, researchers, parents, and students—all have to engage ourselves in the project of uprooting and weakening these divides…sometimes at the cost of our individual interest as well. Because:

> …locality is not just the end point of top-down directives but also the genesis of bottom-up initiatives, which cumulatively and over time transform traditional flows and frameworks of decision-making. Our focus on language is also deliberate, particularly in respect to the creative, interpretive possibilities we assign to policies as texts/signs. Viewing policies this way, as texts that are wrought by their cultural codes and conventions and that are imbued with particular ideologies and perspectives permits us to consider how meanings around them emerge from our engagements with them. (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007, p. 459)

I argue that both linguistics and socio-economic divides reinforce each other inscribing labels and categories (Holland et al., 2001) upon students and, hence, endangering their academic identity and impacting their academic trajectories. Educationists, educational researchers, and policy-makers need to be aware of the tensions and the complex, complicated, and varied ways of identity negotiations that these students might adopt during their academic trajectories in HE. So doing is important because the intricate, delicate, and unique moves these students make could be (un)conscious manifestations of subordination and/ or resistance to the LEP that enforces colonial language as a medium of instruction upon them. We as educators need to take these moves not just as mere timely reactions or strategies; rather, we need to understand that these moves of the learners (as that of Gyanumaya) might be intensely ingrained into and symbolic of culturally reproduced class systems, socio-economic tensions, and linguistic inequalities. Nazia was accepting the punishment every day and silently enduring the false labels such as not intelligent; by doing so she exhibited her subordination to the pedagogy of teaching English through memorization. However, her decision to "give up" and be punished every day instead of memorizing are all instances of her resistance towards that system that was forcing her to adopt bad practices for learning the English language.

As postcolonial educators and researchers, our role is to voice the "historically silenced voices of dissent" (Asher, 2009, p. 68), creating awareness and striving towards decolonizing the colonized mind by engaging the colonized mind in self- reflective and critical ways. For example, my participant Zaheer talks about not being able to live without English. Farid also echoes this sentiment, but then began responding more critically when questioned by me once or twice. Asher (2009) suggests that the conscientization process through engaging in dialogue "allows teachers and students to resist colonizing, consumeristic forces and offers ways of (re)claiming self and voice, place and history, as we work to connect across differences in race, nation, and culture in the twenty-first century" (p. 69). Facebook can be a good medium for such critical consciousness raising, including dialogic mediums and picture prompts to encourage critical analysis. We need to believe that identity—be it linguistic, ethnic, gender, class, and/ or academic—is a site of constant struggle (McKinney & Norton, 2008), and constantly recreated (Davidson, 1996). Thus, we should remember that the colonized is never always only disempowered. Hence, believing in their agency and potential, we need to engage our students in an ongoing process of negotiating and reforming their identities (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Farid's critical awareness of culture and identity shifts is a moment that guides his future actions as he negotiates and reforms his identity as a Pakistani and English speaker.

Failure in the acquisition of linguistic skill might threaten students' survival and academic identity within the discourse of higher education. The sense of threat to identity, loss of the community membership, or even the momentary struggles of negotiation between resistance and subordination can be very painful and dehumanizing, though

intentional. However, one thing is explicit…the sin of NOT learning the English language should by no law be grim enough to ban a learners' entry to HE, and to a prosperous future. After all, equitable access to quality education is a basic right of each individual irrespective of the demarcations of class, cast, creed, and religion.

The role of English in the lives of my student participants should not be taken as a problem to be solved but as an ongoing tension to be negotiated, understood, and questioned. I want to end with a note that the problem is not the presence of the English language, nor would the removal of English solve our problems. The tension is the socio-economic and academic inequalities, identity threats and the intervention of the neocolonial masters that the hegemonic power of English is creating and is created through. Thus our struggle should not be against the English language; the focus has to be engaging students and teachers, questioning the hegemony, bridging the gaps, removing the divides, shunning away labels and categorizations while keeping alive our cultural and local spirit as well as the excitement to respectably survive and peacefully compete in this globalized world.

Chapter 8
Conclusion and Implications

> *The colonial subject constantly oscillates between the two states, internalizing the colonial ideology of inferiority and being less than fully human—until he, or she, assumes responsibility and chooses authenticity and freedom" (Sartre, 1964, p. xvi).*
>
> *"nothing more, and nothing less, than the demand that colonized peoples be given human rights…the rights of self-determination" (p. xvii) because "politics begins rather than ends with identity" (Sartre, 1964, p. xii).*

Introduction

Situated in a Pakistani HE context, this language policy vertical case study critically analyzes multimodal (oral, written, and visual) data by applying a hybrid of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis (MMDA). I name this hybrid Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA). The data comes from Skype and face-to-face interviews (with students, teachers, administrators, and policymakers); Facebook discussion sessions (with students); policy documents (global, national, and provincial); and failure rates for English compulsory examination (at matriculation, and intermediate, levels from the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Lahore, Punjab) in order to answer the following research questions: (1) *In what ways have global discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?* (2) *What are the perceived impacts of language education policy (LEP) of Pakistan on the academic and professional trajectories of low SES HE students?* (3) *How do the students from varied socio-economic backgrounds negotiate with, subordinate to,*

or resist and appropriate the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan? This chapter first summarizes answers to the research questions under the following sections: 1) "Global Discourses of HE Internationalization and Education Policy Reforms in Pakistan", answers research question one*;* and 2) "LEP in Pakistan and the Students from Low SES", answers research question two and three. Secondly, in section three, "Summing up", connects all three research questions to the major argument in the research. Lastly, the chapter lays out "Limitations" of this study and then discusses the "Implications" of this study.

Global Discourses of HE Internationalization and Education Policy Reforms in Pakistan

Chapters Four, Five, and Six in this dissertation focused on answering research question number one: *In what ways have global Discourses of higher education internationalization influenced educational discourse and education policy reforms in Pakistan (e.g., NEP 1998 and 2009)? How do local actors make sense of this shift?* Since policy making is no more just a national prerogative (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), it is necessary to understand the role of global Discourses around education in order to understand national and provincial policy-making especially in developing, post-colonial countries like Pakistan. These circulating discourses around educational policies inform and are informed by how local people make sense of the policy because "The global now helps to shape our every-day worlds and by our every-day acts we help to shape the global" (Singh, 2005, p. 4). Therefore, Chapters Four, Five, and Six of this dissertation focused on analyzing how major global movements such as the Bologna Declaration, Education for All (EFA), and Trade in HE inform the National Education Policy (NEP) of 2009. In

addition, these chapters also focus on how major educational concepts, which are informed by these circulating global Discourses (such as quality education, equity in education, education, educated, and qualified teachers) are entextualized at national, local, and individual levels. This is necessary because these neocolonial and neoliberal mechanisms are "reordering relations within and across states in ways that are changing the very understanding that we have of what it means to be educated" (Carney, 2009, p. 64).

The Bologna Declaration, which was presented in 1999 and over the years has transformed into the Bologna Process, accelerated a "European dimension of higher education" and worldwide "competitiveness" for "money," "prestige," "influence," power, and "students" (p. 4). This acceleration was aided by the internationalization of HE, which promoted English medium of instruction at higher education levels all around the world. However, in order to adjust HE for Bologna's agenda, non-English speaking countries like Pakistan had to rework their entire system of language education beginning at primary levels and offer English medium of instruction from grade 1. By doing so, the policymakers intended to prepare students to assimilate well to the English medium of instruction in HE nationally and internationally.

The Education for All (EFA) movement was initiated in the early 1990s in the name of free and universal education for all. This movement used the social goods of equity, quality, and access to education for all for promoting the agenda of neocolonial hegemony through which (neo)colonial powers' authority to intervene in the national affairs of educational policy-making was legitimized. Through its regional consultative programs, local monitoring and evaluations, worldwide conferences, and regular global monitoring

reports, and most importantly monitory control; EFA has established its significant influence over the policy-making at national levels. Like the Bologna Declaration, EFA's agenda supports and is supported by the spread of the (neo)colonial language English. Education for All, though, claimed to promote multilingualism; a close analysis in Chapter Six of this dissertation reveals that EFA's suggested "balance" between languages is seriously imbalanced and hence provides indefinite legitimization for English Dominant Discourse. Although EFA generally focuses on early levels of education, it has never excluded HE from its realm of influence and, hence, directly and indirectly informs and (re)shapes higher education significantly.

The World Bank and UNESCO have legitimized the concept of "trade in HE", which has promoted Discourses such as corporatization in higher education, and the higher education market, which positions students as consumers and educational institutes as suppliers. Many countries in the world such as the U.S., U.K., and Australia have established HE as a seriously competitive industry and consequently earn hundreds of millions of dollars per year from this industry. Other countries have also joined this competition at less competitive levels. As a result, a global concept of corporatization of education has been established at global, national, and institutional levels, even in developing post-colonial countries like Pakistan. The worldwide competition of attracting students to particular HE institutions has been promoted by and promotes the English language lingua-franca-academia. Students thus prefer to gain admission to universities and programs where English is the medium of instruction.

Influence of these global Discourses, post-9/11 politics, and economic pressures (such as AIDS, loans) have dictated the development of national policies in Pakistan. NEP 1998 was accused of not faithfully following the mandates of EFA, Millennium Development goals (MDGs), international competitiveness through HE, and the other global standards and hence was terminated before its time period matured (NEP, 2010). What is interesting is that NEP 1998 was not terminated because it did not meet the needs of Pakistanis. As a result, National Education Policy 2009 of Pakistan was announced. One of the stated objectives of NEP 2009 was to ensure that Pakistan meets EFA standards. Hence, NEP 2009 accepts the neocolonial hegemony officially. NEP 2009, which is pro-English medium of instruction and pro-Western ideologies, is an attempt to promote Pakistan's image as a more tolerant, modern, and educated nation who is loyal to the West. NEP 2009 announced the first ever formal English Language Policy (ELP) in Pakistan and hence mandated the implementation of English medium of instruction, especially for sciences and mathematics from grade 4 onwards, and teaching of English as a compulsory subject beginning in grade 1. Provincial policy of Punjab followed this ELP and implemented an Educational Reform Project with the collaboration of the British Council and a few other international organizations. Under the quality education mandate of this reform project, all the Urdu medium schools in the province of Punjab have been converted into English medium of instruction schools irrespective of how prepared teachers, students, and the schools were to take up this policy. The British Council then launched training programs for the teachers in the public schools. Most of the teachers fall below the functional level of the English language (i.e. cannot read, write, or speak basic phrases in

the English language). These training programs were offered to a select group of teachers for 7-21 days only. Moreover, the British Council has recommended to Pakistan controlled teaching under which teachers are given ready-made lesson plans and teaching guide manuals that include the translations of the English key words to support the teachers. Local teachers resisted this policy and explicitly declared that they were not prepared for the successful implementation of this policy, nor do they ideologically agree with it. They held different demonstrations and protests, which ultimately failed to convince the government of Punjab or the British Council to change their policies.

This study also investigates the perceived implications of neocolonial reform agencies' interferences into local policy-making, especially for issues such as access, unity, and quality of Education. The study illuminates that ELP in Pakistan, which was formed under (neo)colonial guidance, in fact works against the proclaimed universal social goods of unity, equity, quality, and access to education for all. This ELP has devastating effects for overall quality of education and quality of teaching, further strengthening the socio-economic and linguistic divides in Pakistan by limiting the access of many to real quality education. Quality education has become a luxury and quite contradictory to the mandates of Education for All, it is no more the right of every child. An even larger dilemma is that the local actors, especially the ones in most power—policymakers, and administrators parrot the same language as these neocolonial educational reforms and work according to the mandate of these reform agencies instead of the local, on-the-ground realities, and immediate needs of the people of Pakistan. These local actors have internalized this linguistic hierarchy established at the international level and have subsequently lost trust

in the local languages and cultures. Hence, they have come to believe in the English language as an ultimate solution to the problems with the educational system.

LEP in Pakistan and the Students from Low SES

Chapter Seven of this dissertation addresses research questions two and three: *What are the perceived impacts of language education policy of Pakistan on the academic and professional trajectories of low socio-economic status (SES) HE students?* And *How do the students from varied socio-economic backgrounds subordinate, resist, appropriate, and/or negotiate the gatekeeping role of LEP in Pakistan?* Since global and local Discourses (re)inform and (re)shape each other (Singh, 2005), it was important to investigate how the life trajectories of Pakistani HE students shape and are being (re)shaped and informed by the larger global and national Discourses around education. Thus, the life trajectory portraits of two HE students and one recent graduate all identifying as low SES present an in-depth description of ways language education policy informed the academic and professional trajectories of students in Pakistan. Analysis of selected themes from the life trajectory portraits of these students reveals the nuanced ways in which these students continuously subordinate, resist, appropriate, and/or negotiate the gatekeeping mechanism of English language policy in Pakistan. In response to question two and three, the following section summarizes key findings: *trajectories, relationship with English language, pain, resistance, and inverted multilingualism*.

Trajectories. Different levels of English language proficiency created different trajectories for my focal students from roughly the same SES. Farid's proficiency in the English language significantly contributed to (and was contributed by) his ability to gain

scholarship for and then successfully survive in an elite business school in Pakistan, avail an opportunity to study in the U.S., and support his future hope to secure admission to Harvard University. Nazia's lack of English proficiency forced her to choose social sciences and survive as a struggling student until her undergraduate level. When she gained proficiency in the English language through a Masters in English language teaching program, doors to post graduate studies opened for her and she was offered employment as a teacher trainer. In contrast, despite serious struggle and hard work, Zaheer's lack of English language proficiency shifted his academic trajectory from hard sciences to social sciences and is currently limiting his present and future employment opportunities.

Looking across these three life trajectories, there are certain factors that affected the English language proficiency of my focal students, in particular, all of whom came from a low SES. These different factors included geographical location, parental education level and experiences, pedagogical conditions towards the English language, their relationship with the English language itself, their experiences with English at an early age, the other figured worlds that they belonged to and that offered advantage or disadvantage, and different experiences early on that provided access to different figured worlds later in life—academically, professionally, and socially.

Farid's father went to school until grade 8 only, but he did not take responsibility or interest in his children's education. In contrast, his mom, who had never been to school, was able to figure out through the experience of her elder children that English was one of the biggest hurdles in their academic lives, so she arranged for Farid a tutor and made sure that the tutor focused on Farid's English language skills. Nazia's mother was totally

illiterate in English, so her children's education was their father's responsibility. He had basic functional literacy in the English language so he helped Nazia to learn the English language at home. In contrast, Zaheer did not have anyone at home or other relatives who could teach him the English language, nor did he have any additional tutoring. All three participants' family members' experiences (or lack thereof) with education influenced their own education and access to learning the English language.

All three focal participants initially learned the English language through the pedagogy of memorization. Zaheer had to rely on memorization even at the Masters' level because according to him, he was never introduced to any other way of learning the English language. Nazia moved away from memorization at the Masters level when her teachers introduced to her learning English through reading, watching movies, and speaking. However, Farid was in a unique position in which he was exposed to English literacy beyond the course book in the early grades of schooling. While the opportunity to participate in declamation contests was initially based on memorization, it provided Farid an opportunity to read, learn, and speak content in the English language beyond what his class fellows were exposed to. Moreover, when he became curious in learning the meanings of these written speeches, it added significantly to his word bank. This overall activity encouraged him to practice speaking English. There were times when he had to compile his speech from different books, and this motivated him to read books other than course books. His admission to the elite business school pushed him in an atmosphere where students were encouraged to do critical reading, write in English on their own, and

communicate routinely in the English language. This English-speaking atmosphere drove him away from the pedagogy of memorization encouraged at the school level.

Relationship with English language. These different pedagogical practices of learning and teaching English constructed very different kinds of relationships between the students and the language. Zaheer, who faced serious hardships and life-threatening conditions to gain access to school, had to face failure and consequently change his academic and life trajectory because he did not have enough proficiency in the English language. He developed feelings of hatred towards the English language, but soon realized that he could not continue his academic journey without English, and, hence, he had to accept subordination to the language. In contrast, Nazia was punished almost routinely because of her inability to memorize the English language. She never had any serious desire to learn the English language until she gained functional proficiency in it at the Masters level and later became proficient in the English language. However, her survival as a teacher trainer still depends upon her ability to prove her English language skills routinely. Finally, Farid's relationship with the English language had been mostly very encouraging and rewarding. Because of his ability to win English declamation contests, Farid received great accolades and encouragement in school and at home. This encouragement helped him focus more on learning the English language and therefore excel in academics.

In addition to all the above-mentioned factors, my participants' engagements into different figured worlds had some potential advantage or disadvantage in gaining English language proficiency and their consequent movement into other figured worlds and

imagined futures. For example, Zaheer belonged to the figured world of struggling English language learners, but he also belonged to the figured world of village boys for whom attending and excelling in school was completely their personal prerogative. The kind of benefits and contributions this figured world had on Zaheer's proficiency in the English language is not evident from my data. However, in contrast, Farid was able to enter an elite college in his city, where he was able to make friends with students from educated families and, hence, was able to enter into a figured world of people who were experts in navigating their ways through academia. It was this figured world that provided him guidance for entry into one of the best business schools in the country. This school offered him entry into multiple other figured worlds that supported his academic journey positively, and, consequently, today he has an imagined future of being a graduate of Harvard University. Hence, my participants' memberships into different kinds of figured worlds negotiated for them different levels of proficiency in the English language and entry into different kinds of imagined futures. Despite their differences, all three focal students believe in the power of English and are determined to promote the use of the English language to the next generation (their children and students). They all rely on English for their individual success, demonstrate mistrust in local languages for academic, economic, and professional success, and put English at the top of the linguistic hierarchy.

Pain. In addition, all of them have experienced pain while learning English, but the nature of the pain and how they reflect on and make sense of that pain is different. For example, Nazia's pain was more physical and emotional because she was punished routinely and assigned the identity of an unintelligent, incapable learner of the English

language. Zaheer's pain was the pain of failure despite his huge investment in learning the English language. He needed to figure out how to respond to that failure positively. Farid's pain was emotional; he was identified as low class because of his accent in the English language, but the nature of his pain changed as he grew in age, in his proficiency in the English language, and in his exposure to the world. When I interviewed him, his pain also stemmed from his growing critical consciousness about understanding his positionality with reference to the English language. He was coming to understand what English had both given him and potentially destroyed (his culture, identity, mother tongue, etc.). He is aware of the fact that English has played a major role in making him a successful, knowledgeable, and confident person today and the fact that his future success is also greatly associated with the English language. However, he has also become painfully aware that he is neglecting his own languages and cultures compared to the English language and culture, and his continued academic engagement with the English language is likely to empower English and weaken his own languages. Ultimately, Farid has been "uprooted, dispersed, dazed and doomed to watch as the truths he has elaborated vanish one by one, he must stop projecting his antimony into the world" (Fanon, 1952, p. xii).

It is essential to mention that there is no comparison between the very different kinds of pains —not that one is deeper than the other or one is more legitimate than the other—that these students have been and are facing. My focus is the way pain dehumanizes these students and serves the (neo)colonial agenda to subordinate the colonized. I refer back to Kilto's allegory (Kramsch, 2005) that I quoted in Chapter Seven's first section in this dissertation. A Bedouin who was lost in the desert and he had to bark like a dog in

order to find the nearby human habitations. So, in order to trace, (re)locate, and (re)position himself amongst the other human beings, he had to first De-humanize himself! Similarly, my participants had to tolerate the dehumanizing experiences while learning English language in order to position themselves among the English speaking humans.

All the three focal participants responded to the pain differently: Nazia responded to pain through humor and dismissal; Zaheer refused to acknowledge the pain and hence repeatedly used Hemingway's quote, "Man can be destroyed but not defeated." This dismissal and denial explicitly depicts colonial agenda of keeping colonized subordinate through pain—disciplining the minds of the colonized people in a way that they: 1) refuse to acknowledge the pain; and 2) instead believe that the feeling of pain is in fact their own fault and their own disability. Explicitly, if Zaheer acknowledges the pain that he had to face during the process of learning English language, he is considered as less-capable, less hardworking person who is using pain as an excuse for his failure and is shying away from taking the entire burden and responsibility on himself. Thus, Zaheer should silently keep suffering and not admit the suffering that has been caused to him due to the (neo)colonial hegemony. Hence, denial to recognize pain is the duty of a faithful, colonized.

Farid was the only one who started interrogating his pain, which is complex and multifaceted. If he accepts that by over-emphasizing the English language only, he has been enriching English language at the cost of his local languages, cultures and knowledges, he is being disloyal to the (neo)colonial masters and their language that has risen him to this level of success academically and otherwise. As a result of this acceptance he might have to disengage or limit his relationship with the neocolonial masters and their

languages which can restrict his future academic, economic and social success. If he denies this damage, he is being disloyal to his own local languages, and people and in fact letting go of his identity and the identity of his coming generations, his linguistic membership and his freedom. Thus, he is positioned in such a conflicted contact zone of subordination and resistance that he cannot escape the pain. Although the consciousness of this pain has potential for a serious outbreak of resistance to colonial hegemony, it requires a lot of courage and systemic support.

Resistance and subordination. Colonized are not always embodiments of misery, helplessness, and subordination; rather they also possess a certain agency. It then becomes a matter of personal awareness regarding the presence of this agency and the ways to exploit it to their greater benefit. According to Katz (2014), "practices of consciousness draw upon and produce a critical consciousness to confront and redress historically and geographically specific conditions of oppression and exploitation at various scales" (p. 251). The focus is not the level of success in this resistance and confrontation, but rather the presence of this consciousness in itself is bliss.

Different forms of resistance and instances of subordination are very much alive in the Pakistani system of education today. The major form of subordination is belief in the hegemony of English and a commonsense narrative that competency in English is the gateway to survival and upward mobility. All my participants favor the English Language Policy (ELP) currently being implemented in Pakistan, and, hence, they repeat the same Discourses of equity, competition, and internationalization as the policy documents do in their approval of the language policy.

Resistance and subordination are neither static phenomenon nor are they always intentional acts. For each of the student participants in my study, subordination and resistance mean different things. Because in the struggle for survival, and in response to the gatekeeping mechanism of colonial language, the colonized students do not take any static stance. They continually reposition and relocate themselves between subordination and resistance, and between varied degrees of each. I call this continuous repositioning as *oscillation* because there is a movement back-and-forth which blurs the line separating the two. My data analysis also reveals that during the mental struggle of survival, many times the colonized is not aware of whether his actions are manifested as subordination or resistance. For example, my participants were always engaged in a kind of mental math to determine how to multiply or add to their social or linguistic capital and determine the role English might play in that question. Whether English would lead to subordination to colonial masters was less of a concern in this struggle. Hence, subordination and resistance are not always conscious, intentional, easily discernable and static.

Low SES HE students in Pakistan are already living in a conflicted contact zone—they "made it" when they shouldn't have. Let me explain how, according to the traditional narratives and educational structures, most of low SES students cannot enter HE because of the gatekeeping mechanism of English language. However, my participants worked very hard to defeat the gatekeeper of HE, English. And hence, "made it to" HE by learning English. Ironically, acceptance to the fact that upward social mobility cannot be gained without HE and learning English language in itself is a subordination to the power and hegemony of English language. Moreover, by learning and applying English language in

science, technology, research and business, they are further empowering English's hegemony.

Inverted multilingualism. My contention is not about the spread or enrichment of the (neo)colonial language, English, but rather about *inverted multilingualism* which is promoted by (neo)colonial educational reforms, such as EFA and the internationalization of HE movement. The problem with this non-innocent and prejudiced inverted multilingualism is that it promotes the English language (through the monetary stipulations of the (neo)colonial reform agencies on developing countries like Pakistan) at the expense of local languages. Since multilingualism is political, context dependent, and fluid in nature, through language policy and planning the linguistic hierarchy of any country can be reshaped to position the colonial language in a place of greater value or prestige than local languages.

In imagining the promotion of multilingualism in Anglophonic countries like the U.S. or U.K., the learning of non-Anglophonic languages as second or foreign languages does not endanger, marginalize, or stigmatize the status and existence of the English language. In contrast, when this UNESCO endorsed multilingualism is promoted in post-colonial, developing and non-Anglophonic countries, it explicitly works for the promotion of the English language. According to EFA 2005's recommendation, NEP 2009 implemented a language policy, according to which the local and national languages of Pakistan are restricted to only primary levels and are associated with the teaching of non-elite subjects. Furthermore, these local languages are not required for better employment, research, or learning technology and hence not a condition for socio-economic mobility.

In fact, local languages are used as tools to facilitate the transition to learning the English language, which, according to English language policy, is the language for sciences, technologies, mathematics, HE, and research. Because of this association with Education and socio-economic mobility, English gains higher value in Pakistan. Consequently, local languages lose significance.

This is how the promotion of the English language in Pakistan endangers, marginalizes, risks, and inverts the status and existence of local languages. In this form of multilingualism, local and national language are present in a subservient co-existence with the English language, which is counter-normative (with reference to Anglophonic countries), counter intuitive, dangerous, and colonizing. I name this form of multilingualism *inverted multilingualism*. The closer analysis of the National Education Policy 2009 and interviews from policymakers, reveals the presence of a Discourse of de-legitimation around the use of national and local languages as the medium of instruction. Similarly, analysis of data from teachers and students reveals the presence of a Discourse of mistrust and dislocation around the local and national languages of Pakistan. In contrast, Discourses of trust, need and desire, and determination around the English language have been promoted during the last few decades in Pakistan. National Education Policy 2009 authorizes and legitimizes these limiting discourses around local and national languages, thus using language policy to invert the official and educational status of languages in Pakistan.

I want to move towards synthesizing all the three research questions into a major argument with a note that the scope of the contact zone of subordination and resistance is

not limited to an individual student or my focal participants' lives only. In fact, the lives of these individual students as the embodiment of the contact zone of subordination and resistance inform the national trajectory of post-colonial countries like Pakistan in multiple ways. The next section will build upon this argument at broader social and national levels.

Summing Up

This vertical case study employs transversal analysis in order to study the multiple levels of interpretation and implementation (global, national, provincial, local, institutional, and individual levels) of the hegemony of English language as the medium of instruction in Pakistani schools. Through critical discourse analysis of selected extracts from the policy documents at global, national, and provincial levels, this study reveals the national educational policies of Pakistan, in particular NEP 2009, was formulated under the direct influence of the neocolonial educational development agencies to benefit their agenda more than Pakistan, which accepts international aid and grants and thus becomes beholden to these agencies as neocolonial masters. According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), "Conditionalities associated with aid have real policy effects" (p. 112) in ways that "education policy development has largely been a series of responses to international demands, with little consideration given to implementation and condition[ing] post-colonial aspirations" (p. 113). This influence is pervasive at the national level as well and is evident from the snapshots of the Punjab Education Reform's web site. Moreover, the policymakers and administrators at national and provincial levels also parrot the same language of these international documents, and hence position English at the top of the

hierarchy, while explicitly denouncing their trust in the local and national languages of Pakistan.

The initial chapters of this dissertation illuminate how global, national, and local forces empower policy, which serves as an instrument to re-shape the discourse in hegemonic ways and limit the options for the colonized. However, the relationship between policy planning, policy implementation, and the discourse is not unilateral, linear, and symmetrical. If policy exerts its power to re-shape the discourse and subordinate the colonized, the colonized also use their agency to resist the hegemony, break the barriers, carve out new ways, negotiate choices, and even re-shape the policy being imposed upon them. Since there is a need to be mindful of "the extent to which and manner in which globalizing processes are mediated on the ground, in the flesh and inside-the-head" (Robertson, 1992 as quoted in Singh, 2005, p. 8), the later chapters in this dissertation illuminate this struggle of bilateral and asymmetrical power relations between the colonizer and the colonized, the policy and discourse, the institution and the individual, and the macro and micro - in general as well as in the specific case of Pakistan. With the help of multimodal data from the policymakers at national and provincial levels, administrators, teachers, and HE students and recent graduates, this study analyzes the perceived impacts of global level pro-English policies on deeper and more critical issues such as linguistic, cultural, and academic identities of the HE students in Pakistan, as well as on language and cultural extinction and the colonization of mind.

The analysis also reveals that the lives and ideologies of my participants in Pakistan have been informed by global, national, and provincial Englishization of HE discourse, and

hence they have come to prefer English language and culture. Because "there is an extraordinary power in the possession of a language" (Fanon, 1951, p. 2), in this case, my participants perceive only English to have that "extraordinary" power. Consequently, my participants are moving away from their home and mother languages and cultures. Moreover, the English language itself has a conflictual nature in the lives of my participants for whom English is the solution as well as the cause of their problems.

The tense lives of the Pakistani HE students also reveal that my focal students are embodiments of the contact zone of subordination and resistance, where they have subordinated to the power of English and want to position themselves in the community of practice of English speaking nations, but also continuously resist its gatekeeping role and disapprove of the idea of the extinction of their cultures and identities. Hence, the hegemony of the English language and the neocolonial agenda have positioned Pakistani youth in contested positions where they are always struggling between conflicting identities and between subordination and resistance to the neocolonial power. What I also want to emphasize is that this contact zone in itself is a contradiction, and it is painful to live the contradiction.

Moreover, in the case of Pakistani HE students, this contact zone of subordination and resistance is not balanced. As my participant Farid mentioned and many others performed through their discussion, this contact zone is skewed more towards subordination. As Farid explicitly states, Pakistani HE students are moving towards a point where they will stop resisting the hegemony of the English language and culture and instead adopt complete subordination to it. As a consequence, they will become visitors to

their own culture. This raises a red flag about the neocolonial erasure of identity, culture, language, and ultimately of freedom. The dilemma, however, is that these students who are shifting away from their culture will never gain a real Western identity, either. Their skin color, accent, and origins will always put them in a position of "other" from the Western perspective. Without a home culture or acceptance into the Western world, these students will be, in a sense, lost. That sense of being lost is dangerous; Fanon calls it a "zone of nonbeing, an extra ordinary sterile and arid region, an incline stripped bare of every essential from which a genuine new departure can emerge" (Fanon, 1952, p. xii). Hence, there is an urgent need to shift the (im)balance of this contact zone by reducing their subordination and inspiring the resistance of the colonized students so that they can "stop projecting his [their] antimony into the world" (Fanon, 1952, p. xii).

In case of Pakistan, the positioning of Pakistani students into the zone of non-being is not recent. The implication of English as the medium of instruction under NEP 2009 only intensifies the vulnerability of students for being in this "zone of non-being." By official declaration of English as the medium of instruction across the board for all types of schools, NEP 2009 legitimizes, accelerates and intensifies the journey towards identity loss that had already started through the previous LEPs in Pakistan. Although past LEPs in Pakistan never declared English as the medium of instruction from primary schools, they never questioned the hegemony of English and allowed it to flourish through a parallel system of schooling and linguistic divide. Hence, the local languages, cultures and knowledges were never empowered academically and students had been subjected to identity threats.

It is said that the "British colonizers utilized the coercive agent of English literacy and not brute violence to re-arrange the desires and dreams of its colonial subjects" (Tarc, 2009, p. 196). However, "brute violence" is a contested term in all senses—physical, psychological, epistemological, academic, linguistic, and cultural. All these forms of violences occurred under the British colonizers and continue even today. This forcible re-organization of the dreams of the colonized through the language of instruction in itself is the most brutal form of violence and it is happening today! The neocolonial masters use the educational institution and especially medium of instruction to inscribe socio-economic and political categories (Holland et. al, 1998) and re-assign power relations within society, while depriving people of education and awareness and hence coercing them to live as slaves of (neo)colonial masters.

According to Cooper (1989), "the degree to which educational considerations influence the choice of medium of instruction varies from case to case, but political considerations always play a role" (p. 109). Colonization of the mind of the people of Pakistan through the English language is a political agenda. However, I by no means want to say that the English language is the only cause of Pakistan's social problems, nor do I suggest that replacing English with Urdu or local language(s) in Pakistan is a guarantee to fix the inequities in the country's social stratification. I also do not suggest that equal access to quality English education is a magic wand for bringing economic stability and better imagined futures for all. My only intention is to draw the link between (un)intended consequences of global policies on local communities and individuals. I aim to problematize the long prevailing hegemonic discourse of the neocolonial master. I affirm

importance of the institutions of language and education and their interconnectedness to broader social discourses with a belief that language policy planning plays a crucial role in both continuity and change that permeates society (Cooper, 1989). I also want to emphasize that Pakistani policy-makers and educators need to take a firm stance and think seriously about the future of the Pakistani nation. Policy-making is a political business, but not evil—language education policies can be made to save the Pakistani nation because: "If language planning serves elites and counter elites, it may also serve the mass, particularly insofar as it strengthens the individual's sense of dignity, self-worth, social connectedness, and ultimate meaning as a member of a group linked both to the past and to the futures" (Cooper, 1989, p. 184).

I feel guilty and deeply troubled when I see these social divides within my immediate family, my community, and in the broader society. I believe that two parallel systems of education and unequal quality access to medium of instruction in higher education are two of the root causes of the great educational, social, and economic divides within Pakistani society. More importantly, the English medium of instruction that has been imposed through NEP 2009 is a DOUBLE injustice. First, though NEP 2009 claimed to eliminate the above mentioned socio-economic divisions, in fact it deepens them; and secondly, because it hides educational inequalities and injustices under the cover of so-called equity in education, it makes them hard to be tracked, diagnosed, and treated. This is the ugliest form of unvoiced, and invisible social injustice. Because I have moved along this ladder of poverty, I have lived, personally experienced, and closely observed this

divide, I believe that I do not need any empirical evidence to prove that THIS IS INJUSTICE. The post-colonial societies live this reality, and:

> those who are hungry or poor, or homeless do not need abstract philosophical discussions in order to realize that they are subjected to marginalization, discrimination and opposition. The idea of injustice thus points to something real and tangible, and represents a moral blight on communities that do not attempt to do their best to mitigate its worst effects. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 157)

This form of injustice has devastating implications not just on the social level, but also on the personal lives of students because, in a postcolonial world, it is mainly in and through academia that individuals learn to develop their sense of self and self-worth (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Are we justified to develop educational systems on the fundamental principles of divide? Our system of education, on one hand, exposes students to modern theories of art and science; on the other hand, it poses learners with threats to their identity every single day. Their identity "is being subjected to different forms of experiences due to interrelated practices of globalization /localization. This means that the ways in which students are engaged needs rethinking" (Singh, 2005, p. 24). In other words, this entails that "we" need to re-consider our social structure because "to plan language is to plan society. A satisfactory theory of language planning, therefore, awaits a satisfactory theory of social change" (Cooper, 1989, p. 182) AND by "we," I mean the people of Pakistan—not the neocolonial masters or their local beneficiaries!

Limitations

Although this study has significantly contributed to the field of LEP in HE in multiple ways, there have been methodological challenges throughout that I want to extrapolate here. The study presents my interpretations of my participants' perceptions of

their life trajectories, struggles, and negotiations with the English language. It was not possible to conduct a longitudinal study to observe those shifts in the lives of my participants directly. However, through conducting a micro level multimodal critical discourse analysis, especially on Facebook, I was able to observe the presence of tensions and conflictual positioning of my participants and their complex relationship with the English language.

Second, I was not able to observe directly the ways NEP 2009 informs the lives of students in Pakistan because the generation of students on which NEP 2009 has been implemented has not yet reached HE. A few more years of wait time will be necessary in order to conduct a similar study with those students. However, drawing upon the lives of the Pakistani HE students and recent graduates who are going through similar conditions of language education helped draw some predictable consequences of the NEP 2009's implications.

Third, due to time constraints, this study could not include a comparative analysis of students from different socio-economic statuses and hence focused only on students from low SES of Pakistan. However, these three focal students who belong to low SES do have very different geographical locations, living conditions, and educational experiences. Additionally, although my participants and I share the same languages, Urdu, Punjabi, English, and limited Arabic and Persian languages, and I interviewed, transcribed, and translated the entire data myself; I feel a spacy emptiness (Ramanathan, 2005) in translations. This is probably because no one language can always be completely translated into another language. Meanings are lost during the act of translating.

While it is often recommended to return to the participants for member checking to ensure whether the researcher's interpretation of the data was accurate, I avoided this intentionally, because my participants and I co-constructed this data over the period of three years on Facebook. Going back for member checking would become new data, because the human mind keeps processing things even after the event has passed, and the conditions and circumstances are never static. In the case of this study, when the Facebook discussion was open and available to all group members, discussion on most strings continued evolving for months and months. Hence, participants were able to go back and read, see, and re-comment on the posts and (re)shape their opinions; and this impacted the ways the discussions evolved. This fluid nature of human awareness and opinion towards life and life events would make member checking a newer set of data, which would not necessarily resonate with the previous one.

Implications

This study has implications for methodological, epistemological, and geographical dimensions of practice and policy-making in the specific fields of LP and international educational development. In addition, the study has implications for policy-making and practice in the field of postcolonial and neocolonial educational research and policy-making broadly. Below is a brief description of these implications.

Since the impact of policies in this globalized era are not limited by geographical boundaries nor is policy-making a symmetrical, linear process (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), language education policies developed at global, national, provincial, local, institutional, and individual levels intersect, inform, and negotiate with each other. Thus, there is a need

to study them in relation to each other. In particular, there are few studies that examine policy-making, appropriation, interpretation, and implementation at all these levels and the ways they influence each other and ultimately the academic identity and achievement of individual HE students. Most studies in the field of LP focus on only one level—structural, local, or individual. This multilevel study examines the global, international, and cross-national manifestations of medium of instruction policies in HE and the ways they are understood, contested, negotiated, and appropriated at the individual and local levels. Thus, introducing vertical case study methodology also provides methodological and epistemological extension to the field towards multilevel policy study and facilitates an investigation of the often implicit power struggle between LEPs and individual agency, where both inform, (re)shape, and (re)position each other. Vertical case study can help move the field towards using multilevel studies more rigorously, because vertical case study is not contingent upon conducting direct observation. Thus, it becomes an alternative to the ethnography of language policy for the researchers who desire to conduct multilevel language policy study, but who cannot, for a variety of reasons, engage in the ethnographic pre-requisite of field observations. This dissertation, therefore, illuminates the chronic academic and linguistic tensions of Pakistani HE students under the influence of colonizing national LEP, which now operates under the imperial and neocolonial forces of the global economy.

Application of Facebook in this study highlights the possibility that careful engagement of social media in LEP research can introduce a new dimension to comparative research in LP in multiple geographical contexts at the same time. Prior to this work, there

is no published study that has used social media or digital ethnography for the examination of LEP in HE. Analysis and findings of data gathered through social media illuminate LP manifestations more explicitly. In addition, educational researchers' interventions through the critical use of social media moves towards liberation and empowerment of the marginalized.

Engagement with multimodal data in language policy education studies facilitates data co-construction in ways that are more complex, in depth, and meaningful; hence they allow the interlocutors to interact beyond the boundaries of text only. For example, the use of emoticons on Facebook, the use of picture prompts to begin interviews, screenshots of the websites and the figures of different models used in the policy documents, along with the policy texts, audio-recorded Skype interviews, and the written discussions on Facebook together creates a complex data set that expands the notion of what is typically considered data. So doing supported the human interpretation of the policies at informal yet deeply personal levels. Collecting data from various modes and mediums offered my participants different forms of expression and the researcher different dimensions of analysis. Hence, multimodal data not only provided a richer data set but also opportunities for deeper analysis and interpretation.

Ricento's (2000) review of the development of the field of language policy and planning (LPP) is confined to the year 2000, after which there have been major developments in the field. This study surveys the development of the sub-field of LEP in HE within the broader field of LPP according to which the major focus of the field in the recent past has been on educational (re/de)forms in the HE policies of European countries

under the internationalization of HE and the Bologna Process. Although the global south and especially post-colonial, non-Anglophonic, and South-Asian countries are among the direct recipients of the impacts of these linguistic and educational reforms, they have been focused on the least. However, according to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), "We need to consider the specifications of the ways particular nations are located in relation to global pressures and policy framings. In this respect, nations of the Global North are positioned very differently from those of the Global South" (p. 109). The field needs to address this huge gap, because the HE of these countries constitutes too large a student population to be ignored. Moreover, the impacts of language education policies in the European context continues to affect non-European so-called developing nations. For example, global trends such as the hegemony of English lingua franca, asymmetry in the field of HE, commercializing of HE, deteriorating quality of HE, and the changing linguistic hierarchy are not limited to the citizens of European nations only. They impact non-European citizens as well. It is therefore necessary to inform the field regarding the current language policy issues in the HE of countries like Pakistan. This is a major gap in the field, which the findings of this study fill by presenting a language policy vertical case study from Pakistan. This study highlights the historical tensions, current state of the medium of instruction in HE, and its perceived impacts on the academic trajectories of students from low SES. This study contributes to the field of LEP in HE by offering a window to the 66-year long trajectory of LEP in HE of post-colonial Pakistan, which is a highly understudied area. In addition, by reviewing the literature and tracking the major trends, this paper also highlights the existing gaps in the field of LEP in HE that need immediate attention. Doing

so informs LP's sub field—LEP in HE—regarding the current state of LEP affairs and their historical developments in Pakistani HE.

Although this study is situated in the third stage of LP development, it is engaged in LEP discussions of the first two stages, as well. This is because the shifting focus of the field is not arbitrary or random, but rather it occurs in response to the existing problems, developments, and/or movements in the world. Thus, this current state of LEP in Pakistan is a reflection of the historical development of a colonial agenda where there is no true *post* to colonialism, but rather neo-colonialism, imperialism, and globalization are just faithful extensions to the colonial agenda of divide and rule. On February 02, 1835, English as the medium of instruction was forcibly imposed by the British colonizer; whereas in 2014's Pakistan, English medium of instruction is a desired option (though contested) by the Pakistani government and its people. This has happened because, over time, Pakistani LEP has been targeting individuals implicitly or explicitly (King & DeFina, 2010) to influence their behaviors (Cooper, 1989) and discipline their linguistic attitudes—which Tikly (2009) refers to as "colonization of mind" (p. 37). Hence, LEP has become a major determinant that shapes the entire academic trajectory of a student in Pakistan. It is therefore necessary to listen to these students' perspectives and engage them in critical discussions regarding their relationship with LEP and how they understand it.

In LP research there is a notable absence of voices of students from the global south. The analysis of interviews and Facebook data from students inform how "targets" of LEP (King & DeFina, 2012) understand this policy and position themselves with respect to it as well as potentially resist or confirm it through their practices. This shifts the field's focus

from either the agency or the subjugation of the targets of the LEPs to viewing the colonized as a contact zone of subordination and resistance. By this I mean that HE students' decisions are not always straightforward manifestations of their agency or subjugation to LEP (only); but rather these moves are complex and complicated combinations of both, deeply rooted in historical and discursive realities and also inform the field regarding policy manifestations at multiple levels. The findings of this study also confirm the differential relationships of the policy with students from low SES. Keeping in view the trajectory of LEP in Pakistani HE, this study warns against so-called internationalization projects and makes it clear that HE policies and practices under the political umbrella of the Bologna Process are not moving towards a true multilingualism (Alexander, 2008). The field of LEP in Pakistani HE needs to be skeptical about the ultimate beneficiaries of this move.

The fields of language policy and language education policy have expanded their scope to include informal, unplanned, and ad-hoc policies. The major issues debated in the field include (1) internationalization under the guise of Englishization; (2) the tension related to the role of English as either the global lingua franca or the lingua tyranosaura; (3) the weakening resistance to domination by English; and (4) the inequalities caused by the spread and dominance of English. The field also focuses on issues such as the impact of language of instruction policies on other issues including the levels of linguistic competence of students and teachers; the quality and the future of scholarship in languages other than English; and the future of the English language itself. There is also a very explicit tension around the issues of commercialization of Education, of language teaching

for monetary purposes, as well as the flourishing of Anglophonic institutes at the expense of less developed, non-Anglophonic institutions. There are many other dimensions to the field that need growth and focus, such as preservation of minority languages and the development of marginalized populations and their future in academia. More research is needed on the effects of language education on student achievement, engagement, identity, and personal experiences. The field also needs to engage various recently emerging methods of inquiry such as digital ethnography and multimodal discourse analysis. Also required is a consensus on what constitutes a policy problem. However, the presence of these gaps is evidence that the field is alive, and they indicate the potential for further growth.

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Appendix A

Guide to transcripts

(…)	ellipses
(.)	Small Pauses
(..)	longer pause
Underlined	Code switching to English
Italicized	Translation from mother tongue to English
[	Overlap
@	half laughter
=	hedges
?	Question
"…"	quoted speech