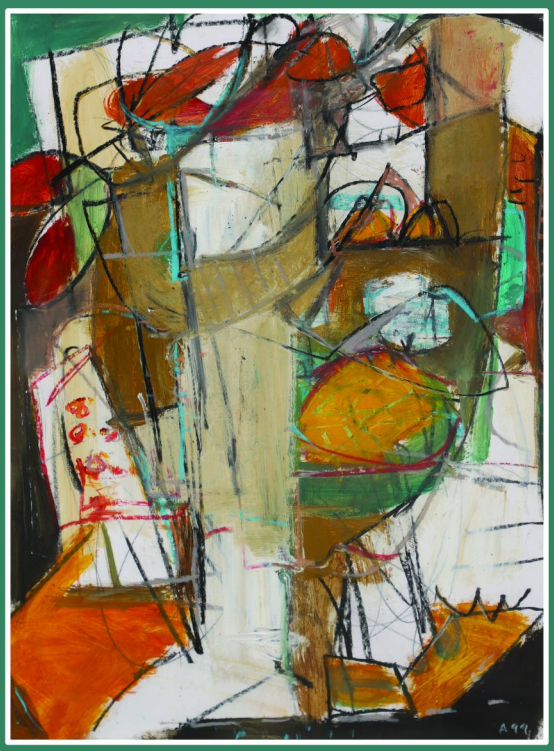
Pakistan's Multilingual and Multicultural Landscape

A Sociolinguistic Perspective

A Collection of Research Papers
(1994-2024)



SABIHA MANSOOR

Edited by

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Dedication

This book is dedicated
to my brother
Shahid Amjad Chaudhry

Foreword

The South Asian subcontinent, home to a quarter of the world's population, is also blessed with a profusion of languages and dialects. This presents a conundrum for those who grapple with issues of educational research, planning and development. These are not straightforward matters of collation, investigative study and research. As those who work in the parallel fields of cultural studies and development know well, the cross currents in these fields are rife with political entanglements, contradictions and traumatic histories. Pakistan's iconic poet and cultural figure, Faiz Ahmad Faiz's early and arguably most popular poem 'Bol' or 'Speak' exhorts his people to speak up and be heard. The question immediately arises in which language do you speak up and ensure you'll be heard?

In Sabiha Mansoor's multifaceted and groundbreaking collection of research papers, one becomes aware of the sheer complexity of the 'language issue' in national life in Pakistan. Language, which is deeply intertwined with notions of identity, individual experience, and the expressive communication of both vast and small communities, is the most potent means of establishing a sense of cohesion in the nation state.

The elusiveness of the 'national' in the context of Pakistani identity is intertwined with the multiple overlapping of not only languages but also of cultural traditions, identities and mores. While this ought to be cause for celebration and appreciation of the enrichment that diversity brings to the lives of citizens, it also involves layered and labyrinthine problems for educators and researchers

The advocacy of cultural diversity is closely interlinked with an understanding of the interweaving of languages and the cultural role played by underlying universalities in the definition of problems and their solutions.

Pakistan is not unique in the fraternity of nations dealing with misapprehensions and heightened animosities that languages can breed within communities and nations. Nor is it unique in its struggle to tackle these problems through serious research, discussion and planning. The deeper the understanding of such linkages between any group's socio-political and cultural entities, the greater the chances of arriving at enlightened discourse and solutions.

Such studies lead to fresh ideas and creative problem resolution. Historically, indifference and official apathy at the highest levels have been major impediments in dealing with accumulative problems in education from the primary to the highest education levels. The outcomes have been noticeably inadequate and disturbing. Although the allocation of financial resources for education remains abysmal, what little is available suffers from a lack of insight and paucity of knowledge and analysis.

The perspectives provided by the research in this publication go a long way to providing the historical and socio-political sweep of the unfolding tapestry confronting us today. There are narratives of some successful ventures but also instances of those that did not come to fruition. However, the availability of such data can lead to a firm call for action.

The still relevant National Report on Culture authored by Faiz Ahmad Faiz initially in 1968, and updated in 1975, provided an analytical approach to the theoretical framework in which initiatives to do with cultural identity can be viewed, stating that languages are an integral part of a people's culture and a reflection of their lives. As Faiz observes, 'Since culture is a way of life and not merely a way of thought, its quality and

complexion are determined more by what is actually practiced and not so much by what is merely professed.'[1].

Therefore, languages and their teaching must be examined as an integral part of all aspects of the socio-political structures of Pakistan. Thus, our multilingual and multicultural realities must be understood, analyzed and made part of all future educational development.

Salima Hashmi

[1] A. Salim & H. Ishfaq (Eds.). (2013). *Faiz: Folk Heritage and Problems of Culture* (p. 40). Sang-e-Meel.

Preface

Language shapes our thoughts, interactions, identity, and social structures. This book examines the relationship between language and society, particularly in the context of Pakistan's educational system. With approximately 70 languages and numerous dialects, Pakistan's multilingual and multicultural landscape makes the study of language especially important. To this end, this collection features invaluable papers by Dr Sabiha Mansoor, focusing on language policy and its significance in Pakistan's social, educational, and political spheres, published over three decades (1994–2024). The book consolidates her key observations, including findings that emerged from such studies as Emerging Issues in TEFL (OUP, 2008), Language Planning in Higher Education: A Case Study of Pakistan (OUP, 2005), Language Planning, Policy, and Practice: A South Asian Perspective (OUP, 2004), and Punjabi, Urdu, English in Pakistan (Vanguard, 2017). The articles in this volume have been edited and adapted to present them as standalone chapters, allowing each to be read independently while contributing to the overarching themes of the book.

The book is particularly relevant to academia, as it addresses real-life issues and challenges faced by policymakers and stakeholders in Pakistan. For instance, Dr Mansoor's study, Language Planning in Higher Education: A Case Study of Pakistan, suggests introducing English as a second language from Class 1 in public schools to improve access and equity. She also advocates for the establishment of a national committee on English, similar to one in Sri Lanka, to support the training of public sector teachers across provinces in English language teaching. These recommendations have received approval from

both the federal minister for education and the chairperson of the Higher Education Commission.

A distinctive aspect of this book is its presentation of the author's published articles grounded in real-world research. The articles and chapters serve as valuable resources for aspiring graduates, as well as MPhil and PhD students in applied language studies, and those in related fields such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Many students, particularly in the public sector, currently struggle with English proficiency, hindering their ability to read advanced texts or write research proposals and reports. This book aims to guide these students, introducing original and unique features that may reshape their approach to research.

Chapter 1 on applied linguistics introduces key concepts and contemporary issues in language education in Pakistan, emphasizing the dominance of English and its implications for students' job opportunities. Chapter 2 on sociolinguistics addresses the challenges faced by students whose first languages are marginalized and explores their attitudes toward regional languages. Chapter 4 highlights the inadequacy of current resources for faculty development and serves as a guide for teachers looking to enhance their pedagogical skills. The book also offers insights into language policies and gender issues within Pakistan's higher education system. The chapter on language development (Chapter 7) focuses on reading comprehension and advanced literacy skills.

The primary goal of this book is to foster informed discussions about language use and policy and their roles in education and the workplace. It aims to assist policymakers and educators in creating a more equitable and inclusive environment within Pakistan's multilingual and multicultural society.

Munaza Hasan

Acknowledgments

It is with deep gratitude that I acknowledge the many individuals and institutions who have supported me over the past three decades of research and academic work.

I could not have anticipated this journey, which began with a single research paper and gradually evolved into a body of work spanning several books and numerous publications. This would not have been possible without the encouragement of mentors, colleagues, editors, co-researchers, and students whose insights and collaboration enriched each step of the process.

I am especially thankful to Mira Phailbus, Najam Sethi, and the faculty at the University of Reading for their early support, as well as to Dr Naz Rassool and Dr Tariq Rahman for their exceptional academic guidance during my doctoral research. I also remain indebted to the Aga Khan University (AKU) and Lahore School of Economics for enabling much of this work, and to my co-investigators at AKU for their invaluable contributions. I am especially grateful to Shamsh Kassim Lakha, Nasreen Hussain, Aliya Tahir, Mohammad Zafar, Iqbal Azam, Shabana Ahmad, and Sabahat Tatari at AKU, and to M. Nasir, Munaza Hasan, Shanzayy Kamran, and Maiyda Shahid at the Lahore School of Economics. I would like to express my appreciation for the late Sartaj Aziz's support throughout my stay at Beaconhouse National University. Sincere thanks are due to Salima Hashmi for her foreword and to Azra Chaudhry for permission to use her painting for the cover design.

Several public and private institutions provided research funding, for which I am grateful. I must also thank the editors and

publication teams at Vanguard and Oxford University Press for their faith in my work.

Throughout this time, the support of my family has been a constant source of strength. My late husband, Khalid Mansoor, and my children, Ali, Sonia and Nazia, gave me the time and encouragement needed to pursue this work, and I owe them more than I can express.

Finally, I consider it a blessing to have been given the opportunity to explore ideas that matter and to contribute, however modestly, to the discourse on language, education, and cultural identity in Pakistan.

Sabiha Mansoor

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Chapter 1
Applied Linguistics

Contemporary Issues in Language, Education, and Development in Pakistan

N. Rassool & S. Mansoor. (Eds.). (2007). *Global issues in language, education, and development: Perspectives from postcolonial countries*. Multilingual Matters.

Naz Rassool and Sabiha Mansoor

Introduction

Colonialism in India ended in 1947 with the partitioning of the country into the autonomous states of India, West Pakistan, and East Pakistan. Pakistan, as we know it today, came into being in 1971 in the aftermath of the civil war, which resulted in East Pakistan becoming the sovereign national state of Bangladesh. The administrative units of modern Pakistan comprise the provinces of Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan, and the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP),[1] as well as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA),[2] which, together, are integrated into a federal national state. The capital city, Islamabad, was demarcated as a separate territory and placed under federal jurisdiction and administration in 1981.

The ethnic dimensions of the social structure and political power in Pakistan, along with the strong allegiances among different ethnolinguistic groups, have contributed to the fact that debates about language have tended to be politically sensitive. The country's language-in-education policy, therefore, has remained problematic. Moreover, high levels of illiteracy throughout the country pose major problems for adequate labor supply; the general lack of cultural capital has negatively impacted the differentiated and high skills supply needed to enable the country to compete effectively in the global labor market.

[1] Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. All references to NWFP in this section refer to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

[2] Merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018.

Seeking to address the political economy of language in education in Pakistan, this chapter examines some of the major issues that surround language and development within that country. This discussion is further linked to evolving labor skills demands within the global cultural economy. The discussion starts with an overview of the languages that prevail within the country.

A sociolinguistic profile of contemporary Pakistan

The population of Pakistan is currently estimated at 154,535,000 (Pakistan Census Organization, 2005) and is highly differentiated ethnically, culturally, and linguistically. Punjabis make up 56.6% of the population, Sindhis 23.0%, Baloch 5.0%, Pathans[3] (NWFP) 13.4%, and different tribal groupings (FATA) 2.4% (Pakistan Census Organization, 1998). Each broad ethnic group, in turn, has its own internal language and cultural differences with marked ethnic/caste/tribal subdivisions within each group. The number of living languages listed in Pakistan is 69, along with numerous dialects and Pakistan (Indian) Sign Language (Zuberi, 2005).[4] The sociolinguistic profile of the country is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 shows the main languages spoken in the provinces. In Punjab, the main languages include Punjabi (75.23%) and Saraiki[5] (17.36%); in Sindh, these include Sindhi (59.73%), Punjabi (6.99%), and Urdu (21.05%); most of the people in rural Sindh are Sindhi speakers (92.02%), while Urdu predominates in urban Sindh (41.48%).

[3] Pathans in practice refer to the Pashtun/Pakhtun/Afghan ethnic group; they are Pushto speakers. 'Balochistan' is also written as 'Baluchistan'; they are Baluchi/Balochi speakers. 'Punjabi' is also written as 'Panjabi'.

[4] The country has an estimated population of 243,683 deaf persons (7.40% of the whole population); there are 55 institutions for the deaf. Among the nation, 265,398 (8.06% of the whole population) are registered blind. There are 73 educational institutions nationally catering to the visually impaired (Zuberi, 2005).

[5] Sometimes also written as 'Seraiki'.

Table 1: Population by mother tongue (percent)

Administrative unit	Urdu	Punjabi	Sindhi	Pushto	Balochi	Saraiki	Others
Pakistan	7.57	44.51	14.1	15.42	3.57	10.53	4.66
Rural	1.48	42.51	16.46	18.06	3.99	12.97	4.53
Urban	20.22	47.56	9.20	9.94	2.69	5.46	4.93
NWFP	0.78	0.97	0.04	73.9	0.01	3.86	20.43
Rural	0.24	0.24	0.02	73.98	0.01	3.99	21.52
Urban	3.47	4.58	0.11	73.55	0.03	3.15	15.11
FATA	0.18	0.23	0.01	99.1	0.04	—	0.45
Rural	0.18	0.18	0.01	99.15	0.04	—	0.43
Urban	0.18	1.85	*	97.00	*	—	0.96
Punjab	4.51	75.23	0.13	1.16	0.66	17.36	0.95
Rural	1.99	73.63	0.15	0.87	0.90	21.44	1.02
Urban	10.05	78.75	0.09	1.81	0.14	8.38	0.78
Sindh	21.05	6.99	59.73	4.19	2.11	1.00	4.93
Rural	1.62	2.68	92.02	0.61	1.50	0.32	1.25
Urban	41.48	11.52	25.79	7.96	2.74	1.71	8.80
Balochistan	0.97	2.52	5.58	29.64	54.76	2.42	4.11
Rural	0.21	0.43	5.27	32.16	57.55	1.87	2.51
Urban	3.42	9.16	6.27	21.61	45.84	4.16	9.24
Islamabad	10.11	71.66	0.56	9.52	0.06	1.11	6.98
Rural	2.33	83.74	0.08	7.62	0.02	0.3	5.91
Urban	14.18	65.36	0.81	10.51	0.08	1.53	7.53

* Refers to a very small population.
Source: Pakistan Census Report (1998).

In NWFP, Pushto (73.9%) is the language of the majority of the population, while a range of other local languages (20.43%) predominate in rural areas. Balochi is the majority language in Balochistan (54.76%); its other major language is Pushto[6] (29.64%), and smaller numbers speak Sindhi (5.58%), other local languages (4.11%), and Saraiki (2.42%). The major language throughout FATA is Pushto (99.1%). Punjabi predominates in Islamabad (71.66%), the federal administrative capital, reflecting its geographic location. Urdu (10.11%) and Pushto (9.52%) are the most used minority languages in the capital. Alongside these languages, Deaf communities use Pakistan Sign Language, which

[6] Sometimes also written as 'Pashto'.

has its own distinct syntax and vocabulary. This, in turn, has been adapted over the years within different cultural communities in the provinces, resulting in, for example, Sindhi, Urdu, Punjabi, and Balochi regional varieties. Because of the vast overall population levels numerically, even relatively small linguistic groups are fairly large compared to linguistic minority groups in less populous countries. On this evidence, we can say that Pakistan is inherently a multilingual and multicultural society.

However, above these diverse languages and their local varieties, English, the ex-colonial language, has retained its high status in everyday life in Pakistan and plays an important role in all the major domains of power. For example, it is used in:

1. The civil administration and bureaucracy, that is, in all federal and provincial government matters.
2. The country's legal system at the federal and provincial levels, although in the provincial, district, and session courts, Urdu is used in writing. Writing is bilingual in the lower courts, and for the superior courts, i.e., the Supreme Court and high courts, the written texts are in English (Abbas, 1993).
3. The defense forces, including the army, navy, and air force. The models used for training are predominantly British, and English is the language of communication for office work. Urdu has been used to train officers and personnel in the field since 1974, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power.
4. The mass media, together with Urdu and the regional languages. The major television and radio stations broadcast the news both in English and Urdu. With the introduction of satellite television, viewers have access to world media in English. English and Urdu predominate in newspaper publications throughout the country, in addition to smaller numbers of newspapers in regional and local languages.
5. The field of education (along with Urdu). In all government schools, Urdu is the medium of teaching and learning, with English as a compulsory subject from grades 5 or 6. In the last ten years, attempts have been made by various

governments to introduce English from grade 1. English-medium schools continue to flourish in the private sector.

The integration of English into the cultural, political, and economic institutions within Pakistani society means that, in practice, it represents the language of power, par excellence, over and above other languages within the country. As such, it plays a major role in providing access to employment opportunities, and "(w)ithout knowing English, one cannot enter the most lucrative and powerful jobs, both in the state apparatus and the private sector, in Pakistan" (Rahman, 2002, p. 2). The hegemony of English that prevails within Pakistani society relates to a complex range of circumstances, including:

- The country's colonial heritage;
- The importance attached to English in the country's postcolonial national language policy;
- The negligible value attached to regional and local languages within public domains;
- The predominance of English within the interactive global cultural economy.

Language lies at the heart of the state in any society, and, therefore, the languages underscored by national policy will not only have their status enhanced but will also gain in political and economic value within society. A country's national language policy is usually enshrined in its Constitution, which establishes the political principles and rules by which a state supports the practices and processes of national governance. The Constitution, therefore, codifies the power, responsibilities, and duties of each government and ratifies the relative cultural/linguistic, political, and economic rights of people as citizens, workers, and consumers of state services.

National language policy

Pakistan has had several constitutions since its creation, including the Constitution of 1956, the Constitution of 1962, the Interim Constitution of 1972, and the Constitution of 1973.

Pakistan's national language policy is enshrined in Article 251 of the 1973 Constitution. It states that:

- The national language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its use for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
- Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
- 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.

As we can see, the supremacy of Urdu as the national language is upheld in all areas. At the same time, the Constitution supports the fundamental right of all citizens to preserve and promote their language, script, and culture (Article 28). However, this right is conditional; it is subject not only to the requirements of Article 251 but also to the law. These conditionalities, it is argued, have strengthened the power of the central state and, through this, undermined the relative autonomy of the provinces concerning the formal development of regional and local languages and cultures (Mansoor, 2005). Excluding Sindh, hardly any legislation has been formulated in the provinces to promote regional languages in official spheres (Rahman, 1999; Abbas, 1993).

At a meta level, the policy statement of Article 251 of the 1973 Constitution provides insight into the complex language choices regarding maintaining a cohesive nation while, at the same time, facilitating economic development by providing access to the global cultural economy. In this regard, it represents the classic 'pluralist dilemma' (Bullivant, 1981). For example, as we can see, the Constitution acknowledges English as the official language (previously the colonial language) while, at the same time, asserting Urdu as the country's national language with the intention of integrating the (Urdu) language into official domains within a defined period. It also makes provision for the teaching

and development of regional languages at the provincial level. The underlying assumption at the time was that English would recede or disappear naturally as people incorporated Urdu into their everyday lives over time.

Significantly, though, 30 years later, the policy goal of transitioning to Urdu within official domains has not yet been achieved. Instead, English has retained, indeed strengthened, its position as the language of power within official domains. Thus, it has been argued generally that English is the de facto national language of Pakistan. This has been attributed, inter alia, to the fact that there has been a lack of political will or any real effort to change the official language of proceedings from English to Urdu by the English-speaking Pakistani elites in the country who are the products of English-medium education (Mansoor, 2005). Since most of the existing official documents are in English, there appears to have been little progress made towards translating these or producing new official documents in Urdu (Rahman, 1999; Abbas, 1993). In this regard, Urdu appears to be suffering from benign neglect, at least within the official domain, where it remains relatively under-resourced in relation to English.

It also relates to the fact that Urdu is the mother tongue of a minority in Pakistan; it is the language of only 7.57% of the national population as opposed to 44.15% of Punjabi speakers (Pakistan Census Organization, 1998). Moreover, this linguistic minority is represented mainly by the Mohajirs, the diasporic community who transmigrated from India following Partition in 1947 and the civil war of 1971, and, therefore, did not have a social base within the province. This, and the fact that the majority of the Mohajirs settled in Sindh,[7] contributed to conflict between the Mohajirs and the Sindhi middle class, who felt discriminated against and deprived within their native region. As stated earlier, since the Mohajirs generally at the time tended to

[7] Both Bengali and Urdu became the country's national languages in the Constitution of 1962. This changed in 1971 when, at least in part, due to the pressures exerted by the Bengali Language Movement, East Pakistan became the autonomous state of Bangladesh, adopting Bengali as its national language.

be more formally educated than the local Sindhi population,[8] they took up "technical, bureaucratic, and professional jobs" (Rahman, 2000, p. 112). The polarization of the two groups and competition for jobs and power between them resulted in language riots in that province during the early 1970s. Eventually, the provincial government was forced to amend the language policy to include both Urdu and Sindhi as official languages of the province (Mazari, 2002).

Urdu, religion, and national identity

The hegemony of Urdu during the early days was profound, linked as it was with the founding principles of the country. The founding father of the Pakistani nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, supported the formation of a secular state. Following his demise, the prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, in 1948, in response to an amendment sought to permit the use of Bengali in the Assembly alongside Urdu and English, stated: "Pakistan is a Muslim state and it must have as its lingua franca the language of the Muslim nation... it is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language" (cited in Callard, 1958, p. 182). Pakistan became an Islamic Republic in the 1956 Constitution. Central to nationalist ideology was the view that Urdu represented a key defining principle of what it means to be a Pakistani and, ipso facto, of being a Muslim in Pakistan. In other words, Urdu was central to the state's view of Pakistani nationhood. Thus, it had potent symbolic significance (Rahman, 2000), representing, as it did, a cultural variable around which the nation could be constructed. Nevertheless, while it became a symbol of national unity, as discussed earlier, Urdu is not a native language of Pakistan.

Contextualizing Urdu

There are different views on how the modern Urdu language evolved. What there is agreement on is that the languages of the

[8] By 1951, the Mohajirs comprised 51% of Sindh's urban population (Mazari, 2002).

Proto-Historic Indus Valley, or present-day Pakistan, are from some of the most ancient civilizations. Linguistically, Pakistani languages are rooted in India; the roots of Pakistan's languages are Dravidian and Indo-Aryan, and their scripts and vocabulary owe much to Arabic and Persian (Rahman, 1999). All the languages, with the exception of Brohi, are of the Indo-European family and use the Arabic-Persian script. Historically, Urdu and Hindi represent Indo-Aryan languages that originally developed together and, except for the differences in script, are regarded by many as the same language (Rahman, 1999; Zaman, 1981; Gumperz, 1977). This language developed over centuries of mixing together Sanskrit (the high-status language of the elites) and the various Prakrits (the low-status 'root' languages of 'inferior' castes or occupations) that differed from one region to another (Rahman, 1999). Languages used by foreign rulers in the domains of power have also enriched the indigenous languages to the extent that their vocabulary is now multilingual and varied. With the arrival of the Muslims in the 11th and 12th centuries, bringing their own languages, such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, as languages of state and religion, the foundations of a hybrid language called, inter alia, Hindi, Hindvi, Rekhta (which literally means 'a rough mixture'), Urdu (which in Turkish means 'horde' or 'army'), and Hindustani[9] were laid. Modern Urdu[10] comprises a vocabulary (at least 40%) derived from Persian and Arabic, superimposed on a base of grammar, usages, and vocabulary that it has in common with Hindi. Sufis and divines such as Amir Khusro and poets including Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, Mas'ud Sa'd Salman, and Ustad Abul Faraj Rumi (Rahman, 1999), and later, Mir, Sauda, Ghalib, and Zauq popularized the Persianized Urdu language in their devotional writings and songs, which mixed the languages of learning, including Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, with the local dialects.

[9] A covering term for the languages spoken by both Hindus and Muslims in Northern India (Rahman, 2000).

[10] Urdu is currently spoken mostly in and around urban Karachi, Lucknow, Lahore and Hyderabad.

As stated earlier, Urdu has always been a minority language in Pakistan. At the time of Partition in 1947, only 3.37% of the population in West Pakistan represented Urdu mother tongue speakers (Mazari, 2002) in comparison with large numbers of Urdu speakers residing in India (2–3%). The introduction of Urdu as the national language, serving as a means of securing national integration, was therefore politically problematic from the beginning. In practice, it served to create long-term power imbalances within the country.

First, at the level of everyday life, its high status as a national language served to undermine regional and local languages. However, policy meanings always exist in tension and, therefore, represent an arena of struggle for control over meaning among different interest groups. In this regard, the language issue became a rallying point for ethnic groups during the period of martial rule under Ayub Khan, when all regional languages were banned in 1958 on the recommendation of the Education Commission (Mazari, 2002).

Second, the Urdu-speaking Mohajir elite was placed at a considerable advantage with regard to education, business, and jobs. As stated earlier, their relatively better level of education compared to many local groups enabled them to "take the place of the departing Hindu middle-class professionals and business groups" (Rashid & Shaheed, 1993, p. 2). Their domination of the central government and civil bureaucracy during the early years created power imbalances that largely still prevail within the country.

Third, ethnic conflict, particularly in Sindh,[11] has been sporadic, which, in turn, has contributed to ongoing social and political instability within that region. In addition to the language riots of the 1970s mentioned earlier, the 1980s were also marked by inter-ethnic riots.

Apart from Urdu and English, which, in practice, are limited to a small proportion of the population, no language is

[11] There are at least 36,750 Sindhi medium schools in Sindh (Rahman, 2002).

commonly understood; that is to say, no single language can be claimed as a common mother tongue (Zaman, 1981). Urdu, as the national language, continues to exist in tension, lending credence to the argument that the nationalist project constructed around Urdu as the common language through which an integrative national bond could be cemented has not been fulfilled. As can be seen below, Pakistan remains a country divided by the language hegemonies of elite groups. The country is defined by a large literacy, knowledge, and skills divide between elite groups and the majority of the population. Literacy levels within society impact the cultural capital available within the country to support both economic and social development, as well as the development of a strong civil society. Below, we discuss the negative effects that the underdevelopment of the language-in-education infrastructure, as it relates to local and regional languages, as well as Urdu and English, the national and official languages, has had on social and economic development possibilities in Pakistan.

Language in education struggles

In our discussion so far, it is evident that the formation of the sovereign state of Pakistan, in effect, represented the struggle for hegemony among a variety of ethnolinguistic groups. That is to say, securing the monopoly of power within the state by one particular ethnolinguistic group was central to the struggle for Pakistani nationhood. Some of these struggles have been mentioned above and are documented in depth elsewhere (Rahman, 1999, 2000; Ahmed, 1998; Mahboob, 2002). Among the various ethnolinguistic groups, the Urdu-speaking intelligentsia, as is evident in the words of the first prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, claimed "to speak for the whole nation and to represent the national essence" (Billig, 1997, p. 27). That they did not do so in practice is evident in the recurring ethnolinguistic conflict in Sindh since independence. The fact that Sindhi speakers have a proud literary heritage and that their language had been the medium for teaching and learning within the province before independence has meant that they have felt their language was

undermined by the legitimization of Urdu, the language predominantly of the refugees from India—the Mohajirs—as the national language, and English as the major language in higher levels of education. Moreover, the struggle against the hegemony of Urdu is not just about language; for the Sindhi speakers of Karachi, it is ultimately about reclaiming cultural, political, and economic power for this ethnolinguistic group within the region. As we argued earlier, this is an unequal struggle since Urdu is, fundamentally, a historical construct of Pakistani nationalism grounded in Islamic principles. As such, it has always been central to the political identity of the Pakistani state.

Language, religion, and education

The Sharif Commission, appointed by President Ayub Khan in 1959, introduced Urdu as the language for teaching and learning in all government schools, while English was to be taught only as a compulsory subject and should continue as a second language for advanced study and research. This was in line with the long-term view that Urdu would ultimately replace English in education and in society as a whole. Although Pakistan is culturally a multilingual society, its political basis is ultimately monolingual; the interpellation of Urdu as the national language, with Islamic identity and cultural values, forms the hegemonic basis of the Pakistani national identity. These meanings were reinforced during the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, which overtly and fervently pursued policies of 'Islamization' and 'Urdu-ization.' In 1978, the government advised English-medium schools to shift to Urdu—or the regional language recognized by the state—thus undermining languages spoken locally in the provinces. At the same time, Arabic, seen as representing the language of Islam, was introduced initially as a compulsory foreign language and, subsequently, as the language medium for teaching and learning in all government schools from grade 1. English was not introduced until grade 6. The introduction of Arabic as a medium for teaching and learning coincided with government support for religious schools (*deeni madrassas*), which currently pose major pedagogical, cultural,

and political problems for the country. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif gave further support to them in 1998 by recognizing their *sanad* (degree) as a master's degree in Arabic and Islamiyat. Political analysts have criticized successive rulers, especially General Zia-ul-Haq and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, for the misuse of Islam and the ideology that underpins the Pakistani state to propagate their own views (Mansoor, 2005).

Despite the policy emphasis on Urdu as the language medium for teaching and learning, and the intention for those matriculating in 1989 to do so in Urdu—which it was hoped would facilitate the envisaged transition to Urdu in higher education (Mahboob, 2002)—English continued to flourish in the private sector during these periods. Later, during the first Benazir Bhutto regime, schools were given the option of adopting English as the medium for teaching and learning. English has continued to predominate in the country's national institutions and, therefore, the formal life of society. How then, have these policies translated into practice in the national education system, and how do they relate to broader educational policy and existing sociocultural and economic conditions within the country?

Education in Pakistan

Pakistan is one of the largest Muslim countries in the world. It has a geographic area of approximately 803,940 square kilometers and, as stated above, comprises a culturally and linguistically diverse population. However, since the country has not benefited from a stable political base since its independence, it is not surprising that development in the social sector is among the lowest in the world. With a ranking of 142 on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)'s Human Development Index, Pakistan features among the countries with the worst profiles on human development (UNDP, 2004). Although the country's gross national product (GNP) per-capita income for the period 2004/05 is $736, having risen from $579 in 2002/03, at least a quarter (27.3%) of the population lives below the poverty line (Government of Pakistan, 2004). This is compounded by a high population growth rate; the population

has grown by at least two percent since 2000/01, making Pakistan the seventh most populous country in the world (Government of Pakistan, 2005). This factor significantly impacts resource provision in education.

Literacy and education levels

The literacy rate in 2003/04 was estimated at 53%, with 66.25% for males and 41.75% for females (Government of Pakistan, 2004). In 2002/03, the country spent 1.7% of its GNP on education compared with 2.5% in 1996/97 (Government of Pakistan, 2005). Pakistan is one of only 12 countries spending less than 2% of its GNP on education, and according to the UNDP (2004) Human Development Report, the country has the lowest 'education index' of any country outside Africa. Pakistan lags behind other South Asian countries in elementary, secondary, and tertiary education. Table 2 provides insight into the levels of education in the country based on information obtained from the Labour Force Survey for 2003/04.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of population by age, sex, literacy, and level of education

			Level of education								
Age group		**Total**	**Illiterate**	**Literate**	**No formal education**	**Kindergarten but below primary**	**Primary but below middle**	**Middle but below matric**	**Matric. but below intermediate**	**Intermediate but below degree**	**Degree and postgrad PhD**
Both services	All ages	100.00	60.31	39.69	0.47	8.73	11.40	7.01	6.74	2.70	2.63
Male	All ages	100.00	51.81	48.19	0.54	10.26	13.33	8.98	8.47	3.22	3.39
Female	All ages	100.00	69.24	30.76	0.41	7.13	9.37	4.95	4.92	2.15	1.83

Literacy measurement based on the definition of being literate in relation to a person's ability to read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language.

Source: Compiled from Table 3 (p. 56) of Government of Pakistan. (2004). Labour Force Survey, 2003-2004. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics.

Table 2 shows that more than 60% of the population is still illiterate, with women lagging behind men. This gender disparity is also reflected in the cross-phase levels of education. Although the literacy figures for 2004–2005 show a significant improvement from 39.69% the previous year to 53% (Pakistan Census Organization, 2005), the national literacy level nevertheless remains low in comparison with other countries in the region. Moreover, 70% of the total population works in the informal sector (Government of Pakistan, 2005), signaling an unequal distribution of the labor force across sectors, with the majority employed in low or unskilled and, therefore, underpaid jobs. This suggests that there is a mixed-language economy in action within the overall labor market—especially at the lower end—with a sizable proportion of the workforce relying on local or regional languages in their various employment environments. There are also significant variances in the literacy levels of the different provinces, as is evident in the more developed Punjab (51.8%) and Sindh (54.9%) provinces, and lower literacy levels in the underdeveloped provinces of Balochistan (33.5%) and the North-Western Frontier Province (39.3%) (Government of Pakistan, 2005). However, because of the way in which the literacy statistical data are collected, there is no indication of literacy levels in particular languages. This is a highly significant point and will be discussed again later in relation to research.

The generally low educational profile suggests that the country has massive underemployment problems, particularly in relation to the requirement for highly skilled workers within the global cultural economy. This is significant since the burgeoning information technology and telecom sector of the economy represents major job opportunities for educated unemployed young people "in the wide range of areas (such as) call centers, telecom engineering, telecom sales, customer services, finance, accounting, and jobs through franchises of the telecom companies" (Government of Pakistan, 2005, p. 45). As part of its poverty reduction strategy, the country has, since 2001, increased investment in human resource development with a major emphasis on higher education.

Higher education

Currently, in higher education, which includes undergraduate and postgraduate studies, the participation rate is only 2.63% compared to the average 50% participation rate in industrialized countries (Government of Pakistan, 2004). There are 964 arts and science colleges with an enrollment of 801,746 students and 382 professional colleges with an enrollment of 163,852 students throughout the country. The number of teachers in arts and science colleges is 27,911, and 9,841 in professional colleges (Government of Pakistan, 2004). The country has 29 universities and eight degree-awarding institutions in the public sector with a total enrollment of 126,870 students, as well as 30 universities and 15 degree-awarding institutions in the private sector with an enrollment of 16,410 students (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Higher education is regarded as a capital investment that benefits the individual as well as the economic and social development of the country. As such, it has received special attention in various educational policies and Education Commission and Committee Reports since independence. Issues identified and addressed in these reports range from a lack of dedication among faculty staff and student discipline (Karachi University Inquiry Committee, 1956–1957) to concerns related to the medium of instruction and the need to improve the quality of education through administrative reforms enacted during various regimes. For example, a thorough revision of the duration of the BA and BSc degrees from a three-year honors degree was advocated to a recommended four-year degree by the Task Force on Higher Education. The emphasis on computer education and information technology initiated by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1998 has been strengthened by the General Musharraf regime in recent policy announcements (National Education Policy, 1998–2010). The Education Sector Reforms introduced by the General Musharraf government in 2001 focused on the areas of basic education and literacy, higher education, public-private partnerships, and good governance. This reinforced the recommendations made previously by the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government in its education policy of

1972 to promote free and universal education, followed by the Nawaz Sharif government in its education policy of 1988 to achieve universal literacy in 15 years. At the moment, the emphasis is on human resource development and modernization in order to meet the demands of the global cultural economy. In line with this, the long-term aims of the National Education Policy (1998–2010) are "to make Pakistan's education system more meaningful and relevant, aiming to create a knowledge-based society designed to support economic growth and poverty alleviation" (Government of Pakistan, 2005, p. 137). Improving national levels of literacy and education is central to the fulfillment of these goals. These factors highlight the need to take a closer look at the overall significance of language with regard to boosting educational achievement *per se*. In turn, this raises questions about the place of mother tongues or regional languages in education, especially in relation to the important role that these languages play in the learning process and the acquisition of knowledge.

At the same time, there is also a need for a language-in-education policy to take into account the relationship between language and the national and international labor market. This is especially true concerning the job opportunities presented by information technology and the expansion of the telecommunications industry mentioned earlier, as well as the opportunities offered for the labor force to compete effectively in the global labor market. Adequate supplies of skilled workers who can readily be absorbed into the modern labor market could implicitly support the diversification of the country's economy, placing it in a more competitive position within the international global cultural economy. Together, these factors have implications for the way in which education is organized and the language policies that underpin educational provision.

Research and development

As indicated earlier, there currently appears to be no link between existing policy and educational or sociolinguistic research in the country. Policy seemingly is "handed down," that is to say, it appears to be formulated without consultation with

stakeholders, including educational planners and practitioners, sociolinguists, educational economists, and parents. Language policies informed by empirical research into patterns of language use and the demography of literacy levels in the country are important in relation to the organization and delivery of education, as well as its long-term effectiveness in sustaining economic and social development. There are several policy issues to consider in this regard.

First, it is important that the collection of educational data in national censuses and labor force surveys also takes account of language use within particular domains. For example, which languages are used by whom, where, when, and for what purposes? What are the levels of fluency in particular languages—among which communities? How literate are people in these languages? Literacy statistics that do not reflect how different languages are used within the country provide a limited perspective on formal language use, especially in relation to literacy levels in the national, official, and regional languages. This, in turn, has implications for the strategic channeling of resources in education. Literacy mapping and cross-country sociolinguistic surveys could, therefore, play a major role in informing strategic policymaking, for example, with regard to developing the educational infrastructure in rural areas within the different provinces.

Second, information on language use and levels of literacy in different languages is also important in relation to documenting language skills needs within the emerging technologically driven labor market, as well as employment possibilities and their language requirements locally, regionally, and within the global terrain. In this regard, the mapping of workplace literacies and language use would play a significant role in informing educational policy, thus potentially creating a more balanced match between changing labor market skills demands and educational planning.

Third, it is now a commonly accepted view in education, grounded in research, that fluency in learners' first language facilitates the acquisition of a second or third language, and that they learn more easily in their first language than in a language that does not feature naturally in their everyday lives (Cummins,

1976; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). These factors have implications for national educational achievement levels and, therefore, the possibility of improving the country's overall educational profile. This, in turn, impacts employment possibilities within the formal labor market and, ultimately, economic development. These factors also have implications for language in educational policy frameworks as they relate to the language mediums for teaching and learning within different provinces and how these combine with cohesive nationhood.

The discussion here highlights the significance of sociolinguistic research—past, present, and future—including national research studies to be conducted to inform policy and practice, and thus to contribute to effective and sustainable human resource development. As stated earlier, together, these factors impact economic possibilities nationally and globally. Overall, the issues identified here underscore the significance of including sociolinguistic data in macro-educational planning focused on preparing learners adequately for a modernizing labor market that relies increasingly on communication skills, including intercultural and multilingual skills (Rassool, 1999). Taking these arguments into account, it is debatable whether political ideologies necessarily provide a useful basis for decisions about language in education. The next section revisits some of the main political discourses that have surrounded national language issues in Pakistan.

Political discourses about language and nation

It is evident earlier in the discussion that the state's declared policy since independence has been to promote Urdu as a national language and as a symbol of national identity and integration, thus ensuring social cohesion. Although the political discourse has not been overtly pro-English, English nevertheless continues to flourish and remains the official language of Pakistan. This fact prompts political analysts to infer that the support given to Urdu is rhetorical; there appears to be an inherent contradiction between Pakistan's stated official policy of promoting Urdu as the national official language and the real policy, where the status quo is maintained

and English remains the language of power (Rahman, 1995). The ruling elites—that is, all those with power and influence in Pakistan, such as the bureaucracy and military—have command of English through their English-medium education. English is not only the language of the upper classes in Pakistan; it also provides access to the best jobs in the governmental, non-governmental, and international bureaucracy. Seemingly, then, all these groups would have a vested interest in maintaining English as the language in which formal affairs and business are conducted and, therefore, continue to support English as the official language and, consequently, the language of higher education. In this regard, English represents a potent form of cultural capital, implicitly devaluing local and regional languages.

Within the context of higher education, in all educational policies and reports of education commissions and committees set up between 1957 and 1998, the official policy has been to maintain English as the medium of teaching and learning. It is important to note that this policy continues to be regarded as an interim arrangement. Although Urdu was declared the official medium of instruction for schooling (grades 1–12) in the public sector soon after the country's independence, the period assigned to the transfer from English medium to Urdu medium in higher education has varied in different government reports. This includes 15 years in the Report of the Sharif Commission in 1959 and five to seven years in the Report of the University Grants Commission in 1982. Despite the endorsement of this policy by every subsequent regime, the problems regarding learners' language difficulties in the English medium or developing sufficient and quality materials in Urdu for higher education, have not been addressed adequately (Mansoor, 2005). This argument is reinforced by the fact that the Report of the Education Sector Reforms (2001) and the Task Force on Higher Education (2002) set up by General Musharraf have not addressed the issue of language policy in higher education.

Regional languages in higher education

Furthermore, although there is a constitutional provision for the Provincial Assembly to promote the regional language in education, it is implied in the Constitution that no measure should

be adopted to promote the regional language at the cost of the status of the national language, Urdu. This requirement raises fundamental questions about language and the early learning experiences of students in schools. It is also a politically sensitive issue revolving around concerns about loyalty and national identity. Consequently, in all provinces except Sindh, hardly any legislation has been passed to promote regional languages in official spheres or to integrate them as a medium for teaching and learning in the education system (Rahman, 1999; Abbas, 1993).

Most of the state-funded schools in Punjab, Azad Kashmir, Balochistan, and NWFP use Urdu as the medium of instruction (Rahman, 2002), a language not necessarily used in their everyday lives. At the same time, NWFP also has a good selection of schools using different languages, including Urdu (13,556), Pushto (10,731 up to grade 5), and English (3,995) medium schools (Rahman, 2002). However, although they use Pushto as a language medium of teaching and learning within some schools in NWFP, many of these are distributed among the parallel system of education represented by the *deeni madrassas* (religious schools), which mainly use Arabic. Urdu predominates in Balochistan, where there are at least 9,939 Urdu-medium schools and 465 English-medium schools. The same applies to Punjab, where there are, on average, 67,490 Urdu-medium schools and 22,855 English-medium schools (Rahman, 2002). English-medium schools are dominated by children of the military and government elite, as well as elites of the provincial state institutions, including the railways, customs, telecommunications, and police departments, who run their own schools (Rahman, 2002).

Language issues in higher education

English is a compulsory subject at the graduate level, while Urdu is not. As we indicated earlier, this raises important questions related to the quality of students' learning experiences at the higher degree level, as well as the potential quality of university output. For example, what is the level of proficiency in English among all students by the time they start their higher education studies? At the moment, the English language is compulsory from grade 6 to the first-degree level in all educational institutions, except in Sindh

and Punjab, where English is compulsory from grade 1. In these instances, an emerging graduate would have studied English for at least nine years. However, what does this mean in relation to their English language ability to study at the undergraduate or postgraduate level? How do students experience their studies through English as a medium for teaching and learning? What systems are in place within universities to support the further development of English for academic purposes? What is the quality of the learning and teaching materials in English? What are the levels of fluency in English among teachers? To what extent do teachers and students rely on Urdu/regional/local languages as a means of facilitating knowledge acquisition? What educational support systems are in place for the development of Urdu as well as regional languages at the higher education level? How valid is the policy emphasis on English as the language of higher education with regard to sustaining (a) the development of a cohesive and culturally integrated Pakistani nationhood, (b) the development of the nation's cultural capital that would enable learners, as citizens, to participate meaningfully in the democratic process, and (c) effective participation in the competitive global cultural economy? What are the implications of this policy for facilitating equal life chances for students completing their degrees and entering the labor market? Who benefits? Who loses out? How does this impact national development possibilities? In 2001, the federal minister for education announced the intention to introduce English as a compulsory subject from grade 1 (Mansoor, 2005). This policy has not yet been implemented. There is, therefore, much slippage between policy rhetoric and policy formulation that includes guidelines for implementation and, moreover, the resources required for successful implementation.

A recent large-scale qualitative and quantitative study[12] (Mansoor, 2005) focusing on English in higher education in

[12] The sample comprising 2,136 students and their parents was drawn from the capital cities of Punjab (Lahore and Taxila) and Sindh (Karachi and Hyderabad), Balochistan (Quetta), as well as the federal capital (Islamabad), and NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) (Peshawar). The data were collected in pre-coded questionnaires sent to students and parents, and semi-structured interviews were conducted with 121 subject and English teachers

Pakistan found that there are significant differences in the provision for English language teaching between private and public institutions. The study also found that the majority of students in private educational institutions tended to be those who had been educated in English throughout their schooling and, therefore, could operate with confidence in a language environment with which they are largely familiar. The families of these students would also have been imbued with social capital, including access to books, equipment, and other English language resources that ultimately benefited their children. Many of these students would have grown up in an English/regional/national language environment. These students, therefore, tended to achieve better examination results than those who had been educated in Urdu or the regional languages in the public school sector. One of the students interviewed in the study argued that:

> … we are talking about higher education, but 70% of our population lives in rural areas, and whose parents are also not literate. Our families are educated, so we can study English. But nobody cares about that 70% of the population. In the eighth grade, 90% of the students fail just because they cannot pass the English subject. Then, when they reach matriculation level, 90% or 80% of the students fail because English is compulsory. If English were not compulsory, the students might have studied further, perhaps till FA or BA. English should, therefore, be just an elective language (Mansoor, 2005, p. 252).

This student raises important issues related to the ways and extent to which the habitus of particular communities and the cultural capital of parents impact students' educational attainment. Since the language medium for teaching and learning in higher education is English, this means that students who have

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from all provinces except Balochistan. Only 63 parent questionnaires were received from Punjab and Sindh, and no response was received from parents of students from the other two provinces and Islamabad, the federal capital. For the quantitative data, a two-stage cluster sampling plan was implemented; purposive sampling was used for the qualitative data (for further information on methodology, see Mansoor, 2005).

been educated predominantly in Urdu or the regional languages operate at a distinct disadvantage compared to those whose home languages include English and who have been educated in English throughout their schooling. English in higher education thus serves as a screening mechanism; it excludes the majority from access to higher education.

Regional languages and students' mother tongues play a negligible role in education in general in Pakistan; the latter, if they are local languages, do not feature in any educational policy frameworks. Where regional languages are used, they lack adequate teaching materials and a progressive pedagogical base; much emphasis remains on formal didactic approaches and rote learning. As a result of the lack of emphasis on regional languages in language-in-education policy, students do not regard the study of their regional language or mother tongue as important. Consequently, many Punjabi speakers, for example, choose to develop their competence in Urdu and English instead (Mansoor, 2005).

Significantly, Mansoor's (2005) study reported a lack of adequate resource supply and appropriate teaching methodologies in all the languages used in higher education, including English, Urdu, and the regional languages. Moreover, a perceived general lack of proficiency in English among teachers posed a major problem in relation to the quality of students' learning experiences. Many students in Mansoor's study continued to rely on rote learning as a means of passing examinations. This confirms Rahman's findings that, at the secondary level, most matriculants from vernacular-medium schools cannot speak English and can barely read their textbooks, which they tend to memorize (Rahman, 2002). Students in Mansoor's (2005) study reported having major difficulties following lectures, making presentations, taking examinations, and understanding texts in English. This meant that many of them did not necessarily have a full grasp of the concepts and ideas that underpin their subject knowledge. For some, full literacy in any of the languages sanctioned by state policy remains problematic. This is especially true for those who come from rural areas, who speak local languages and dialects, and where a

non-literate habitus prevails, except perhaps in cases involving the reading of the Quran.

Despite massive inputs into the teaching of English, national results are generally abysmally poor in education (Abbas, 1993). Since English is a compulsory subject, failure in English means failing the entire university examination (Mansoor, 2005). Seemingly, then, the requirement for the English language in higher education presents major difficulties for many students, especially those with a native language background. This raises another set of questions revolving around the levels of literate engagement in Urdu, the national language, and the regional languages among different sections of the population, particularly those who are within (or are about to enter) the labor market. This confirms the earlier argument that the 'language-blind' literacy statistics collected in the national census are not helpful for analyses of specific areas of need in education. For example, what are the levels of literacy in each of the languages used in education? This data could serve as an important means of comparison with the language demands within different sectors of the labor market. Moreover, what is the relative exchange value of different languages within the national, regional, and international labor markets? This has implications for the quality of the labor force in relation to meeting the complex language demands of the regional and national as well as the global cultural economy.

Conclusion

This article situates Pakistan's language-in-education policy within the broader framework of the country's political development since independence. The sustained low literacy rates nationally and the high levels of underemployment within high-skill areas call into question the effectiveness of the country's language-in-education policy in supporting adequate levels of skilled labor supply to make the country competitive in the global labor market. The discussion has shown that Pakistan's language-in-education policy is fraught with problems on both conceptual and practical levels. This reflects the ever-shifting policy landscape related to ongoing political struggles among

different interest groups within and around the state. As political regimes have changed, shifts have often taken place in policy emphases, leaving unresolved political tensions between the roles of English, Urdu, and regional languages in education. This is a macro-political problem that has its genesis in the founding of the Pakistani state and has remained unresolved as a result of sustained political instability since independence.[13] Moreover, the envisaged transition from English to Urdu within official domains has not taken place, and the lack of policy support and provision for the development of regional languages in education has contributed to the tension that has prevailed in Sindh, with its strong ethnocultural identity base. Of major significance is the silence on the use of local languages in education as a means of building literate communities from the grassroots level within both rural and urban areas, with other major languages added at key stages, thus laying the basis for a cumulatively multilingual, multi- or at least bi-literate social base. The implications of this for a differentially skilled labor market are immense.

Important questions arose in the discussion above. For example, given the mismatches between learner needs and resource provision, as well as the underdeveloped English language abilities and pedagogical competencies of teachers, how effectively does the existing language-in-education policy in Pakistan serve the needs of a professed modernizing state and economy in relation to: (a) labor and business competition within the global cultural economy; and (b) serving the needs of maintaining integrated nationhood?

How does federalism articulate with the formulation of language-in-education policy? That is to say, what is the level of relative autonomy vested in provincial governments as this relates to the ability to choose the language medium for teaching and learning—and investment in the development of regional languages? Why are regional languages not developed as

[13] "There have been five periods of full or partial martial law, lasting 18 years, six abortive coups, and three periods under state emergency. Only one president has completed his term, prime ministers have been dismissed eight times, one prime minister was assassinated, one executed, and eight parliaments have been prematurely dissolved" (Thomas, 1997).

resources for learning? How does language research inform language-in-education policy?

In essence, Pakistan reflects the general picture in many postcolonial developing countries. Most of these countries are defined by developmental gaps, as their histories have been interrupted and deformed, sometimes for centuries, by colonialism. In other words, the cultural hegemony of colonialism, grounded in linguistic imperialism, the displacement of historically derived national identities, and the destruction of local cultures, has led to cultural alienation, particularly among elite groups. These groups choose to self-identify with 'non-native' cultural values, mores, beliefs, and means of communication. In this regard, elite groups in Pakistan approximate not only the linguistic behaviors but also the cultural aspirations of elite groups elsewhere in the 'developing world'. For these groups, international lingua franca, notably ex-colonial languages, become important social markers and serve as models for the aspiring masses (Agheyisi, 1977). While these practices remain intact and language-in-education policy stays entirely within the political domain and, therefore, uninformed by existing linguistic and educational research, it will remain subject to change according to the ideological projects of particular political regimes in power. The lack of progression in language-in-education policy and educational practice is a major contributing factor to educational underachievement and, therefore, the underdeveloped human resource base in Pakistan. Ultimately, the success of any policy relies not only on a set of ideological principles; it also needs to be accompanied by a comprehensive set of guidelines to frame implementation, as well as adequate resource allocation to support teaching and learning in all phases of education. This includes the translation of key texts, literary texts, as well as subject-related textbooks, supporting materials such as dictionaries in different languages, adequately trained language teachers, audio-visual equipment, adequate assessment frameworks, processes and procedures, and coherent educational leadership. In addition, classroom practice needs to be grounded in established and enabling language pedagogies rooted in process-based learning. This means that pedagogy has to be framed by a set of educational principles grounded in pedagogies that empower students as

learners and as future citizens. Together, these elements highlight the significance of incorporating language provision into the educational planning and policy process.

Ultimately, to enable a meaningful link between language education and national development within the broader framework of the global cultural economy to be established, language-in-education policy needs to be disengaged from party politics. To this end, pursuing an interdisciplinary and cross-political party approach grounded in multilevel consultation among different stakeholders could potentially be empowering. In the process, it could engender economic development benefiting society by strengthening its human resource base to compete more effectively within the global cultural economy. In essence, then, within the much-vaunted 'knowledge economy,' the emphasis should be on facilitating national transformation cognitively, linguistically, economically, and politically, with regard to engagement in the political process for all citizens. The global cultural economy is interdependent, and despite the dominant position occupied by English, in practice, it has an organically interactive multilingual base. A narrow monolingual nationalism, an under-resourced educational system, and unequal access to English as an international lingua franca, therefore, are counterproductive to national growth. Such a limited policy framework would undermine the country's possibilities to participate effectively within the highly competitive international labor market.

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Language planning in international education is taking on new dimensions as the world is faced today with a host of complex issues, particularly those revolving around the selection of a suitable language in higher education. Despite the global spread of English and its present supremacy as an international lingua franca for business and trade, as well as in other fields such as higher education, the Internet, and employment, the choice is not easy for educational planners. There are issues raised by sociolinguists regarding the linguistic hegemony of English and the further polarization in an already fractured world between high-income and low-income countries and the divide—within developing countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka—between the elites empowered by the use of English and the masses who speak the vernacular language. This essay examines the place of English in international education in light of research on the language needs of learners for higher education and employment, the rapid spread of English language teaching (ELT) programs, and its possible repercussions for the development of national and local languages, as well as standards of education worldwide.

The status and role of English in the 21st century

English, the mother tongue of only 380 million people, was, by the end of the 20th century, the leading international language, while as many as 1,600 million people—nearly one-third of the world's population—used English for various purposes (Fishman, 1999). The spread of English in the second half of the 20th century to the present day has been attributed to

three main factors: the great number of British colonies that became independent after the Second World War; the rise of the USA as the world's superpower; and the popularity of the Internet and broadcasting media channels in the English language. English now enjoys the undisputed position of being the most popular second or foreign language for education worldwide, and, as Graddol argues in his 1997 publication, its popularity is in no imminent danger despite global trends in economics, technology, and culture that may affect the learning and use of English internationally with the beginning of a new world order. According to Graddol, these conditions are likely to stabilize around 2050, although the pre-eminent position of English as a world language could be challenged in some regions, with the hegemony of English being replaced by an oligarchy of languages, including Spanish and Chinese. After Chinese speakers, English is the first language of the largest population globally. With the rise in the number of speakers of English as a second or foreign language worldwide, numbers are increasing dramatically. At present, the number of people who speak English as a second language exceeds the number of native speakers, thus shifting the center of authority from what Kachru (1986) refers to as the speakers of the inner circle to the speakers of the outer and extended circle. This has led to different countries establishing their own national varieties of English.

The position of English has been strengthened because of the lead role of English-speaking countries, particularly the USA and UK, in science and technology. English is the language of the Internet, and it has been estimated that about 80% of the content posted on the Internet is in English. The advent of the Internet and its popularity has, according to Michael Rundell (2008), put "more or less infinite quantities of digitized text in a wide range of registers," thus making it the raw material of the present-day corpus of material in English. The Oxford University Press website puts the Oxford English Corpus today at over 2,000 million words.

English has the majority share of the world's books, academic papers, newspapers, and magazines (Table 1). The greatest

number of publications in a foreign language annually is in English (Graddol, 1997). English is the medium of a significant number of international journals and abstracts in countries where English is a second language. In Pakistan, the territory which was once under British colonial rule, the Higher Education Commission currently recognizes indexed journals only in English and no journals in Urdu, which is the national language, or in the regional languages.

Table 1: Books published annually worldwide (by language)

Language	% annually
English	28.0
Chinese	13.3
German	11.8
French	7.7
Spanish	6.7
Japanese	5.1
Russian	4.7
Portuguese	4.5
Korean	4.4
Italian	4.0
Dutch	2.4
Swedish	1.6
Others	5.8
Total (world)	100.0

Note: English is the most widely used foreign language for book publication; over 60 countries publish titles in English. The UK publishes more titles than any other country, thus generating more intellectual property in the language than the USA. Some British publishers, however, adopt house styles in US English. That and the fact that print runs in North America are typically much longer than in the UK ensure that books published in US English receive a wider circulation than those in British English. As the 21st century progresses, there is likely to be considerable growth in English-language publishing in countries where English is spoken as a second language.

Another key factor leading to the growth of English is the globalization of employment, which has led to changes in labor practices, and especially world trade, where there is a strong need to communicate in a common language, requiring a large number of people engaged in various professions to achieve greater competence in English. Although millions of students graduate from national universities in populated countries such

as India and China, many lack the requisite fluency in English, especially spoken English, to be globally employed in areas where such skills are required.

Linguistic hegemony or language rights?

The spread of English is subject to much scrutiny by educational language planners and sociolinguists. Many critics and proponents of English engage in two competing language policy paradigms that place English in a wider economic and social context—what Phillipson (1992) calls the Diffusion of English paradigm and the Ecology of Languages paradigm. In particular, there is a heated debate on whether English is a 'killer' language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), displacing a number of regional or minority languages worldwide, or a 'benign' language, necessary for functional purposes in the current global linguistic scenario. According to Fishman (1977), today's phenomenon of the rapid replacement of other languages by English in specific domains, particularly higher education and employment, is threatening to other, and especially regional, languages.

According to Tasui (2004), the spread of English is viewed by sociolinguists through the two paradigms. The 'national-functional paradigm' is the one in which the spread of English and its continued domination are driven by decisions made by the non-English-speaking world for its own benefit and by pragmatic needs. The proponents of this paradigm are Fishman, Conrad, and Rubal-Lopez (as in the 1996 work that they edited together). The other is the 'international-critical paradigm,' as seen in the works of Phillipson (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), and Pennycook (1998), in which the dominance of English is criticized for obscuring an exploitative potential under the guise of the language being neutral and beneficial (Pennycook, 1994).

Various studies show that English is linked to region, social class, age, gender, and ethnicity. The issue of the extent to which English acts as a 'gatekeeper' to prestige and status in society has also been explored by Pennycook (1994). He argues that English occupying such a powerful position in many of the educational

institutions of the world has, in many ways, become one of the more powerful means of inclusion or exclusion from higher education and white-collar jobs, as well as social status. A similar view is held by Tollefson (1991), who studied the relationship of English-language education to social prestige and wealth in the Philippines. The 1981 Debi Pattanayak study of India and the 1995 Tariq Rahman study of Pakistan also emphasize the role of English as a barrier to the masses' access to positions of power. The quality of tertiary English-medium education in the humanities in India has been criticized (Kachru, 1975; Pattanayak, 1981) for thwarting the efforts to promote Hindi or state languages. The hegemony of English, particularly in science and technology, has been discussed by Kaplan (1993), who attributes it to economic and not military expansion, in which certain domains and registers have come to dominate. He also points out that the hegemony of English results not only from the storage of most of the educational material in the world's great information and retrieval systems being in English, but also from the access dictionaries being based in English. This means that, for access to scientific and technical literature, it is necessary to understand English, so that English has become the most powerful language in human history.

Human rights activists such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argue that every child has the right to value his or her mother tongue and that opportunities should be provided by the state for children to access schooling in their mother tongue. Further, it is argued that language is central to the cultural and ethnic identity of most groups (Fishman, 1989) and is, therefore, an important tool for counter-hegemonies and for seeking self-determination at various levels: psychologically, educationally, and politically.

Education in English is also seen as second-rate education for the majority of students who lack proficiency in English. Most learners have only brief educational contact with English, which is insufficient to produce lasting literacy or fluency. Thus, in a society where proficiency in English is rewarded—such as ESL (English as a Second Language) countries, particularly the former British colonies—the majority of students remain victims of the

poverty trap. It is also argued that students learn better and achieve higher levels of success in schools that use their local languages, and that they participate more effectively in their community or local government and are better-informed citizens, as they have a greater understanding of their history and culture.

A major factor that has accelerated the spread of English at a global level is the positive attitudes and high motivation to learn English among students, irrespective of their regional and socio-economic backgrounds. Students see English as a passport to success and a route to economic empowerment. At a national level, policy planners view English as the international business lingua franca and a currency for economic development. This is particularly true for heavily populated countries such as China and India, where the wealth of the nation is a skilled workforce that possesses both technical and language skills to service world industry. Rahman (2006), while discussing the Urdu-English-medium divide in Pakistan, calls the private English-medium schools 'elitist' because only a small number of students can access them owing to their high fees. However, due to the desire for the study of English among the large majority of students and their parents in the public sector, Urdu-medium schools, he argues that "all the arguments that applied earlier to a small Anglicized elite of the early generation of Pakistan now apply to these young aspirants who stand ready to enter the ranks of this elite. Their parents, themselves not at ease in English, have invested far too much in their children's education to seriously consider decreasing the cultural capital of English." The 2005 nationwide study by Mansoor (2005) of Pakistani students' linguistic attitudes in higher education reveals highly positive attitudes towards and motivation for studying in English among students in both the public and private sectors. All stakeholders, including students, parents, teachers, administrators, and policy planners, agree that the most suitable language for higher education is English. Despite constitutional provisions and various educational policies, as well as institutional support to promote Urdu, the national language, for educational purposes, materials in Urdu for higher education remain insufficient.

Recent studies have highlighted the role of English as an international language, with its various national and local varieties (Mansoor, 2005). The demand for English by students, as observed by these researchers, is mainly for instrumental reasons, and the studies underline the need to devise a language policy in education where English as a second or foreign language is added to the verbal repertoire of the speakers, thus making them additive rather than subtractive bilinguals and ensuring that "globalization be made more accountable and locally relevant."

Most countries are multilingual, and consequently, there are more bilingual speakers than monolingual speakers worldwide. Coulmas (1997) points to the multiple advantages of bilingualism and multilingualism for language majorities and minorities, as well as for cognitive, social, and psychological reasons. Studies have shown that bilingual students accrue more cognitive advantages and display more mental flexibility than monolingual speakers (Hudson, 1980). To accrue the advantages of bilingual education, Cummins (1981, 1984) recommends that children cross two thresholds in succession so that there are no negative consequences. If children reach only the threshold level of proficiency in either of the two languages, that low level of proficiency will result in poor interaction with the environment and hinder intellectual growth. If, by contrast, the children achieve a high level of proficiency in one (L1) and the second (L2) of the two languages, that will have a positive influence on their mental development. Cummins suggests that there is a close link between proficiency in L1 and L2 for the development of the literacy-related aspects of language use known as the "common underlying proficiency," which enables the transfer of sub-skills in one language to another language, provided that there is adequate instruction in L1 and sufficient exposure to L2 in the school.

The challenge for educational planners, therefore, is to devise language programs that promote literacy in the mother tongue, followed by the learning of a second language, such as English, so that the speakers accrue cognitive and social, as well as economic, advantages. The Hornberger (1991) 'enrichment

model for bilingual education' is strongly recommended so that the second language—in this case, English—can be learned without a 'language shift' among the students.

International education and English

A major factor in the spread of English identified by linguists such as Graddol (1997) is the globalization of higher education, which has led education to move from a national or local context to an international one. Although the internationalization of education is not the same as the globalization of education, globalization is nevertheless having an impact on internationalization and changing the world of education. Globalization has had a profound impact on all aspects of society: political, socio-economic, and cultural. Although there are a number of interpretations of globalization, there is general agreement that globalization is affected by two inseparable tools: technology and English. Proficiency with these tools is generally referred to as global literacy skills (Tasui & Tollefson, 2007).

There is difficulty in trying to define 'international education,' as its definitions vary depending on the context in which it is being used. There are a few definitions, however, that are mainly used with regard to students. The first refers to education that transcends national borders through the exchange of students, as in study abroad. The second refers to international education as a comprehensive approach to education and is offered under a branch of social sciences called global studies, which emphasizes linkages and systems and prepares students to be active and engaged participants in this interconnected world. Another commonly used definition of international education focuses on the process of integrating an international global dimension into the goals, functions, and delivery of higher education. In this essay, however, the focus is on the first definition, which is university education at a global or international level; cross-border education in which students may have to travel abroad, such as to Cambridge or Oxford universities in the UK, for higher studies; where the learners are studying in an institution through an external degree program; or

accessing higher education through distance learning in a country different from the one in which the awarding institution is based and for which no mobility may be required. A certain level of proficiency in English is a basic requirement for accessing international educational programs. Hence, students worldwide need to take international tests in English, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), for entry into universities in the US and UK.

It has been estimated that around two-thirds of the world's top universities are in English-speaking countries like the US, the UK, and Australia, where the medium of instruction is English (Tables 2 and 3). It is not surprising, therefore, that the best brains from all over the world converge on these countries to seek knowledge for which a basic prerequisite is fluency in English, especially in reading and writing, as well as in understanding lectures in English.

Table 2: Shanghai Jiao Tong university rankings, 2007

Rank	Institution	Country
1	Harvard University	USA
2	Stanford University	USA
3	University of California, Berkeley	USA
4	University of Cambridge	UK
5	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	USA
6	California Institute of Technology	USA
7	Columbia University	USA
8	Princeton University	USA
9	University of Chicago	USA
10	University of Oxford	UK
11	Yale University	USA
12	Cornell University	USA
13	University of California, Los Angeles	USA
14	University of California, San Diego	USA
15	Pennsylvania University	USA
16	University of Washington, Seattle	USA
17	University of Wisconsin, Madison	USA
18	University of California, San Francisco	USA
19	Johns Hopkins University	USA
20	University of Tokyo	Japan

Table 3: Quacquarelli Symonds Survey for the Times Higher Education Supplement rankings, 2007

Rank	Institution	Country
1	Harvard University	USA
2 =	University of Oxford	UK
2 =	University of Cambridge	UK
2 =	Yale University	USA
5	Imperial College London	UK
6	Princeton University	USA
7 =	California Institute of Technology	USA
7 =	University of Chicago	USA
9	University College London	UK
10	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	USA
11	Columbia University	USA
12	McGill University	Canada
13	Duke University	USA
14	University of Pennsylvania	USA
15	Johns Hopkins University	USA
16	Australian National University	Australia
17	University of Tokyo	Japan
18	University of Hong Kong	China
19	Stanford University	USA
20	Cornell University	USA

English in international education and students' language needs: Case studies

The place of English in international education, particularly higher education, needs to be examined in light of its dominant role in education. There is also the students' need for English, which may vary between ESL countries that were former British colonies and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries that have long resisted foreign influence.

A look at the language situation in Asia reveals that the speakers of English in Asian countries, particularly former British colonies such as India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (de facto, also Nepal and the former US territory of the Philippines), outnumber by far the native speakers of English. It is interesting and useful to

study the impact of globalization on their language policies in the context of students' language needs.

Many Asian countries are multilingual and multi-ethnic. According to Tasui (2004), "the issue of communication of ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous nations is yet another powerful shaping force." The former British colonies show a great deal of similarity, and English as a medium of higher education and as a language of study is most symbolic of colonization. The exclusive group who studied in English-medium education joined the elites with access to power, wealth, and status, becoming the auxiliaries of the colonizers and brokers between the colonizers and the colonized. Whereas formal basic education was provided in indigenous languages, tertiary education was mainly in the colonial language, thus ensuring the linguistic assimilation of the local elites.

After independence, English continued to play a dominant role in these countries. In many post-colonial countries in Asia, English was selected as one of the official languages, thus giving it a high status and a vital role in official domains as well as in the educational context. Fluency in English is seen as a symbol of high social status. A critical look at the position that English enjoys shows that in India, where more than a dozen state languages are official languages at the state level, in addition to Hindi, English continues to play a vital role in all official spheres and is used in the media, as well as being the only language taught as a subject in all the states. In Singapore, although Malay was chosen as the national language, and English, Chinese, Tamil, and Malay were all declared official languages, English has assumed a dominant role. To a great extent, English has replaced Malay as the national language. In Pakistan, too, although Urdu is the national language, English remains, for all purposes, the second official language, even after 60 years of independence. In many Asian countries, such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, efforts were made after independence to oust English and replace it with the national language for educational use to provide support to local educational systems. However, these policies had to be reversed, owing to demand by

stakeholders, particularly the students and their parents, for English and international education.

There are a number of reasons for the continued domination of English in the former British colonies. First and foremost are the social and economic advantages accrued by speakers of English, resulting in positive attitudes and high motivation to learn English. Secondly, studies have revealed that there has not been sufficient development of educational materials in the national languages, particularly for higher education, despite state and institutional support. Moreover, in some countries, like Pakistan, the local languages that are the mother tongue of most speakers have been neglected; only lip service was paid to them. Another reason cited by students in these countries is that quality education is available mainly in private schools, where the medium of study is English, whereas state-supported schools in the public sector, which use the local languages, are generally stigmatized for the low learning outcomes and educational achievement of their students. Students who can afford international education in their own countries opt for schools where courses are examined by reputable universities abroad, such as the 'O' and 'A' levels offered by the University of London or the Senior or Higher Senior Cambridge courses offered by the University of Cambridge, both in the UK.

Apart from Asian countries, there are former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, where the colonial languages—English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese—continue to be the official languages even after independence, being used as the medium of instruction, although they are spoken by a very small percentage of the population in those countries (Alidouh, 2004). In post-apartheid South Africa, although 11 languages were selected as official languages, English is used mainly for the media and education and remains the official language (Tasui, 2004). In Mauritius as well, English plays a key role in the educational system, both as a subject and as a medium of instruction (Mahadeo, 2006).

Back in Asia, English assumed a dominant role in countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong (another former British

colony, now a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China) for political reasons. In Singapore, the decision to replace the Chinese medium of instruction with English was, again, a deliberate move to sever the strong emotional ties of the Chinese ethnic community, which made up 70% of the population, with their counterparts in the People's Republic of China. In Hong Kong, there are two systems. The first is mother-tongue education, which is mandatory for the masses; the other is English-medium education for the children of the privileged. Mother-tongue education has received only lip service, and the top officials and business executives, who were themselves educated in English, pay more attention to standards of English. Moreover, students who are fluent in English are selected for the best jobs, thus pressuring parents to send their children to the best English-medium schools.

The needs for English vary for students in these EFL countries that were not as subject to foreign influence and have traditionally functioned in their national languages, such as Japan, China, and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). However, owing to the rapid spread of English and the national need for international trade, these countries have introduced English into their educational systems as well. According to Tasui (2004), since the late 1980s, Japan has introduced foreign languages into its school curriculum, with the maximum resources being utilized for the teaching of English. In 1997, English was introduced at the primary level as part of the curriculum. Gradually, because of the demands of employers, particularly in business and trade, the popularity of English has increased, and the cultivation of 'Japanese with English abilities' became part of the Basic Policies for Economic and Fiscal Management and Structural Reforms in 2002. In the early 1990s, flocks of Japanese students were seen attending summer schools to learn English at universities in the UK and US. Soon afterward, 100 super-English-language high schools using English as the medium of instruction were set up in Japan, and today, TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) has become a major private industry in Japan (Tanabe, 2003).

In the People's Republic of China, English, once condemned as the language of imperialism, is now being supported by the state, and efforts are being made to enhance the English curriculum. The College English Test is currently taken by 8 million Chinese students each year and is now a prerequisite demanded by employers. According to Wu (2001), "the importance of English cannot be overemphasized at all levels." Millions of EFL learners take regular English courses at all levels of schooling and university education. The importance of English also grew in South Korea during the 1970s and 1980s, and today, the country is a major trading partner of the US.

English is one of the major languages of the European Union. Many universities in Europe, such as those in Germany, France, and Sweden, which earlier offered English as a subject, are gradually offering subjects in the English medium to attract more international students who are fluent in English but lack proficiency in French or German. In fact, foreign languages other than English are gradually losing popularity outside Europe, and in many international universities, the foreign language departments are being closed because of a shortage of students and, thereby, a lack of funds. This is mainly due to the increasing demand by students worldwide for English for instrumental reasons. In Poland, for instance, after the Second World War, the government pursued a policy of reduced access to English and closed all but two university departments, which had only 150 students (Fsiask, 1985). The position of English changed with the installation of a more liberal communist government, and in the early 1960s, English was introduced as a compulsory subject in all schools (Reichelt, 2005). Strong official support is reported for ELT, with great demand for English courses because of the need for English in trade, tourism, science, and technology (British Council, 1975).

The dominant role of English has led to the formation of various English-language organizations, not only in the USA or UK, such as TESOL-USA (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language), but also in ESL and EFL countries. Since the early 2000s, a powerful organization

with 10,000 English teachers in higher education called ASIA TEFL has been established with representatives from each country. The aim of ASIA TEFL is to promote effective and efficient methods for teaching English, and this agenda is achieved through an annual conference hosted by a country in the region, the proceedings of which are published in a journal edited by Prof. Bernard Spolsky.

All these developments regarding English-language teaching indicate that the English language is flourishing and is playing a vital role in all spheres of education, especially higher education. Despite the changes predicted, with the rise of other languages in the future, the supremacy of English is expected to remain unmatched at least for the next 50 years. English, as the language for international education, will require a great deal of attention from educational and language planners. It would be prudent, therefore, for countries to engage in language planning in education by carving out a suitable role for English for international education and global employment reasons, the national language for integrative reasons (national identity and integration, for example), and the local languages, which are the mother tongues of the speakers, for literacy and psychological reasons (self-identity or group solidarity). This planning would need to keep in view that English programs are not restricted to the elites so that the bulk of the student population could access them on an equitable basis. The bilingual education programs should be designed to help promote cultural pluralism and not assimilation. Moreover, the local languages would need to be strengthened, particularly in the development of educational materials, so that they could be part of the school curriculum and result in additive and not subtractive bilingualism.

International demand for English courses

Prospective graduates who are non-native speakers of English need to have multilingual talents and sufficient proficiency in English to perform well in the academic programs offered by international universities. This proficiency would provide a competitive advantage in global employment.

Consequently, the need for English among emerging graduates in international education has led to a significant demand for English courses, both in their home countries and the international education institutions where they study. A major requirement of this worldwide demand for English courses is that the ELT programs are effective and efficient. Studies reveal that, at present, there are low standards and mass failures in English, leading to a decline in the standards of education, especially in higher education (Mansoor, 2005). Moreover, there is a lack of English-language support programs in the institutions offering international education, resulting in failures and dropouts among students.

This revamping of English programs and courses would involve multi-pronged efforts in all aspects of ELT, such as curriculum and materials, teaching approaches and methodology, as well as assessments. In many countries, the English-language curricula are still outdated and literature-oriented, thus drawing attention to the dire need to design English-language courses and materials that are functional in nature and focus on English for academic purposes, as well as for communicative purposes. It would also be necessary for teaching materials in English to be developed locally, keeping in view the local cultural context of the students, as well as the target culture. The value placed on the ability to use English for functional purposes has created a huge market for teachers of English who are home-grown, non-native speakers of English, and a critical factor for success will be well-designed teacher-education programs.

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Language Sciences and the Developing World

The following essay is the introduction to a compendium of articles (almost exclusively) presented at a conference held at the Lahore College for Women University in 2013.

A. Mahboob & S. Mansoor. (2016). Editor's introduction. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, 4(1), 1–3.

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This special issue of *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* includes selected papers presented at the conference on Language Sciences and the Developing World, held at Lahore College for Women University, Pakistan, on 12–13 January 2013, in collaboration with the Free Linguistics Conference. The purpose of this conference was to explore how language sciences relate to the developing world. It brought together local and international scholars who discussed how understandings of language are relevant to a diverse set of policies and practices in the developing world—including but not limited to education). The papers included in this volume (with one exception) are a selection from this conference and reflect a range of voices and perspectives. While the contributions focus on different issues and/or regions of the world, they all share a common purpose: to expound on how language sciences relate to a range of human activities and how they are relevant to the needs of the developing world.

The failure of language sciences to address the needs of the developing world has been tied to the limitations of the work in linguistics. For example, Jernudd (1981, p. 43) noted that mainstream linguistics does not serve the needs of the developing world and stated:

> The adoption of linguistics at institutions of higher learning in its present international disciplinary form, and in its expression through the medium of English

> (because English is a major foreign or second language in much of the world and the by far dominant language for the discipline of linguistics), can be contrary to the public good in less developed countries (LDCs) and emerging speech communities.

Jernudd argued that the kind of descriptive and theoretical linguistics that has become the mainstay of dominant linguistics focuses on "formal properties of languages" (p. 44) and has little relevance or use to the needs of the developing world.

One solution to this problem is to develop a linguistics that is application-oriented. A call for such application-oriented linguistics has been made several times over the last couple of decades. For example, Brumit (1995) stresses that language specialists need to be interested in responding to "real-world problem[s] in which language is a central issue." Similarly, Mahboob and Knight (2010), in their volume, Appliable Linguistics, draw on Halliday (1985) and define appliable linguistics as an approach to linguistics that

> takes everyday real-life language-related problems—both theoretical and practical—in diverse social, professional, and academic contexts as a starting point and then develops and contributes to a theoretical model of language that can respond to and is appliable in the context (p. 1).

However, in spite of these calls, and in spite of new approaches and research in language sciences, most language research emerging from the developing world does not take an 'appliable' orientation. Instead, it either focuses on issues of (English) language teaching/learning or reports on descriptive work framed in Western theories of (formal) linguistics.

The 2013 conference and this special issue of the journal once again highlight the importance of language sciences for the developing world. In order to do so, the volume opens with 'the Lahore Declaration on Language Sciences and the Developing World.' This document, drafted by Ruanni Tupas and Ahmar Mahboob and signed by 23 language experts from around the

world, identifies some of the key issues that language sciences can help address in the context of the developing world and outlines a number of steps and policies that can help in establishing programs that can generate 'appliable linguistics' research.

The volume then includes seven full-length articles, which exemplify some of the ways—this selection is by no means comprehensive—in which research on language sciences can contribute to projects of national development. Ikuko Nakane's paper looks at how speakers of minority languages may be disadvantaged in legal contexts and how applied linguists can support them. Phyllis Chew's contribution discusses how language policy can help in national development but may also impact local languages and communities negatively. Maya David and Syed Manan analyze how communities adopt and resist particular language policies by examining linguistic landscapes. Ruanni Tupas points out how essentialist ways of defining languages may lead to developing policies that run counter to national interests and national development. Brian Morgan's paper stresses the need to develop local epistemological frames of reference that respond to local needs and issues. Hema-mala Ratwatte discusses issues of language standardization and nativization and their implications for education and national development. Finally, Caroline Lipovsky (in the only paper included here that was not presented at the 2013 conference) examines how language can be used effectively in creating fundraising drives by non-government organizations. Together, these seven papers and the Lahore Declaration raise questions about the nature of language, the use of languages, and the policies that attempt to regulate languages. It is our hope that this special issue will contribute to debates about the role of language sciences in the developing world and lead to projects that take an 'appliable' orientation.

Finally, before we conclude this introduction, we would like to thank all the presenters, participants, organizers, and volunteers at the 2013 conference; the contributors to this volume; the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan for providing funding for the conference; and the Lahore College for Women University for hosting the conference.

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Chapter 2
Sociolinguistics

A Comparative Study of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking Students as Additive and Subtractive Bilinguals

S. Mansoor. (1993). A comparative study of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students as additive and subtractive bilinguals. *Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 11.

Sabiha Mansoor

Introduction

Language attitudes reflect the history and current position of different linguistic groups within a society. To have any real understanding of specific language problems, we need to study attitudes toward different languages spoken and used for informal and formal purposes. Apart from other factors, the knowledge of attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a language policy as well as its success in implementation. The study of language attitudes in Pakistan is of evident interest. Since no documented or published research is available, the present study may be considered a pioneering effort in this field.

Given the complexity of attitudes, the present study considers two main types of attitudes: attitudes toward learning a language and attitudes toward languages and language groups. The former is seen to be more educationally relevant, and the latter more socially relevant.

Spolsky (1969) argues that one of the most important attitudinal factors is the attitude of the learner toward the language and its speakers. Research also suggests that attitudes toward the other community tend to be independent of intelligence and language aptitude (Gardner & Lambert, 1959; 1972; Gardner & Smythe, 1975).

From our knowledge of attitudes, a basic hypothesis can be formed. Gardner (1982) suggests that if we know a person's

attitude toward the target language community, i.e., what he/she thinks and feels about them, then we have a better chance of being able to predict the way he/she will behave toward them. This hypothesis has been the basis underlying most of the research conducted into the relationship between attitudes and second language acquisition, e.g., Gardner & Lambert (1959; 1972); Gardner & Smythe (1976); Lukmani (1972); Oller et al. (1977); Grosjean (1982).

The model is based on a theory of bilingual development and self-identity modification. The theory suggests that linguistic distinctiveness is a basic component of personal identity (Lambert 1974). This means that the development of second language proficiency has implications for the learners' self-identity and vice versa. Changes in self-identity may lead to either additive or subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism is seen as an enriching experience where the individual learns the second language without suffering any loss to the first language. Lambert (1974) associates it with members of a linguistically dominant group learning another language. In such cases, changes in self-identity are likely to reflect positively on the group. However, this is not likely to be the case when subtractive bilingualism is involved. The construct of subtractive bilingualism is regarded as a weakening experience involving a threat to the importance of the first language and produces a feeling of loss of cultural identity. This may occur when the second language is required as a means of helping to promote cultural assimilation and is often linked, as Lambert (1974) asserts, with members of ethnic minority groups who are encouraged to learn the national language of the country in which they live.

The Punjabi language is depressed. Though Punjabis form a majority of the population, numerical strength does not establish their language as a majority language, as they are linguistically and culturally dominated by Urdu- and English-speaking communities. As an ethnic group forced to learn the dominant languages, Urdu and English, for their social and economic survival, Punjabi students are in a potentially 'subtractive'

bilingual situation where learning or acquiring the second language(s) Urdu or English, or both, means a devaluation in the importance of their mother tongue, Punjabi. Less use of Punjabi (mother tongue) could gradually lead to a 'language shift.' On the other hand, the Urdu-speaking students, being a 'dominant' language group, may find no incentive or need to learn Punjabi as an additional language. Again, learning English as a second language for higher education and better jobs would result in little or no loss to their mother tongue (Urdu), being in a potentially additive bilingual situation. In fact, the high 'prestige' and 'status' accorded to Urdu would accelerate the process of language spread.

Aims of the study

The present study is designed to explore students' attitudes (Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking) towards the three languages, Punjabi, Urdu, and English, as well as the language communities, i.e., Punjabi-, Urdu-, and English-speaking communities. This will be measured by direct and indirect questionnaires (identity scales) in an attempt to determine their language background, cultural perceptions, and leanings. The self-concept and ideal self-concept of students are also tested in order to determine their perceptions of self and ethnic identity.

This paper aims to:

- Study whether students downgrade the speakers of their own ethnic language, as measured by indirect and direct measures, including interviews.
- Study students' attitudes toward the three languages (Punjabi, Urdu, English) and their role in education, as measured by direct questionnaires and interviews.
- Study the first language of students using the direct questionnaire.
- Study the proficiency of the students in their mother tongue and second languages using the direct questionnaire.

- Study the extent and frequency of language use among students in different domains, i.e., formal and informal, using the direct questionnaire.
- Make a comparative study of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students as subtractive and additive bilinguals by comparing their attitudes toward their mother tongue and second languages, along with proficiency and usage, using both direct and indirect measures.

Methodology and background

The subjects of the study were 204 boys and girls in grade 12, i.e., at the end of high school, belonging to five colleges in Lahore.[1] Based on the background section of the direct questionnaire, the students were grouped according to the language community to which they belong:[2] Group 1: 154 Punjabi students, Group 2: 50 Urdu-speaking students.

Three measures were constructed for the study. In order of presentation, they were indirect questionnaires, direct questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews.

Indirect questionnaire

The indirect questionnaire consisted of five identity scales, namely ratings for i) self-concept (SELF), ii) ideal self-concept (IDEAL), iii) the Punjabi-speaking community, iv) the Urdu-

[1] Government College Lahore, Kinnaird College, Lahore College for Women, Queen Mary College, and Forman Christian College.

[2] Subjects were asked to select the appropriate answer to the following question, i.e., question 2 of the direct questionnaire, 'Which language community do you belong to?' The options were Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, Pathan, Urdu, and 'any other'. We accept Hymes' proposal that it is the social group rather than the language that is taken as the starting point. Hudson's (1980) comment that it is possible for speech communities to exist only as prototypes in the minds of people is noted. Le Page et al. (1974) approach the topic by avoiding the term 'speech community' altogether, based on the notion of language groups that individuals perceive to exist.

speaking community, and v) the English-speaking community.[3] Each part had the same set of 17 traits on a semantic differential scale (Osgood et al., 1957). The traits were the same as those used by Lukmani (1972) in her study of Marathi students, as they were found relevant to our subjects as a desirable reference group image and for assessing the level of self-satisfaction. Subjects were asked to mark the bi-polar traits on a five-point scale. To protect against order effects, the traits were randomly ordered on the page, and negative and positive traits were also counterbalanced in the two columns.

Direct questionnaire

The direct questionnaire was designed to elicit four different kinds of information from the students: a) background information, including variables like age, sex, domicile, language community they belonged to, father's profession, and family income; b) language background information on the students' first language,[4] other languages known, proficiency in languages, and medium of instruction in schools; c) languages used, including functions and domains; and d) language preference for education as a compulsory subject and medium of instruction. This section included open-ended questions in order to provide soft data on the issues involved.

Semi-structured interviews

This measure consisted of a number of prepared questions on the mother tongue issue, language proficiency and usage, and overall desirability of languages for education. It consisted of three parts: Punjabi, Urdu, and English. Some of the interview questions in the Punjabi section were adapted from Romaine's (1989) questionnaire on the Punjabi/English bilingual community in Britain. The questions were open-ended in order to give a 'soft' and 'qualitative' dimension to the study. Only 20

[3] The English-speaking community refers not to English people but to English-speaking Pakistanis, as explained to the subjects by the researcher.
[4] The first language acquired, which may or may not be the same as the mother tongue or community language.

Punjabi students and five Urdu-speaking students were interviewed. The interviews were conducted by the researcher and taped in an informal atmosphere.

Procedure

The questionnaire was personally supervised by the researcher through the heads of the English departments of different colleges. Necessary instructions were given, and students were promised confidentiality (i.e., names would not be disclosed). All measures were bilingual, i.e., in English and Urdu. The three measures were administered on the same day at a college.

Results

Cultural leanings

As seen in Table 1, the Punjabi students rated their self lowest (3.77), further away from their ideal self (4.55), and rated the Punjabi-speaking community lowest (3.63) among the three language communities, compared to the Urdu-speaking community (3.89) and the English-speaking community (4.15).

Table 1: A comparative study of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students on total mean ratings for groups

Groups	N	Self	Ideal	Punjabi	Urdu	English
Punjabi students	154	3.77	4.55	3.63	3.89	4.15
Urdu-speaking students	50	4.07	4.58	3.52	4.13	4.07

Responses are on a five-point scale.

The Urdu-speaking students, on the other hand, rated their self high (4.07), close to their ideal self (4.58), and rated the Urdu-speaking community the highest (4.13) among the three language communities—the Punjabi-speaking community was rated 3.52 and the English-speaking community 4.07.

Language background: Competence and usage

As seen in Table 2, half of the Punjabi students (56%) have a first language that is not Punjabi. Additionally, 44% are not fluent in Punjabi. Only half of the Punjabi students (54%) use Punjabi with their family, and a quarter use it with their friends and neighbors (26%). It is hardly used in formal spheres, such as offices and banks (17%), and almost never with teachers (2%).

On the other hand, the first language of almost all the Urdu-speaking students (92%) is Urdu, and 94% are fluent in it. The Urdu-speaking students always use Urdu in both formal and informal spheres. In the informal domain, they use Urdu (94%) with family and (90.5%) with friends and neighbors, and in formal domains, such as offices and banks (96%) and with teachers (90%). When the results were examined statistically, it was observed at the 0.05 level of significance that there is a significant difference between the proportion of Punjabi students and Urdu-speaking students whose first language is the same as their community language. It is also noted at the 0.05 level of significance that there is a significant difference in the proportion of Punjabi students and Urdu-speaking students regarding their fluency in their mother tongue, as well as their formal and informal use of their community language. Furthermore, at the 0.05 level of significance, there is a significant difference between the proportions of Punjabi students and Urdu-speaking students who want their community language to be the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject.

Table 2: A comparative study of subtractive bilinguals (Punjabi students) and additive bilinguals (Urdu speaking students) in competence and usage of mother tongue (%)

		Always or frequently used						Preference for education in mother tongue		
				Formal domain		Informal domain				
Groups	**N**	**First language**	**Fluency in mother tongue**	**Teachers**	**Offices and banks**	**Family**	**Friends, neighbors, shopping**	**Like to study**	**Want as medium of instruction**	**Want as compulsory subject**
Punjabi students	154	45.45	56.48	2.60	16.88	53.90	26.62	40.73	10.05	3.45
Urdu speaking students	50	92.00	94.00	90.00	96.00	94.00	90.50	94.00	66.50	86.00
		Z = - 5.7744 Reject H0	Z = - 4.8552 Reject H0	Z = -11.1465 Reject H0		Z = -6.3998 Reject H0		-	Z = -8.1333 Reject H0	Z = -11.9299 Reject H0

In the results displayed in Table 3, it is seen that in the use of the second language(s), Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students display a similar trend. The first language[5] of half the Punjabi students (50%) is Urdu, and three-fourths of the students (74%) are fluent in it. They also make maximum use of Urdu in formal spheres, such as offices and banks (86%) and with teachers (95%), and in informal spheres, with family (75%) and with friends and neighbors, etc. (87%). As for English (Table 4), although it is the first language of only 2.5% of Punjabi students, about 20% of them are fluent in it. A large number of students use English in offices and banks (36%) and mostly with teachers (58%). A quarter of the Punjabi students use it in informal domains as well, i.e., with family (25%) and with friends and neighbors (22%).

On the other hand, limited use is made of the second language, Punjabi, by the Urdu-speaking students (Table 3). Though it is the first language of some Urdu-speaking students (8%) and 18% are either fluent in it or know it quite well, they make no use of it in the formal domain, i.e., offices and banks, and almost never with teachers (2%). Even in the informal sphere, only a few Urdu-speaking students use it with their families (18%) and with friends and neighbors (8%). When the results were analyzed statistically at the 0.05 level of significance, there is a significant difference between the proportions of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students whose second language (Urdu in the case of Punjabi students and Punjabi in the case of Urdu-speaking students) is the same as their first language. At the 0.05 level of significance, there is a significant difference between the proportions of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students who are fluent in their second language (Punjabi/Urdu), as well as in the formal and informal use of the second language. At the five percent level of significance, there is also a significant difference between the proportions of

[5] As Spolsky (1986) points out, languages spread, and when they do so, not as an additional language like English among Urdu-speaking students, but as a new mother tongue (Urdu) in the case of Punjabi students, language spread becomes a case of language shift.

Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students who want to study their second language (Urdu/Punjabi) as a medium of instruction and as a compulsory subject.

In the case of English, however, the Urdu-speaking students display a different trend (Table 4). English is not the first language of any Urdu-speaking student, but a quarter of them, i.e., 26%, are fluent in it. About half the students use English in both formal and informal spheres. In the informal domain, English is used with family (44%), with friends and neighbors (35%), and in the formal domain with teachers (56%) and in offices and banks (44%). In the case of English as a second language, at the 0.05 level of significance, there is no significant difference between the proportion of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students whose first language is English and in their fluency in the second language, English. Also, at the 0.05 level of significance, there is no significant difference between the proportion of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students in the formal use of the second language, English. However, a significant difference is seen in the proportion of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students in the informal use of second language English.

Language preference

As seen in the results displayed in Table 3, more than half of the Punjabi students (60%) do not want to study Punjabi. Only ten percent want it as a medium of instruction, and only three percent as a compulsory subject. On the other hand, almost all the Punjabi students want to study in second language(s). They want to study Urdu (93%), want it as a medium of instruction (62%), and want it as a compulsory subject (84%). In the case of English (Table 4), the response is even stronger. Almost all Punjabi students (98%) want to study English, want it as a medium of instruction (81%), and want it as compulsory (89%).

Table 3: A comparative study of subtractive bilinguals (Punjabi students) and additive bilinguals (Urdu-speaking students) in competence and usage of second language(s) – Urdu/Punjabi

			Always or frequently used						Preference for education in Urdu/Punjabi		
					Formal domain		Informal domain				
Group	**N**	**Second language**	**As first language**	**Fluency in second language**	**Family**	**Friends, neighbors, shopping**	**Teachers**	**Offices, banks**	**Like to study**	**Want as medium of instruction**	**Want as compulsory subject**
Punjabi	154	Urdu	49.35	74.02	75.31	87.49	95.45	86.36	93.03	62.33	84.10
Urdu-speaking	50	Punjabi	8.00	18.00	18.00	8.62	2.00	0.00	16.00	10.00	-
			Z = -5.2032 Reject H0	Z = 7.0340 Reject H0	Z = 11.8216 Reject H0		Z = 8.7539 Reject H0			Z = 6.4303 Reject H0	Z = 10.7317 Reject H0

Table 4: A comparative study of subtractive bilinguals (Punjabi students) and additive bilinguals (Urdu-speaking students) in competence and usage of second language(s) - English

			Always or frequently used						Preference for education in English		
Group	**N**	**Second language**	**As first language**	**Fluency in second language**	**Informal domain**		**Formal domain**		**Like to study**	**Want as medium of instruction**	**Want as compulsory subject**
					Family	**Friends, neighbors, shopping**	**Teachers**	**Offices, banks**			
Punjabi	154	English	2.51	19.39	25.33	22.05	57.79	36.36	98.45	81.17	89.61
Urdu-speaking	50	English	-	26.00	44.00	35.50	56.00	44.00	96.00	80.50	95.50
			Z = 1.1324 Accept H0	Z = -0.9969 Accept H0	Z = -2.2065 Reject H0		Z = -0.3598 Accept H0			Z = 0.1049 Accept H0	Z = 1.2676 Accept H0

The Urdu-speaking students, on the other hand, show a strong preference to study in their mother tongue (94%), as a compulsory subject (86%), and as a medium of instruction (66.5%). They show little preference to study in Punjabi. Only a small number (16%) want to study Punjabi, and no student wants it as a compulsory subject (Table 3). However, regarding English, the Urdu-speaking students display very positive attitudes (Table 4). Almost all the students want to study English (96%), both as a compulsory subject (95.5%) and as a medium of instruction (80.5%). When the results were analyzed statistically, it is seen that at the five percent level of significance, there is no significant difference between the proportion of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students who want to study second language English, want it as a medium of instruction, and want it as a compulsory subject.

Discussion

In our study, the Urdu-speaking and Punjabi students are seen as additive and subtractive bilinguals. The Urdu-speaking students are clearly additive since their mother tongue, Urdu, a highly valorized language, is given a great boost in the country for purposes of national integration. Learning a second language (English), another highly valued language, poses no threat to their first language or language community. In our study, highly positive attitudes were displayed by Urdu-speaking students towards their mother tongue and a high image of self and community. The first language of almost all Urdu-speaking students (92%) is Urdu, which is dominantly used for all purposes, informal and formal. Also, since Urdu is a compulsory subject and a medium of instruction in most schools, the cognitive skills are highly developed in L1 (Urdu) before moving to L2 (English). Even among English-medium Urdu-speaking students, Urdu remains the first language of all students and is used dominantly along with English in all spheres, including the formal sphere.

On the other hand, the Punjabi students display a leaning towards subtractive bilingualism on the additive-subtractive continuum. In learning a highly valorized second language

(Urdu), the mother tongue or first language (Punjabi), a devalorized language, is weakened. In many cases (50%), Urdu has replaced Punjabi as the first language, and even where Punjabi is the first language, dominant use is made of Urdu not only in formal but also in informal spheres. In the case of English-medium students and Punjabi girls, this phenomenon is more accentuated. Urdu is the first language of 68% of English-medium students and 57% of Punjabi girls and is used dominantly along with English in all spheres. The Punjabi students display negative attitudes towards their mother tongue (Punjabi) and a low image of self and language community. They also show little or no preference to study in their mother tongue, Punjabi, as a subject or medium of instruction. Additionally, since Punjabi is not a medium of instruction or a compulsory subject in schools, except in some cases at the primary level, the cognitive skills are not highly developed in the first language, leading to subtractive bilingualism. However, due to soft boundaries between Punjabi and Urdu, in which there are varying degrees of mutual intelligibility, devalorization of the Punjabi language and negative attitudes are more crucial in resulting in subtractive bilingualism.

The study reinforces the views of Lambert (1977) on the types of attitudes that exist within and between language groups, where one language is dominant politically, economically, and culturally, and the other is without power and prestige. The negative attitudes towards the devalorized language are so amplified by the majority group that members of the minority group downgrade themselves as well. In a country like Pakistan, where sentiments of nationalism are very strong, bilinguals often reflect negative attitudes toward the minority language group. This subtractive form of bilingualism results because the dominant language group (Urdu) is putting pressure on the minority language (Punjabi) to assimilate as quickly as possible.

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The Status and Role of Regional Languages in Higher Education in Pakistan

S. Mansoor. (2004). The status and role of regional languages in higher education in Pakistan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 25(4), 333–353.

Sabiha Mansoor

Introduction

A brief analysis of the present language situation and a historical perspective indicates that regional languages have not been provided state support in education at all levels, particularly in higher education, in Pakistan. The issue regarding the status and role of regional languages has not been adequately addressed by the various education commissions set up by different governments to look at the problems faced by students and teachers in higher education. The report of the education sector reforms (Government of Pakistan, 2001a) and the Task Force on Higher Education (Government of Pakistan, 2002) set up by General Musharraf have also not addressed the issue of language policy in higher education. The official policy regarding language has been to maintain English as the medium of instruction in higher education since the country's independence in 1947, as seen in all educational policies and reports of education commissions and committees established in this regard (1957–1998). This policy is seen as an interim arrangement. The long-term language policy has been to introduce Urdu as the official medium of instruction in higher education once teaching materials have been developed in the national language. Although Urdu was declared the official medium of instruction for schooling (grades 1–12) in the public sector soon after the country's independence, the period assigned to the transfer from English medium to Urdu medium in higher education has varied in various reports, that is 15 years in

the 1950s (Government of Pakistan, 1959) and five to seven years in the 1970s (University Grants Commission, 1982).

Higher education in Pakistan

The literacy rate in Pakistan was estimated at 47.1%, with 59% of males and 35.4% of females (Government of Pakistan, 2000). In higher education (which includes undergraduate and postgraduate studies), the participation rate is a mere 3% compared to the 50% participation rate in advanced countries (Government of Pakistan, 1999). The government of General Musharraf attached a great deal of importance to higher education. Higher education has been allocated 24% of all funds dedicated to the education sector in the ten-year period 2001–2011 (Government of Pakistan, 2001b).

Language situation

Pakistan fits the classic concept of a culturally plural society[1] on many grounds: ethnicity, language, and culture. Punjabi- and Seraiki-speaking communities make up 54.68% of the population (Punjabi 44.15%, Saraiki[2] 10.53%); the Sindhi-speaking community (15.42%), Balochi-speaking community (3.57%), and Pushto-speaking community (15.42%) correspond to the four provinces of the country—Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)[3] (Government of Pakistan, 2001c). Each group has its own language and cultural differences, often with marked subdivisions within each group (Hayes, 1987). No less than 24 languages and a number of dialects are spoken in Pakistan. Punjab has Punjabi and Seraiki. Sindh has Sindhi in rural Sindh, Urdu in urban Sindh, and Gujarati among influential minorities. In NWFP, Pushto is the language of the majority of the

[1] The classic concept of a culturally plural society is generally attributed to J. S. Furnivall (1956) in his study of Burma and Java under British and Dutch rule (Watson, 1983).

[2] Is Saraiki Punjabi? Dr Christopher Shackle calls Saraiki a Southwestern form of Punjabi literature in the Prague Dictionary (Syed, 1990).

[3] Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. All references to NWFP refer to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

population, though one district, Hazara, uses Hindko. Despite having the smallest population, Balochistan has multiple languages—Balochi, Pushto, Brohi, and a sprinkling of Seraiki and Punjabi (Haque, 1983). The national language, Urdu, is the mother tongue of only 7.57% of Pakistanis.

The 1998 census report states the population of Pakistan as 145.5 million (Government of Pakistan, 2001c). Thus, in actual terms, even relatively small linguistic groups are fairly large compared to the linguistic groups in less populated countries.

Numerical strength does not determine majority or dominant languages in Pakistan. The regional languages, despite a large number of speakers, are minority languages. Urdu and English enjoy high status and are reserved for public and official use; they also dominate the regional languages politically, economically, and culturally. Press and media mainly use the dominant languages Urdu and English. They are also used as alternate mediums of instruction in education and are compulsory subjects in the school and college curriculum. On the other hand, the regional languages are accorded a low status and are limited to the community and the home. They play little or no role in the official life of the provinces, and their educational role is limited to the primary or secondary level in most provinces.

The state's declared policy has been to promote Urdu as a national language. It is a symbol of national identity and integration to help avoid regional autonomy and separation. This has been the official policy since Pakistan came into existence in 1947. Although the official stance has not been pro-English, English continues to flourish as the second official language of Pakistan. This fact prompts political analysts to infer that the support for Urdu is only at a rhetorical level and has led critics to state that there appears to be an inherent contradiction between Pakistan's stated official policy of promoting Urdu as the national official language and the real policy, where the status quo is maintained and English remains, for all purposes, the language of power (Rahman, 1996, 2002). The ruling elites, that is, all those with power and influence in Pakistan, such as the bureaucracy and military, have command over English through

their English-medium schooling and training. English is not only the language of the upper classes in Pakistan, but fluency in English also facilitates access to the best jobs in the governmental, nongovernmental, and international bureaucracy.

With regard to the status and role of regional languages, the provisions of the 1956, 1962, and 1973 Constitutions state: "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" (Khan, 1986). The position of the regional languages, as seen in Article 251 (clause 3), is conditional on the status of the national language. There is a constitutional provision to promote the regional language even in teaching by the Provincial Assembly. However, it has been generally observed that only lip service has been paid in this regard. Indeed, it is implied that no measure should be adopted to promote the regional language at the cost of the status of the national language, Urdu. In all provinces except Sindh, hardly any legislation has been made to promote the regional languages in official spheres, including education (Abbas, 1998; Rahman, 1999).

Language spread versus language shift

According to Paulston (1980), it is unusual to maintain group bilingualism. The norm for groups in prolonged contact within one nation is for the minority group to shift to the language of the dominant group, either over several hundred years or in the span of three generations. Fishman (1972) defines language shift as a change in the language usage patterns of a population that employs more than one language variety. While language shift is always the outcome of language spread, the latter can also occur without language shift; i.e., language spread can take place without threatening or replacing the other. According to Lewis (1981), language shift does not mean that knowledge of the forsaken language has disappeared, but that the relative competence in the two languages has switched. Cooper (1983) suggests that language spread takes place as a lingua franca or as a language for wider communication. On the whole, such spread

is neutral in attitudes when it occurs as an additional language, but as a new mother tongue, the language spread becomes a case of language shift.

Maintenance of the mother tongue

The concept of the importance of the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the mainstream curriculum is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this compendium. However, briefly summarizing the argument, we may point out that a host of data by various researchers, Hudson (1980) has suggested that assimilationist policies create 'non-stable' or 'subtractive' bilingual communities. As long ago as the 1950's, a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report strongly justified the use of the mother tongue in the curriculum. This has been borne out by others since that time and in fact suggests that the use of the vernacular language or mother tongue can also facilitate the learning of a second language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976). While time-consuming and costly to plan and implement, the mother tongue can be considered a base for minimal literacy (Greenberg et al.,1978) and not merely as a bridge to the official national language, as in some countries (Lewis, 1981). Vernacular education is most appropriate for countries like Pakistan, where the average student completes fewer years of schooling and where social and economic pressures 'mark' the language (Tucker et al., 1977). As discussed earlier, the middle and upper classes make more use of Urdu and English in Pakistan compared to the rural classes, which mainly use the regional languages.

Mother-tongue education

According to Pattanayak in Spolsky (1986), the use of colonial languages in Third World education as a substitute for many mother tongues has created many problems. These include a chasm between the elite and the masses, stunted cognitive growth, and a lack of creativity and innovativeness in children, as well as a weakening of indigenous cultures. The colonial languages have also led to the slow development of science and technology to

meet local needs. In addition, they have created an educated elite that is westernized. Tollefson (1991) examines the controversy over using languages other than the dominant language for school education. He argues that in almost all countries, schools adopt one or more languages of instruction. Students who do not speak the language of instruction are at a disadvantage, along with those who speak nonstandard varieties of the dominant language or different languages. Hence, the issue of whether education plays an important role in employment and in gaining access to political power is significant, as mother tongue education plays a crucial role in language policy and language education. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) emphasizes that since further development of a mother tongue, especially in more formal domains, takes place within a school system, it becomes important to see what kind of educational language-related human rights are provided in various bilingual education systems. Hornberger (1997) suggests the enrichment model that encompasses all bilingual education programs. It encourages the development of minority languages on the individual and collective levels, cultural pluralism at school and in the community, and an integrated national society based on the autonomy of cultural groups (Hornberger, 1991 in Freeman, 1998).

The study

The study was designed to focus on some of the key areas in language planning and language education. Both approaches, namely quantitative and qualitative, were considered to examine their suitability for this research study. It was observed that the combined approach was more helpful, as suggested by Robson (1993). The main purpose of the study was not only to find out how many respondents held the same or different attitudes, values, opinions, and beliefs, but also to understand the reasons for this. In this study, Language Education in Pakistan was the case, and the methods of data collection were: (1) questionnaire survey, (2) interviews, and (3) documentary analysis. The present research was designed to be a 'real-world inquiry,' mainly concerned with contributing to both language policy and

practice in higher education in Pakistan. Our concern in this article is with the first source.

The questionnaire

The 'sociolinguistic survey,' suggested by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), was seen as a good model to adopt in this regard. Four types of data-collecting instruments were developed for conducting the survey. These included: (a) three structured survey questionnaires divided on the basis of the following populations: students, parents, and teachers; and (b) one English language test to gauge the English language proficiency of students and teachers. The research questions in our study revolved around collecting information on (1) the background of learners (demographic, educational, and language), (2) attitudes toward languages in education, (3) availability and quality of materials in different mediums, and (4) learners' language and sociocultural outcomes. The sample size for testing the hypothesis regarding students' opinions about the role of English in higher education in our population was calculated by taking a proportion of 50%, with a level of significance (α) of 5%, a power of 80%, a bound on error (the absolute difference between actual and hypothetical prevalence) of 4%, and a design effect of 2 (due to two-stage cluster sampling). The minimum sample size of 2,450 students was required for this study. The sample of colleges and universities from private and public (government) sectors, as well as general and professional institutions, was taken from the list of degree colleges and universities as listed in 'Handbook: Colleges of Pakistan' (University Grants Commission, 1999). A decision was made by the researcher to select only the colleges and universities from the capital cities of Pakistan and the federal capital, Islamabad.

The staff

As the data was to be collected on a large scale (nationwide study), a team comprising two faculty members who assisted with the data collection, a statistical advisor from the university, an editor, and two data entry operators was assembled. Since all

the team members were already trained and had been involved in previous research projects, no formal training was required. The research project had the support of the Aga Khan University Seed Money Grant Award; hence, all expenses related to the study were borne by the Award.

Results

The questionnaire responses were coded and entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 6.1.3) and analyzed by the statistical advisor of the Aga Khan University and the author of this article. The analysis of all quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires was done at a descriptive and inferential level (see Kinnear & Gray, 1999). This article only deals with the results related to the regional languages in education, as revealed by the questionnaire.

Background characteristics

The sample comprising 2,136 students was predominantly from Punjab (Lahore and Taxila) and Sindh (Karachi and Hyderabad), followed by Balochistan (Quetta), the federal capital (Islamabad), and NWFP (Peshawar). The study was able to collect data from 121 subjects and English teachers from all provinces except Balochistan. Only 63 parents' questionnaires were received from Punjab and Sindh. The profile of the students by different characteristics of institutions shows that the majority of them were from colleges (84%) and a smaller number from universities (16%). Also, around two-thirds (66%) of all students in the study were from the public sector (colleges and universities). The majority of the students reported Urdu as their mother tongue (42%), followed by Punjabi (30%), Pushto (14%), Balochi (5%), Sindhi (4%), and others (5%). The results of the study show that the students involved in higher education in Pakistan belong to various socioeconomic backgrounds (income groups, divided into quintiles). Students studying in the private sector have significantly higher monthly household income compared to students studying in the public sector.

Proficiency and usage in regional languages/mother tongue

Many students, especially from Punjab and Sindh, report in the study that they are not fully competent in their mother tongue, both in speaking and writing. Only 45% of Punjabi male and 16% of female students report full spoken competency in their mother tongue, Punjabi. Again, only 28% of Sindhi male and 8% of female students report full spoken competency in their mother tongue, Sindhi. Very few male and female students (4–20%) from all regions report full written competency in their regional languages, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, and Pushto. On the other hand, a large majority of Urdu-speaking students (57–64%), both male and female, report full spoken and written competency in their mother tongue, Urdu.

In terms of competency and use of mother tongues, Urdu and English, male students claimed more competencies in their mother tongue compared to female students. A significant difference in competency is found between males and females in speaking regional languages. The results show that males are more competent than females in speaking regional languages, while no significant difference between males and females is seen in the competency of writing regional languages.

It is also observed that regional speakers do not make full use of their mother tongue or regional languages. Less than a fifth (20%) report using their regional language with their families and friends. Very few students report using their regional language in formal domains, especially with teachers (3%) and fellow students (11%), as well as with office/bank employees (5%) and while visiting another province (8%).

Male students also reported a higher use of their mother tongue with family, friends, teachers, and office and bank employees than females, who reported more use of Urdu in these domains. The higher competency and use of the mother tongue by male students compared to female students support the view that females prefer the use of 'high-status' languages (Urdu) over

their 'mother tongue' or regional language, as they are more conscious of social status (see Trudgill, 1983).

The role of regional languages in education

The study revealed that the majority of students from the private sector have studied in an English medium of instruction, whereas the majority of students from the public sector have studied in an Urdu medium of instruction at different levels of schooling. Very few students from both the public and private sectors have studied in the regional language at various levels of schooling, including the primary (8%), middle (5%), secondary (3%), intermediate (1%), and graduate (1%) levels.

The distribution of students having a regional language as a medium of instruction is very low compared to Urdu and English in both the public and private sectors. A decreasing trend of regional and Urdu mediums of instruction is observed with the increase in the stage of schooling, while there is a reverse trend in the case of English in both public and private sectors. A highly significant difference was found in Urdu and English as mediums of instruction at different stages of schooling between public and private sectors. This trend of difference also shows that the majority of Urdu medium students belong to public sector educational institutions, whereas the majority of English medium students belong to private sector educational institutions.

At the graduate level, the results show a significant difference between public and private institutions regarding their medium of instruction, as reported by the students. The majority of private institution students reported English medium, while the majority of public institution students reported Urdu as their medium of instruction. About a fifth of students from both private and public institutions reported both English and Urdu combined as their medium of instruction. There were hardly any students who claimed that they were studying in their regional languages, including Sindhi.

Availability and quality of materials

The regional languages are also seen as deficient for educational purposes because of a lack of materials, particularly in science and technology. Both students and teachers report that very few materials are available to them in regional languages for their courses (4–5%) in higher education; they rated these materials as low in quality (5–11%). The results reveal that there are very few textbooks or reference books in regional languages at higher levels for arts or sciences.

Attitudes to English, Urdu, and regional languages/mother tongue

Conflicting attitudes ranging from ambivalent to negative are displayed by students toward their regional language and mother tongue. Students, parents, and teachers generally do not approve of their languages being used as a medium of instruction (11–20%), and there is no commitment to practice. It is also considered economically unimportant. Almost no student recommended the regional languages as a compulsory subject (0%), and very few as a medium of instruction (11%), and that was mainly for primary schooling. Again, in terms of attitudes toward languages, the results of our study show that all students (male and female) prefer English medium education to Urdu medium at all levels and display a low preference for regional languages as a medium of instruction. However, male students and teachers show a higher preference than females for regional languages as a medium of instruction at the primary levels. The results of the study confirm an earlier finding on the low ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi students, especially girls, in which Punjabi speakers hold their own language, Punjabi, in low esteem (Mansoor, 1993).

As seen in the results of the study, the main reasons for the preference of English as a medium of education at various levels by students, teachers, and parents are mainly instrumental. Studying in English is seen as useful for students in studying abroad (78%) and getting good jobs (63%). The reasons given by all

subjects for studying in Urdu are mainly integrative. Students see Urdu as the main link language (67%) and for its role in promoting the national language (67%). The main reasons for studying in the regional language are related to learning, and it is felt by the students that studying in the regional language is helpful in the first few years of schooling (60%), and because students can learn better in their mother tongue (58%). As seen in the results, the majority of all students, teachers, and parents (59–97%) show a preference to study English as a compulsory subject at all levels, followed by Urdu (8–50%). The preference for Urdu as a compulsory subject decreases at higher levels. Very few subjects show a preference for the study of regional languages as a compulsory subject, even at primary levels (0–22%). The study also revealed that both males (50–96%) and females (72–100%) show a strong preference to study English as a compulsory subject at all levels. This is followed by a preference to study Urdu as a compulsory subject, but this preference declines as the levels increase. However, more male students and teachers show a preference for learning a regional language at primary (17–28%) and middle levels (8–13%) than females.

Language outcomes

The proficiency in regional languages was also found to be significantly different between students of private and public institutions for higher studies and future employment. Lower proficiency of private sector students in regional languages for the mentioned areas was reported.

The self-reports of students, teachers, and parents also show that the students' present language proficiency is inadequate to fully meet their English language needs for higher studies (39%), future employment (47%), and social interaction (30%). Again, the students' language proficiency in Urdu is seen to be inadequate to fully meet their needs for higher studies (47%) and employment (48%). Proficiency in Urdu is, however, considerably higher to meet their informal needs, such as social interaction (57%). In regional languages, the situation is more serious, with only 18% of students reporting a high proficiency

to meet their language needs in higher education, 18% for future employment, and 23% for social interaction.

Socio-cultural outcomes

The results show that urban Punjabi-speaking students display a higher competency in Urdu (75%) compared to their mother tongue, Punjabi (47%). They also report a higher use of Urdu (66%) than Punjabi (44%), thus demonstrating a language shift from their mother tongue, Punjabi, to Urdu, a high-status language. The results also show that the urban Sindhi-speaking students have almost similar competency in their mother tongue (51%) as in Urdu (49%), but far more Sindhi students use Urdu with their families (77%) than their mother tongue, Sindhi (25%), thus indicating a trend towards a language shift to Urdu.

Consequences of language attitudes

The main trends that are observed as a result of the research and its relationship to bilingualism and society can be studied in a wider perspective, along with their possible consequences on language maintenance and language shift. The findings also make evident the outcomes of the prevailing attitudes toward languages in education in terms of 'additive' and 'subtractive' bilinguals. The results of the present study seem to indicate a language spread in the case of Urdu and English. A large number of students are proficient in Urdu and use it dominantly in all spheres, both informal and formal. The results of the study reveal a 'language shift' in many urban educated regional speakers, especially among Punjabi and Sindhi students, where Urdu has replaced their mother tongue in all spheres of use, both formal and informal. The Punjabi students display a leaning toward subtractive bilingualism on the additive-subtractive continuum. In learning a highly valorized second language (Urdu), the mother tongue or first language (Punjabi), a devalorized language, is weakened. In many cases, Urdu has replaced Punjabi as the first language, and even where Punjabi is the first language, dominant use is made of Urdu not only in formal but also in informal spheres.

In the case of Punjabi girls, this phenomenon is more pronounced. The Punjabi students exhibit negative attitudes toward their mother tongue (Punjabi) and hold a low image of self and language community. They also show little or no preference to study in their mother tongue, Punjabi, as a subject or medium of instruction. Additionally, since Punjabi is not a medium of instruction or a compulsory subject in schools, except in some cases at the primary level, cognitive skills are not highly developed in the first language, leading to subtractive bilingualism. However, due to soft boundaries between Punjabi and Urdu, where there are varying degrees of mutual intelligibility, devalorization of the Punjabi language and negative attitudes seem to be more crucial in resulting in subtractive bilingualism.

The study also shows a language spread in English due to the highly positive attitudes toward English as an international language and Urdu as the national language, as displayed by students, teachers, and other factors such as mass media, information technology, and commerce. An earlier study on the attitudes and motivation of students and teachers indicated the same trend (Mansoor, 1993). Students show a strong desire to study English as a medium of instruction and as a compulsory subject, mainly for instrumental reasons. They also use English in both informal and formal domains despite their limited proficiency in the language. The study reinforces Lambert's (1980) views on the types of attitudes that exist within and between language groups, where one language is dominant politically, economically, and culturally, while the other lacks power and prestige. The negative attitudes toward the devalorized language are so amplified by the majority group that members of the minority group downgrade themselves as well. In a country like Pakistan, where sentiments of nationalism are very strong, bilinguals often reflect negative attitudes towards the minority language group. This subtractive form of bilingualism results because the dominant language group (Urdu) puts pressure on, for example, the minority language (Punjabi), to assimilate as quickly as possible.

Highly positive attitudes toward English have led to its spread despite efforts by the government in language and educational policies, especially during Zia's rule in 1978, to oust English and replace it with Urdu. As seen from the results of the study, it appears that Punjabi students are experiencing negative ethnic identity. They display negative attitudes toward their own language (Punjabi), which affords them only unfavorable intergroup comparisons with other language communities, namely Urdu-speaking and English-speaking communities that enjoy a high status. According to Stubbs (1985), "In the long run, negative attitudes can lead to language shift." An important factor in the rapid assimilation of Punjabi by the dominant language (Urdu) is the low prestige and status of the language. Since Punjabi enjoys a low status, its own language community displays negative attitudes toward the language.

An important factor in language spread or language shift is the relative economic, political, and linguistic prestige of the language. The role of language planning is crucial in determining the status and prestige of a language. The choice of Urdu as the national language, where Urdu is seen as a symbol of national identity and national integration, has given a great boost to Urdu. In the case of the spread of English, it is due to the high status it enjoys. It has been the second official language and is used along with Urdu for all official purposes. English is also a medium of education in the country and a compulsory subject. A major incentive to learn a language is the income. In Brudner's (1972) terms, jobs select language-learning strategies; that is to say, wherever there are jobs available, people will learn the languages required to access them. In Pakistan, the most lucrative jobs require proficiency in English. English is also seen as very useful for higher education, as all materials are in English.

On the other hand, the low ethnolinguistic vitality in the case of Punjabi speakers could be explained by the inferior and relative state of deprivation of the Punjabi language. Punjabi, as a regional language, has been completely ignored by official policymakers and has been assigned no role in education. No encouragement is given to Punjabi in language or educational planning. Hence,

Punjabi, having no official status or role in the province, remains neglected. Apart from Punjabi poetry and literature, little development has taken place in educational materials in Punjabi. Therefore, Punjabi is normally regarded as the language associated with the illiterate and the poor, especially the rural worker. It has been argued that literacy is often an important factor in language maintenance and transmission from one generation to another. The role of written variety and standardization of language has been emphasized by Kloss (1989). As Punjabi is not used for purposes of literacy, its status is greatly weakened. This may be strengthened by the covariation principle (Kelley, 1969). Punjabi children from lower-status backgrounds perceive those who use Punjabi as occupying a relatively low position and those using Urdu or English as occupying a higher one. Hence, language is seen as the cause of differential status. This may be reinforced by in-group members who are now occupying positions of higher status.

It therefore appears that the upper classes and elites are moving away from Punjabi. Urdu and English are seen as languages of a future urbanized society. English is particularly seen as modern and progressive and attracts Punjabi speakers, including rural Punjabis, who have moved into urban areas, thus displaying a language shift to dominant languages such as Urdu. The results of this study also make explicit the attitudes of parents and teachers. Both parents and teachers display highly positive attitudes toward English. Working-class parents see school as an avenue for the upward mobility of their children. The choice of schooling, like the preference of parents to send their children to English medium or Urdu medium schools, encourages children to speak the respective language. The phenomenon of parents helping their children to learn the 'correct' language (in this study, Urdu and English, and not Punjabi) so as not to be stigmatized later in life and to advance socially and materially is widespread. This is the main reason for Punjabi parents not transmitting their language to the next generation. It is observed that the current language(s) for teacher-student talk in colleges is English and Urdu. It seems that Punjabi is rarely spoken between college teachers and students, although it is their mother tongue. The results also

show a higher use of Punjabi by parents, many of whom have not transmitted their mother tongue to their children.

The results also reveal a trend among Sindhi-speaking students to move away from their mother tongue, Sindhi. This is evident in their increased use of Urdu over Sindhi, not only in formal settings but also in informal interactions with family and friends. These results indicate a lack of attention being paid to Sindhi in terms of improving its status in the official sphere, as well as in developing materials for educational purposes. This could gradually lead to a language shift, as seen in the case of Punjabi students, if steps are not taken by the state to address this issue.

State policies: Assimilation versus integration

The language shift among many urban educated regional speakers may be seen as a result of the assimilation policy being followed by the state, where Urdu, as the dominant language, is replacing other minority languages, rather than an integration policy that aims at cultural pluralism, where all languages coexist side by side without the danger of becoming extinct (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has been following a policy of giving a tremendous boost to Urdu as the national language. Urdu enjoys a high status and is used along with English for all official purposes. Urdu, followed by English, has maximum participation in social institutions such as schools and mass media. This helps in the spread of the language. English also enjoys a great deal of institutional support in Pakistan, including access to trade and commerce. One of the important factors responsible for the rapid assimilation of Punjabi in urban areas is the lack of institutional support.

The results also indicate that no serious attention or funds are being allocated to develop materials in the local languages, except for Sindhi. The results of the study reveal that the availability of materials in Sindhi is also very low, considering that Sindh is the only province where the regional language is being used for higher levels of schooling.

Language policy in higher education

The results of our study show that the current language policy in higher education can be questioned on the grounds that it has led to a situation where state language policies in education have promoted Urdu as a national/official language. Urdu has gained prestige due to its official status and institutional support, especially from the mass media and its role in literacy, thus contributing to the rapid development and spread of Urdu. In the process, however, less attention has been paid to the development and use of regional languages in the public, official, and educational sectors in the provinces, where Urdu remains, for all practical purposes, the regional official language. This policy has had several repercussions. In some cases, for example in Punjabi, it has led to the further devaluation of languages and accelerated the process of language shift, which has often been regarded by social scientists (see Spolsky, 1977) as an indication of cultural assimilation. The fact that there is little enthusiasm for what Lambert and Tucker (1972) describes as 'additive bilingualism' and that language educational practice in Pakistan continues to be dominated by a broadly assimilationist outlook, underscores the need for a public debate on this vital issue in education.

Recommendations

The findings of the present study suggest that a language policy in higher education that promotes cultural pluralism and is not assimilative in its outlook will have more successful outcomes. It will produce additive bilinguals who can learn the majority languages, Urdu and English, without any loss to their mother tongue. The recommendation for a language policy in education has recently been put forward by Rahman (2002), where he proposes that schooling should be in the six major ethnic languages of Pakistan: Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi, Balochi, Brahvi, and Urdu. Although the recommendations put forward are based on the concept of distributing power and giving a boost to mother tongues and ethnic languages, it is, in my opinion, idealistic and impractical. To begin with, the development of materials in regional languages would take time and involve

huge costs, especially for higher education. It may be more realistic to introduce the regional languages at the school level, starting from the primary classes, and gradually advance them to higher education.

The policy based on the findings of the study that is being proposed here recommends that, keeping in view the language needs of students for higher education, employment, and information technology, English be the medium of education for all, based on the principles of access and equity. It is also proposed that regional languages be taught as compulsory subjects in higher education. The recommended language policy underscores that regional languages be used for educational purposes in Pakistan and that the four major regional languages (Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pushto) be taught as compulsory subjects from grade 1 to graduate levels. In order to promote additive bilingualism, the policy also strongly recommends that education be initiated in the mother tongue of the learners and that the regional languages be used as mediums of instruction for primary schooling in Pakistan so that the status of the regional languages is enhanced and the mother tongue of students is maintained. Without state language education policies that support a pluralistic approach, it will be difficult to enhance the status of regional and minority languages and save them from language shift to high-status languages (Urdu and English) and ultimately language death (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The 'enrichment model' in bilingual education, as recommended by Hornberger (1997), is seen as most appropriate and useful in the Pakistani context and underscores the proposed policy. This group maintenance program would encourage a stable bilingual community. This policy not only helps to address the issue of the status and role of regional languages in higher education but also underscores the need to devote sufficient attention and resources to the development of quality materials in regional languages so that they can be used as mediums of instruction at the primary levels of schooling and as compulsory subjects up to graduate levels.

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Chapter 3
Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Language Planning in Higher Education

The following is an essay based on a longer study undertaken by the author to discuss the questions of bilingualism and multilingualism facing education planners in higher education. This extract begins by identifying some of the problems that need to be addressed.

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Introduction

The results of this study raise various issues and concerns for education and language planners in Pakistan, such as the multilingual composition of the student body, ethnicity and identity, the importance of English and national development, and the role of English in South Asia. Based on the findings of the study, this essay (from a longer research project) discusses the implications for language planning in higher education in Pakistan. Finally, it makes recommendations for bilingual education programs and efficient English language courses.

Multilingualism

The study illustrates the linguistic and cultural plurality of students involved in higher education. The students come from all the linguistic communities of Pakistan and include the Punjabi (30%), Sindhi (4%), Pashto (14%), Balochi (5%), Urdu-speaking (42%), and other language communities (5%). The languages that represent the different mother tongues, plus Urdu and English, all play different roles in the lives of urban educated speakers. While the mother tongue is mostly used in informal domains with family and friends, Urdu and English are the main languages used for formal domains and are primarily used in educational institutions for 'student-teacher' and 'student-student' conversations.

The large number of students who report Urdu as their mother tongue in the study (given that it is the mother tongue of only eight percent of Pakistan's population, according to the 1991 census) is indicative of the rapid spread of Urdu in the country due to its status as the national official language and the institutional support it receives. Another factor that could be attributed to the large number of students reporting Urdu as their mother tongue is that students from the Urdu-speaking community are in a position to access higher education to a greater extent than students from other language communities due to their higher socioeconomic status. Another interesting issue is that of the rural-urban divide. Rural Pakistanis are mostly illiterate and fluent in one regional language, which is their mother tongue. In contrast, urban Pakistanis are bilingual (mother tongue and Urdu), and the educated ones are multilingual (mother tongue, Urdu, and English) due to exposure to Urdu and English through mass media and access to education. The emerging picture confirms the view that any education policy framed in Pakistan must consider the pluralistic composition of the students' language and cultural backgrounds. This reality also underscores the importance of bilingual and mother-tongue education in schooling.

The study also highlights the intricate relationship between language attitudes and use. The highly positive attitudes toward English, followed by Urdu, have resulted in the students making more use of these 'high status' languages in all spheres—formal and informal. On the other hand, the low ethnolinguistic vitality of some speakers, particularly Punjabi students, has resulted in their showing less competence in and use of their mother tongue than Urdu, thus making evident a language shift from their mother tongue, Punjabi, to Urdu. The results of the study show that the present policy is resulting in subtractive rather than additive bilingualism.

Ethnicity and identity

The study underscores the need to analyze the relationship between various ethnic groups and how they view language as a

part of their identity. This also must take into consideration the sharing of state power and resources in relation to these multi-ethnic groups in Pakistan. Alavi (1973), as cited in Ahmed (1998), makes an interesting study of the complex class structure operating in postcolonial societies such as Pakistan, where there are multiple ruling or dominant classes and multiple dominated classes. Pakistan is viewed as a neo-colonial state, linked as an appendage to the global capitalist economy and politically subservient to the US. At the interethnic level, the different ethnic groups in Pakistan do not have an identical class composition. Ahmed (1998) points to the relative strength of the educated middle class, which provides most of the personnel for white-collar professions. The pool of recruitment into the civil service and military also varies greatly among the different ethnic groups, and "the absolute and relative size of the class is very much a function of the differentials in the population size and the extent of higher education in the different ethnic groups" (p. 255).

The Urdu-speaking community, because of its historical background, urban residence, and traditional reliance on education for social mobility, has an educated middle class that is larger than that of any other ethnic group relative to other classes within the ethnic group. It also represents the largest middle-class section in Pakistan in terms of the group's national population. The results of the present study also support this view, where a large number of students (42%) report Urdu as their mother tongue. Although Punjabis comprise 56% of the country's population, only 30% of students enrolled in higher education report Punjabi as their mother tongue. This may be attributed to the low ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi speakers and their low self-image (Mansoor, 1993). The fact that only 4% of students report Sindhi as their mother tongue, despite their national population of 12%, provides evidence that a number of Sindhi-speaking students are shifting to Urdu, as also seen in the more frequent use of Urdu rather than Sindhi by them with family and friends. Pushto- and Balochi-speaking students, on the other hand, display a high ethnolinguistic identity, as seen in their high competence and use of their own languages in informal domains.

The fact that 14% of the student population reports Pushto as their mother tongue shows that the middle-class Pushto-speaking community, which has an overall national population of 13%, is developing rapidly and participating in higher education. The results of the Balochi language-speaking students are also similar to those of the Pushto-speaking community.

The importance of English and national development

The study also found that Pakistanis consider English important for national development. Pakistan has lagged behind other South Asian countries in the availability and quality of education, particularly higher education. Pakistani students do not see the study of English as detrimental to their culture but rather as necessary for Pakistan to become a modern and progressive state. Pakistan's economy has been under a severe burden from foreign debts, and students feel that the higher education they receive must be in English so that they can cope with the demands of the modern world and the international community and help improve the economic conditions in the country. They want to study English for instrumental reasons, and English is seen as synonymous with progress and prosperity. On the other hand, Urdu is viewed as important for integrative reasons such as national unity and identity, as well as a link language.

This study points out that English allows access to the Western, liberal-humanist, and cosmopolitan worldview and resists the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan. According to Rahman (2002, p. 323), "In this role, it empowers the westernized elite and the West too; but, ironically enough, this offers some support to democracy, human and women's rights, and tolerance in Pakistan." Pakistani students see English, as discussed earlier, as a gatekeeper of the domains of power and control. The very positive attitudes of parents and their support for their children to learn English are indicative of societal attitudes, where parents want their children to be fluent in the dominant language, English, to access higher education and white-collar jobs. Many students also see English-medium education as improving their social status. These are some of the

most important reasons for the large majority of students wanting to study English as a compulsory subject and as a medium of education at all levels of schooling. Pakistanis also see English as a business lingua franca and the only international language available to them that can facilitate international communication and boost trade with countries across the globe. English is part of the colonial legacy of the subcontinent, and the findings of the study, particularly the qualitative data from the interviews, inform us that making use of English is seen as advantageous. In fact, one of the reasons given by students for the fast pace of progress attributed to India is that its population is more fluent in English!

The findings of the study provide support for an earlier study by Mansoor (1993) that the attitudes of Pakistani students have changed radically from ambivalence and hostility towards English as a colonial rule during the first few decades after independence to an enthusiastic acceptance of English today. The 'generation gap' between students and their parents who struggled for independence from colonial rule gives the students a different perspective on English. The present study does not bear witness to the 'love-hate' relationship with English that Haque (1983) refers to. Urdu- and English-medium students from both the public and private sectors and from all socioeconomic strata of society desire to learn English for its utilitarian value. As far as studies in English are concerned, all the stakeholders in the study do not see English as associated with imperialism (Pennycook, 1998) but rather as an international language having a strong, favorable impact on their own growth and that of the country's economy and business.

The findings thus lend support to Kachru's (1986) observations that "the colonial association of English and Western values are now underemphasized. Instead, what seems to be stressed is the power of English as an instrument of individual and societal transformation." English is desired by Pakistani students because of its great instrumental value in higher education, international communication, and economic gains and progress. Language policies, despite trying their utmost to oust English and replace it with Urdu, have failed because of

the continued role of English in the official sphere as well as in education and institutional support, especially from the media. The students want an English education and feel cheated if they are deprived of it. The results of our study display that Pakistani students are opting for an instrumental/functional approach to English as opposed to the previous emphasis on cultural transmission. The desire for English is, therefore, not difficult to understand, keeping in view global trends in politics, economics, and culture, which show that English, as well as regional languages, will play a significant role in the 21st century (Graddol, 1997). With English as the international currency for science and technology and as the business lingua franca, Pakistani students see the study of English as a passport to upward social and economic mobility.

Keeping in view all stakeholders' favorable attitudes toward English in higher education for instrumental reasons and to allow effective participation from the public sector where English acts as a gatekeeper and a powerful means of inclusion or exclusion from further education, employment, or social positions (Tollefson, 1991; Pattanayak, 1981; Rajah, 1990), it would be important to consider a language policy in education where all students are empowered by being fluent in English. This seems to me to be the best solution to a very complex and problematic issue. By removing the barrier of English, students from public sector institutions and lower socioeconomic strata would be able to access higher education and white-collar jobs.

The challenge of working on the notion of 'English for development' is that it would have to take into account not only the concept of sustainable development (see Pennycook, 1999) and link it with 'notions of local involvement, continuity, and ecological soundness,' but also ensure that development does not only 'imply a linear path of development that is easily conflated with notions of modernization and westernization.' This would involve postcolonial countries like Pakistan developing an indigenous model for English language teaching (ELT) that is suitable in their own contexts.

The findings of the study show that the stakeholders do not exhibit any conflicting attitudes regarding English and Urdu. Urdu, as the national language of Pakistan, is valued for integrative reasons, with students recognizing its importance as a symbol of national identity and integration. Urdu, as a medium of instruction and as a compulsory subject at various levels of schooling, is also recommended by students. Every government in Pakistan has made a commitment to develop materials in Urdu. However, the results of the study indicate that this has not occurred even over a period of five decades. Even a martial law ordinance during Zia-ul-Haq's regime could not bring about a uniform switchover from English to Urdu as a medium of instruction, lending support to the belief that if the quality of higher education is to improve, it is more pragmatic to have a language policy that provides language support to students to cope with their studies in English.

The role of English in the South Asian context

The findings of the present study inform us that English will continue to play an important role in higher education, not only in Pakistan but in most of the countries in South Asia, at least during the next decade. The reasons assigned by students and teachers in the present study include the importance of English for international communication and as a business lingua franca; the high status assigned to English in official life; the paucity of material in the national as well as local languages for higher education; and the requirement for graduates to be fluent in English to access white-collar jobs. The problems and difficulties of students in learning and teaching English identified in the study, such as the lack of good quality courses, trained teachers, and local material, are also common grievances of learners and teachers involved in higher education in colleges and universities in South Asia. Moreover, the gap between official policy and institutional practice is also seen as a matter of concern.

At the Aga Khan University Centre of English Language (CEL) international conference held in February 2001 on the subject of English and education, various complex issues relating to the status

and role of a national language, mother tongue, and English in South Asian countries were examined. Eminent researchers and scholars, as well as recognized ELT practitioners from Europe, the Middle East, and all the major countries in South Asia—India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Malaysia—presented papers that highlighted the need for countries in the South Asian region to formulate language policies in education that would help promote cultural pluralism and improve standards of education in the region. The seminar also helped to stimulate a debate on the implications of English as the international currency for science and technology and the business lingua franca, as well as possible language, academic, and socio-cultural outcomes. The need for further research in the area of teaching English as a second language in the region was underscored.

As the keynote speaker of the conference, Rassool (2003) highlighted the importance of language, literacy, and communication in the rapidly changing world of the 21st century. This relates, to a significant extent, to the fact that increased international market competition has created labor demands for high levels of technological capability, communicative competence, and continuous upgrading of skills. The inaugural address by Zubeida Jalal (2003), federal minister for education, Pakistan, presented the government's policy statement regarding English as the medium of instruction from grade 1. She drew attention to the complex relationship between national education and the English language. The present unsatisfactory English language-teaching situation in the country was attributed to the inadequacy of previous governments in addressing the complex issue of language planning in education in Pakistan. Attention was drawn to the urgent need to formulate language policies that would not only help develop Urdu as the national language of Pakistan for ideological reasons but also recognize the importance of English for science and technology in boosting the country's economy.

Rahman (2003), in his paper, examined the status and role of English in Pakistan. He argued that English was in demand by students, their parents, and aspiring members of the professional

middle class because it is the language of the elitist domains of power not only in Pakistan but also internationally. David (2003) used the findings of her research to determine if language policy objectives in Malaysia have empowered or disenfranchised Malaysians. She drew attention to the language policy decisions made by the Malaysian government shortly after independence affecting the language of instruction for mainstream education known as national schools; the continued existence of vernacular schools; and the establishment of 'Remove classes' (which help students improve their Bahasa Malaysia skills before they enter Form 1 of secondary school.) The objective of these policy decisions was to make Malaysians proficient in at least two languages: Malay as the national language and English as an important international language. At the same time, those who wanted to learn in schools that offered them instruction in their respective vernacular languages, namely Mandarin and Tamil, were provided with such an opportunity.

Raheem and Ratwatte (2003) highlighted the language situation in Sri Lanka and suggested that, like other countries in South Asia, the role and status of English have been determined through many complex factors and continue to be of crucial importance to the concerns of the national polity. English was part of the colonial heritage of Sri Lanka, as has been the case in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Malaysia. The addition of English in the country brought with it attendant problems of language policy, implementation, and acculturation. Their paper commented on the relationship between policy that is determined and promulgated by state authorities and the implementation of policy on the ground by the people affected by the legislation. In exploring this relationship, the recent sociolinguistic literature on language policy and planning was examined with a view to setting the parameters of their investigation. An account was then presented of the developments in Sri Lanka regarding state policy on English, highlighting, in particular, what Kachru (1991) describes as "the power of unplanned language planning."

Biswas (2003) focused on issues related to language and society in India. She underscored the importance of mother tongue education in the early years of schooling. At the primary stage, language learning is crucial not only for meaningful learning in all subject areas but also for the learner's emotional, cognitive, and social development needs. Failure to teach language skills properly and adequately in the early years will lead to difficulties in learning in subsequent stages. In monolingual societies, it is the mother tongue that the child learns and uses. However, in a multilingual and multicultural country like India, such monolingual solutions do not work. A large number of people are, therefore, bilingual or even speak more than two languages, and in most cases, knowing the mother tongue and English is essential. While the former is imperative for a person's smooth functioning in her/his own family and immediate society, the latter permits one "to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel." Khan (2003) critically examined the present language situation in Bangladesh with respect to the state language, Bangla (Bengali), vis-à-vis the second language, English. The presenter also examined the government's attempts to impose a policy without proper planning and the consequences of teaching English at the tertiary level.

All the papers presented at the seminar, now published under the title *Language Policy, Planning, and Practice: A South Asian Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 2003), reinforce the view that there is a dire need for deliberate and planned language planning in education that results in viable language policies and sound ELT practices in South Asia.

Varieties of English

The lack of local materials in English and the need to identify a model of English that can be used for the learning and teaching of written and spoken English are highlighted in the present study. The findings of the study reveal that the current teaching materials for English are foreign texts that are expensive and, moreover, inappropriate in the learners' cultural context.

Additionally, one of the reasons that spoken English is not a part of the current ELT curriculum or testing in higher education is due to the difficulties faced by learners and teachers in using a foreign model. A great deal of attention, therefore, needs to be paid in Pakistan and in South Asian ELT circles to the issue of identifying a standard local variety of English rather than British Standard English (BSE). This would align with the international view of English that displays a linguistically tolerant perspective towards the emerging non-native forms of English (Kachru, 1981), considering that there is, in today's world, an increasingly large number of non-native users of English.

The notion of Pakistani English,[1] as described by Rahman (1990) as not "just a mass of ignorant errors" but a non-native variety of English quite distinct from Indian English (Kachru, 1981), needs to be seriously considered for the teaching of English in Pakistan. It is also important in this context to understand the deterministic influence of cultural forces on language and that the term 'interference' is merely indicative of linguistic changes in a culturally pluralistic language-contact situation (Kachru, 1983). The deviation is to be measured with respect to the norm that, in the case of Pakistan and India, is British Standard English. Attitudes towards Pakistani English are gradually changing, and there is more awareness that Pakistani English is a non-native variety of English that may be linguistically

[1] Pakistani English is an institutionalized non-native variety of English, like Indian, Singaporean, or Nigerian, divided into four sub-varieties (A, B, C, and D), according to approximation to British Standard English in phonological, syntactic, and lexico-semantic features. Variety A, or Anglicized English, differs only in some phonological features but is otherwise identical to BSE. It is, however, used by only a few Pakistanis. Variety B, the acrolect, differs in the lexical dimension but does not hamper intelligibility. Variety B is used only by those few people who have been educated in English-medium schools or have been exposed to English later in life. Most people, however, use Variety C, the mesolect, which differs more radically in all dimensions from BSE than Variety B. As such, at least in its spoken form, this variety is less intelligible to foreigners than Varieties A and B. Variety D, the basilect, shows the most deviation from BSE and is consequently least intelligible to foreigners. The users of this variety are not consistent in their usage (Rahman, 1990).

and culturally more appropriate to teach and learn than British English. This notion needs to be further popularized, keeping in view those Pakistani students who want to learn English as an international language for instrumental reasons such as higher education and future employment.

The pedagogical model of English in Pakistan, as developed by Rahman (1990), is, in my mind, a suitable model for ELT in Pakistan. This model is intended to prescribe what features of English usage may be standardized for Pakistani users of English. This model is based on the varieties of English in actual use in contemporary Pakistan and accepts certain rule-governed and regular features of acrolectal and mesolectal English as standard features. As Rahman (1990, p. 87) points out, "The acceptance of this model will enable Pakistanis to use English for utilitarian purposes without disproportionate effort and save them from feeling linguistically insecure, which is the inevitable consequence of accepting British English as the standard model."

Implications of the study

Language policy in higher education

The results of our study show that the present language policy in higher education can be questioned on the grounds that it has led to a situation where students neither have sufficient material in Urdu nor the required English language proficiency to cope with their higher studies in English. The present policy is also seen as perpetuating the divide between public and private sector students through the 'dual medium' of instruction. State language policies in education have promoted Urdu as a national/official language, which has gained prestige due to its official status and institutional support, especially from the mass media and its role in literacy and has thus contributed to the rapid development and spread of Urdu. In the process, however, less attention has been paid to the development and use of regional languages in the public, official, and educational sectors in the provinces, where Urdu remains, for all practical purposes, the regional official language. This policy has had several

repercussions. In some cases, for example, in Punjabi, it has led to the further devaluation of languages and accelerated the process of language shift, which has often been regarded by social scientists (see Spolsky, 1977) as an indication of cultural assimilation. The fact is that there is little enthusiasm for what Lambert (1972) describes as additive bilingualism, and language educational practice in Pakistan continues to be dominated by a broadly assimilationist outlook that underscores the need for a public debate on this vital issue in education.

Maintenance of mother tongue

The findings of the present study show that very little attention has been paid to mother tongue education, even in the early years of schooling. The medium of instruction, even in primary grades, is either Urdu in public sector institutions or English in private sector schools. Similarly, there has been little development of teaching material in the regional languages, including Sindhi.

Hudson (1980) suggests that assimilationist policies create 'non-stable' or 'subtractive' bilingual communities. International concern about local language education is evident in a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report (1953) and the work of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). The provision for mother-tongue teaching and the use of the mother tongue as a medium in the mainstream curriculum is justified in the UNESCO report (1953). There are also indicators that the maintenance of the mother tongue and culture may facilitate the learning of a second language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976). The planning process is costly and time-consuming, but it can be accomplished with the commitment made to the effort in a span of a few years (Fishman, 1972). The vernacular language should be the basis of minimal literacy (Greenberg et al., 1978) and not be used transitionally as a bridge to the national language—as in the case of the USA and Soviet Union, per Lewis (1981). Vernacular education is most appropriate for countries like Pakistan, where the average number of years of schooling completed is low and where social

and economic pressures 'mark' the language (Tucker et al., 1977). As discussed earlier, the middle and upper classes make more use of Urdu and English in Pakistan compared to the rural classes, which mainly use the regional languages.

Advantages of bilingual education

From the psycholinguistic viewpoint, cognitive development and language development are intimately related, as indicated in a vast body of research that has emerged in the past two decades, which points more and more consistently to positive cognitive consequences of bilingualism, especially as they relate to aspects of cognitive flexibility. Balkan (1970) concluded that bilingual children have greater 'cognitive flexibility' and a diverse set of mental abilities than monolingual children. Ben Zeev (1977) provides evidence of more advanced levels in concrete operational thinking and concludes that bilinguals are more adept at concept formation. Cummins' (1979) findings are strongly supportive of the basic principle underlying bilingualism, i.e., the common underlying proficiency model of bilingual proficiency, in which the literacy-related aspects of a bilingual's proficiency in L1 and L2 are common and interdependent across languages.

The critical question of research is identifying the conditions under which cognitive growth is facilitated or retarded by bilingualism, that is, the bilingual learning situation that will promote an additive form of bilingualism (Cummins, 1979) or result in subtractive bilingualism due to non-conducive conditions. Attainment of an additive form of bilingualism involves a home-school language switch determined in relation to the linguistic and socioeconomic characteristics of the learner and the learning environment (Swain, 1978). When the home language is denigrated by others and schools, and when the children come from socioeconomically deprived homes, it would appear appropriate to begin instruction in the child's first language, switching at a later stage to instruction in the second language. Hence, immersion programs are unlikely to yield

positive results for vernacular speakers in Pakistan who do not strongly value their own language.

The threshold hypothesis put forward by Cummins (1979) claims that those aspects of bilingualism that exert a positive influence on cognitive functions are unlikely to come into effect until the child has attained a certain minimum or threshold level of linguistic competence in the first language. When the child's first language has been adequately developed, intensive exposure to a second language is unlikely to have an adverse effect on the competence of L1. The implication for bilingual education is that it is preferable to teach literacy-related skills directly in one language, and once established, they will readily and rapidly transfer to the other language. Cummins (1981) and Krashen (1979) confirm that, based on the interdependence principle, older learners, who are more cognitively mature and whose L1 is better developed, would acquire cognitively demanding aspects of both L1 and L2 proficiency.

The debate on the overall desirability of introducing bilingualism, whether early or late, has also been refined by Swain (1981). Swain reveals that in certain linguistic and cognitive skills, older children were at an advantage—they were more cognitively mature and more able to abstract, classify, and generalize in formulating and applying L2 rules. Older learners also had greater world knowledge that they could transfer to L2. Swain (1985) also argues that the cognitive and academic aspects of language proficiency are cross-lingual and that once their features have been learned, they are applicable to any language context. Arguments in favor of early bilingualism, based on the assumption that the longer the exposure to two languages, the better the results, have been disproven, and it seems that less instruction in the second language can possibly lead to higher levels of proficiency in linguistic skills, such as reading comprehension and abstract reasoning. See Swain (1981) in morphology and syntax subtests (Fathman, 1975) and listening comprehension (Asher & Price, 1967). These arguments put forward by language specialists reinforce the view that education in regional languages that are the mother tongue of the majority

of the population in Pakistan should receive more support from the state and be used as the main medium for education, particularly in primary grades.

Recommendations

Recommendations for a language policy in education have recently been put forward by Rahman (2002), who proposes that schooling be conducted in the six major ethnic languages of Pakistan—Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi, Balochi, Brahvi, and Urdu. Rahman (2002, p. 541) strongly recommends that "English be taught to all children so as to give them access to the liberal-democratic worldview and the possibility of international mobility" and suggests that informal exposure to living English be provided to all children through the media, at state expense. The findings of our study also point out that formal ELT in classrooms is not leading to successful language learning and that the reason why students with a higher socioeconomic status have better English proficiency is mainly due to their acquiring the language through informal exposure to media and the Internet. ELT, to all children, would ensure the distribution of power that is presently the exclusive domain of the "elitist" English-speaking group in Pakistan. Rahman (2002) relegates Urdu to a secondary place and suggests that Urdu be taught as a compulsory subject without being the medium of instruction in all schools from grade 3 onward. He proposes that the six major ethnic languages be given the status of national languages and that Urdu be used mainly as a "link language" for administrative reasons.

Although the recommendations put forward are based on the concept of distributing power and giving a boost to the mother tongue and ethnic languages, in my opinion, they are idealistic and impractical. To begin with, the development of material in regional languages would take time and involve huge costs, especially for higher education. It may be more realistic to introduce regional languages at the school level, starting from the primary grades. Although Rahman (2002) does give some useful suggestions regarding the setting up of ELT programs, he does not give sufficient attention to how the policy would be implemented

in terms of using regional languages in education. In addition, the policy has not taken into account the attitudes of stakeholders, namely students, parents, teachers, administrators, as well as policy planners who do not recommend the study of regional languages/mother tongue, except for primary schooling, and desire the study of English followed by Urdu, as seen in our study.

A critical look at various options available for language planning in education (Table 1) will help in the selection of a suitable language policy in higher education based on the results of our study. In designing these options, various factors such as ideological framework, models of bilingualism, curriculum framework, guidelines for implementation, and the use of resources such as costs and physical facilities have been taken into account.

As seen in Table 1, option 1 has similar goals as Rahman's (2002) recommendations for higher education but proposes the use of Urdu (as the national language), along with regional languages, as the long-term goal. Option 2 describes the present language policy in education that has been evaluated in our study and found to be unsuccessful due to the mismatch between the national ideological goals and students' perceived language needs and aspirations.

Option 3 of a three-language formula, such as that followed by India and recommended by Mansoor (1993), appears to be an attractive option for language planning in Pakistan, keeping in view the importance given to Urdu for integrative reasons, particularly national unity, and lingua franca; English for international communication and trade; and regional languages for ethnicity and the maintenance of mother tongue and cultural heritage. However, a closer look informs us that it is idealistic, and although it may be a suitable option until the higher secondary school level, its implementation in higher education could be problematic and economically unviable for a developing country like Pakistan. It might be more realistic, therefore, to introduce the regional language as a medium in primary grades and gradually take it to higher levels once

sufficient materials for schooling at various levels have been developed.

The findings of the present study suggest that a language policy such as option 4, which adopts a 'bottom-up' approach in language planning in higher education and takes into consideration the 'wants' and 'needs' of the learners, as well as societal attitudes, particularly those of parents and teachers, will have more chances of success (Table 1). The language policy, as outlined in option 4, suggests that English medium in higher education be considered a long-term goal (ten years), with English being taught as a compulsory subject from grade 1 to the university level. It also recommends that for schooling, Urdu and English be used as alternative mediums of instruction until Intermediate levels for both public and private sector institutions, with students having the option to study in either medium. The recommendation to have English as an alternative medium of instruction for government schools would be in keeping with the 'cultivation approach' (Bell, 1976). A dual-track medium (Urdu and English) is also recommended for students in the upper secondary and intermediate levels (grades 9–12) for arts and science to enable students studying science and technical subjects to study in English medium, thereby facilitating them in coping with higher studies.

In addition, studies in English for science and technology, when introduced in secondary schools, would also remove the problems of translating scientific terminology into Urdu that our students presently face, as seen in our study. This policy also delegates a high status to regional languages and recommends that they be used as a medium in primary grades and taught as compulsory subjects up to the graduate level in all schools and colleges in both the public and private sectors. The proposed policy also suggests that English language support programs be designed and materials developed to ensure the successful implementation of the policy.

Table 1: Language policy options in higher education (ten-year plan)

	Option 1	Option 2 (present policy)	Option 3	Option 4
Medium of instruction in higher education	Short term (5 years): Urdu (flexi-approach to use English)	Short term (for the last 50 years): English (flexi-approach to use Urdu)	Short term (5 years): English (flexi-approach to use Urdu)	Short term (3 years): English (flexi-approach to use Urdu)
Long term	Urdu/ regional languages	Urdu	Urdu/ English/ regional languages	English
As subject	Urdu/ English/ regional languages compulsory till university levels	English till bachelor's degree	English/ Urdu/ regional languages till university level	English, Urdu, and regional languages compulsory till university level
Schooling medium of instruction	Short term (5 years) Urdu	Urdu (or regional languages in primary grades)	Short term (5 years) Urdu	Short term (3 years) Urdu
Long term	Urdu/ regional languages		English/ Urdu/ regional languages	Regional languages as medium for primary schooling Urdu for general subjects (arts) and English from grade 9 for science and technical subjects Urdu and English offered as alternative medium in public schools till intermediate level (grade 12)
As subject	Urdu, English, regional languages compulsory till university levels	Urdu compulsory till intermediate grades (12) English introduced after primary level (grade 5) Note: New policy announced in January 2002 to introduce English from grade 1 in phases	Urdu/ English/ regional languages compulsory till the intermediate level	English, Urdu, regional languages compulsory till the intermediate level

Major characteristics of the new policy

The proposed policy takes into consideration the following factors.

Ideological framework

The proposed language policy in higher education based on this study would help promote cultural pluralism and not be assimilative in its outlook. It would provide support to all languages, namely Urdu, the national language; English, as the language for international communication; and the major regional languages, allowing them to play a meaningful role in students' education at both school and college levels. In keeping with the goal of 'cultural pluralism,' the recommended policy would make the study of regional languages compulsory up to the graduate level and ensure that primary schooling is offered in them so that the status of the regional languages is enhanced and the mother tongue of students is maintained. Without state language education policies that support the pluralistic approach, it will be difficult to enhance the status of regional and minority languages and save them from language shift to high-status languages (Urdu and English) and, ultimately, language death (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Bilingual education

The proposed policy, based on the findings of the study, recommends that all three languages—Urdu, English, and major regional languages—be used for educational purposes in Pakistan. This policy recommends the use of Urdu, English, and the four major regional languages (Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pushto) as compulsory subjects from grade 1 to graduate levels. It also recommends that schools in the public sector offer both English and Urdu as alternate mediums of instruction and that the regional languages be taught as compulsory subjects until graduate levels. In order to promote additive bilingualism, the policy also strongly recommends that education be initiated in the mother tongue of the learners and that the regional languages

be used as mediums of instruction for primary schooling in Pakistan. The 'enrichment model' in bilingual education, as recommended by Hornberger (1996), is seen as most appropriate and useful in the Pakistani context and underscores the proposed policy. This group maintenance program would encourage a stable bilingual community.

Material in Urdu

The results of the study show that after English, students, teachers, parents, and administrators display a preference for Urdu, both as a medium of instruction and as a compulsory subject of study. The major problem in higher studies in the Urdu medium of instruction lies in the slow development of material in Urdu, which has not been able to keep pace with the rapid technological developments in education. Students and teachers see the existing material in Urdu as insufficient and not of high quality. The government and various boards, such as the Urdu Language Authority, need to expend more thought and resources on the development of Urdu material to compete with English in higher education. As is the case with most other countries in the world, Pakistan needs to develop its own national language, Urdu, for all official and formal purposes, including higher education. However, it is equally important that the development of Urdu is not done at the expense of regional languages. What is being recommended in the proposed policy, therefore, is not to put the development of Urdu on the back burner but that all efforts should be made to develop material in Urdu in higher education over a realistic period so that Urdu can take its place as an alternative medium of instruction in higher education in the public and private sectors. The proposed policy would ensure that students access good-quality higher education both in the present and in the future.

English for all

The underlying principle of the proposed policy in higher education is 'English for all.' The policy aims at the democratization and empowerment of the masses through the removal of the 'elitist policy' of a dual medium of instruction in

higher studies by a 'cultivation policy' (see Bell, 1976) that ensures that studies in English are available to all students in the public and private sectors. The policy to have English as a medium in higher education and an alternate medium in public sector schools as a long-term goal would help remove the ambiguity in the present policy and create structures and systems to ensure successful learning in English. It also recommends that the English medium in higher education be gradually strengthened over a period of three years with state support and that the 'flexi-approach' in higher education, which allows students to take their university examinations in Urdu or English, be removed to ensure the successful implementation of the policy. In addition, it recommends that the intermediate grades (11–12) be used as a bridge period to strengthen the English language proficiency of our learners.

Keeping in view the highly positive attitudes of all stakeholders and the strong motivational intensity of our learners, including the majority of learners from the public sector who wish to study in English for instrumental reasons, the proposed policy of the government to introduce English from grade 1 should be seriously considered. As the results of this study show, the new policy is strongly supported by all stakeholders (students, teachers, parents, administrators, and policy planners) and thus has a greater chance of success. The challenge, of course, would lie in setting up efficient English language programs at all levels of schooling that can ensure a smooth transition for students with Urdu as an alternative medium in schooling to an English medium in higher studies.

Clarity of language policy in higher education

The lack of a clear language policy in higher education has confused teachers and administrators about the need to provide English language support to their students in order to help them cope with their higher studies and future employment. The weak proficiency in English among our students and teachers is influenced by the fact that English is not emphasized in the official education policy as much as Urdu. The government,

especially the Task Force in Higher Education (2001), the Steering Committee (2002), and the Higher Education Commission (2002) recognizes the critical role of English in contributing to academic proficiency in higher education, which will be necessary for a modern and progressive Pakistan. The findings of the study indicate that relevant groups recognize the importance of English for their future.

English language programs

As seen in the present study, despite high motivational intensity and a desire to learn English, the proficiency of students in English is low. The study also highlights spoken English as a major need of college/university students, as problems related to speaking fluently seriously handicap them in real-life situations, such as job interviews and upward social and economic mobility. This points to the need for a radical reappraisal of objectives and strategies in the ELT program. Broadly, what is involved is a shift from the grammatical to the communicative properties of a language. Learners' needs should be met by a course in functional communicative English (Littlewood, 1981) that pays attention to both functional and structural aspects of language, combining these into a more fully communicative view. The English language proficiency of learners will only improve if the ELT program aims at the development of all skills, i.e., receptive and productive, to meet learning needs and target needs vis-à-vis target situations, i.e., higher education and work, as well as imparts strategies for autonomous learning of the language.

The findings of this study suggest that students and teachers are dissatisfied with the availability and quality of their present English courses. They recommend that English programs be set up in institutions where they do not exist and the present courses be made more efficient to provide them with adequate language support for higher studies and prepare them for communicating successfully in the workplace. Both students and teachers also propose that the heavy literature content in the courses be reduced and that both English for specific purposes (ESP) and general English be taken into consideration when designing courses.

Training of teachers is also strongly recommended by all the stakeholders in our study. What is required is that teachers be trained in new teaching methods and benefit from both mentalist and humanist assumptions about language learning, such as problem-solving and a student-centered approach, as well as modern techniques like group and pair work. In an extensive study on the training requirements of English teachers in Pakistan, Malik (1996) identifies the need to set up ELT training courses that incorporate a need-based model and emphasize the language development component along with updated approaches and methodologies. The study identifies the need for the linkage of appropriate substantial incentives, such as increments in pay and promotion, to the successful completion of various levels of training courses. Malik (1996) also identifies the need for trailer courses or follow-up workshops after the successful completion of a training course, as trained teachers need support to implement the acquired innovative language-based approaches to the teaching of English.

The extent and duration of support to be given to learners in English school education

It is proposed that there be a prior program in general English (grades 1–12). The learning of general English will help make English a living language by providing a vehicle for social interaction and a key to understanding international mass media, thereby eliciting stronger motivation from students. The recommendations put forward by the Musharraf (2001) government to begin English from grade 1 in phases are justified on the basis of access and equity. The problems of insufficient teachers, especially in rural areas, and the lack of trained teachers at the primary level, leading to learners' problems in English becoming 'fossilized' and hence difficult to remedy later, need to be looked into very carefully. The recommendation made in the proposed policy based on this study that English be made an alternate medium of instruction for rural children is justified because it allows rural children social mobility and opportunities for higher education and employment. A fair solution may be to

provide English as an alternate medium in schools in the public sector, especially in rural areas, after a period of five years, when the country reaches a stage where trained teachers of English are available in all schools, both urban and rural.

There should be a daily compulsory class of functional communicative English; this will mean 945 hours of English study for learners. It is found that at least 500–1,000 hours are needed by students to achieve a working command of a foreign language, assuming a good teaching program in a class of eight students (UNESCO, 1953). Large class sizes in Pakistan are handicaps that can be reduced by introducing modern techniques such as group work. The aim of the English course is to ensure that by the time Pakistani children finish high school (grade 12), they are competent in English with respect to listening, speaking, reading, and writing for everyday purposes and have developed a basic analytic and comprehension ability to handle subject books written in English in higher education.

English for graduate and postgraduate classes

It is cost-effective and logical for a developing country like Pakistan to have English as a Second Language program in universities that equip students to acquire knowledge with an emphasis on reading comprehension and study skills by teaching ESP. The teaching of ESP focuses clearly on the language needs of the specialist as opposed to general language learners (see Robinson, 1980). The ESP courses would serve different kinds of purposes, such as English for occupational purposes (EOP), English for academic purposes (EAP), and English for science and technology (EST). This course (with an emphasis on EAP) is, therefore, recommended as being most suitable for our university students who are learning English en route to the acquisition of quite different bodies of knowledge or sets of skills and who are about to take up employment. The English language is seen as playing an auxiliary role; it is important that ESP courses be learner-centered (Munby, 1978). On the whole, there is agreement that ESP does not mean a restricted language if it is concerned with students in tertiary education who will have 12

years of general English courses and will, therefore, have a 'common core' English. An ESP program for higher education would mainly involve academically advanced learners who have already acquired, through the medium of their mother tongue, a good deal of knowledge and understanding of the subject that might possibly be exploited in the ESP program (Widdowson, 1983), so students are equipped with a second language as an auxiliary tool in a particular area of specialization.

Guidelines for implementation

Though the need for ESP is recognized, implementing it is an ambitious and complex project. A significant problem is that teachers often handle ESP programs without professional training in the methods and materials of ESP.

Centers of English language

It is proposed that centers of English language (CELs) be set up in each general or professional university. The existing English departments of different degree colleges should also be converted into CELs for the purpose of providing ESP, EAP, and EST to students from different faculties as a support program. Students, upon entry into graduate and university classes, should be required to undergo an English language proficiency test—with a written and oral component similar to the British Council's IELTS (International English Language Testing System). Students who need help in English would have to undergo an intensive two-month pre-sessional English course. Those who can cope with their professional work would be exempted. At the end of the two-month course, all students would be advised to seek support from CELs during the regular academic year. This approach is already used in most UK universities to support the ELT needs of overseas students—with a good measure of success. The CELs would also be responsible for training the staff of technical institutes and college/university faculty during the summer vacation in teaching methodology and in preparing their own materials.

A few language centers set up with the assistance of official development assistance during the 1980s, such as the CEL at Aga Khan University, are functioning successfully by providing support to the students and employees of the university and can be used as a model for other language centers in the country. The CEL at Aga Khan University and others could also assist in the design and setup of new language centers. Shared expertise could also lead to the development of courses and the production and use of standardized materials. As seen in this study, there is a scarcity of suitable material for learning/teaching English, especially in higher education. The production of local material in English that takes into account sociocultural considerations is far more appropriate and relevant for our learners.

Postgraduate programs in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL)

It is highly recommended that postgraduate programs in TEFL be offered to English teachers from colleges and universities that aim to provide a strong theoretical base for the teaching of English on modern lines. The programs should also focus on integrating theory with practice so that teachers can apply the knowledge and skills gained during their training to their own contexts. These courses could range from a one-year diploma program to a two-year master's program in TEFL. These courses should be mandatory for all pre-service and in-service teachers from both the public and private sectors.

Collaboration/links with the British Council and overseas institutions and organizations

Links and collaborative efforts with the British Council and centers of English language in overseas universities and organizations would be very beneficial for the development of courses and materials in English, as well as the training of college and university teachers in TEFL. The overseas models could be adapted to suit our own learning and teaching requirements. It is also suggested that overseas experts be consulted at all stages, preferably as part of the overseeing committees.

Research in language studies

A language research cell should also be set up to conduct major surveys to assess the language needs of learners and determine the percentage of intelligibility of Urdu, English, and regional languages in different parts of Pakistan. This language/literacy mapping would enable resources to be targeted more specifically and equitably. Other areas of research could include the psychology of language learning, sociolinguistics, spoken English, and approaches and methods of English language teaching and testing.

National Committee on English

It is proposed that a national committee on English[2] be set up by the Higher Education Commission (2002) for the successful implementation of the policy of 'English for All,' as was established in Sri Lanka a few years ago. The committee could examine the need for setting up departments in TEFL offering a postgraduate diploma or a master's degree in order to develop ESP courses and materials and produce trained English teachers. In addition, the English language committee could make recommendations for the development of the existing English departments into centers of English, providing English language support to students, as well as revising and updating the primary, secondary, high school, and college/university English language syllabus by utilizing new insights, especially the functional communicative use of language. The English examinations at the university level could also be revised in accordance with the proposed revised syllabus. The committee could also look into the development of materials in English through the production of local textbooks based on the revised syllabus to reflect Pakistani needs. It is recommended that the National Committee on English also set up various sub-committees comprising a team

[2] The National Committee on English (NCE) was set up by the chair of the Higher Education Commission, Dr. Atta-ur-Rahman, in 1993, based on this report. The NCE project proposal outlining an action plan for ELT reforms in higher education, based on the recommendations put forward by the author's report, was approved by the Commission in May 2004.

of ELT experts in the areas of policy planning, course design, teacher education, materials, testing, and research to provide recommendations and oversee the successful implementation of the ELT programs in different regions of the country.

High-priority area for funding

It is strongly recommended that ELT be a priority area for funding. The government should allocate sufficient funds and resources to implement the above recommendations.

Conclusion

This study has made a significant contribution to the field of language planning in higher education in Pakistan. For the first time, a large-scale study was conducted over a period of three years to investigate the attitudes toward languages in education of all stakeholders, including students, parents, teachers, administrators, and policy planners from the capital cities of all regions of the country. Major areas in the study included the language needs of learners for higher education, work, and information technology; the availability and quality of English courses to meet these needs; assessment of materials in various languages for higher studies; the status and role of languages in education, particularly the mother and regional languages; as well as the language, educational, and sociocultural outcomes of the existing language policy. An effort was also made to determine the gap between official language policy in higher education and classroom practice.

The results of the study point to the highly positive attitudes toward English and the strong recommendations by students, parents, teachers, administrators, and policy planners for English-medium instruction in higher education. The motivation to learn English is more instrumental than integrative, where students see fluency in English as a passport to upward social and economic mobility. A significant problem identified in the study is the lack of proper English language support to meet learners' language needs. Apart from the unavailability of English courses in most

professional colleges and universities, the quality of the existing English courses in general colleges (arts and sciences) is seen as not being of high quality. In addition, there are problems and difficulties related to proficiency in English of both English and subject teachers, as well as the availability and quality of materials in various languages, particularly Urdu and the regional languages.

There are three major outcomes of the present language policy in higher education. The first is that students do not have sufficient language support in Urdu, English, or their mother tongue to cope with their studies in higher education. There are also some indicators that show that the resultant language outcomes of learners may have possible repercussions on their academic achievements. The results display the low English proficiency of Pakistani students, especially students from the public sector, who are disadvantaged in their socioeconomic status, schooling, and English facilities and require more English language support from the state to access higher education and perform more successfully than their counterparts in the private sector. The language shift in some 'minority speakers,' such as the Punjabi and Sindhi-speaking students, also makes evident the sociocultural repercussions of a language policy that pays scant regard to the status and role of regional languages in education.

The study provides evidence to support the observation that the current language policy in higher education is unsuitable and that the issue of language planning in education has not been sufficiently addressed in Pakistan. This study lends support to the view that an 'elitist' policy of English for a select few is currently pursued in higher education. The 'flexi-approach,' as well as the long-term policy to have Urdu as the medium of instruction, is being used to prolong the dual medium policy, where public sector students study mainly in the Urdu medium and private sector students in the English medium. Insufficient attention is being paid by the state to improve the courses or the quality of instruction in English in public sector colleges and universities on the pretext that the long-term goal is to transition to Urdu as a medium of instruction.

The study also shows that the use of a 'mix' language (Urdu and English) is prevalent in most public and private sector institutions, indicative of students' and teachers' difficulties in using English in learning and teaching. Meanwhile, no significant advances have been made to implement the declared policy to develop adequate materials in Urdu to cope with higher studies. The ideological goals of language policy to promote Urdu as the national language and to replace English in all official and formal spheres, including higher education, appear to be in conflict with the views of the policy planners who regard English as the most suitable medium for higher education, as well as with students who want to study in the English medium for instrumental reasons. Although both languages (Urdu and English) enjoy a high status in Pakistan, the economic advantages associated with English as the international currency for science and technology and as the business lingua franca make English more attractive to Pakistani students despite its high political status as the national official language and the accompanying institutional support.

Attention is drawn in the study to the need to redress the critical situation in higher education in Pakistan by paying special attention to the issue of language planning. In particular, recommendations are made for the state to adopt pluralistic and not assimilationist policies to provide a boost to the mother tongue of students and regional languages at all levels of education. In addition, the establishment of bilingual education programs that allow all languages (Urdu, English, and regional languages) to play their due role is highly recommended. The need to provide clarity in language policy in higher education to facilitate access for students from public sector institutions and low socioeconomic backgrounds to seats of higher learning and white-collar jobs is also highlighted. Specific suggestions have been made to strengthen ELT programs through a revision of courses, development of local materials, and training of teachers to meet students' learning and target needs. Additionally, the establishment of a national committee on English to assist in the planning and development of suitable ELT programs throughout the country is underscored.

The present study provides rich data to language planners and researchers on various aspects of language planning in higher education from capital cities in all regions of Pakistan. It is anticipated that future studies in related areas will utilize these results to yield fresh insights into this complex issue. While the researcher could engage in only some of these issues for the purpose of the study, it is hoped that others in the field, including ELT students in the country, will probe further in areas such as those related to age and gender, parental attitudes, teacher training, material development, institutional and classroom practices, institutional capacity building, language spread and language shift, and sociopolitical aspects of ELT. A follow-up study designed by the CEL at Aga Khan University on English and employment is already in progress with the support of the Aga Khan University research grant.

Finally, it is important to note that language planning in education is subsidiary to national language policy. Although this pioneering study in bilingual education and language planning hopes to impact language policy and ELT reforms in higher education in Pakistan and bring about some necessary changes, there is an urgent need for public debate and further research in this area of immense importance.

Language and Employment

This essay studies the use of English and other languages in the workplace.

S. Mansoor, N. Hussain, I. Azam, A. Sikandar, S. Tatari, M. Hasan, & M. Zafar. (2020). *English and employment in Pakistan: Elitist policy impact on graduate employees*. Lahore School of Economics.

Sabiha Mansoor, Nasreen Hussain, Iqbal Azam, Aliya Sikandar, Sabahat Tatari, Munaza Hasan and Mohammad Zafar

Background of organizations and employees

The 184 organizations surveyed included 24% multinationals and belonged to both the private (72%) and public (28%) sectors. These organizations belonged to various categories: manufacturing (38%), services (57%), and trade (5%). The organizational size varied and included small-, medium-, and large-scale organizations (Table 1).

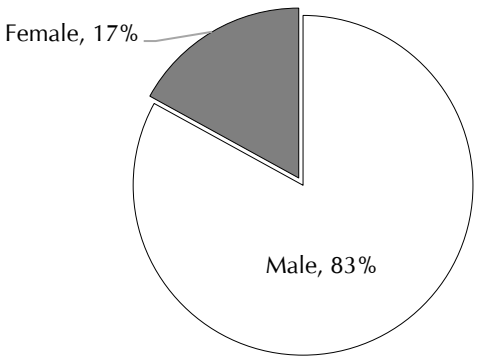
Table 1: Organizational size

No.	Organizational size	No. of employees	%
1	Small	50 and below	17
2	Small	50–99	10
3	Small	100–199	12
4	Medium	200–499	21
5	Medium	500–999	17
6	Large	1,000+	22

These organizations were located in all the capital cities of Pakistan, with 106 organizations and 776 employees from Karachi, 31 organizations and 249 employees from Lahore, and a similar number in Islamabad. The number of organizations from Peshawar and Quetta was around eight, with fewer than 50 employees. It is worth noting the small number of women

employees (17%) despite the efforts of interviewers to interview more women (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Gender of employees interviewed (%)



The majority of employees (73%) were under 40 years of age (Table 2), and the subjects reported that their educational qualifications were bachelor's degrees (42%), master's degrees (30%), and professional degrees (28%).

Table 2: Age group of employees

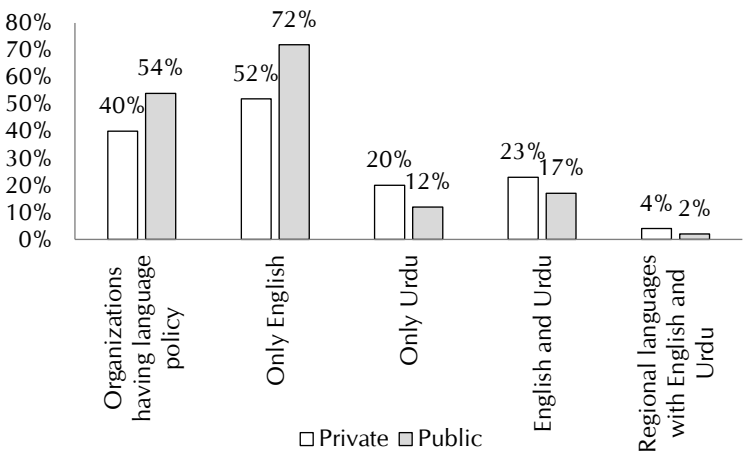
Age group of employees	%
20–29 years	37
30–39 years	36
40–49 years	18
50+	9

'Overt' and 'covert' language policy

Around half of the organizations report that there is an official language policy in the workplace. Of these, half of the organizations from the private sector (52.6%) and almost three-quarters from the public sector organizations (71.2%) report that English is the official language in the workplace. About 20% of the private organizations state that Urdu is their official language, while just 11% of the public organizations use only Urdu as their

official language. The language of documentation reported was mainly English in both public and private sector organizations. Twenty-three percent of the private organizations use both English and Urdu as their official languages; 16.5% of public organizations report using both as their official languages. A mere 0.6% and 1.3% of private and public organizations, respectively, use regional languages in addition to Urdu and English as their official languages (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Language in the workplace



Employers state that while a written language policy is missing, it is implicitly known that they have to use English officially. It has been a 'tradition' to use English officially, so there is no doubt that English is the medium of formal communication.

A private sector employer stated:

> As a matter of policy, we are only…to use English. As far as written policy is concerned, I am not aware of that." He added, "Yes, because first of all, it's a multinational, and then, you know, historically, we have been using English.

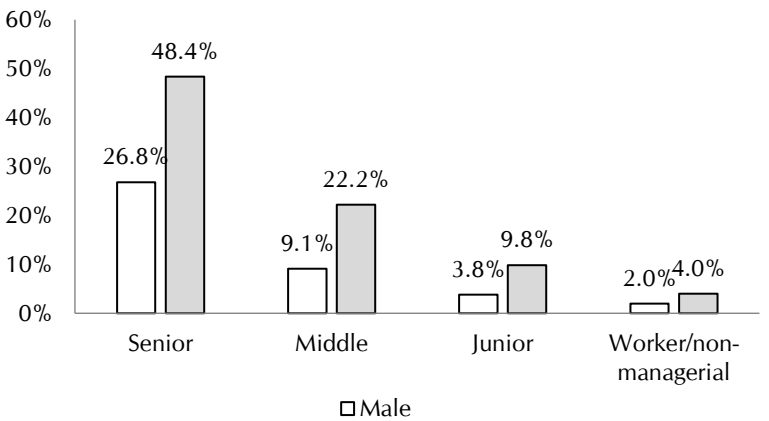
The public sector employer also commented:

> Medium of instruction is English. It's by tradition. By tradition means, the academy, from day one, when it was established, the medium of instruction has been in English. There is no need to look for a written policy.

Languages in the workplace according to organizational level

As seen in Figure 3, the use of English by graduate employees increased according to their level in the organization, with more use of English in the middle management cadre and maximum use of English by senior management executives. Female employees from all management cadres reported more use of English than males. The use of the standard variety increased very little with the age of the employee.

Figure 3: Use of English in the workplace by gender and type of staff



Across the board, women used standard English more than men did. In the category of the worker class, women used English twice as much as men did. Women from junior and middle management staff used the English language three times more compared to their male counterparts. It is observed that as the

level of employees increases in the management hierarchy, the use of standard English also increases (Figure 3).

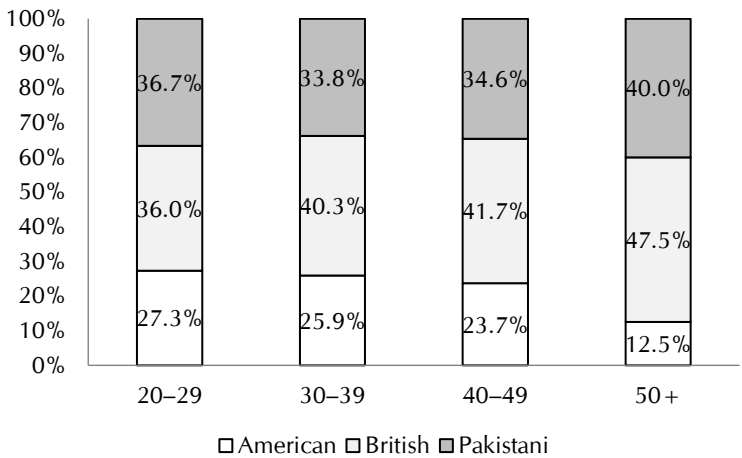
Role of major and minor languages in the workplace

A major portion, around 90% of public and private organizations, uses English for the documentation process. Around 1.5% of both types of organizations use Urdu only as their language for documentation. The remaining percentage of organizations (8.4% private and 11.2% public organizations) use both Urdu and English for written documentation. Only 0.5% of private organizations report using a regional language for documentation, along with Urdu and English. According to the data collected, regional languages were not used for documentation in the public sector. It is important to mention here that public organizations use English more than private organizations.

Varieties of English

The three varieties of English used in Pakistan are British, American, and Pakistani English (Figure 4). It is observed that there is a gradual increase in the use of American English among the younger generation. Employees above 50 years of age use British English more than the younger employees. Whereas 47.5% of employees above 50 report using British English, only 36% of employees aged 20–29 use British English in the workplace. In the latter group, 27.5% use American English compared to 12.5% used by people over 50 years. Moreover, the use of the Pakistani variety of English has diminished over time.

Figure 4: Use of a standard variety of English by employee age (%)

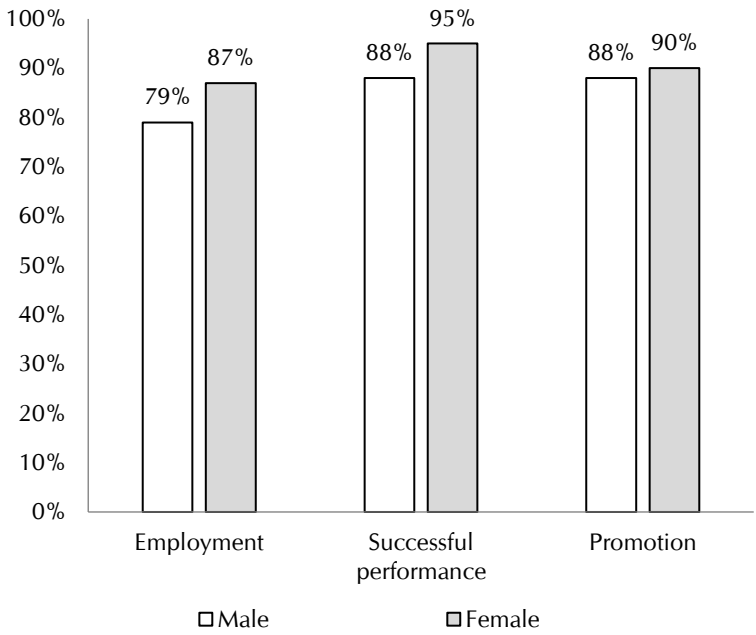


The younger group uses less of the Pakistani variety compared to the older generation. There is an increasing trend of using American English among Pakistani youth. Rahman (2008) shares in his study on call centers in Pakistan that more weight was given to applicants who had an American accent than to those with a British accent in English.

English for successful employment

A vast majority of employees (above 80%) consider English important for success at work; both male and female employees consider English important for employment, successful performance, and promotions (Figure 5).

Figure 5: English as an important factor for employment, successful promotion, and career (% by gender)



The majority of employees in both the private (85%) and public sectors (88%) reported the need to develop English language skills. They preferred English for specific courses (82%) rather than general English courses to improve both written and spoken English language skills (77%) for their workplace.

Employees believe that knowledge of the English language helps them express their views better than those who are not able to speak English.

A private sector employee commented:

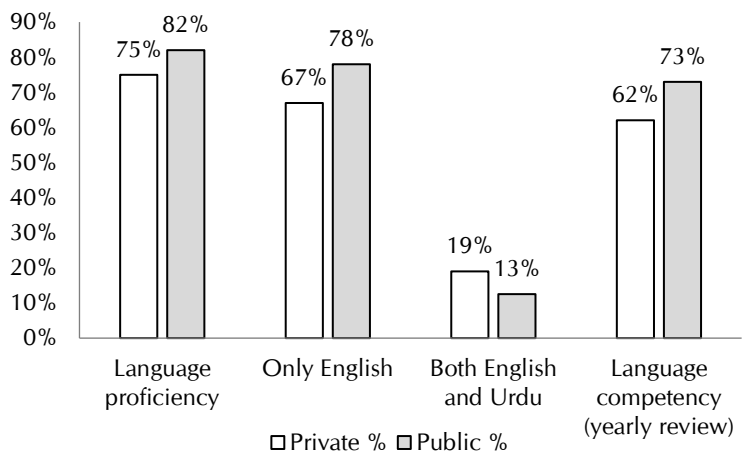
> Definitely, in every meeting, there is one person who is very good at English and has more [better] presentation skills, and that person is taking [takes] up more of the time. That very thing is lacking in English

language competencies, and that should definitely be supplemented by organizations...

Employers' perspective: Hiring and appraisal

A huge percentage (82%) of public organizations assess the English language competency of employees at the time of hiring. Similarly, 75% of private organizations gauge the linguistic skills of prospective employees. Only 13% of public and 19% of private organizations consider both Urdu and English language skills. Moreover, 73% of public and 62% of private organizations assess competency in the English language during the yearly review. It is evident that out of the two major languages, Urdu and English, the latter is more significant in obtaining a job and for annual appraisals (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Language for hiring and appraisal (%)



Interviews also reveal similar perspectives from employers. One employer from the public sector reported, "English is something that our potential workforce should possess." Irrespective of the job description, English is essential for hiring. According to him, "the person who doesn't have a good grip on English will be at quite a disadvantage..."

Private-sector employers also expressed similar views. Both his interviews used for hiring were conducted in English, and according to him, "the English language has an edge... it does affect your opinion."

Although employees are interested in enhancing their English linguistic skills, employers express financial and time constraints in providing such training. A private sector employer stated that they expect employees to join the organization equipped with these linguistic skills. He states:

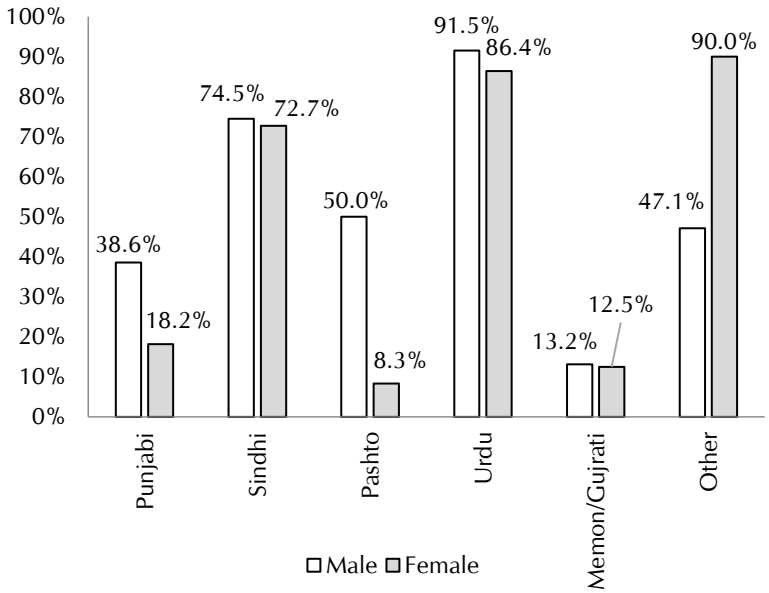
> It puts more pressure on the organization to bring these people up to par with the minimum requirements, where we would have expected them to come equipped with certain skills...it puts pressure on our resources to provide training to them. It is time-consuming and takes our focus away from our core objectives as well.

Spoken and written competency

Data on fluency in speaking English was gathered based on the native language of the participants. A vast majority of people were fluent in speaking English. All participants, except native Memoni/Gujarati-speaking women, were fluent in spoken English (above 80%) in their self-reports. Urdu and Sindhi-speaking natives were the most fluent in spoken English, followed by Pashto speakers. Punjabi-speaking men and women were 89.6% and 80.9% fluent in speaking English, respectively. Both men and women were similar in English-speaking fluency.

As seen in Figure 7, Urdu-speaking men and women are proficient in written English. This is followed by native Sindhi speakers, where 72.7% of women and 74.5% of men are fluent in English writing, whereas only 38% of Punjabi men and 18% of Punjabi women can write fluently in English.

Figure 7: Written competency (full/moderate) in English reported by employees by mother tongue and gender (%)

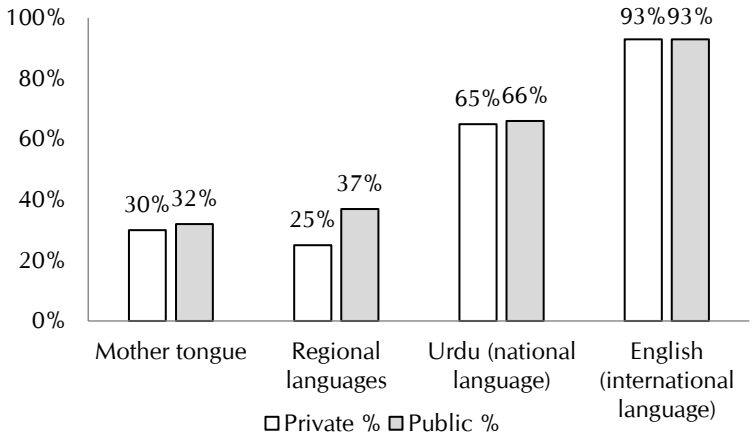


Thus, it is evident that both men and women are equally fluent when it comes to spoken English, regardless of their native language. However, in written English skills, women are weaker than men, especially Punjabi and Pashto-speaking women. The gap between men and women is minimal among Memoni/Gujarati-speakers.

Attitude towards languages

The majority of employees displayed positive attitudes towards English and recommended that their organizations/institutions promote English (93%), followed by Urdu (65%). However, the number of employees who wanted their mother tongue (31%) or regional languages (25%) was small (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Attitudes towards the English language (%)



With regard to attitudes toward English, private sector employees said:

> So, we need a single medium, and that is obviously English, so we need English. And English is very essential to communication with other countries. Those people who do not have command over it—they feel a bit shy. In my view, the English language is very essential, and we should work to enhance our knowledge in this particular area. So, barriers could be eliminated if we work hard.

This is in accordance with Tayyaba's (2014) findings. English was equated with having a "'voice' and 'the right to speech and [the right to] impose reception'" (Bourdieu, 1991), indicating issues of marginalization.

Language, gender, and mother tongue

The mother tongue of over half the employees was Urdu (53%), followed by Punjabi (27%), Pashto and Sindhi (6%), and Balochi (1%). Whereas Urdu-speaking employees (93%) mostly used their mother tongue, Urdu, at home with their family, only 57% of Punjabi, 76% of Sindhi, and 80.5% of Pashto-speaking

employees did the same. Very few Gujarati-speaking employees (22%) used their mother tongue with family. On the other hand, more than half of Memoni/Gujarati- speaking employees (56%) spoke in the national language—Urdu—not their mother tongue, at home. Around 42% of Punjabi, 16.9% of Sindhi, and 11.7% of Pashto speakers spoke in Urdu at home and with their relatives. Among these three ethnicities, the majority of Pashtuns (80.5%) speak in their mother tongue at home, followed by Sindhi, and only half of Punjabis prefer speaking in their mother tongue in the comfort of their home. It was observed that Punjabi and Pashto speakers did not speak in English at home. Less than five percent of Sindhi and Urdu speakers spoke in English at home.

Conclusion and discussion

English enjoys a high status in the employment sector in Pakistan. Although a written language policy is available in only half or less of all public and private organizations, almost all written work and documentation is conducted in English.

The learning of English and employment is thus seen as synonymous with accessing employment; this relationship seems to be strong in Pakistan and has persisted despite efforts aimed at nationalism and the promotion of Urdu to replace English for official purposes (cited in Pakistan's Constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973). English is the main medium of instruction in higher education.

Mass failures in English, along with the weak proficiency of current graduates, remain the prime indicators of the crisis in the education system due to ill-planned language policies in education, an outdated curriculum, untrained English teachers, and a dearth of updated and quality materials suited to our local context (Malik, 1996; Abbass, 1998) to date.

Greater use of English is reported by senior and middle management, especially women, however, this gradually becomes less prevalent in the junior and non-management cadres. Various varieties of English are used in the workplace, including British English, American English, and Pakistani

English. Younger employees reported more use of American English than older employees, who preferred the British variety. A trend is observed in the rise of Pakistani English in the workplace.

The English language is needed for entry into employment and for upward mobility in the workplace. The language proficiency of graduate employees is seen as below the required levels in written competency. There is a strong demand for English courses in both spoken and written English to be provided as part of human resource development, as reported by a majority of graduate employees.

Multiple identities are displayed by graduate employees in the workplace, as seen in the use of multiple languages for various purposes—mother tongue and Urdu with family and friends, and English and Urdu for formal and informal use in the workplace. English in the workplace does not pose a threat to the national or ethnolinguistic identity of the graduate employees, as English is seen as necessary for instrumental reasons. Minority language speakers, especially Gujarati speakers, display a language shift away from their mother tongue to Urdu, as seen in the increased use of Urdu followed by English rather than their mother tongue with family and friends.

The majority of graduate employees in the workplace reported Urdu as their mother tongue (53%), whereas Urdu is the mother tongue of only 7.57% of Pakistanis, as reported in the latest language census (2017). These results indicate, as seen in "Language and Higher Education" by Mansoor (2005), that this may be due to 1) a language shift of urban educated Punjabi speakers to Urdu due to the high status of Urdu as a national official language and the low ethnolinguistic identity of Punjabi speakers, or 2) Urdu speakers having more access to higher education and employment due to their higher socioeconomic status (Alavi, 1973).

Gender discrimination was identified as one of the factors in the workplace, as seen in the low representation of female employees (17%) at all levels in the workplace. The results of the

study also displayed less use of the mother tongue with family and friends by females as compared to males. Females also displayed a higher competency and use of English in the workplace compared to males. This trend could be indicative of female employees using a high-status language such as English for self-esteem due to the low status accorded to them in Pakistani society.

The results of the study highlight the need for English language courses to be designed for pre-experienced learners, as well as for in-house or on-the-job employees. These courses have now been reported to combine language and skill development in work-related contexts and in dealing with counterparts or colleagues. Aspects such as the position of the speaker, their status, and authority are all taken into consideration in order to design course syllabuses and materials. Recently, in business, there has been an emphasis on improved oral and written communication encompassing electronic communication. Alexander (2002) reports various parameters to consider before planning and designing courses for specific groups, including factors like the number of students who study English as a foreign language while pursuing business studies at university or college, how many such students have work experience before they learn English, and how different institutions weigh the relative demands of English for academic purposes and English for (future) occupational purposes.

These aspects should be taken into consideration by syllabus and curriculum planners, materials producers, advisers, and business teachers, as all of them might benefit from the information in higher education and in the workplace. In a recent study on language planning in higher education, it was revealed that such realizations are not very common or frequent in Pakistan among educational planners and curriculum developers regarding course developments for graduate English courses; the resulting population is affected by the inadequate and low-quality courses offered to them (Mansoor, 2005).

English for specific purposes (ESP) courses are seen as most suitable due to their utilitarian and pragmatic connotations. In the

area of research, there are concerns regarding course and material design, but the issue of needs analysis takes center stage (Dudley, 1998; Goh & Chan, 1991; Louis et al., 1991; Munby, 1978). Various surveys of English in the commercial sector and universities have been conducted in developed countries, reflecting a growing concern to tailor courses to meet the specific language needs of learners. Ethnographic studies (John, 1988; Ramani et al., 1988; Louis, 1993) have also been conducted to provide "thick descriptions" of target discourse communities to assist in designing ESP tests, establishing self-access centers, computer assisted language learning (CALL), discourse and genre analysis, and corpus work. The role of needs analysis is perceived as most significant, as learners' needs may be much more varied and the spectrum of language skills less predictable.

The approach to needs analysis depends on the situation and context, and Pilbeam (1979) suggests that needs analysis should establish a target situation analysis and a present situation analysis so that the language audit is particularly relevant to in-company work.

Research indicates that English is associated with access to better jobs in Pakistan. Therefore, it is recommended that the teaching of English should be continued, but at the same time, Urdu and regional languages should be strengthened. Course material in Urdu should be designed so that students learn their own national language. Regional languages should be taught in schools to prevent them from being marginalized. The language of education is associated with prestige. When regional languages are taught in schools, society will develop a positive attitude towards them.

Chapter 4
Maps for Lost Teachers: Faculty Development in Higher Education in Pakistan

Faculty Development in Pakistan

S. Mansoor. (2010). *Maps for lost teachers: A faculty development strategy*. Beaconhouse National University and Woodrow Wilson Center.

Sabiha Mansoor

This report shares the results of a recent survey conducted by the author on faculty policy and practice, along with a new vision for strengthening faculty development (FD) in Pakistan, keeping in view the implications for brain drain, unemployment, and youth.

Higher education

Higher education is seen as critical to Pakistan's development as a moderate and democratic nation, as well as its role in improving the country's economy by channeling its youth, who constitute around one-third of the population, to become productive citizens. During the last decade, it has received a great deal of attention from the government and international agencies, and 'Higher Education Reforms' were introduced to resolve the innumerable problems that continued to plague colleges and universities. On the recommendations of a task force and steering committee constituted by President Musharraf in 2000, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) was set up in 2002 in response to the virtual collapse of the higher education system. The HEC replaced the earlier University Grants Commission and also assumed the roles and responsibilities of the Ministry of Higher Education.

HEC reforms

Access

The HEC, in its Medium-term Development Framework 2005–2010, projected that in terms of access, the plan aimed at doubling the enrollment of students from the current 2.9% to 5% in 2010, and 10% in 2015. The HEC deserves credit for achieving this goal with the expansion of universities from 60 to 124 during this period.

Quality

In terms of quality, the HEC had to face a more challenging task. The HEC reforms proposed a number of steps. Faculty development was considered of utmost importance, and the strategy proposed was to drastically increase the number of PhDs from 1,700 PhD faculty out of a total of 7,000 faculty members in the 60 public sector universities to 15,000–20,000 PhD faculty during a five-year period. The plan also included faculty training by the National Academy of Higher Education on pedagogy, communication, and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) skills to enhance faculty efficiency. The reforms also stressed innovative research and dissemination of findings through publications by the faculty, to be supported through research grants.

Funding

For the successful implementation of the reforms, higher education in Pakistan received a tremendous boost in terms of financial support from the state and international donors. The government of Pakistan, at the onset, provided support by raising the annual budget allocation for higher education from USD 15 million to USD 150 million and increasing the funds for science and technology from USD 3 million to USD 100 million.

The total budget allocated for higher education in the federal budget 2010–11 was PKR 5.2 billion, which is considerably

lower than the PKR 6.9 billion allocated to higher education in 2009–2010.

This setback is accompanied by a cut in the federal budget to HEC in 2010–2011 to PKR 15.7625 billion from PKR 18.5 billion, which creates problems for the next phase (2010–2015) of its development (Overseas Pakistani Friends, 2019). However, this deduction has to be seen in the overall context of an increase in education budgets in the provincial budgets, where provinces such as Punjab have increased the allocation for education in 2010–2011 to PKR 23.3 billion, as against PKR 22.38 billion in their 2009–2010 budget, thus making room for development in all sectors of education, including higher education (Interface, n.d.). Of the PKR 6.35 billion allocated to higher education by the Punjab government, PKR 250 million has been set aside for college sector reforms and PKR 15 million for consultancy. These funds could be considered for the FD of college teachers.

International donors also assisted the HEC reforms through generous awards for FD, teacher education, research, and links with prestigious universities abroad. The US government, after the 9/11 attacks, prioritized Pakistan's education reforms and has been the largest donor to support its higher education reforms. A five-year USD 100 million agreement was signed with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the initial period, which tripled three years later.

Current focus

FD is being steered by the HEC, where the ultimate goal is to increase the number of PhD faculty. Moreover, all promotions of higher education faculty to professorial ranks are subject to the requirement of holding a PhD degree along with a number of research publications. These requirements have created much confusion among higher education faculty, the majority of whom do not hold a PhD degree and, moreover, have limited or no facilities for engaging in research work or publishing articles, leading to frustration and low motivation.

Issues and concerns

HEC's achievements in terms of FD have not been impressive so far. According to the HEC report (2002–2008), a total of 6,749 PhDs have been funded since 2003, the majority being in the areas of science and technology. The HEC report states that of the 2,825 foreign PhDs, 65 had returned by 2008, and of the 3,516 indigenous PhDs, only 15 had completed their higher studies. Although the total number of PhDs produced from 2000–08 is listed as 613 in the Economic Survey, it is worth noting that the percentage of PhD faculty in universities actually decreased from 28.9% in 2001–02 to 22% in 2007–08, due to an increase in faculty.

Several steps have also been taken by HEC in partnership with USAID, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the World Bank to develop higher education faculty through professional development (PD) courses. One of the major factors for the shortfall of HEC's target of training a hundred percent of higher education faculty is that these courses are not mandatory for faculty and are offered on the basis of available resources. Moreover, the faculty lack the motivation to take advantage of these courses and remain disengaged, as the courses are not credited and do not lead to any rewards for faculty in terms of increments or promotions.

The rate of unemployed graduates, despite massive funds devoted to higher education, has been on the rise. A skilled workforce is a key determinant of the investment climate. Unfortunately, the employment situation in Pakistan has not yet improved due to several reasons, including a serious mismatch between the jobs demanded by the emerging needs of the country and the supply of skills and trained manpower, resulting in graduates ill-suited for Pakistan's requirements.

FD framework

To achieve the desired results in improving the quality of higher education, there is an urgent need to focus on FD by

adopting a more innovative approach than the top-down, elitist, and rigid policy adopted by HEC from 2002 to 2010. The current situation regarding FD raises the following questions for research:

- What do we understand by the term 'faculty development'?
- What should the objectives of the new policy be?
- What would the drivers of success be?

A suitable framework for FD focuses on professional roles and activities such as research and curriculum development; adopts a developmental approach and a constructive rationale rather than a remedial approach; emphasizes the centrality to the university and support of senior management; is faculty-centered and not administratively directed; is structured university- or campus-wide and not by department; and has a reward system for faculty.

The student outcomes that this framework is geared towards are in keeping with Pakistan's Vision 2030 and include the ability to communicate, engage in critical thinking and moral reasoning, acquire a breadth of interests, prepare as citizens who can live with diversity in a more global society, and finally, prepare for work.

Study

A recent study undertaken by the author on higher education FD policy and practice, which involved a sample of HEC-funded scholars studying in Pakistan and abroad since 2002, as well as a sample of public and private universities and colleges, provides interesting results. A marked difference between overseas and Pakistan-based scholars was observed, where the Pakistani scholars reported facing more difficulties in higher studies, particularly in accessing online resources and reading materials, as well as in funding. The foreign-based scholars also felt that their higher studies had a more positive impact on student outcomes in terms of developing independent learning and critical thinking skills. As a result, the Pakistan-based scholars rated the current FD policy in higher education less favorably. In terms of brain drain, the problem for scholars in Pakistan was far

more acute, as half of them wanted to work abroad. The most common reasons stated by Pakistani scholars were "to provide their children with educational opportunities" and "dissatisfaction with present employment" for scholars overseas.

The study also revealed marked differences in FD programs and activities currently available in colleges and universities. It was observed that colleges had very few programs compared to universities. Principals of colleges reported a bias by the HEC in favor of university teachers regarding opportunities for FD. It was also interesting to note that FD spending in colleges and universities emphasized higher studies, while PD programs were largely ignored.

The main reasons for the neglect of FD in colleges included a lack of funding and no incentives for pursuing such courses or degrees, despite the needs of faculty. Bureaucratic irregularity and inefficiency were reported as other hurdles for teachers. They stressed that there was no organized effort to develop faculty in colleges. Principals and faculty members were not consulted, and courses were offered at the discretion of universities, ministries, or directorates.

This study highlights the need to develop a vision for Pakistan's higher education faculty that empowers them as teachers, specialists, and researchers through holistic FD programs, leading to qualitative improvements in student outcomes and transforming higher education.

Policy recommendations

A new FD strategy, along with some policy recommendations for FD in higher education, is being put forward for discussion by all stakeholders. These include making it the foremost responsibility of all concerned to provide full support for the development of higher education faculty in terms of providing opportunities, guidelines, and incentives. Additionally, adequate funds should be allocated by the federal and provincial governments for FD in higher education.

Following this, it should be mandatory for faculty in higher education institutions (HEIs) to participate in FD programs that include advanced courses for specialized knowledge, courses in pedagogy to improve teaching practices, and research activities to enable them to engage in research and scholarly work.

It must be recognized that, in view of the dearth of PhD faculty teaching undergraduate programs, it is not pragmatic or financially viable to make a PhD a requirement for their promotion to professorial ranks. Instead, support should be provided to them to complete MPhil programs. PD programs comprising modern approaches to teaching should be an integral part of these.

Alternative tracks for FD should be made available for higher education faculty through multidisciplinary MPhil and PhD programs, such as MPhil and PhD in arts, humanities, social sciences, and higher education, as well as MPhil and PhD in math, science, technology, and higher education, with integrated PD programs.

Keeping in view that very few higher education faculty are research scholars, and the majority, especially degree-college teachers, are classroom practitioners, research at the MPhil level should focus on action research so that research findings can impact faculty teaching practice. For the faculty undertaking PhD studies abroad or in Pakistan, it is essential that research studies be conducted by the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) or other such organizations to identify the number and type of PhDs required in different disciplines by the employment sector.

The focus on teaching practice is essential to produce graduates who are productive citizens of Pakistan. As such, it should be an integral part of faculty evaluation conducted through student assessments and peer observations. The evaluation of HEIs by regulatory bodies such as the HEC should give due weight to faculty teaching practices as well as their effectiveness.

It is strongly recommended that a portable FD credit portfolio be created for each faculty member who can maintain a record of all the credits earned through FD activities. Incentives in terms of monetary benefits and promotions must be provided to faculty members at various levels of FD through this credit scheme.

Implementation strategies

Changes in structure and function would be required for the development of higher education faculty. FD would need to be decentralized to enable 'change' from within the HEIs. This would require that higher education FD centers be set up at district or divisional levels. The centers would be clusters comprising strong and weak institutions, with a lead institution responsible for spearheading FD programs and activities.

It is also important that FD programs be developed in each HEI under the supervision of the rector, vice-chancellor, or principal of the institution. The program would need to offer FD activities and help promote an environment that encourages and supports faculty to engage in these practices.

Higher education FD institutes would need to be established at the provincial level to help provide support to these centers, as well as universities and colleges, for the planning, development, and implementation of these programs. The institutes should have the status of degree-awarding institutions and possess the autonomy and power to control all developmental, administrative, and funding activities related to FD in their regions. The boards of these institutions should adopt democratic norms and comprise members who are representatives of each center.

Regarding the role of HEC and provincial governments, it is recommended that the HEC, as the apex body in coordination with the provincial governments, should continue to spearhead policy, provide funds, and support the new FD programs and activities in all centers and institutions. Along with the National Accreditation Council for Teacher Education (NACTE), it should remain responsible for the quality assurance of programs offered by the proposed institutes and centers.

The significant increase in the education budget in the provincial budgets for 2010–2011 makes it possible for provinces to allocate sufficient funds for FD in higher education, particularly for the development of college teachers.

Currently, the human resources for FD are limited, and it is recommended that these programs draw on expertise available in Pakistan and abroad. To encourage cross-utilization of resources at all levels and enlarge the impact of qualified faculty, institutes and centers should develop partnerships with prestigious universities abroad.

The sustainability of FD programs is critical, and developing local resources will be a pragmatic approach for the bulk of faculty, including women faculty, as indigenous MPhils and PhDs would become more accessible and economical. It will also enable these programs to continue after donor funds are depleted.

Impact

These policy recommendations have been developed with the central role of faculty in mind, focusing on improving higher education and its impact on Pakistani youth. Graduates produced by HEIs, supported by a highly empowered faculty, would greatly boost Pakistan's economy by contributing to the employment sector. They would also help bring stability to the country through a youth force that is tolerant, mature, and ready to contribute as good citizens of Pakistan and the world. In addition, these policy proposals will help strengthen the relationships of Pakistani academics and experts abroad through various initiatives. It aims to overcome some of the shortcomings of the current HEC policy regarding FD in higher education, which is expensive and difficult to sustain.

Part 1: Background

Pakistan's education system at all levels is fraught with problems. A United Nations Development Programme report (2004) gives Pakistan the lowest index score of any country outside Africa (Kronstadt, 2004). The adult literacy rate was

below 50%, with less than one-third of women being barely literate. Unemployment among university graduates was and remains a major problem for the country's growing population. Problems persist in primary and secondary education regarding inadequate government investment, a shortage of qualified teachers, poor teacher training, outdated curricula and materials, and weak institutional infrastructure. Considering the critical role of education in Pakistan's development as a moderate and democratic nation and in improving the country's economy (Burki, 2005) by channeling its youth—which constitutes 60 million (Malik, 2004) of its population of 155 million—to become productive, the government of Pakistan undertook various initiatives during this period, including the Education Sector Reforms (Government of Pakistan, 2004a). These reforms were launched in December 2001 and were projected to cost USD 7.2 billion from 2001 to 2015.

The announcement in the new education policy, 2009, displays a commitment from the democratic government of Pakistan to support educational reforms by dedicating seven percent of the GDP to education, compared to two percent in the previous year (Government of Pakistan, 2009a). Improved access to higher education is seen as one of the primary goals of the 2009 policy. In keeping with Vision 2030, the new education policy envisages producing citizens who are effective problem solvers, lifelong learners, and who not only contribute significantly to the information and knowledge-based global economy but also act as responsible, morally upstanding, and civic-minded citizens. This is a daunting task, as currently, there are 20 million schoolchildren who do not have access to quality education, and literacy rates are extremely low (69% for men and 44% for women) (USAID, 2010). "Education is regarded as a top priority for families. In the absence of adequate public education, private sector and religious groups have stepped in to provide alternatives" (USAID, 2010). Private sector schools now constitute 33% of educational institutions in the country. Although one of the major requirements to produce educated citizens would be to have highly qualified education

professionals who have to pass PD courses, it is interesting to note that the new education policy puts the onus on the educational professionals to pay for their own PD.

Higher education reforms

Higher education received a great deal of attention from the government and international agencies during this period. The Higher Education Reforms (Boston Group, 2002) were introduced to resolve the innumerable problems that continued to plague colleges and universities. As earlier mentioned, the HEC was set up in 2002 in response to the "virtual state of collapse" of the higher education system (Government of Pakistan, 2008).

FD was seen as critical to the success of the higher education reforms. The Boston Group, in its recommendations to the Task Force on Higher Education in 2002, highlighted that FD was required to produce a critical mass of highly professional, committed, and motivated faculty with the requisite knowledge base and pedagogic skills to implement the higher education program effectively. No mention, however, was made of acquiring PhDs to ensure the success of higher education reforms (Boston Group, 2002).

For the successful implementation of the higher education reforms, higher education in Pakistan received a tremendous boost in terms of financial support from the state and international donors. The government of Pakistan provided support by raising the annual budget allocation for higher education from USD 15 million to USD 150 million and increasing the funds for science and technology from USD 3 million to USD 100 million (Hussain, 2005). The budget for higher education from 2002–07 increased from PKR 7,723.4 million to PKR 28,741.6 million, which is an increase of 272%, but due to recession, it decreased to 2.8% in 2007–08 and further to 34.1% in 2008–09. The total budget for higher education in 2009–2010 was PKR 18,415.94 million. Cuts in the federal budget were offset by an increase in education budgets in the provinces which made room for development in all sectors.

The international donors also assisted the HEC reforms through generous awards for FD, teacher education, research, and links with prestigious universities abroad. The US government, after the 9/11 attacks, gave priority to Pakistan's education reforms, and a five-year USD 100 million agreement was signed with USAID in the initial period, which was later tripled. USAID, through these and additional funds, assisted the HEC with a USD 93 million grant from 2004–09, which amounted to USD 19.5 million annually to the United States Educational Foundation in Pakistan (USEFP) for the Fulbright Scholarship Program for developing faculty and USD 6.8 million for a merit- and need-based scholarship program (phases 1 and 2) to help academically qualified and financially needy Pakistani students pursue university studies at top Pakistani universities. The merit- and need-based scholarship has been included by HEC as a regular item in the budget of all public sector universities.

USAID also awarded funding of USD 7.5 million for the US-Pakistan Science and Technology Cooperative Program to manage the annual US peer review of research grant proposals and to award grants for funded projects and collaborations between Pakistani and US scientists, engineers, and healthcare specialists in a range of fields important to Pakistan. These include agriculture, water, health, and environmental sciences. In addition, USAID has assisted higher education in Pakistan through USD 4 million in funding for: i) the HEC Financial Aid Development Program from 2008–10, which provides technical assistance to the HEC and 11 Pakistani partner universities by creating viable financial aid and development systems within those institutions; ii) managing scholarship funds; and iii) providing skills for establishing public-private partnerships toward university development. USAID launched a Pre-Service Teacher Education Program (Pre-STEP) (2008–2013), with funding of USD 75 million, to assist HEC in enhancing the quality of basic education in Pakistan through improved teacher education by strengthening institutions that provide pre-service teacher education.

In 2009, the United States raised the funding to USD 7.5 billion over the next five years through the Kerry-Lugar bill[1] to endorse its commitment to Pakistan's development, including education reforms. In addition, the World Bank, UNICEF, Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme, British Council, and the Asian Development Bank have also provided support for these reforms. Although these funding agencies have focused more on primary education, considerable funds were allocated to higher education reforms. Several countries, such as China, Turkey, Romania, Russia, Greece, Mexico, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, and others, have offered scholarships for the Cultural Exchange Program.

Access

The HEC, at the launch of the reforms, identified limited access to higher education (2.9%), low quality of graduates, weak infrastructure, and lack of research-informed policies as critical issues and recommended FD, enhancing access, promoting quality in teaching, and relevance to the economy and development as the main drivers of success. The HEC, in its Medium-term Development Framework 2005–2010, projected that, in terms of access, the plan aimed at doubling the enrollment of students from the current 2.9% to 5% in 2010, and 10% by 2015. In 2001, the total number of Pakistani students enrolled in higher education was approximately 475,000 (2.6%) of the age group of 17–23 years; of these, only 139,000 attended universities (0.8%), whereas it was 10% in India and 68% in Korea (Government of Pakistan, 2005).

The private sector was also expected to play a leading role in enhancing the number of students in colleges and universities. In terms of access, the HEC's objective of raising student enrollment for higher education from 2.6% to 5% was achieved; total student enrollment for 2007–08 was projected by HEC as 741,092 (331,664 in the public sector, 103,466 in the private sector, and 305,962 in distance learning). During this period, the

[1] Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act 2009.

HEC awarded charters to 28 new universities and degree-awarding institutions in the public and private sectors. Currently, [at the time of writing] there are 124 universities and degree-awarding institutes in Pakistan, of which 67 (54 universities and 13 degree-awarding institutions) are in the public sector and 57 (40 universities and 17 degree-awarding institutions) are in the private sector (Government of Pakistan, 2009b).

The HEC has also announced the setting up of five more universities, thus raising the total number of universities to 129. The total number of faculty in public sector institutions is 37,428, with 13,446 faculty in the public sector (10,471 full-time and the rest part-time) and 6,180 faculty in the private sector (3,963 full-time and 2,217 part-time). In addition, there are 17,802 faculty members engaged in distance learning programs (182 full-time and 17,620 part-time) (Government of Pakistan, 2004b). The degree colleges in all four provinces of Pakistan are a part of the higher education system. The student enrollment in these colleges is higher than in the universities and degree-awarding institutions. The public sector colleges are affiliated with public sector universities, and all colleges, public or private, offer the degree of the university with which they are affiliated. The number of degree colleges in 2008–09 is estimated to be 1,219, with 21,112 teachers and a total student enrollment of 361,072 (Government of Pakistan, 2009b).

Quality

In terms of quality, the HEC reforms proposed a number of steps. FD was considered of utmost importance, and the strategy proposed was to increase the 1,700 PhD faculty out of a total of 7,000 faculty members in the 60 public sector universities to 15,000–20,000 PhD faculty during the five-year period. The Higher Education Report underscored the importance of a PhD by declaring that "although the holding of PhD degrees is universally considered to be an essential prerequisite for imparting quality education, it does not necessarily guarantee quality; the lack of a PhD does, by and large, present a high barrier to sustained provision of quality education" (Government of Pakistan, 2002, p.

20). The plan also included faculty training by the National Academy of Higher Education on pedagogy, communication, and ICT skills to enhance faculty efficiency. The planned outcome of the reforms was to upgrade the quality of higher education so that the graduates produced could be part of a well-educated workforce and effectively interact with people from a wide variety of backgrounds (p. 10). The reforms also stressed innovative research and dissemination of findings through publications by the faculty (p. 11), to be supported through research grants. HEC, however, made it clear that as scholarship programs have long gestation periods, their impact would be significant only three to four years after the launch (p. 22).

The attention to reforming higher education and the injection of funds to bring about qualitative improvements in the graduates produced by Pakistani universities and colleges was viewed with interest by all stakeholders. There was also a great deal of skepticism among academics about the multiple roles assigned to HEC, as the reforms had not only imposed an external regulatory body to monitor its performance similar to the former University Grants Commission but had also granted it powers to assign funding to HEIs according to various criteria for gauging infrastructure and performance. In addition, FD was steered by HEC, whose goal was to increase the number of PhD faculty. All promotions of HEI faculty to professorial ranks were subject to the requirement of holding a PhD degree along with a number of research publications. These requirements created much confusion among higher education faculty, the majority of whom did not hold a PhD degree and had few facilities for engaging in research work or publishing articles, leading to frustration and lowered motivation.

Some of the more qualified faculty members, who already had PhD degrees and articles published in indexed journals, pressured HEC to be more stringent in their criteria for faculty promotions to improve the quality of higher education. However, as aptly put by the head of USEFP, the policy outcomes for the existing faculty's requirement of a PhD for promotions in their careers would result in faculty being "winners and

losers…those faculty who do not have a PhD will have to work to get one, and this may be difficult for older established faculty who already have many other life commitments. Similarly, faculty who are good teachers but have not done research themselves will be at a disadvantage in the new promotions system" (Clark, 2005). What the HEC did not envisage was that there would be more losers than winners, as the majority of faculty felt handicapped by this requirement and lost motivation to excel in their teaching; moreover, the faculty with aspirations to move ahead were left at the mercy of a system that was deficient in providing them with a clear map to develop themselves according to their needs and interests during their teaching careers.

Higher studies

The enhancement of faculty through PhDs received the support of international agencies such as USAID to send 80–100 Fulbright students a year for their master's or PhD programs, and USEFP also announced joint funding by Pakistan and the United States for an additional 30–50 PhDs a year for five years. In addition, HEC announced an indigenous program to train 1,000 PhDs a year in Pakistan. As stated in the HEC report (2002–2008) (Government of Pakistan, 2008), the major focus of the development of higher education faculty by HEC has been to drastically increase the number of foreign PhDs through higher studies abroad and indigenous PhDs through local universities. A total of 6,749 PhDs have been funded since 2003, of which the majority (5,503) are in the area of science and technology.

The report further says that of the total number of 2,825 foreign scholarship awards, including PhDs, the scholarships were mainly for scholars engaged in science and technology (43%), life sciences and physical sciences (41%), and a smaller number of awards were for social sciences (7.5%), business education (4%), and arts and humanities (3.3%). Although the HEC has recently claimed that 8,000 PhD faculty would join the higher education workforce in the next five years, the results have not been impressive. The HEC report (2002–08) states that of the 2,825

foreign PhDs, a total of 65 had returned by 2008, and of the 3,516 indigenous PhDs, only 15 had completed their higher studies. The HEC's human resource development department also informs us that of the total number of scholars funded for higher studies, there are only 1,694 higher education faculty, including 863 faculty who have completed or are enrolled in an MA/PhD overseas, and 831 in Pakistani universities.

Keeping in view that currently there are around 37,428 faculty members working in 124 universities and 21,112 faculty members working in 1,219 degree colleges, the number of 1,694 faculty members being developed through higher studies in Pakistan and abroad remains small. Although the total number of PhDs produced from 2000–08 is listed as 613 in the Pakistan Economic Survey, it is worth noting that the percentage of PhD faculty in universities decreased from 28.9% in 2001–02 to 22% in 2007–08, due to an increase in faculty. The total number of PhD faculty was 2,095 out of a total of 7,239 faculty in public sector universities, that is, 29%, as compared to 3,683 PhD faculty out of a total of 16,752 faculty in public sector universities in 2008, which is 22% (Government of Pakistan, 2009b).

In an update provided by the HEC's executive director[2] to the research team, the number of scholars who have completed their studies in different categories is 12.5% of the total scholars funded since 2002 (Table 1).

Table 1: Total no. of HEC scholars involved in higher studies

Programs	Total	Returned/completed
Master's	177	83
PhD (indigenous)	3,882	143
PhD (overseas)	3,573	733
Total	7,632	959

It is worth noting that according to the HEC report, 733 (20.5%) PhD scholars of a total of 3,573 from the overseas category have completed their studies or have returned by 2010. On the other hand, from the indigenous category, 143 of 3,882

[2] S. Naqvi, personal communication, 10 February 2010.

(3.7%) PhD scholars have completed their higher studies. Only ten percent of faculty from this category who commenced their PhD studies in 2003–2005 completed their programs in five years. These numbers fall short of the HEC's physical targets (2005–2010) that had projected that the percentage of faculty in universities and degree-awarding institutions would be increased to 40% in these five years (Government of Pakistan, 2005).

Professional development

Several steps have been taken by the HEC in partnership with USAID, UNESCO, and the World Bank to develop higher education faculty through PD courses. These include the establishment of the Learning Innovation Division by the HEC, which offers one-day to six-week PD programs for in-service faculty and educational administrators. The Learning and Innovation Division also includes the English Language Teaching Reforms project, which offers English language teaching programs, including MA programs and short courses, to improve the pedagogic and research skills of English teachers. The National Academy of Higher Education offers a two-week to nine-month professional competency enhancement program for teachers, with support from USAID and Michigan State University. The recent Pre-STEP (USAID, 2009a), launched by USAID as a pre-service teacher education program to strengthen teachers' education and skills in 15 universities and 75 teachers' colleges in Pakistan, is developing faculty through a BEd degree and sending 60 faculty members abroad for their PhDs.

However, apart from the degree programs offered by Pre-STEP or the HEC English Language Teaching Reform project, the PD courses do not attract higher education faculty. The PD courses are not mandatory for faculty and are offered based on the availability of resources. The number of faculty members completing PD courses thus falls short of the HEC's physical targets, which projected that 100% of faculty would have undergone training courses that emphasize pedagogical, communication, and IT skills by 2010 (Government of Pakistan, 2005). One of the major factors for the shortfall is that the higher

education faculty is not motivated to take advantage of these PD courses and remains disengaged, as the PD courses are not credited and do not lead to any rewards for faculty in terms of increments or promotions. The issue of addressing faculty development needs is of such magnitude that the HEC would need additional support.

HEC's achievements

The HEC deserves credit for its efforts in enhancing student enrollment, promoting research through various incentives, such as research grants, and providing opportunities for scholars to access online resources through its digital library. The HEC has contributed to upgrading infrastructure in universities and providing equipment for setting up and upgrading laboratories and centers, especially in the areas of science and technology. The provision of IT infrastructure for intra-university and inter-university scholarly communication has also enabled HEIs to adopt modern technology for accessing online resources such as the digital library. Continuous curriculum development through the National Curriculum Reform Committee has also been implemented by the HEC in its efforts to make the courses more appropriate and relevant to learners' needs, keeping in view the rapid pace of development in various disciplines.

Part 2: Issues and concerns

Despite the increased funding for PhD programs and some support for PD programs in higher education, so far there has been no visible impact on the quality of graduates or significant improvements in teachers' performance due to the HEC reforms. In the recent SWOT analysis shared by the HEC at the vice-chancellor's meeting in October 2009, there were concerns regarding the neglect of social sciences, insufficient attention to the FD of degree colleges, neglected faculty support services, lack of polish among emerging graduates, and continued resistance to change. The World Bank report of the Medium-Term Development Framework in 2006, despite its overall positive rating of the achievements of the HEC, pointed to the

need for adopting measures to improve the teaching and learning environment through scholarships and in-service training, as well as fine-tuning programs to increase relevance. It also stressed the need to strengthen consultation to improve perceptions. The report finally recommends that the HEC prepare a roadmap to clarify its priorities and sequence reforms (World Bank, 2006).

Focus on the number of PhDs

The current FD policy is seen by many as unsuitable due to its sole focus on producing a large number of PhDs for the following reasons:

- The majority of higher education faculty, who only hold a master's degree in their disciplines and so have been excluded from career advancement opportunities, show a lack of commitment and low motivation.
- Only a small percentage of faculty currently have the capacity to conduct research or the strong background knowledge to pursue a regular PhD in their disciplines.
- The return of a large number of faculty sent for PhDs abroad since 2002 to their institutions or to be absorbed productively within the job force in Pakistan is doubtful.
- The majority of faculty members pursuing indigenous PhDs in Pakistan are seen as having a low-quality degree due to different entrance tests and less rigorous standards, and face difficulties due to a lack of sufficiently qualified or trained local PhD supervisors.
- Most higher education faculty are not research scholars; instead they are engaged in professional practice as classroom or clinical practitioners, whether in the arts, sciences, or professional disciplines, and see little use in spending four to five years abroad or eight to ten years in Pakistan pursuing a research-based PhD degree.
- The difficulties faced by women faculty in leaving home and family for four to five years for a PhD abroad have been ignored.

- The relationship between the number of PhDs and employment opportunities in terms of national economic goals has not yet been sufficiently explored.
- The high cost of foreign PhDs is considered unsustainable after the closure of donor funding.
- Specialized knowledge gained through PhD studies, though essential for creating new knowledge and for making economic and technological advances, is seen as insufficient for meeting important national education goals as defined in the new education policy, 2009, of producing university graduates who are critical thinkers and problem solvers as well as tolerant, moderate, and responsible citizens.
- Insufficient attention and funds have been devoted by the HEC to the PD of faculty. The Planning Commission of Pakistan, in its 2010–2015 plan (Khan, 2009), has criticized the massive PhD production by HEC as a "numbers game," and various higher education academics such as Pervez Hoodbhoy (2005) have also criticized this policy.

Prescriptive approach

The HEC policy has been criticized for its top-down approach and for not considering the faculty, the main stakeholders. There is insufficient cooperation from faculty members, as many face confusion regarding their professorial ranks in various HEIs, where senior non-PhD faculty lead schools and departments.

Fractured FD framework

The HEC policy on FD is also seen as not being pragmatic or viable, as it strictly separates FD into two distinct areas: higher studies and PD courses. The lack of an integrated framework to guide higher education faculty regarding their long-term development throughout their careers has resulted in insecurity about their future.

Neglect of good teaching practices

The present policy on FD divorces teaching and research, resulting in low motivation among higher education faculty to engage in good teaching practices. The research work of faculty is not focused on improving the learning-teaching process or meeting the needs of emerging graduates, leading to a lack of relevance in curricula and assessments.

Low motivation

Currently, the faculty is not motivated to perform well and develop themselves as professionals, as they see no rewards in terms of opportunities for career advancement. The lack of rewards and incentives for PD courses also makes these courses unattractive to the faculty.

Centralized training

The lack of supporting mechanisms for FD has created frustration among faculty. The role of the HEC and NACTE is currently seen as regulatory rather than supportive. The FD policy is perceived to be highly centralized and lacks ownership and involvement from HEIs, resulting in limited FD practices by institutions.

Neglect of degree colleges

The weakest link in higher education reforms is the degree colleges in Pakistan. The HEC has focused primarily on developing the higher education faculty in public sector universities. There are very few college faculty members who have been funded for PhD studies abroad by the HEC. The provincial governments' focus is on developing their schoolteachers and enhancing literacy in the provinces; consequently, funds are mainly provided for the administration and running expenditures of degree colleges, particularly the salaries of the college faculty, with little attention paid to their professional development. The expectation of the provincial governments is that the HEC is responsible for FD in higher

education. The result is that between the two, the professional development of college faculty has been ignored.

Neglect of the arts, humanities, and social sciences

The focus of FD in higher education has been to provide support to faculty for higher studies in the area of science and technology to enhance scientific and technological advances to help the economic development of the country. Consequently, a smaller number of faculty members in the arts, humanities, and social sciences have been sent abroad or through indigenous programs for higher studies. This has led to negative consequences, keeping in view the need to develop these disciplines and to promote effective teaching practices in these areas to curb the alarming growth of radical graduates who are narrow-minded, intolerant, and rigid.

Teacher education institutions

A major concern in education is the dearth of quality teacher education institutions for higher education faculty. The majority of teacher education institutions in Pakistan cater to schoolteachers. UNESCO (2006), in its report on teacher education, identifies 275 teacher training institutions providing pre-service training (certificates, diplomas, degrees) along with 300 teacher training resource centers in the districts. The provincial institutes of teacher education are responsible for the in-service training programs of schoolteachers. Although a number of initiatives and projects to improve schoolteachers have been launched, they are isolated and have not produced the desired results (Andrabi et al., 2008). Fundamental causes of the lack of teacher PD identified by UNESCO (2006) include a flawed system based on centralist control and a lack of commitment to public policies. The National University of Education is also mainly engaged in the task of providing training to primary and secondary schoolteachers. The USAID Pre-STEP for strengthening teacher education institutions is assisting the Higher Education Commission in its efforts to improve the quality of teachers, who are primarily schoolteachers.

Apart from some departments of education in public sector universities and a few reputable schools or institutes of education in the private sector, such as the Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development in Karachi and Beaconhouse National University School of Education in Lahore, there are currently limited opportunities for faculty in higher education to pursue quality teacher education courses. The Strategic Framework for Teacher Education and Professional Development, put forward by USAID in 2006, also highlights the need for a fresh and innovative approach.

Tenure track and rewards system

The HEC has set up a tenure track system for higher education faculty for quality assurance. This policy on appointments and promotions clearly lays down the criteria for a PhD and the number of published research works required for professorial ranks. As a result of this policy, the majority of faculty, including experienced faculty who are non-PhDs, are unable to advance in their careers. The tenure track was introduced in 2004, where the initial appointment was made on a contractual basis. However, after peer evaluations by international experts, it became permanent with an attractive salary package that was five times higher than that of other faculty.

Evaluation of higher education institutions

The HEC has also developed criteria for ranking HEIs through an evaluation process. The criteria include 27% for faculty, of which 14% is for faculty with PhDs and for the supervision of PhD students, 6% is for research awards, 5% is for the teacher-student ratio, and only 2% is allocated for training by faculty. Apart from PhD qualifications and research publications, no weight is allocated to teaching practice in the appointments and promotions of faculty. The little or no emphasis on teacher training or teaching practice in the evaluation of faculty has also led to the neglect of PD by faculty and little attention to FD practices by HEIs.

National Accreditation Council for Teacher Education

Various measures have been adopted by the HEC, such as the setting up of NACTE programs in 2009 (USAID, 2009b) with USAID support, to put pressure on teacher education institutes to perform according to internationally acceptable standards. However, there is a perception that NACTE is evaluating teacher education institutions and programs without an effective implementation plan and that the accountability stage is being placed before the development of high-quality teacher education institutions and programs through state support.

Employment

The rate of unemployed graduates, despite massive funds devoted to higher education, has been on the rise. A skilled workforce is a key determinant of the investment climate. There are various reasons for the lack of optimal utilization of human resources under the given labor market conditions. Unfortunately, despite the positive movements on the macroeconomic front, the employment situation in Pakistan has not yet improved due to several reasons, including a "serious mismatch between the jobs demanded by the emerging needs of the country and the supply of skills and trained manpower in the country," churning out graduates ill-suited for the requirements of Pakistan (Hussain, 2005). It is worth noting that of 733 PhD scholars who have returned and completed their higher studies, only 65 were granted placements by HEC (Government of Pakistan, 2008).

To conclude, given the attention and funds meted out to higher education, the expectations of all stakeholders about improvements in the quality of teaching and learning have been high. The lack of a relevant FD policy framework, as well as incentives, has made FD sporadic and ineffective. The current policy lacks ownership by higher education faculty, who feel that a glass ceiling has been created by the HEC in the form of a PhD requirement that restricts their upward career mobility. The problem is further compounded by the low socioeconomic status

of faculty and the lack of support for college teachers, as well as for social sciences and humanities. Despite a large injection of funds from international donors, such as USAID and the World Bank, during the last seven years for higher education reforms, the achievements in higher education in the public sector are low in the area of quality learning and teaching. The Obama administration's pledge to support non-military development in Pakistan, including education to the tune of USD 1.5 billion per year for the next five years under the aegis of the Kerry-Lugar bill, is promising ("The Kerry-Lugar bill," 2009). The thesis of this study is that to achieve desired results in higher education, there is a dire need to focus on FD by adopting a more innovative approach than the top-down, elitist, and rigid policy adopted by HEC from 2002 to 2008.

Research questions

The current situation regarding FD raises the following questions for research:

1. What do we understand by the term 'faculty development,' and what would be the most suitable definition of FD in the context of higher education in Pakistan?
2. What should be the objectives of the new FD policy?
3. How can this FD policy bring together the different needs of higher education faculty (advancement of knowledge, development of professional skills, and enhanced capacity for research)?
4. How can the FD policy improve the teaching-learning process to impact students and help them become critical thinkers and problem solvers?
5. What would be the most suitable framework for FD for teachers to become "agents of change" and impact the learners' learning outcomes, attitudes, and beliefs?
6. Is there an alternate track for professional and career advancement for higher education faculty, or is it only the regular PhD?

7. What would be a suitable credit scheme framework for FD that is linked to rewards and incentives, particularly career advancement?
8. What would be the drivers of success, and what type of support mechanisms need to be developed to successfully implement this FD policy?
9. What approach would this FD policy need to adopt to make it sustainable, keeping in view the financial constraints faced by a developing country?
10. What would be the role of faculty, HEIs, national and provincial governments, and donors in putting this policy in place?

The subsequent sections will explore the above questions through the findings of the research study to address issues and concerns in higher education.

Part 3: Faculty development

Definition

Keeping in view the needs of Pakistani HEIs and faculty to meet Pakistan's national education goals, the following holistic definition of PD appears to be suitable:

PD is a continuous process of individual and collective examination of practice. It should empower individual educators and communities of educators to make complex decisions, identify and solve problems, and connect theory, practice, and student outcomes. It should also offer students the learning opportunities that will prepare them to meet world-class standards in given content areas and to successfully assume adult responsibilities for citizenship and work (American Federation of Teachers, 2008).

Theoretical framework

A review of the literature in the field helps to deduce a theoretical framework that complements this definition. The six design criteria used for FD programs are (Chait & Gueths, 1981):

- A focus on professional roles and activities such as research and curriculum development.
- A development approach and a constructive rationale, rather than a remedial approach.
- Centrality to the university and support from senior management.
- Faculty-centered and not administratively directed.
- Structured university- or campus-wide, and not by department.
- A reward system for faculty members.

Student outcomes

The student outcomes that this FD framework is geared toward are based on Bok (2006) and are as follows:

- **The ability to communicate**: The ability to write with precision and grace is the most familiar aspect of this competency, followed by the ability to speak clearly and persuasively, which are essential in civic life and students' future careers.
- **Critical thinking**: This includes qualities of mind and habits of thought that may help to resolve a range of problems. Among these qualities are the ability to recognize and define problems clearly, to identify the arguments and interests on all sides of an issue, to gather relevant facts and appreciate their relevance, to perceive as many plausible solutions as possible, and to exercise good judgment in choosing the best of these alternatives.
- **Moral reasoning**: In the current conditions, instruction in ethics is needed all the more since students appear much less influenced by external sources in developing their own moral beliefs. If young people do not look elsewhere for ethical rules but instead prefer to develop their own standards of behavior, they deserve the most helpful readings and the most stimulating opportunities for moral reflection.

Faculty should do whatever they can to prepare their students to arrive at thoughtful judgments of their own.

- **Preparing citizens**: Another widely neglected aim of liberal education is to prepare students to be informed and active participants in democratic self-government. Colleges must consider whether there is anything they can do to develop undergraduates with a stronger commitment to fulfilling their civic responsibilities.
- **Living with diversity**: Colleges should help students learn to function successfully in a diverse population. The challenge is to determine how to help students learn to live together with understanding and mutual respect.
- **Living in a more global society**: Globalization and the interconnectedness of the world mean that students today will need to know more than earlier generations about international affairs and about other countries and cultures. Colleges must construct a foundation of knowledge and understanding that will help their students adapt and respond effectively to whatever international problems and opportunities may confront them later.
- **A breadth of interests**: Colleges and universities should give their students the capabilities, knowledge, and breadth of interests to enable them to enjoy full and varied lives. Some of these interests may be intellectual, artistic, or involve sports.
- **Preparing for work**: The last aim of undergraduate education is to prepare students for a career. For the vast majority of college students, this is a time when they must choose a vocation. Colleges should help students acquire the knowledge they need to come to the right decision about a question so vital to their future lives (Bok, 2006).

Methods of faculty development

FD can take place in a number of ways, reflective practice being one of them. As defined by Schön (1983), "reflective practice involves thoughtfully considering one's own experiences in applying knowledge to practice while being coached by

professionals in a discipline." The implication is that teachers should be able to understand their own teaching styles to become much more effective educators. This includes: 1) action research, which involves students putting theories they have learned into practice in real classrooms; 2) peer involvement, an aspect of reflective practice that serves as mentorship for peers; 3) portfolio development, where teachers gather all aspects representing their PD in one place; and finally, participation in PD programs, which is seen as a way of incorporating reflection into practice. The PD programs can also focus on "teacher attitudes, develop management skills, and reflect on the ethical implications of practice in classrooms with cultural compositions vastly different from their previous experiences."

Part 4: The study

The aim of the study was to put forward a strategy for FD in higher education in Pakistan that is inclusive, pragmatic, and sustainable by aligning FD with faculty needs, institutional objectives, and national education goals, as well as assisting in providing a roadmap for faculty career advancement.

Methodology

The study adopts a combined quantitative-qualitative approach and draws on information collected through questionnaires, meetings, interviews with experts, visits to educational institutions, and documentary analysis. An e-survey pertaining to FD policy and a case study on FD practices in HEIs in Pakistan were conducted to identify strengths and limitations in the present FD policy and evaluate the existing FD opportunities at the institutional level.

E-survey

An e-survey was conducted by sending an FD survey questionnaire to all scholars (faculty and students) who had received HEC support for higher studies (MA, MPhil/PhD) in Pakistan and abroad from 2003 to 2009. The sampling frame was

the total population of scholars during this period who had enrolled in or completed higher studies. The directory and email addresses of these scholars were provided by the HEC and the questionnaire was sent to all 8,669 scholars they listed. However, 200 emails remained undelivered. A total of 1,500 responses were received, but many of them lacked sufficient data. A total of 759 respondents, or nine percent of the total sample population that fulfilled the required criteria, were selected for the study. These included 433 Pakistan-based scholars and 326 foreign-based scholars. Of the total 759 scholars, there were only 151 faculty members.

The results of the e-survey were studied to examine FD policy and outcomes. Comparative analyses of the data were conducted through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences to determine the disparities, strengths, and weaknesses of higher studies in Pakistan and abroad. These analyses provided relevant data to identify FD needs, motivations for attending FD courses, outcomes of FD participation, and difficulties faced during the pursuit of higher studies.

Case study

The case study on FD practices included data collection through a questionnaire and a set of interviews with critical HEIs. The questionnaire (adapted from Centra, 1976) was sent to vice chancellors and principals of selected institutions along with a covering letter. It was completed by heads of institutions or their representatives to study the structure and practices of FD programs within HEIs.

Part 5: Faculty development policy

The respondents of the e-survey comprised 759 scholars, including Pakistan-based scholars (N = 433) and foreign-based scholars (N = 326) (Figure 1). Scholars in the study include males, females, MA, MS/MPhil, and post-doctoral scholars, as well as faculty members (Table 2).

Figure 1: Sample profile of scholars by location of higher studies (N = 759)
(e-survey on FD policies)

Profile of the scholars: As seen in Table 2, the maximum number of respondents in the study are PhD scholars in Pakistan (328) and abroad (235). Worth noting is the small number of females availing these HEC fellowships in Pakistan (85) and abroad (31), compared to 347 males using these scholarships in Pakistan and 294 studying abroad. The reasons for the low number of females were explored in the interviews, and it was found that females face more problems when undertaking higher studies, especially abroad, and need additional support.

Table 2: Sample profile of scholars according to program, gender, type, and location

Program, gender, and type	Pakistani	Abroad
Program		
MS/MPhil	86	80
PhD	328	235
Postdoctoral	15	4
Not reported	2	1
Gender		
Males	347	294
Females	85	31
Not reported	1	1
Type		
Faculty	108	42
Students	324	283
Not reported (2)		

The low number of faculty taking the opportunity to benefit from these scholarships, both in Pakistan (108) and abroad (42), as compared to students and other professionals in Pakistan (324) and abroad (283), reveals the low priority HEI faculty attach to FD.

Faculty needs: All the scholars expressed the need for specialized knowledge, pedagogy, research, and personal skills. The highest needs for FD are research methodology and project work (89.4%), communication skills (89.7%), thesis writing (87.5%), and advanced courses (87.5%) (Table 3).

Table 3: Highest indicated needs for FD (%)

Indicated needs for FD	Pakistan-based (n = 433)	Abroad (n = 326)
Specialized knowledge		
Advanced courses	86.2	88.1
Practical experience	85.7	84.5
Pedagogy		
Course development	77.8	83.6
Assessment	73.7	76.1
Teaching approaches	85.3	87.1
Research		
Course work	70.9	73.9
Methodology	87.3	89.5
Project Work	87.2	92.4
Seminars	67.7	72.3
Thesis	88.1	87.0
Personal skills		
Media and technology	73.9	70.2
Communication skills	91.0	88.4

Intrinsic factors are key motivators for FD success: Intrinsic factors, such as PD and impact on students, are seen as stronger motivators for faculty than extrinsic factors such as salary increases. However, promotion in career and enhancement of status are rated highly by all scholars (Table 4).

Table 4: Scholars indicating intrinsic/extrinsic motivators for FD success (%)

	Pakistan-based scholars (n = 433)	Scholars abroad (n = 326)
Intrinsic motivators		
PD	83.8	91.3
Impact on student beliefs/attitudes	78.1	81.8
Impact on student learning outcomes	84.2	92.2
Extrinsic motivators		
Career promotion	76.0	81.6
Salary increase	61.6	69.5
Enhancement in status	78.7	74.2

Pakistan-based scholars face more difficulties in higher education than their overseas counterparts: Results reveal that insufficient funding is a difficulty faced by both Pakistan-based (45.4%) and overseas scholars (31.7%). In nine out of ten categories (lack of family care was the exception), Pakistan-based scholars face more difficulties in higher education than their overseas counterparts. In four categories, the difficulties faced by Pakistani scholars are approximately 20% greater than those faced by their overseas counterparts: non-availability of advanced courses (38.2%), allocation of appropriate supervisors (3.9%), access to online resources (45.4%), and lack of support for research work (56.7%). The delay in results for Pakistan-based scholars is seen as a problem faced by one-third of all scholars (Table 5).

Table 5: Scholars indicating difficulties faced in pursuing FD (%)

Difficulties	Pakistan-based (n = 433)	Abroad (n = 326)
Insufficient funding	45.4	31.7
Inadequate travel arrangements	30.1	14.2
Lack of family care	34.7	41.8
Non-availability of advanced courses	38.2	14.5
Allocation of an appropriate supervisor	31.9	13.8
Access to online resources	45.4	8.6
Lack of support for research work	56.7	23.7
Delay in results	32.9	13.2

More Pakistan-based scholars attend PD courses than their overseas counterparts: Although more Pakistan-based scholars (61.4%) report attending FD courses compared to scholars abroad, only 37.5% of those who attend PD courses in Pakistan report that they can do so through their HEIs (Table 6).

Table 6: Scholars indicating PD course attendance (%)

PD course attendance	Pakistan-based scholars (n = 433)	Scholars abroad (n = 326)
% attended FD courses	61.4	36.8
% able to attend regularly through HEI	37.5	51.9

Few Pakistan-based scholars have a favorable rating for the current FD policy in higher education: This includes 60.5% of overseas scholars who have favorable ratings compared to only 36.7% in Pakistan.

The effectiveness of FD abroad is consistently rated higher than FD in Pakistan in terms of the personal and professional development of faculty. Scholars abroad indicate that their higher studies have a greater impact on their enhancement of knowledge (83.7%), improvement in pedagogy (67.2%), reflective practice (67.6%), and enhancement in research capacity (84%) than those of Pakistan-based scholars (Table 7).

Table 7: Highly effective outcomes of FD programs (%)

Effective outcomes	Pakistan-based scholars (n = 433)	Scholars abroad (n = 326)
Enhancement in knowledge	66.8	83.7
Improvement in pedagogical skills	52.2	67.2
Reflective practice	46.8	67.6
Enhancement in research capacity	67.1	84.0

Effectiveness of FD abroad regarding impact on students is consistently rated higher than FD in Pakistan: A high percentage of foreign-based scholars (71.2%) feel FD positively impacts the learning outcomes of students, compared to 58.9% in Pakistan. The same is true for developing independent learning and critical thinking skills in students: 75.3% for those abroad compared to 54.2% for those in Pakistan (Table 8).

Table 8: highly effective outcomes of FD programs on students (%)

Effective outcomes for students	Pakistan-based scholars (n = 433)	Scholars abroad (n = 326)
Developing independent learners and critical thinkers	54.2	75.3
Impacting learning outcomes	58.9	71.2

MPhil/PhD scholars in Pakistan are more likely to work abroad than their counterparts already overseas: Of the PhD scholars in Pakistan, 49.5% are likely to work abroad, compared to 24.5% of those already abroad, except in the case of PhD faculty, where half of those studying abroad indicate that they plan to work abroad. The most commonly indicated reason among Pakistan-based scholars is to provide children with educational opportunities (35.2%), while dissatisfaction with present employment (28.7%) is the case for scholars abroad (Table 9).

Table 9: Future plans: Scholars planning to work abroad (%)

Scholars	Pakistan-based (n = 433)	Scholars abroad (n = 326)
MPhil/PhD faculty	26.7	52.4
MA faculty	33.3	19.1
MPhil/PhD scholars	49.5	24.5
MA scholars	35.2	18.7

The HEC is responsible for most job placements in Pakistan and abroad: Almost 49% of Pakistan-based scholars and 67.2% of scholars abroad indicate that the HEC is responsible for their suitable placement after completing higher studies. HEIs are next at 29.9% for Pakistan-based scholars and personal contacts at 24.1% for scholars abroad (Table 10).

Table 10: Sources of job placement post-degree completion (%)

Source of job placement	Pakistan-based (n = 433)	Scholars abroad (n = 326)
HEC	48.5	67.2
Institute	29.9	8.6
Personal contact	16.5	24.1
Professional agency	5.2	0.0

Scholars support PD in FD policy reforms: The study informs us that a majority of scholars support PD in FD policy reforms, and as many as 60% of them want PD to be compulsory for all in-service faculty. With regard to incentives for faculty undertaking PD, more Pakistan-based scholars (51%) show support for it compared to scholars abroad (46%) (Table 11).

Table 11: Scholars' support for FD policy reform

Recommendation for improving FD policy	% of Pakistan-based indicating support	% of foreign-based indicating support
PD should be made mandatory for in-service teachers	60.0	60.9
PD courses should be rewarded through promotions and salary increments	50.9	46.2

Part 6: FD practices in colleges and universities

Key results

The sample of 27 HEIs includes 11 universities and degree-awarding institutions and 16 degree colleges from across Pakistan (Tables 12 and 13).

Table 12: List of universities that participated in the FD case study

No.	Universities
1	Iqra University, Islamabad
2	International Islamic University, Islamabad
3	Aga Khan University, Karachi
4	University of Karachi
5	University of Agriculture, Faisalabad
6	Lahore School of Economics
7	Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan
8	University of Peshawar
9	City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar
10	University of Balochistan, Quetta
11	Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences

Of the 27 HEIs, 3 universities are located in Punjab, and 2 each are located in Sindh, Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly the North-West Frontier Province), and Islamabad. Of the 11 universities, 4 are private and 7 are public. In terms of the HEC's ranking criteria, two are ranked as good, five as average, and four as weak. Of the 16 degree colleges, the number of private colleges in the sample is 3, and that of public colleges is 13. The study also includes interviews with educational administrators (colleges) and faculty to gain insights into the issues arising.

Table 13: List of degree colleges that participated in the FD case study

No.	Colleges
1	Govt. Willayat Hussain Islamia Graduate College, Multan
2	Govt. College for Women, Katchery Road, Multan
3	Govt. Alamdar Hussain Islamia Graduate College, Multan
4	Govt. Viqar-un-Nisa College for Women, Rawalpindi (postgrad.)
5	Govt. College of Science, Wahdat Road, Lahore
6	Govt. All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) College, Lahore (D)
7	Punjab College of Commerce, Lahore
8	Government Degree College, Model Town, Lahore
9	Dayaram Jethamal (DJ) Sindh Govt. Science College, Karachi
10	Govt. Degree College for Boys, Saryab Road, Quetta
11	Govt. Degree College for Girls, Saryab Road, Quetta
12	Govt. College for Science, Quetta
13	Govt. College for Girls, Quarry Road, Quetta
14	Edwardes College, University of Peshawar
15	Islamia College, Peshawar
16	H-9 College, Islamabad (interview only)

The following are the key results from the case study on FD practices in colleges and universities in Pakistan.

Faculty hiring in higher education institutions: The process of hiring teachers differs between universities and colleges. As seen in the findings, the permanent versus contract ratio of faculty employed in universities is reported to be 7:3. Table 14 indicates that the majority (90%) of the faculty in universities are hired through the syndicate, and the remaining 10% are

employed on recommendation. In the case of colleges, it can be seen that around 92% of faculty are hired through the Public Service Commission, 7.2% are hired on recommendation, and a small number of faculty (0.2%) are hired through the education departments. The number of faculty not selected based on merit is partially responsible for the low ability of some higher education faculty.

Table 14: Mode of hiring higher education faculty (%)

Type of institution	**Type of employment**		**Faculty hired through**		
University	Permanent	Contract	Syndicate	Public Service Commission	Recommendation
	70	30	90	0	10
College	-	-	Education Department	Public Service Commission	Recommendation
	-	-	0.2	92.2	7.6

PhD faculty ratio: The overall results from the college and university sample reveal that most faculty members (77.18%) do not have PhDs. Also worth noting is the small number of college faculty holding a PhD (6.81%) as compared to university faculty (38.83%) (Table 15).

Table 15: Percentage of PhD faculty in HEIs

Type of institution	**PhD**	**Non-PhD**
College	6.81	93.19
University	38.83	61.17
Overall	22.82	77.18

Universities have more FD programs than degree colleges: Only one-fifth of the colleges surveyed indicate that their institution has an active FD program compared to a 100% response from universities (Table 16). However, FD programs in most HEIs, including universities, are small and comprise only one or two faculty members. Additionally, the FD activities offered by these HEIs are few and sporadic. The number of higher education faculty availing themselves of the FD courses offered by HEIs is also limited. The disparity between universities and

colleges in terms of FD practices is also evident regarding the FD involvement of new faculty. Two-thirds of the universities report having at least half of first-year faculty involved in some sort of FD courses, while only 14% of the colleges claim the same. Moreover, universities offer more FD activities to their faculty; some of these courses and workshops attract faculty participation. It is also worth noting that no college reports being part of an FD consortium, and very few (8%) report having ever evaluated their FD programs.

Table 16: FD programs in HEIs in Pakistan

FD programs	Universities (n = 11)	Degree colleges (n = 15)
FD programs present (%)	100.00	21.47
Programs with >50% involvement of first-year faculty (%)	66.70	14.20
Programs with >50% involvement of experienced faculty (%)	55.60	50.00
% Faculty with PhDs (%)	38.83	6.81
FD consortium involvement (%)	50.00	0.00
FD program evaluation (%)	75.00	7.70

Universities consider FD programs more important than degree colleges: When asked how important FD is to the institution, 90.9% of the universities indicated that it is of high importance, while only 23.1% of the colleges indicated the same. This disparity indicates a significant disconnect between universities and colleges.

Institutional needs for guidance, expertise, and funds for developing FD programs: Universities express a higher need to develop FD programs in their institutions compared to degree colleges. Despite the lack of FD programs and activities in colleges, they expressed a lower need for support than the universities, except in the case of the availability of expertise (77%) and guidance for developing FD programs (69%), displaying the low motivation of the college administration (Table 17).

Table 17: Percentage of HEIs indicating high levels of institutional needs for developing FD programs

Institutional needs for FD	Universities (n = 11)	Degree colleges (n = 15)
Guidance in developing FD programs	70	69.2
Availability of expertise	70	77
Incentives for faculty for PD	88.8	53.9
HEC support	90	53.9
Additional funds	70	46.2
HEIs indicating FD is of high importance	90.9	23.1

FD programs in HEIs are mainly funded by HEC and provincial grants: Institutional funds (39.8%) and HEC grants (41%) are the main financiers of FD programs in universities. Colleges have less diversity in funding sources—57.1% of funding comes from provincial grants, which comprise only 7.2% of university funding. Despite not having in-house PD programs in most cases, colleges still report spending an average of 30% of their total funds on PD programs. The disparity between funding allocation and faculty involvement in FD suggests an ineffective use of funding (Table 18).

Table 18: Funding of FD programs at HEIs in Pakistan

Funding source (%)	Universities (n = 11)	Degree colleges (n = 15)
Institutional general funds	39.8	5
HEC grants	41	23.6
Provincial grants	7.2	57.1
Other	12	14.3
Institutional budget for FD programs (%)		
0–1%	0	N/A
2–10%	66.7	N/A
>10%	33.3	N/A

Few HEIs have had a decrease in FD funding over the past two years: Two-thirds of all HEIs report an increase in FD funding. The rest see no change. However, 25% of colleges report decreased funding over the last two years.

FD spending emphasizes higher studies in all institutions: HEIs report that most of the funds for FD are utilized for higher

studies of faculty in universities (48%) and colleges (50%). PD programs are given low priority by both universities and colleges, and only 15.9% of FD funds in universities and 30% in colleges are dedicated to FD practices.

Table 19: Survey of FD practices: funding breakdown

FD practices	Universities (n = 11)	Colleges (n = 15)
Higher studies	48	50
PD programs	15.9	30
Research	36.1	20

FD practices in use

Universities: Workshops and presentations that explore various methods and techniques of instruction, review subject matter, and improve research and scholarship skills seem to be the most widely used practices and are generally perceived as quite effective in universities (Table 20). Over 27% of the universities reported their use to be 50% or above, and 70% of respondents estimated their use to be either effective or very effective. This finding is similar to that of Centra (1976), who also found workshops and seminars dealing with methods and techniques of instruction to be among the most frequently attended and considered most effective. Faculty exchange programs with other institutions were estimated as the least used practice, as approximately 50% of respondents reported it basically unused, although 40% of faculty reported this practice as either effective or very effective. Only 10% of the universities reported the use of curriculum development and testing courses to be 50% or above.

Colleges: A collective analysis of the FD practices in colleges shows the use of some of these practices to be 50% or above in only 8% of colleges (Table 20). Some of these FD practices are not used at all by colleges.

Table 20: Workshops, seminars, and programs

		Colleges' approximate use	Universities' approximate use
	PD practices	Over 50%	Over 50%
A	Faculty involvement (workshops, seminars, programs)		
	Workshops or presentations that explore various methods or techniques of instruction	0	27.3
	Workshops, seminars, or short courses that review subject matter or introduce knowledge in a field	0	27.3
A	Workshops or seminars dealing with new or different approaches to developing curricula	8.3	9.1
	Workshops or seminars on testing and evaluating student performance	0	10
	Workshops or seminars to help faculty improve their research and scholarship skills	8.3	27.3
	Faculty exchange programs with other institutions	0	0

Instructional assistance practices

Universities: Table 21 reports an analysis of the extent of use of three instructional assistance practices in higher education in Pakistan. Most of these practices seem to be moderately used by universities with similar effectiveness. Systematic ratings of instruction by students, used to help faculty improve practices, are the most frequently used practices (45%), also showing a fair degree of effectiveness (55%). A comparison of the same practices in public and private universities shows that the practice of assessment by colleagues for teaching or course improvement, considered very effective by 100% of private universities, is rated effective by only 33% of respondents from public universities. It is used by almost 50% of the respondents from private universities, whereas in public universities, it is estimated to be in use by only one-fourth of the respondents. Overall, the use of self-evaluation is reported to be over 50% by 27% of universities, followed by peer evaluation (18%).

Colleges: Of the three practices listed under instructional assistance practices, self-evaluation is the only practice reported by colleges (8%) to be 50% or above in use (Table 21).

Table 21: Instructional assistance practices

		Colleges' approximate use	Universities' approximate use
B	Instructional assistance practices	Over 50%	Over 50%
	Faculty and course evaluation by students	0	45.5
	Peer evaluation	0	18.2
	Self-evaluation	8.3	27.3
			27.3

Media technology and course development

Universities: A number of universities (30%) in the sample report that the use of specialists on campus to assist faculty in using audio-visual aids in instruction is 50% or above. Additionally, 30% of respondents report that the availability of assistance to faculty in using instructional technology as a teaching aid is above 50%. The data reveals that employing a specialist to assist faculty in instruction or course development by consulting on course objectives or course design is a comparatively less frequently used practice (9%). A moderate percentage of universities (33%) report that using a specialist to help faculty develop teaching skills, such as lecturing, leading discussions, or encouraging the use of different teaching and learning strategies, such as individualized instruction, is over 50% (Table 22).

Colleges: Generally, colleges maintain a poor record of the use of media technology and course development. No college reports having specialists on their campuses to assist faculty in using audio-visual aids in instruction or in any other way described above (Table 22).

Table 22: Media technology and course development

		Colleges' approximate use	Universities' approximate use
C	Media technology and course development	Over 50%	Over 50%
	Specialists on campus to assist faculty in the use of audio-visual aids in instruction	0	30
	Assistance to faculty in the use of instructional technology as a teaching aid	0	30
	Specialists to assist faculty in instruction or course development by consulting on course objectives or course design	0	9.1
	Specialists to help faculty develop teaching skills such as lecturing, leading discussions, or individualized instruction	0	33.3

Higher education opportunities

Funding opportunities are one of the biggest concerns for faculty interested in FD. Owing to the global economic recession, many donor agencies have had to withdraw or reduce their funding for education. Consequently, scholarships for FD programs like MPhil and PhD have also decreased. With meager salaries and financial constraints in these challenging times, it is, in most cases, not possible for faculty to enroll in long-term programs through self-funding (Table 23).

Universities: As can be seen in Table 23, 40% of the universities report the involvement in indigenous or international MPhil/PhD programs to be 50% or above, while only 10–12% of universities report that the pursuit of higher studies programs through self-funding is 50% or above. However, none of the universities report that 50% or more of their faculty have completed their MPhil/PhD programs since 2002.

Table 23: Higher education opportunities

		Colleges' approximate use	Universities' approximate use
20	Higher education opportunities	Over 50%	Over 50%
1	Indigenous programs. Faculty members involved in higher studies, i.e., MPhil/PhD		
a.	Funded by HEC	0	40
b.	Funded by education department	0	0
c.	Funded by institution	0	20
d.	Self-funded	0	12.5
2	International programs. Faculty members involved in higher studies, i.e., MPhil/PhD		
a.	Funded by HEC	0	33.3
b.	Funded by education department	0	0
c.	Funded by institution	0	22.2
d.	Self-funded	0	11.1
3	Faculty members who completed their MPhil/PhD (since 2002)		
4.	Support for higher studies by the institution		
a.	Advanced courses for MPhil/PhD	0	27.3
b.	Suitable thesis supervision	0	18.2
c.	Research activities	0	18.2
d.	Resources	0	27.3

Moreover, only 18% of universities indicate that supporting faculty for pursuing higher studies in terms of suitable thesis supervision or research activities is 50% or above. Around 27% of universities report offering support to faculty in terms of advanced courses or resources to pursue their MPhil/PhD to be 50% or above.

Colleges: In the case of colleges, none report involvement in higher studies, receiving funding from the education department, or being provided support for pursuing higher studies (Table 23). This lack of funding by colleges for the higher education of their faculty reflects the low degree of importance given by colleges and the education department to FD for college teachers.

Incentives and rewards

Lack of motivation on the part of faculty for PD courses is one of the biggest challenges in the path to effective FD. The shortage of incentives and rewards is a cause of disinterest among faculty. As seen in Table 24, the study's results reveal that 50% of respondents assert that there is no practice of giving incentives and rewards to faculty for PD courses.

Table 24: Incentives and rewards

		Colleges	Universities
	Incentives and rewards	**Practice exists**	**Practice exists**
1	Campus committee on FD	16.7	70
2	Annual funds to faculty for excellence in teaching	8.3	77.8
3	Sabbatical leave with at least half salary for MPhil/PhD	76.9	66.7
4	Travel funds to attend PD programs	25	70
5	Temporary teaching load reduction while enrolled in MPhil/PhD programs	61.5	90.9
6	System of incentives or rewards for faculty for completing MPhil/PhD programs	58.3	90
7	System of incentives or rewards for faculty for completing master's programs	41.7	88.9
8	System of incentives or rewards for faculty for attending PD seminars and workshops	50	50

Universities: The university data shows a brighter picture of providing incentives and rewards to faculty pursuing higher studies compared to that of colleges. Results in Table 24 indicate a marked trend (70–90%) in universities offering various incentives and rewards to faculty for higher studies.

Colleges: The results from the colleges in Table 24 report that over three-fourths of the colleges have no committee on FD in the institutions, nor are there sufficient funds to reward faculty for excellence in teaching or any travel funds for faculty to attend PD programs. Rewards are limited to faculty engaged in higher studies, where 70% of the colleges report that there is a practice of giving sabbaticals with at least half salary and a practice of

temporarily reducing teaching loads while faculty are enrolled in MPhil/PhD programs. Additionally, more than half of the colleges do not offer rewards to their faculty for completing a specialized MA program.

Part 7: Hearing all voices

Based on interviews and meetings conducted, qualitative data was generated and analyzed according to the emerging themes. The sample selected for the interviews included critical cases of federal and provincial government colleges based on the following factors: 1) province, 2) public and private sector, 3) student population size, and 4) reputation of colleges. The views of experts recorded during meetings are also included. Some of the key themes that emerged are discussed below.

Views of faculty

Faculty expressed the need for FD programs for teachers in higher education and said: "Such programs motivate teachers, who, in turn, pass this motivation on to their students." A need was felt for such aspects of FD as educational psychology and pedagogy in order for teachers to understand students better and teach them more effectively.

Lack of funding

Lack of funding was one of the main issues. Specifically, salaries were said to be too low for teachers and principals to engage in FD practices. Any existing funding came from either the university they were affiliated with or the faculty members themselves. Faculty interested in undertaking MPhil and PhD programs had to do so at their own initiative. They were offered almost no financial support for pursuing such courses or degrees. The views expressed in one-on-one and group interviews focused on faculty constraints such as low salaries and funding difficulties. A college professor noted that there is a "full-fledged teachers' training academy" established at a girls' college that

offers training programs, but that it is usually short of funds. The same professor noted that:

> In my experience, the largest hurdle for teachers seeking professional development and training is that there are no incentives such as funding and increments.

The principal of a women's college said:

> There is a lack of funding opportunities. The colleges do not have a specified fund allocated for FD… hence it is an economic burden on the faculty.

These concerns were echoed by a college professor who raised the following question:

> When teachers are not paid, why should they attend?

Lack of family care

Lack of family care was indicated as a difficulty by Pakistan-based scholars for FD participation. An Islamabad-based professor suggested that family and residential issues need to be taken care of. Another professor noted:

> Commitments and constraints from home…are a hindrance to FD.

Lack of incentives

A lack of incentives was identified in the interviews as a problem for Pakistani higher education faculty in undertaking FD and was seen as a hindrance to overall participation. The institutional needs for FD programs were also highlighted by college principals, who stressed the need to provide "incentives for faculty for professional development." Several faculty members pointed out in interviews that:

> There is no system in place to reward faculty based on their performance and potential. Without the incentive of promotions or pay increases, many faculty members do not see the benefit of further professional

> development, especially if they have to pay out of pocket to attend the courses.

Outdated faculty assessment

Outdated faculty assessment was also seen as a key obstacle to FD. As the interviewees pointed out:

> Current faculty assessment is linked to a curriculum that promotes only rote learning, which makes obtaining an 'A' grade the focus instead of learning. With an assessment system linked to teacher performance and student outcomes, teachers will need incentives to advance their professional training.

Some faculty members shared that they were working day and night to serve this profession. However, they suffered from insecurity because, in their public sector colleges, the performance of teachers was judged based on their attendance and class timings, i.e., when the teacher is in and when the teacher is out, and not on any criteria developed to evaluate the performance of a teacher.

Lack of motivation

In interviews, college teachers expressed a lack of extrinsic motivation as a reason for low FD participation, while the e-survey indicated intrinsic factors as the strongest motivators, suggesting that an increase in extrinsic motivators could enhance overall FD participation. The interviewees suggested:

> There is a significant population of teachers who could be motivated to attend FD programs if extrinsic motivators were strengthened.

As intrinsic motivators were also high, strengthening the extrinsic motivators could provide a significant boost to FD participation.

Lack of support for research

Scholars who have completed higher courses abroad identified enhancing research capacity as an important need for faculty and highlighted the necessity of offering research courses that faculty could take to excel in their research area and enhance the skills needed for research. They said:

> If research support is lacking or non-existent, then the strongest need for FD participation is going unaddressed.

These views express the number of difficulties faced by research scholars. The lack of research support is seen as one of the biggest hurdles faced by Pakistani scholars, especially college faculty. Further evidence of the lack of research support can be seen in the breakdown of funding allocations for colleges and universities. Average funding for research support in colleges was reported to be only a fifth of total funds spent on FD, while at universities, it accounted for more than a third of the institution's funding allocations for FD. One college faculty member expressed the view that:

> With the lack of funding and appropriate faculty support for research, the research gap between colleges and universities is widening.

She further added:

> An increasing proportion of faculty will not have the motivation to pursue further professional development since, with no support for undertaking research, they will have nowhere to apply their newfound skills—attendance in FD programs will drop.

Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy was another hurdle for teachers. Hiring practices were seen as problematic; teachers faced bureaucratic challenges that were reported as "bordering on harassment," as they were made to run from one office to another, chasing their

files. It was said that there was an urgent need to remove such impediments so that FD programs could be effectively implemented.

Lack of an organized FD program

At a federal government college, when asked whether the institution supported FD practices, it was said that it depended on the principal. The norm was that there was no organized effort to develop the faculty. FD programs were not reaching teachers, and they were not being offered opportunities to participate. Such programs were seen as not being part of the system, operating more at the whims of a single person who happened to be in charge.

At another postgraduate college, it was claimed that although the college supported FD practices, there was no formalized policy. Participation in FD programs was not compulsory and was done at the discretion of the faculty members themselves. The programs that did exist included short courses and workshops. However, they did not operate on a fixed schedule, functioning at the discretion of a university, ministry, or directorate.

Lack of support for PhD studies in Pakistan

Faculty stated that although teachers wanted to pursue their MPhil and PhD, there were problems that made them less motivated, especially the unavailability of HEC-approved PhD supervisors, the long duration of programs, the unavailability of relevant courses, and the lack of incentives given to the teachers after completing their MPhil/PhD.

HEC bias

When asked about their views on HEC's current FD policy, the principal of a postgraduate college claimed ignorance, saying that no such policy had been shared with them. A bias was reported against college teachers in favor of university teachers, who were supported by the HEC. Of concern was that the HEC

was giving more importance and resources to the stronger (autonomous) colleges and less to the weaker colleges, suggesting that the same importance and resources should be given to both strong and weak colleges.

FD to be mandatory

Suggestions offered by interviewees included making PD mandatory for in-service teachers. A foreign-trained Pakistani scholar stated that in order for FD to meet scholars' needs, courses to enhance research abilities should be made compulsory for all public sector faculty.

Introduction of innovative techniques

A senior college faculty member with 25 years of teaching experience pointed out that teachers have no liberty to apply and teach what they learned in their training programs. She cited her own example of how she had learned new methodologies during her MA in Teaching English as a Second Language from a leading private university, but had not been given a chance to apply them in her own institution. She further shared that there was no educational policy in public sector institutions that could be followed. She suggested that innovative techniques be introduced in government colleges, and principals be made aware of these developments and their use. Additionally, she lamented that multimedia was still not used in their colleges. She also mentioned that the principal in her college had a PhD in Arabic and, though competent in her own subject, did not understand the importance of educational technology or the need to impart modern knowledge to impact students' minds. Another faculty member shared:

> There is a disconnection between what the teachers learn in training programs and the classroom teaching needs. Training programs should relate to the real situation and classroom teaching needs. Moreover, these practices should be critically examined at the MPhil and PhD levels.

Updating curriculum and assessment

A female faculty member with 15 years of teaching experience suggested that the public sector curriculum and assessment should also be changed because everything in the curriculum was outdated. As a result, the system was working against the teachers. She indicated that training must be provided to new teachers in their first three years so that their teaching can be improved at the beginning of their careers. Another faculty member highlighted the need to introduce innovative techniques and to upgrade the syllabus in public sector colleges. She noted that almost all public sector colleges were using a teacher-centered approach and suggested that newly trained teachers be involved in curriculum development because they are aware of new concepts and methodologies. Additionally, it was recommended that:

> Teacher and course evaluation should be introduced in public sector colleges and universities to monitor the performance of teachers and to help identify areas of improvement.

She further emphasized that training for new teachers should be instituted.

Paid study leave

A government lecturer expressed that classes for all MPhil and PhD programs in public sector institutions were scheduled during morning hours, and that no paid study leave was provided to the teachers while completing their MPhil/PhD, which was quite demotivating for the faculty. She recommended that salaries should be given to teachers while they are enrolled in long-term programs and that faculty should be given a reduced workload during their higher studies.

Expert views

The views of Pakistani, Pakistani-American, and US experts on FD were also analyzed. The following suggestions emerged.

FD policy and practice in US universities and colleges

George Washington University: The Dean of a School of Education shared the current structure and functions of FD in the USA and said:

> FDCs [faculty development centers] first started in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s. In the beginning, the objective was to teach graduate students pedagogical skills. Today, there is no institutional format for faculty development. You cannot earn a graduate degree in faculty development. Most FD practitioners are former teachers. The Professional and Organizational Development Network in Higher Education is the most advanced networking forum in the USA. The funding for FDCs generally comes from universities and national organizations such as the National Science Foundation. FDCs are generally a product of faculty demand. Universities usually do not impose certain requirements on faculty to complete faculty development programs. FDCs act as support systems, not evaluative centers; generally, they support formative rather than summative evaluations. FD is only effective when it can provide consistent, ongoing support to faculty members.

He added:

> Student learning and success are linked to FD; viewing effective student learning practices and FD as two components of the same process is a new development in academia. With the increased recognition of a need for quality teaching, universities are increasingly hiring faculty who are proven instructors to teach a specific discipline, even if they don't necessarily have a PhD in that discipline.

University of Maryland, Baltimore: A director of FD highlighted the focus on pedagogy in FD. He stated:

> The practice at Stanford has been to teach pedagogy specific to the academic discipline; there is a slow move toward this approach within higher education as a whole in the USA. The main goal of FDCs is imparting to young faculty members the importance of all three components: research, teaching, and service.

American University: A director of FD highlighted the current demand for FD and the need to develop FD programs while considering local contexts. She commented:

> A tension exists among faculty between teaching, research, and service. Most ask, 'What are the incentives for doing FD? There is more of an emphasis on pedagogy now. An example is American University's Center for Teaching Excellence. Regarding tenure and promotion, FD, external courses, and workshops are still not considered at all; there is increased pressure to do FD via online methods.

She added:

> Faculty development will advance only insofar as you are able to empower faculty to teach in their local contexts, considering such factors as their university, the composition of their student body, and the local political and social environment. When local context is accounted for, faculty can adapt more easily to both the needs of their students and themselves.

She further said:

> The pedagogical method of teaching students is paramount because those students are your future teachers.

City University of New York: A professor who had earlier served as head of Teachers College at Columbia University stressed the need to overhaul the research requirements at MPhil/PhD levels from a lengthy thesis to the production of research articles that could be integrated through an introductory

framework to make research work more interesting and relevant to higher education faculty.

Pakistani-American experts

FD success in Pakistan is difficult: A former director of an institute of education was skeptical about the success of FD in Pakistan. He said:

> The first concern is that, unlike the US experience, nobody quite understands the importance of FD in Pakistan; the fine points of pedagogy and learning theory are still fairly novel ideas at this point. In Pakistan, universities ought to be the place where ideas for higher education development are generated, not from a central place like the state. Of the 124 universities in Pakistan, we don't truly have quality faculty at five universities. There is a great need to support indigenous PhDs, especially for women. There are many talented faculty members at public and private universities throughout Pakistan who could offer great support, advice, and engagement in the discussion and evolution of this project.

He added:

> In Pakistan, the problem is that there is much less active pursuit of knowledge for knowledge's sake. Who is going to supervise the supervisors? Is there sufficient human capital to introduce such a system? Believe me, Pakistan is well-equipped to provide undergraduate degrees to its citizenry. Where there is a weakness is at the graduate level. Pakistan's goal should be that all Pakistanis who desire an undergraduate degree should be able to receive a quality one inside their own country.

A leading economist and member of numerous think tanks shared the problems in higher education in Pakistan. He stated:

> Currently, Pakistani faculty are poor at research and pedagogy, and PhDs are of low quality. The primary concern of private business is the lack of human capital.

He added:

> HEC focused only on science and technology, ignoring social sciences and humanities. In terms of FD, different disciplines will require different pedagogical skills and strategies.

Brain drain: The same economist further stated that:

> Diaspora faculty/PhD holders are hesitant to return to Pakistan due to concerns about security and the hassle of working with the government. Educational policies are not based on research, but on politics. There are so many Pakistani-Americans who want to contribute and support change.

Support for female faculty: The issue of support for women was also raised. He said:

> FD must focus on Pakistani women; young men as a whole seem less motivated and promising. Statistics underscore the government's lack of investment in female education.

Need to improve FD programs: An expert on education heading an international agency teacher program highlighted the need to streamline existing FD programs in higher education in Pakistan. She said:

> Pre-STEP research showed that faculty believed their performance was very high; students had slightly less favorable responses. Important to keep in mind are the cultural sensitivities; students may be hesitant to criticize faculty, even with the promise of anonymity.

She further said:

> AED [Academy for Educational Development] is working with 15 universities and 75 colleges, with one

> college in each region as the 'hub' for training and expertise. The difficulty is that a new university must gain legitimacy and build infrastructure. The FD office at HEC exists, but the capacity is very limited.

Pakistani experts

Need for FD for college faculty: The director of a reputed non-government organization in higher education highlighted the need to develop college faculty. She said:

> To improve the system, the colleges should not be isolated, and colleges were the missing link.

Need for incentives for FD: The director of research at a reputed private university stressed the need to motivate higher education faculty to develop. The vice-chancellor of a public sector university agreed that an incentive system should be introduced. She said:

> There are no monetary incentives given to faculty for professional development. It should be suggested to the Ministry of Education that promotions, selection, and advancement in the professions for college teachers should be linked with their professional development.

Need to overhaul curriculum and assessment in higher education: The director of the social sciences department at a private university stressed the need to change the current assessment system. He said:

> Talking about the monitoring and assessment system in use in the public sector in higher education, there are two important factors in faculty development: 'monitoring' and 'mentoring'. The assessment system should be linked to the curriculum. Currently, our curriculum only promotes rote learning in the learners, as the aim of the assessment process is just obtaining an 'A' grade and not focusing on learning itself, thus making the teacher redundant. This assessment system is a constraint for faculty in the implementation of their

> newly acquired knowledge. It does not encourage the growth of higher-order thinking skills.

Lack of FD opportunities: The principal of a public sector college lamented the lack of FD opportunities and said:

> There is a critical need for professional development at the college level. Faculty at such high levels as principals, heads of boards, etc., are working without any formal training, and there are no in-service training programs available either. The most important areas and skills that need to be developed are communication skills and test development. Although HEC has been doing some work in the area of higher education, colleges have been ignored.

The vice-chancellor of a public sector university reiterated the critical need for teacher training at the college level. She said:

> FD at the college level should include content knowledge comprising higher academic education, pedagogic and professional education comprising communication skills and assessment, and personal and professional grooming. Also, colleges need professional development in human resources and administration, as college principals almost completely rely on clerical staff for administrative tasks and activities.

The need for FD in higher education was stressed by a director of research. He said:

> Talking about the issue of faculty development, the problem is that most of the institutions already have a large number of existing faculty, and there is an urgent need for good-quality in-service training and professional development for such faculty. At the undergraduate level, the requirement is basic and fundamental knowledge, and more importantly, the communication of that knowledge. The primary goal of education is whether people can absorb knowledge from wherever it is available.

Shortcomings of HEC's FD policy: The shortcomings of the HEC's policy were pointed out by the director of a social sciences department. He said:

> One of the HEC faculty development strategies was to increase the number of PhDs in a limited number of years. The HEC overlooked the fact that PhD scholars not only needed funding but also other resources such as expert supervision, libraries, and additional support. Since HEC provided honoraria to PhD supervisors, numerous inexperienced and underqualified individuals offered to supervise PhDs for the sake of the honoraria. It is more important to increase capacity.

Higher education institutes and centers: An eminent educationist stressed the need to decentralize FD. He stated:

> As Pakistan becomes more and more decentralized, provincial higher education commissions could be established in the country to facilitate faculty development. One of the reasons colleges have fallen behind is that HEC does not take ownership of the colleges. Some provincial autonomy can be given to the colleges through these institutes and centers.

This idea was supported by other heads, and as one college principal said:

> There is an urgent need to establish institutes for the professional development of college teachers. NAHE (National Academy of Higher Education), instead of developing a training system, hired services that showed no progression. There is an urgent need to establish institutions for the professional development of college teachers.

Another academic expert agreed and said:

> HEC should be responsible for postgraduate institutions, and undergraduate institutions should be separate from HEC.

Another leading academic endorsed this recommendation and shared:

> This demand for higher education institutions should be shared, and donors need to be motivated to facilitate these institutions.

However, the vice-chancellor of a public sector university felt that instead of setting up new institutions, the aim should be to involve the HEIs that already exist. She also said that the establishment of higher education centers at the district level may not be feasible; however, it may be possible at the divisional level.

FD framework: The proposed multidisciplinary FD framework was viewed by experts as interesting and helpful in improving the quality of teaching, and if universities were ready to offer the proposed MPhil, scholarships needed to be available for the faculty. An expert said:

> There should be two tracks: one for science and technology and the other for arts, social sciences, and humanities. The framework comprises specialized content, and research and pedagogy could run parallel within it. Fieldwork proposed in the FD framework can take the form of 'case studies,' and it may be a good idea to have faculty development associates.

Part 8: Policy recommendations

Vision 2030

Pakistan's higher education faculty to be empowered as teachers, specialists, and researchers through holistic FD programs, leading to qualitative improvements in student outcomes and transforming higher education.

Mission statement

FD to encompass activities that focus on individual faculty members first as teachers engaged in student development, and

second as scholars and professionals striving for personal development. Support and services to be provided for FD in higher education through organized programs at all levels in the areas of pedagogy, specialized knowledge, and research through policy recommendations, implementation strategies, and funding resources, leading to the award of a higher degree (MPhil/PhD).

Policy recommendations

1. **Allocation of adequate funding to FD in higher education**: Sufficient funding and resources need to be allocated annually by the Planning Commission to FD through the federal and provincial government budgets for higher education to adequately meet all the requirements of developing and maintaining a world-class faculty in all universities and degree colleges.
2. **Enhancement of socioeconomic status of higher education faculty**: The salaries of higher education faculty should be raised, especially in colleges. Faculty should also be provided a higher status in society with the help of the media and the supportive attitude of bureaucrats. The rise in socioeconomic status is critical to developing and retaining good faculty.
3. **Hiring of higher education faculty on merit basis**: Faculty in HEIs must be recruited based on merit alone, and strict rules and regulations prohibiting hiring on recommendation (*sifarish*) should be developed to ensure transparency.
4. **FD programs to be owned by faculty, not the bureaucracy**: FD policies and programs should be planned, developed, and implemented by higher education faculty, who are the main stakeholders. The bureaucracy should be relieved of this responsibility to allow it to devote more time and attention to the efficient administration of HEIs.
5. **Additional support to be provided to higher education female faculty for FD**: Keeping in view the numerous problems female faculty face while undertaking higher

studies and PD courses, additional support and encouragement should be provided to them for FD in terms of transport, suitability of schedule, daycare, as well as incentives such as stipends for FD. A policy of zero tolerance for sexual harassment in HEIs should be adopted.

6. **Additional support for FD in colleges**: Colleges should be allocated sufficient funds for FD to offer both in-house and external FD programs and courses. Higher education faculty in colleges should have the same opportunities for FD as university faculty.
7. **FD to be mandatory for all higher education faculty**: All higher education faculty should undertake FD that includes advanced studies, courses in pedagogy, and research. For faculty teaching undergraduate programs, it should be mandatory to complete an MPhil, and for all faculty teaching postgraduate programs, it should be mandatory to complete a PhD for career advancement.
8. **PhD not to be mandatory for undergraduate program faculty**: Completing a PhD should not be mandatory for faculty teaching undergraduate programs. However, support should be provided to promising faculty teaching at the undergraduate level if they would like to pursue a PhD.
9. **Opportunities for FD to be provided to all higher education faculty**: All higher education faculty should be provided opportunities to attend advanced courses for specialized knowledge and fieldwork, pursue PD courses in pedagogy, and engage in research. All faculty teaching undergraduate programs should be provided opportunities to complete their MPhil, and all faculty teaching postgraduate programs should be provided opportunities to complete their PhD.
10. **Higher education faculty to be provided with various options to undertake FD**: A normative and democratic approach should be adopted for FD programs to enable faculty to engage in FD activities, including higher studies and PD, according to their needs and interests.
11. **MPhil to focus on action research**: Faculty should undertake action research during their MPhil studies so that their

research work helps to impact their teaching practice. The outcome of the research should be one article produced by the faculty to be published in a research journal (Table 25).

12. **PhD courses and research**: PhD programs should comprise specialized courses in the discipline of study in which the faculty is engaged, as well as advanced courses in research, including a research seminar. The outcome of the research work at the PhD level should be three articles produced by the faculty to be published in research journals. These articles should focus on related multiple disciplines so that all articles produced by the faculty during their MPhil/PhD studies can be integrated through an introductory chapter providing the framework. This research work, comprising five chapters, could be the PhD dissertation of the faculty (Table 25).
13. **Regular or modular mode**: FD programs, including multidisciplinary higher-degree programs, should be offered as regular and modular programs to facilitate faculty undertaking them at their convenience. The period for a regular MPhil program comprising 32 credits could be one year. However, faculty may complete it in three years as a modular program. For faculty proceeding to the PhD level, an option to complete PhD programs comprising 24 credits in three years as a regular program or five years as a modular program should be made available.
14. **Alternative tracks for FD should be made available for higher education faculty**: Alternative tracks for FD, including multidisciplinary programs, such as 1) MPhil/PhD in the arts, humanities, social sciences, and higher education; and 2) MPhil/PhD in math, science, technology, and higher education, should be made available. The PD program should be integrated into this model where MPhil programs would bring together various strands of FD: 1) advanced courses and fieldwork for imparting specialized knowledge and practical experience to faculty in their field; 2) pedagogy courses and practicum for improving their teaching skills; and 3) research methodology courses and project work for enhancing their research capacity (Table 25).

15. **PD programs to be mandatory for all higher education faculty**: The PD program, comprising nine credits, should be mandatory for all higher education faculty and be completed over a period of one to three years, as a regular or modular program. The PD program would comprise the following three courses of three credit hours each: 1) modern approaches to teaching; 2) curriculum development and assessment; and 3) professional practices in the discipline the faculty member is teaching. In addition, courses such as communication skills and educational technology should be offered to faculty based on their needs. Faculty who have completed existing single-discipline MPhil/PhD programs would have to undertake PD courses in addition to all the requirements of their higher degree programs. Credits for PD courses completed by faculty from recognized institutions would be awarded accordingly.
16. **Working conditions for higher education faculty to be made attractive**: To retain talented and qualified faculty in HEIs, the working conditions of faculty should be improved in terms of salary and benefits, timely increments and promotions, and a smooth administrative process.
17. **Development of all educational administrators to be mandatory**: All educational administrators, including vice-chancellors, principals, deans, and heads of departments, should be developed through well-structured FD programs comprising courses at all administrative levels. Promotion to senior ranks should be made subject to the fulfillment of certain course requirements, as in the Civil Service of Pakistan.
18. **Refresher PD courses to be available**: All faculty who have completed requirements for FD should be provided opportunities to attend advanced PD courses according to their needs on a regular basis to update themselves.
19. **Teaching practice to be an integral part of faculty evaluation**: Teaching practice should be an integral part of faculty evaluation conducted through student assessments and peer observations. Student outcomes in terms of learning should be measured through various assessment modes.

20. **Curriculum to be updated regularly**: To ensure that faculty can implement the latest developments in their courses, teaching approaches, and research, the curriculum of all higher education courses needs to be updated regularly. Higher education faculty, as primary stakeholders, should be represented at all forums involved with curriculum development.
21. **FD credit portfolio for each higher education faculty**: A portable FD credit portfolio should be created for each faculty in HEIs that maintains a record of all the credits earned by faculty through their FD activities. The FD portfolio should provide clear guidelines to faculty and align FD with career advancement.
22. **Incentives for FD**: FD must be linked to incentives in terms of monetary benefits and promotions provided to faculty members regularly at various levels of their development through the FD credit scheme.
23. **Special awards and grants for outstanding faculty**: Faculty in higher education should be provided with awards and grants, as well as bonuses for outstanding performance and achievements, to raise the motivational level of higher education faculty.
24. **Indigenous MPhil/PhD programs to be strengthened**: Indigenous FD programs should be strengthened and made time-efficient through innovative methods, such as forming FDCs that could comprise strong and weak HEIs from the public and private sectors and sharing expertise based on the cooperative learning model. The availability of advanced courses, allocation of appropriate supervisors, and access to online resources should be facilitated to enable the success of scholars and faculty involved with higher studies and PD.
25. **FD programs to be developed in all HEIs**: FD programs in HEIs, especially in degree colleges, should be developed and strengthened. These FD programs should offer PD programs and provide support to faculty pursuing higher degrees (MPhil/PhDs).

26. **Evaluation of FD programs to carry weight in HEI evaluation**: FD activities offered by HEIs' FD programs and their effectiveness should carry considerable weight during the evaluation of HEIs by regulatory bodies such as the HEC.
27. **Public-private HEIs partnerships**: Partnerships between public and private sector universities should be formed. These partnerships would help develop HEI faculty.
28. **International links**: Links between Pakistani HEIs and prestigious universities abroad should be established to provide the required expertise in all disciplines for the development of FD programs.
29. **PhD requirements to be identified**: Research studies should be conducted by the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics and other organizations to identify the number and type of PhDs required by the employment sector and to be prioritized.
30. **Sharing of FD policy with all higher education faculty**: Faculty should be made aware of the current FD policy in higher education to take ownership of and become active players in their own personal and professional development, as well as contribute to the growth of their institutions. FD policy must be shared through the media, HEIs, higher education faculty development institutes (HEFDIs), and higher education faculty development centers (HEFDCs).

Table 25: FD strategic framework (MPhil/PhD in math, science, technology, and higher education + MPhil/PhD in social science, arts, humanities, and higher education)

Weightage	50%	25%	25%	Credit accumulation	Required publications	Degree	Academic rank for faculty teaching postgraduate/ undergraduate programs
Strands	Specialized knowledge	Democratic pedagogy	Research				
MA/MPhil program	Advanced courses and field work	Theoretical courses and practice	Courses, projects, and theses				
Core courses	History and philosophy (2 credits)	Curriculum and assessment (3 credits)	Introduction to research (3 credits)				
	Inquiry into the area (3 credits)	Methods (3 credits)	Action research (3 credits)				
		Professional practice (3 credits)	Research project (3 credits)				
Electives	3 optional courses (3x3-9 credits)						
Time frame							
2-3 years				32 credits	1	MPhil	Asst. prof, (postgrad.) Asst./assoc. prof/prof. (undergrad.)
PhD program	35%		65%				
Core courses	3 subjects of specialization (3 x 3-9 credits)		Qualitative research (3 credits)				
			Quantitative research (3 credits)				
			Research seminar (3 credits)				
Time frame			Research thesis (6 credits)				
3-5 years				24 credits total - 56 credits	4 + 1-5	PhD	Assoc, prof/prof (postgrad.)
5-8 years					3 + 4 + 1 - 8		Prof, (postgrad.)

Characteristics of proposed FD strategic framework

- **Broad-based and interdisciplinary**: The FD framework helps amalgamate faculty needs for advanced knowledge, updated pedagogical skills, and research capacity enhancement. It brings together the discipline the faculty is involved with, the discipline of teacher education, and research, leading faculty to assume the role of teacher-researcher.
- **Modular**: FD programs offered to higher education faculty are in modules with various optional courses of study and research to enable them to combine their development with their work and to suit their personal and professional needs. MPhil/PhD degrees are offered through credit accumulation.
- **Democratic**: FD programs would provide equal FD opportunities to all faculty cadres in degree colleges or universities, including PhDs. Currently, the focus of HEC for FD is the university faculty. The proposed FD framework involves academics and think tanks playing a more effective role in developing higher education.
- **Career advancement**: FD programs provide linkages to faculty promotions throughout their careers and enable higher education faculty to reach the highest grade in their careers as they develop in their profession. Currently, faculty without PhDs and publications, which are prerequisites for promotion, feel they are barred from career advancement.
- **Faculty ownership**: FD programs help improve teachers' interest and motivation, as well as provide more control to teachers over their PD. The current higher education reforms, particularly those pertaining to faculty, are strongly protested by faculty as they feel that the targets set for them do not match their current qualifications and research experience.
- **Improvement in faculty competencies**: FD programs help transform teachers through updated approaches and methodologies in curriculum design, pedagogy, and assessment, and help them engage in reflective practice to make education more relevant and meaningful for both faculty and students.

- **Impact on students' cognitive and affective domains**: FD programs help faculty impact students to become critical and independent thinkers and problem solvers, producing graduates who are moderate, tolerant, and civic-minded through the new teaching strategies.
- **Scholarship of pedagogy**: FD programs help transform pedagogy in HEIs through classroom-based inquiry and provide teachers/researchers with a better understanding of issues related to teacher and student development in a given field.
- **Relationship of theory to practice**: FD programs enable faculty to remain in touch with the latest developments in their field through advanced courses in the discipline. These programs enable faculty to relate theory to practice through fieldwork, thus allowing them to benefit from experiential learning.

Part 9: Implementation strategies

Structure and function

Changes in structure and functions at all levels would be required to develop higher education faculty. FD would have to be decentralized to enable 'change' from within the higher education faculty and their institutions, rather than being imposed through external agencies. This would require the following structural changes:

Decentralization of FD

HEFDIs with degree-awarding status would have to be established at provincial levels to plan and implement FD programs. In addition, HEFDCs would be required at district/divisional levels. The centers would consist of clusters comprising both strong and weak HEIs. Each HEFDC would have a lead HEI responsible for spearheading FD programs and activities. It is envisaged that the HEFDCs would be hubs where all FD programs (MPhil/PhD) and PD programs would be

implemented. The institutes would be required to support HEFDCs in planning and developing FD programs and activities, as well as in developing resources through partnerships with international universities. The boards of HEFDIs would comprise members who represent each HEFDC and control all developmental, administrative, and funding activities related to FD. The HEFDIs would work in coordination with HEC and provincial governments.

The role of the HEFDIs would be to act as a supporting agency for the HEFDCs and perform the following functions:

- To act as a think tank and engage in developing and monitoring higher education policy.
- To offer FD opportunities to higher education faculty, particularly in undertaking the MPhil/PhD and PD programs, and be responsible for developing related courses, teaching, and assessments.
- To enhance the capacity of higher education faculty by offering courses in research and assisting faculty in securing funds for research projects, as well as in presenting and publishing their research.
- To assist higher education faculty in FD guidance and maintain a record of their FD activities by developing a portable faculty portfolio for each faculty member.

FD programs in higher education institutions

FD programs need to be developed in each HEI under the supervision of the vice-chancellor or principal of the institution. FD programs must offer FD activities and promote an environment that encourages and supports faculty engagement in FD practices. These programs will help develop faculty by offering MPhil/PhD and PD programs at institutional levels, with assistance from their HEFDCs, HEFDIs, the HEC, and provincial governments.

Role of HEC and provincial governments

The HEC, as the apex body at the federal level, in coordination with the provincial governments, would spearhead FD by formulating policy, providing funds, and supporting new FD programs and activities in all FDCs and HEIs, especially in degree colleges. They would provide opportunities for HEI faculty to pursue their MPhil/PhD programs abroad through various scholarship schemes, as well as support the PD program proposed through courses in pedagogy offered by its Innovation and Learning Division for HEI faculty in the federal capital and the HEFDIs in the provinces. The HEC, NACTE, and the provincial governments, along with their agencies, would be responsible for quality assurance of all FD programs offered by HEFDIs, HEFDCs, and HEIs.

Human resources

FD human resources would be drawn from the expertise available in Pakistan and abroad. To encourage cross-utilization of resources at all levels and to increase the impact of qualified faculty, the HEFDCs and HEFDIs would need to develop partnerships with prestigious universities abroad, especially in the USA and UK, for their respective areas of FD.

Assistance from international agencies

The setup and development of the HEFDIs and HEFDCs would require expertise and resources for the initial ten-year period. Assistance from USAID, the British Council, the World Bank, and other international agencies would be necessary in the first ten years to help develop resources through shared expertise to strengthen FD programs in higher education.

Funding

Funds would need to be generated through the federal budget for higher education (HEC), the provincial budget for higher education, and the support of Pakistan's international partners in higher education development. At the federal level,

the reduction in the number of PhDs dedicated to higher education faculty teaching at undergraduate levels during the next ten years would be utilized to strengthen indigenous FD programs, which include MPhil/PhD and PD programs. At the provincial level, a part of the additional funds allocated to the provinces for the development of education in the social sector through NFC would need to be invested in FD in degree college funds to be directed towards:

- Setting up HEFDIs in each province and assisting in developing the infrastructure and resources, as well as high-quality FD programs to be offered by these institutes.
- Setting up HEFDCs in each district/division and assisting in developing infrastructure and resources, as well as high-quality FD programs run by these centers. These funds would be directed through the HEFDIs to the lead institution in each HEFDC.
- Setting up FD programs in all HEIs and assisting in developing FD practices offered by the HEIs' FD programs. These funds would be directed through the HEC and provincial governments to HEFDIs and HEIs in the public and private sectors. Funds would be based on the needs assessment of HEIs and effective utilization of these funds for FD practices.
- Facilitating HEFDIs and HEFDCs in setting up links with international universities to exchange faculty to help develop FD programs and courses.

Guiding principles

The FD framework is based on the following principles:

- A democratic approach to FD that requires the views of higher education faculty to be considered at all stages of planning and implementation of the FD policy.
- A need-based approach to FD designed to improve faculty performance in all aspects of their professional lives as scholars, classroom practitioners, and academic leaders. It

takes into account faculty needs for instructional/pedagogic development, PD, organizational development, career development, and personal development.

- The cooperative model of FD, where there is sharing of expertise and resources among the HEIs and their faculty, and support is provided to the weaker institutions by the stronger institutions, in order to develop the higher education faculty of mixed abilities and improve the quality of higher education at the grassroots level across the spectrum.
- Policy scholarship approach: Unlike the 'policy science' approach, which is rational, top-down, and prescriptive, the policy scholarship approach is grounded in social reality in universities and leads to organizational development in challenging socioeconomic and political contexts.
- Decentralized system of training in which faculty members are motivated to take the onus and actively participate in FD activities as resource persons or participants.
- Institutional autonomy where HEIs take responsibility for the development of their faculty by creating FD programs and providing support, incentives, and rewards in terms of sabbatical leave, reduced workload, salary increments, and promotions.
- Support agencies, such as FD institutes and centers, are developed by the government to assist HEIs and faculty through FD endowment funds for developing resources and expertise, grants for traveling to conferences, and research funds for conducting FD activities.
- Strengthening indigenous programs to reduce dependency on foreign PhD programs by developing indigenous PhDs to bring them at par with international standards and other FD programs through resources and expertise.
- The sustainability of FD programs is critical, and developing local resources is a pragmatic approach for the bulk of the faculty, including women faculty, as indigenous PhDs would become more accessible and economical. This would also

enable FD programs to continue after donor funds are depleted.

– Women-friendly FD programs that facilitate equal participation of women faculty in higher education, in keeping with the Millennium Development Goals, and lead to the empowerment of women educators.

Part 10: Impact

The policy recommendations and strategies for implementation have been developed with the central role of faculty in improving higher education and its impact on Pakistani youth in mind. The policy aims to affect a large number of faculty and students in higher education through the proposed recommendations and the FD strategic framework. The graduates produced by HEIs, supported by a highly empowered faculty, would greatly boost Pakistan's economy by contributing to the employment sector. They would also help bring stability to the country through a youth force that is tolerant, mature, and ready to contribute as responsible citizens of Pakistan and the world. In addition, the policy proposals will strengthen the relationship between Pakistani academics and experts abroad through various initiatives. It aims to address some of the shortcomings of the current HEC policy regarding FD for higher education faculty, which is expensive and difficult to sustain.

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Chapter 5
Language, Attitudes, Culture, and Identity

Globalization and Social Media

S. Kamran & S. Mansoor. (2017). Globalization and language use on social media in Pakistan. *European Journal of Language and Literature Studies*, 3(2), 79–84.

Shanzay Kamran and Sabiha Mansoor

Introduction

This study critically analyzes written comments by Pakistani graduates on Pakistani university Facebook websites in order to understand how social networking sites in Pakistan reflect the competency of Pakistani students in English, which is required for global and local communication and the internet. Both statistical and critical discourse analysis of the comments were used to explore any linguistic discrimination in terms of access and equity between university students from public and private sector universities. The data in Facebook comments in their social context was analyzed with regard to regional variations and gender; the use of Urdu and regional languages, along with code-mixing with English. The aim was to investigate whether students on these Facebook sites used their regional languages or the national language, Urdu, out of convenience to reflect their culture and identity, or conversely, due to their inadequate written English language skills.

Interviews with web managers and heads of English departments of both public and private universities were conducted regarding their views on the usefulness of Facebook for their students and whether it helped improve their English language skills. Pakistan, being a part of globalization, has also experienced an increase in internet usage, especially among urban youth over the past decade. According to the Pakistan Social Media Report, 2014, monthly active Facebook users in Pakistan amounted to 5.4 million, aged 18–25 years. Although there are financial challenges for users due to the low economic status of the majority of Pakistanis, connected devices and their

contents are becoming top priorities for Pakistani youth. Graddol (1997) predicts that English will continue to spread, becoming an international language for communication by 2050. Given the demand for English, it will become necessary for internet users to be fluent in English as part of their future skills for both individual and national development.

Background: Language situation in Pakistan

Pakistan, a multicultural and multilingual nation, has a population estimated at 181.1 million (World Bank, 2013). Urdu, the national official language, is the mother tongue of only 7.6% of the total population in Pakistan, but it still has a high status since it is considered a symbol of solidarity and national identity. English, on the other hand, is also considered a high-status language in Pakistan, since Pakistan was a former British colony. English is used for all official purposes and as a medium of education in private schools, and it is a compulsory subject up to the graduate level; it remained the second official language until 1972. According to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan (Article 251), English was anticipated to be replaced by Urdu within a decade. Due to a lack of resources in Urdu and numerous other factors, English is still the de facto official language and the gateway to higher education. English and Urdu—despite the latter being the mother tongue of a very small population in Pakistan—are considered the majority languages because they are both used in official domains and for education.

English also serves as a gateway for university graduates to access postgraduate education and white-collar jobs in the corporate and government sectors. Pakistan's language policies have always favored English and Urdu, discouraging other regional languages spoken by the majority of the people in Pakistan. According to the Pakistan Demographic Profile, 2016, the Punjabi language community comprises 44.68%, Pushtun 15.42%, Sindhi 14.1%, Seraiki 8.36%, Balochi 3.57%, and others, including English, Gujarati, and Hindko (6.8%), of the population of Pakistan. Though regional speakers are large in number, their

languages are regarded as 'minority' languages and have a low status and limited role in the official and educational domains.

Theoretical framework

Language use and social media in higher education

The fundamental function of language is communication. English, as a global link language, has added new dimensions to people's social lives across the globe. It is also used for formal exchanges between professionals. However, social networking sites are affecting the way people converse with each other.

A study conducted by Mills (2011) investigated the element of student participation in how knowledge is acquired and what site is used for socialization within social networking communities. Facebook, as a popular social networking site, is seen as an influential tool for interaction used by students to share and access various resources, leading to improvements in the different topic discussions held in class. According to this study, students develop identities through interpersonal and interpretative forms of communication on social networks, especially Facebook, involving productive learning experiences. Other studies have looked into language and identity issues in social networking communities. Al-Tarawneh (2014) explored the influence of social media usage, primarily Facebook, on the performance of high school students. She found that using social networking sites increases productivity and communication among students. It also increases students' motivation to learn new things.

Language, culture and, gender

Any discussion related to intercultural communication and discourse needs to start with defining the term 'culture' (Williams, 1983). Culture is defined by anthropologists as the daily activities of people, whose practices and interactions are based on the social organizations in which they engage. Today, people from very different cultural and educational backgrounds interact and socialize with each other on platforms provided by

social networking sites. Thus, English and intercultural dialogue play a vital role in today's globalized world.

Moreover, studies on discourse analysis are gaining immense popularity, especially in the domains of language and gender over the past few decades. One such approach includes gendered discourse by Sunderland (2004), which focuses on the classification and recognition of gendered discourses through the analysis of how language is used.

The study

There is a paucity of literature and research publications on the effects of social media and globalization in terms of linguistic differences in Pakistan, so this research was conducted to investigate different features of the discourse of Pakistani university students on the Facebook pages of the Higher Education Commission (HEC)-approved universities.

The main aim of this research study was to investigate which language students prefer to use on social media in Pakistan.

- What is the dominant language used by university students on the official Facebook website?
- What is the status and role of Urdu as a national language?
- English as an international lingua franca.
- Local languages?
- Is there linguistic discrimination in the competence of written discourse in English between private and public sector universities?

Method

This research study employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The quantitative approach adopted a computerized methodology for data collection and data analysis. It was considered useful in terms of enumerating the number of subjects who were active or passive users and the dominant or preferred language used by university students in their Facebook

comments. Statistical and descriptive analyses were conducted to explore the differences in percentages and to determine if they were significant. A random sample of written comments is displayed in the study to illustrate the topic under discussion.

The second method employed was interviews with web managers and heads of English departments to gain their viewpoints on the usefulness of Facebook for various purposes.

Profile of students

The general population of university official websites in 2015 was 129, as almost all HEC-recognized universities (which were considered fit for HEC ranking) had an official Facebook page. This was tested through random sampling. This study employed a two-stage cluster sampling method to select a reliable sample. The first stage required the selection of 18 HEC-approved public and private universities from the HEC ranking list of 2015. Eleven public universities and seven private universities were selected based on the ratio of their numbers and regional variation. In the public sector, all major general universities from the provinces and the federal capital, including the University of the Punjab, University of Karachi, University of Peshawar, University of Balochistan, and Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad, were included (Table 1).

Table 1: Sample of public and private universities

	No. of universities	
	Public universities	**Private universities**
Punjab	3	2
Sindh	3	2
Balochistan	1	1
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP)	2	1
Islamabad	2	1

The second stage required the selection of students from various universities, and active users of their university's official Facebook sites were selected through random sampling based on the size of the student population from the universities identified earlier. A total of 220 Facebook comments from both public and

private sector universities were selected for the study (Table 2). The reason for selecting these sites was that they are accessible to the entire online community free of charge.

Table 2: Sample of student comments on Facebook

	No. of student Facebook comments	
	Public universities	**Private universities**
Punjab	45	30
Sindh	45	30
Balochistan	5	5
KP	20	10
Islamabad	20	10

In terms of ethical considerations, although Facebook is a public website, the names of all subjects were changed to avoid any harm to the subjects. Instead, pseudonyms were used and further, these were reduced to initials. However, the type of university, region, gender, and student comments remained unchanged.

With the assistance of a statistical advisor, data collection was conducted on MS Excel sheets prepared by the researchers. Ten university students volunteered to be part of this study by collating data on the Excel sheets. They received orientation and training from the researchers before filling in the sheets in the university's computer center, under the management of the researchers and the statistical advisor, in one sitting of three hours.

The main aims of the quantitative analysis were to determine:

- The dominant and preferred languages used in public and private university Facebook sites by gender and region.
- The level of formality in language use according to the area and topic of discussion.

The comments were analyzed using a five-point scale, with one being very formal and five being very informal. The use of greetings, salutations, and sentences beginning with *Dear*, *Miss*, *Mr* were considered very formal, whereas sentences without any salutations, using slang like *hi*, *hey*, were considered very informal. A critical role in the level of formality is seen in the

context of the area of discussion and whether they were formal (university, academic, employment-related) or personal (social, political, or expressing emotions).

Results

Dominant language used

The results of this study showed that English was the most frequently used and dominant language on both the private and public university sites. However, students from the private universities showed a considerably higher preference for the English language.

Around 43% of the total Facebook comments in public universities and 67% in private universities were in English (Table 3). Twenty-four percent of the total Facebook comments in public universities and some 14% in private universities were in Urdu, but in Roman English transliteration and not in their original form. This could be the result of most universities' computers having only the English alphabet.

The findings show that students from both public and private universities seldom used their regional languages on Facebook sites; only 1.4% were used in public universities and 2.5% in private universities. These comments were mainly in Pushto, from universities in Balochistan and KP. Sindhi was used by only one student from the province of Sindh. Punjabi students did not comment in their regional language (Punjabi) at all. It was observed that around a quarter of students used code-mixing of Urdu, English, or regional languages on university Facebook sites, with 27% from public universities and 17% from private universities. Public university students used code-mixing with less English and more Urdu in their comments than private university students on Facebook. Acronyms were used by students from both public and private universities, indicating a language change from standard written English or the Oxford English Dictionary.

Table 3: Language use on public and private university Facebook sites (%)

Languages used in Facebook comments	Language users (%)	
	Public	Private
English	43%	67%
Urdu	24%	14%
Regional	1.4%	2.5%
Mixed (code switching)	27%	17%

Below is a random sample (private university) of written comments on Facebook (preference for English):[1]

> MI: How can we get our pictures? And where are the rest of pictures?
>
> JA: Anyone help please! I am doing matriculation (SSC) with computer Science but I am a lot more interested in Biology. Can I be admitted in F.Sc Medical?
>
> UF: If you are a volleyball player only then you know that final of volleyball match played as fixed positions rules is always to be best of five. One should have courage to acknowledge the real champions Universal rule dude *smiley*
>
> IA: nice to hear about such rare legends serving back there country

Below is a random sample (public university) of written comments on Facebook (preference for Urdu):

> AB: Any one tell me k QUAID.E.AZAM uni main sports base admission hoty hain agr hoty hain to kb hain plzz [Does Quaid-i-Azam university offer sports-based admissions, and if so, when?]
>
> AS: any one knows? Ke quai de azam uni me electronics engineering me krate hain? [Does Quaid-i-Azam university offer electrical engineering?]

[1] All usernames have been anonymized.

Language attitudes

Highly positive attitudes toward English were displayed by all university students. The results of the chi-square test showed that there was a considerable difference in the inclination to use the English language in Facebook comments between public and private university students in Pakistan. Students from public universities made more use of code-mixing (Table 3), an indicator of 'crossing' rather than 'passing,' mainly because they lack the required fluency in English. Public university students' use of Urdu and, in some cases, Pushto in Balochistan and KP indicates a robust ethnolinguistic vitality and social identity of the Pushto language community.

Level of formality

There was a considerable difference between the level of formality displayed in the written comments by public and private university students. Approximately 59% of the total comments on the Facebook sites of public universities and 34% of those from private universities were informal (Table 4).

Table 4: Level of formality in language use in public and private universities (%)

	Formal	Informal	Neither formal nor informal
Public	36	59	6
Private	47	34	21

Students from private universities were also semi-formal in their Facebook comments (21%), compared to a small number of public university students (6%). This indicates that students from the private sector are more confident in using Facebook due to a higher socioeconomic status than public sector students.

Sociocultural context

It was observed that the topic of discussion and the context in Facebook comments from public universities were mainly related to the university (63%), while the comments were more in a personal context (54%) in private universities (Table 5). The

discussion analysis revealed that the level of formality in the comments largely depended on the topic of discussion. While discussing academic, administrative, and university-related issues, a more formal tone was observed, while personal contexts were discussed in a more informal discourse.

Table 5: Topics of Facebook comments in public and private universities (%)

	University-related (%)	Personal (%)
Public universities	63%	37%
Private universities	46%	54%

Results display a higher level of formality on the Facebook sites of private universities. The main topics in the formal written discourse were about employment, discussions between alumni and students, and institutional loyalty, while informal discourse was used to talk about religious activities and other complaints. Below is the excerpt showing different topics discussed on private and public university Facebook sites in Sindh, Islamabad, and Balochistan. It can be observed that political and religious matters were mainly discussed at the university in Balochistan.

Below are the topics from a private university (Sindh):

> LK: Salute to AKUH neurologists especially the two legends Dr. Ather Inaam and Dr. Rashid Jooma. They present the best equipment first time in Pakistan.
>
> AA: My aggregate is 64 am. Am I eligible for pharm d or dnd?

Below are the topics discussed at public universities (Islamabad and Balochistan):

> RW: anyone help me here? Due to some domestic problem I was unable to submit admission form what I can do Quaid e Azam University Islamabad please answer asap
>
> MS: islam me qatal karna jaiz nahi Waqar Ahmad or wo bhe begunha ka qatal k badly qatal h na k choti choti baton me gun nikal kar khary hona…tabhi hmary

> mulk hewanoo ka mulk h jahan aqal nam ki koe che [Islam does not condone murder; especially over a frivolous matter. That is why our country comprises beasts who have no brains]

Language change

Acronyms are one of the features of this language change, as seen below. A host of newly created words originating from social media and the internet as a whole were identified by the researchers. Many words creeping into the English language are based on online brands. Google is a prime example. Instead of saying "search for it" or "look for it," internet users simply tend to say "Google it." Instead of saying "share it," they use the term "tweet it." These emerging communication styles are affecting our university students. People actively indulge in generating content and creating value on social media. The passage below shows how students make use of acronyms and slang in their written discourse in public and private universities in KP, Punjab, and Sindh.

The extracts below illustrate the use of acronyms and slang at public universities (KP and Punjab):

> ZH: Ir final result kb hai?? [When do we get our final results?]
>
> AN: Whoaaa!!

The extracts below illustrate the use of acronyms and slang at private universities (Sindh, Punjab):

> FJ: sho ki seats kitni hai? [How many seats are available for the show?]
>
> HM: plzz inform uss about date of B.A result 2016.
>
> MB: go to hell. I hv sbmtd my fee in other uni *smiley* can't wait for it

The Oxford English Dictionary has been readjusting some words to reflect their usage in social networks. Over the past few

years, new technologies in information and media have been creating new kinds of literacies, as seen above.

Language and identity

The passage below shows how some students from Balochistan and KP posted their comments in Pushto, while only one student from Sindh used Sindhi. The rest of the students preferred using English and/or Urdu (in Roman English transliteration), especially those from Punjab. Below are extracts in regional languages (KP and Balochistan):

AM: ala shuker de late sho Allah de kha rawali zamung tolo result ameen [Oh, good it's late, pray to God that everyone gets a good result]

HA: Ous ye hes maza Nishta [It's no fun now]

SK: Dase khali prot o 6 nan [It has been lying empty since 6]

The above comments in the student regional languages/mother tongues, Pushto and Sindhi, are made in an informal and personal context by KP and Sindhi students. Research findings on competency and use of regional languages (Mansoor, 2007) indicate that Punjabi language speakers display low ethnolinguistic vitality and are less competent in their mother tongue (47%) than in Urdu (75%). They use Urdu (66%) more than Punjabi (44%) with their families, thus indicating a gradual language shift. Another indicator of the spread of Urdu is that Sindhi language speakers in urban areas report equal competency in Sindhi (51%), but use their mother tongue, Sindhi (25%), less with families compared to Urdu (77%). Although Balochi and Pushto speakers show positive attitudes towards their mother tongue, being competent in it and mainly using it at home, they exhibit integrative motivation rather than instrumental reasons, as seen in their high preference for using English, followed by Urdu, as a medium of instruction (Mansoor, 2005). Although Sindhi has been and continues to be used for educational purposes, there are insufficient educational materials for higher education.

Language, culture, and gender

It was observed that some 63% of the total Facebook comments analyzed in the study were posted by males, and the rest—37%—were posted by females (Table 6).

Table 6: Facebook comments by gender (%)

Public universities	Private universities	Male	Female
61	39	63	37

Table 7: Men and women's representation, province-wise (%)

	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Islamabad	Balochistan	Total
Men	56	53	63	73	90	62
Women	44	47	37	27	10	38

While observing the gender norms on the Facebook sites of universities, it was noted that male students were dominant in the written comments, especially in Balochistan (90%), Islamabad (73%), and KP (63%), while universities in Sindh and Punjab showed moderately less disparity between male and female Facebook representation (Table 7). In Islamabad, the federal capital, there was a significant disparity between male and female Facebook users, with female users being even fewer than in KP. This noteworthy difference in male and female usage in Balochistan and KP highlights that females, especially in these provinces, are silent and almost invisible.

Some female students' comments were marked by emotions, nostalgia, and discussions of fashion and parties (see below). The use of adjectives and emotional comments, as well as their feelings depicted through images, was higher in female comments than in male comments.

Below are extracts illustrating the gendered use of emotions (Punjab, Islamabad):

MS: baks seriously? Shahwar Bughio *SMILEY*

NJ: Great memories. Feeling nostalgic.

KK: 28th December *SMILEY#1* *SMILEY#2*

According to Aitchison (1995), language is a phenomenon closely linked to social attitudes. Men and women differ from each other because society lays down different roles and expectations for them (Saeed, 2013). These comments indicate that women are more expressive and are more likely to use images and emotions to express their feelings than men, who are expected to keep their feelings to themselves in our society. As informed by Siddiqui (2014), the denial of education to females was due mainly to sociocultural constraints and less to religious reasons. According to Rahman (2010, p. 152), language plays a role in constructing gender: "In our male-dominated societies, the role is negative as far as women are concerned."

The study of gender in the comments was also useful in identifying strong and courageous women pursuing higher education to empower themselves, particularly in backward regions where cultural norms and traditions are still very conservative, especially in Balochistan and KP. It also includes strong women moving ahead in Punjab and Sindh, as seen in their comments on opportunities for postgraduate studies and future employment (see below).

Below is a sample from a public university (KP):

> RP: I want to take admission in M.s or M.Phil in Peshawar uni but I don't have any source...its my request kindly guide me someone from Psychology department.

Below is a sample from a public university (Sindh):

> ZM: On which date the list of selected self finance students will b given, kindly reply to my question because it's 1st of December so please.

Below is a sample from a private university (Punjab):

> VI: How can I help a wonderful young Christain man from a very poor family get into this college? He lives in a village but very bright young man who has taught himself very good English and has a great desire to

> learn and go to college. Are there any grants of scholarships available for this kind of person?

Below is a sample from a public university (Balochistan):

> SJ: Its confirmed check in the PHD program.. under faculty of social science.

English language competency

The results of the study indicate that students in private universities are more fluent and grammatically correct in their use of the English language than students from public universities in formal areas of discussion and topics related to academics and administration. Although their written discourse is not flawless, they approximate standard Pakistani English. The passage below shows how private sector student comments displayed greater confidence in their use of the English language than public university Facebook comments. Public sector students, on the other hand, use a lot of code-mixing with English and, in some cases, regional languages. Although most addressors and addressees in the public sector are bilingual, communication in English and Urdu in most cases may not lead to any breakdown in communication in the national context, whereas code-mixing with regional languages can create language barriers. In addition, their Facebook comments in English also reflect that they lack adequate competency in written English, which is required to communicate with their addressees internationally.

The samples below illustrate language competency in private universities (Punjab, Sindh):

> MKA: Our vision to create this group is to help those students who are having problems in their semester projects specially technology like .Net and Android development projects.

> IA: Nice to hear about such rare legends serving back there country.

ZM: On which date the list of selected self finance students will be given? Kindly reply to my question because it's 1st of December so please.

The samples below illustrate language competency in public universities (Balochistan, Islamabad, Sindh):

SK: But this time I have too much need to get admission in Bsc or take Bsc degree it help me in my promotion in pak army.

MI: For MSc last time fist merit list kiss aggregate pe close hoi thi?

AK: Experience chaheay abbay Bhai job hogi to experience hoga na.

Interviews

Interviews with web managers and heads of English departments from public and private universities were insightful. Web managers in both sectors stated that university access to their Facebook sites was useful for students, providing a forum for the university administration to make announcements regarding events, academic schedules, and employment opportunities. It also helped students express their views on university-related issues and facilitated their social skills. The public sector web manager expressed that the dominant language used by students was Urdu, whereas the web manager in the private sector said that students primarily used English but with a smattering of Urdu when engaged in personal matters.

The head of the English department at the public sector university believed that student access to Facebook on university websites was beneficial for students in terms of opening new avenues and fostering social interaction. However, she stated that their students predominantly used Urdu in written comments on Facebook, but that Facebook helped them incorporate phrases in English. The head of the English department at a private university also believed that access to Facebook served a useful purpose in the exchange of views, confidence, and social

development. When asked about the dominant language used by students in their comments on Facebook, she hesitated and then said they used code-mixing of English and Urdu. When her views were sought on the usefulness of Facebook in the development of students' English language skills, she responded that prolonged exposure to Facebook would help enhance both reading and writing skills in English.

Discussion

The findings display that the importance of English has increased for university graduates in the modern world due to globalization and technology, including Pakistani university students. It was observed that university students held positive attitudes towards English, as seen in their frequent use of comments in English on Facebook on the official websites of their universities, by both private and public university students in Pakistan. This is the result of the spread of English due to its high status and prestige, as well as being the most widely used lingua franca. In addition, fluency in English is linked with power and is seen as a global tool for empowerment. Pakistani graduates demand greater fluency in the English language as a pathway to higher education and employment.

The results of the study indicate that students' need for English as an international language has been enhanced, as they see it as essential for growth in business and trade, especially in view of globalization and internet technology. The major language of power in South Asia, according to Rahman (2010), is English, and the westernized elite in both Pakistan and India are fluent in English, understanding that it is to their advantage, and they continue to use it in domains of power. This study shows that private sector students use English more than public sector students and display a significantly higher preference for English if they have studied in English-medium schools, whereas public sector students use English along with code-mixing due to their lack of ease in using English.

Another interesting feature in the comments was the use of Urdu in Roman transliteration. According to Rahman (2010), Urdu script is based on the Arabic script but is written somewhat differently. Urdu books are written using a script unlike Arabic, with words of Persian, and are called Nastaleeq; hence, it may be referred to as Perso-Arabic script.

The use of acronyms in comments by university students on Facebook displayed a language change often referred to as internet language, which differs from the language used by students for written communication in classrooms. Code-mixing was used more frequently by public sector students, even in comments intended for formal use. A critical discourse analysis of comments, in view of competency in English, revealed that university students from the private sector were more competent than those from the public sector.

As such, a standard language like English will bring linguistic capital. Rahman (2005) argues that since globalization demands quality control, there is great emphasis on using language in a certain way, in spoken or written communication in social network systems. The findings of the study display the importance of English and the perception of stakeholders that fluency in English is required to succeed in the field of the internet.

The study also displayed a close link between language, culture, and identity. Languages are ways of displaying the many social identities people have. They may be acquired naturally or taught formally in classrooms. An important identity link is the national language and national identity: In Pakistan, Urdu is the national official language, while English is the second language, a result of British rule for over 200 years. In this study, there was a dominant use of Urdu after English, but apart from a small percentage of students who used Pushto, there was negligible use of regional languages. The reason for this is that although, apart from Punjabi speakers, all other language communities have high ethnolinguistic vitality, they and their parents do not consider its use in education valuable.

The results also displayed that students from the private sector were more academically inclined, as seen in their use of Facebook to discuss topics in the formal domain, compared to public sector students, especially from Balochistan, who used Facebook for personal interaction. It was observed that the dominant use of English in the comments of all 18 university Facebook sites is largely due to the prestige and high value associated with English, as well as it being the international lingua franca. Moreover, in countries like Pakistan, competency in English is associated with power and considered a form of empowerment.

An important finding of the study was the gender disparity among males and females as users of Facebook, especially in KP and Balochistan. These regions remain backward, and more efforts need to be made to empower women.

The results of the study revealed language discrimination in terms of competency and use of English by students from private and public sector universities.

Future challenges

Pakistan, as a democratic country, must provide equal opportunities to all its people to develop their home languages for educational purposes, thereby adding high status to them.

Low female participation on Facebook sites, especially in the provinces of KP and Balochistan, poses a serious threat to women's development in the country. To pursue socioeconomic development in Pakistan, female students should be actively involved in classrooms as well as on all social media sites to be socially accepted in educational institutions.

Societal attitudes are difficult to change, but it is the responsibility of state institutions and organizations to create awareness that conservative attitudes restricting women from participating in all sectors are not due to religious reasons but to outdated traditions.

The area of language change and the factors involved in its development have long provoked the interest of many

sociolinguists. The findings of this study underscore the need to investigate the language needs of university students for English, particularly for social media, and to address learner difficulties.

English language teaching programs must be improved in public sector universities and schools as an attempt to diminish linguistic discrimination between public and private sector schooling.

The challenge of language for education policy planners is how to create a framework of languages to be studied that will enable students to use their own home language while further strengthening their English language teaching programs based on access and equity for higher education, employment, and international trade.

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Education in Pakistan: The Great Divide

Sabiha Mansoor

Pakistan continues to award low priority to education, as seen in its funding allocations (2.1% of GDP) and low literacy rates, placing it at the lowest end of global rankings. Apart from issues of access, the quality of education in the public sector is abysmally low. The recent statement by Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif declaring an education emergency reminds us of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani's statement that the nationalization of schools in the early 1970s "was a mistake," which has sparked fresh debate on the complex issues pertaining to Pakistan's educational system. The host of questions raised by a frustrated and impatient populace relates not only to fundamental issues such as the failure of the state to provide education to the masses but also to complex issues of efficiency and quality in education, as well as equity in the educational system.

Pakistan's inability to achieve its educational goals, in terms of literacy, gender parity, student learning outcomes, adequacy of faculty, and capacity for research, reveals a host of factors when examined in its overall sociopolitical and historical context. These include an unstable democracy and successive takeovers by military governments, student unrest, the language divide, brain drain, the gap between conservative and modern views of Islam, the two Afghan wars resulting in the radicalization of youth, the misuse of religion for political reasons, and the low priority given to education in the economic development of the country. The results of poor education planning and the manipulation of educational policies by politicians to serve self-interest have also accelerated the decline of public education.

The nationalization of private schools and colleges by the charismatic and popular leader of the Pakistan People's Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in the early 1970s was seen by many as a

staggering blow to the already shaky educational system. The intent of the education policy was to keep with the democratic and radical spirit of the party's manifesto and demanded a complete restructuring of the value system, participation of local people in education affairs, equal access to education, and the eradication of illiteracy. Consequently, around 175 colleges underwent nationalization in September 1972. As many as 3,000 private schools were also taken over in phases, including those run by the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam and missionaries. However, exceptions were made for elitist schools. Given the social and economic conditions, the nationalization of schools and colleges resulted in stiff resistance from teachers and their employers in the private sector. Gradually, these institutions deteriorated, and the quality of education suffered, including that of premier colleges such as Kinnaird College and Forman Christian College. To arrest the rapid decline in education, the schools and colleges were finally denationalized, ironically by none other than Benazir Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's successor, in the 1990s.

The decline of public sector education gave rise to the private sector. In the 1980s, the government encouraged the private sector to grow in an effort to address the issue of excellence in education. Initially, it remained unregulated for quality and was criticized for promoting a self-serving brand of ideology at the expense of merit. The dramatic increase in the number of private schools in both urban and rural areas in the 1990s led to substantial cost savings for the government in the provision of education. In 1999–2000, the total number of private sector institutions was 36,096, which rose to 81,103 in 2005, showing an annual average increase of 25%. A study in 2002 reported the growth of private sector schools as a positive development and not an urban-elite phenomenon, contributing to improvements in the quality of education, especially in rural areas. The findings of a World Bank report also make evident the significant gap between public and private schooling in terms of learning and educational achievements.

In higher education, private sector universities have multiplied, and currently, out of 132 universities and degree-

awarding institutions, many are private. Some private universities in Pakistan, such as the Aga Khan University, Lahore University of Management Sciences, and the Lahore School of Economics, have gained a reputation for providing quality education to bright students and helping to reverse the process of brain drain among Pakistani students. The initiative by the private sector to set up universities has been welcomed as it provides competition to public sector universities, thus putting pressure on them to improve the quality of higher education. From an economic viewpoint, private sector universities are seen as assisting the government by sharing the burden of higher education with the public sector.

Although a number of scholarships are offered to deserving students, the increase in private schools and universities has been criticized for their high fee structure, which makes them accessible only to the elite. Pakistan has a large segment of a lower middle-class, with one-third of its population living below the poverty line. As such, it is felt that the state must not abdicate its responsibility to provide quality higher education to the large majority of students in the public sector and thus fulfill the obligations of a welfare democratic state.

The ethical dimension of the debate is important. Should Pakistan continue with the public versus private education divide, or sacrifice one for the other? In examining this highly contentious issue, it is important to recognize that the choice is not a dichotomous one, involving the extremes of a fully centralized or fully privatized system, but rather one along a continuum where state support is not only limited to public schools but may also be awarded to private schools in proportion to the social benefits the institutions offer.

Chapter 6
Language and Gender

Key Attributes of Success

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How did the women educators in this study define 'success'? While some identified the ability to 'get things done' as central to success as a teacher, researcher, or administrator, many respondents found it difficult to define 'success' in relation to their own experience. They were immersed in their jobs and saw working with learners or on their research and development projects as a process of discovery, of cumulative change over a period, and, in some instances, over generations.

Our interviews with women educators from an earlier period (1947–67) revealed that success was defined more clearly, often based on their own experience as students of other successful women educators and, in some instances, subsequent co-workers. In these cases, they identified 'success' as not only having a sound knowledge of their own subject area, but also the necessary people skills, such as interpersonal communication, leadership, intellectual curiosity, and the ability to reach out to people. Many admired the quiet dignity of Priobala Mangat Rai, seeing it as an immense source of strength. As one former student said:

> She knew how to handle women in a manner that would motivate and guide them…she did not force things down your throat but would make you feel that you were part of the decision making…I think she was a strong person, and she knew that if she built a very strong institution, that institution itself would demand respect, and then people would benefit from the privileges associated with that respect.

Respondents saw her as a role model par excellence. As another former student said:

> I don't measure success in monetary terms...I don't measure success in terms of promotion. I feel that, if you are able to face yourself at the end of the day and if you wake up happy, I think you are successful in whatever you are doing.

Overall, the most highly recognized traits of successful women educators were hard work, confidence, discipline, initiative, and commitment.

Educators from rural and urban areas ranked these traits in a similar fashion. Confidence, discipline, hard work, and commitment carried considerable weight for educators in both areas. However, initiative was rated higher by urban educators (60.5%) than by their rural counterparts (42.7%). This could be due to a lack of appropriate training, resources, and exposure to the latest developments in education among rural respondents.

Educators working in the private and public sectors differed in commitment and initiative. Those in the public sector accorded comparatively high importance to both traits. The lower degree of commitment and initiative in the private sector may relate to the lack of job security and lower salaries compared to those in the public sector.

A comparative analysis of traits among educators working at the school or college/university level reveals that both types of respondents thought confidence, hard work, and commitment were very important. However, there was a significant difference of opinion regarding discipline. School educators accounted for a comparatively high proportion (23.8%), giving weight to discipline, while among college and university educators, only 8.9% felt that discipline was important. Similarly, initiative was considered very important among college educators (65.9%), compared to 49.3% of schoolteachers and 38.6% of school educators.

Among other traits, Surraya Irshad, the principal of Islamia Degree College—and among the first generation (1947–67) of successful women educators—expressed the view that:

> Teachers need to work very honestly, with interest. If you are a teacher, you should teach as it deserves to be taught rather than just getting rid of your work.

Another respondent stated:

> I think one has to have patience and commitment to one's goal…and, secondly, you have to realize that when people are not really listening or are not able to listen, [and] cannot understand, then you have to spend more time…so you have to be really committed to your goal, whatever it is. And this is not only in this field (education). I think in any field, this is true.

Naheed Shah, the principal of Federal Government Postgraduate College for Women in Wah, underlined the importance of dedication:

> I've always been very dedicated because I feel that if I am not dedicated to my job, why should I be there…? I have to be devoted [and] dedicated. You have to have sincerity and goodwill…honesty and purpose, I think these things are very important.

Saeeda Akhtar, the headmistress of Government Girls MC Model High School in Sheikhupura, emphasized the importance of loyalty to the profession:

> Success could be achieved through dedication and commitment…even in times of difficulty or discomfort, one should remain loyal to the profession… one has to make up one's mind that one has to complete this task… Our school timings are until 2:30 p.m., but in case I have some task to complete, I could stay after school until 4:30 pm… this is just a little effort. Therefore, I would say that when you put in effort, it pays off.

Another respondent recalled the kindness of Priobala Mangat Rai, who would buy books as presents for her students' children.

These findings reflect the dedication and commitment our sample of successful women educators regarded as essential professional attributes. As such, they represent important determinants of success. Hence, effective planning that includes introducing an incentive system—one that rewards hard work, loyalty, dedication, and commitment—would go a long way in creating a productive working environment.

Other factors contributing to success include teamwork (both leading a team and being part of one), punctuality, interpersonal skills, analytical skills, and clarity of vision. The ability to analyze issues and situations, to communicate with others, and to work collaboratively are significant factors in helping young people develop as educational leaders. Other interesting traits cited by respondents were empathy, awareness, and an understanding of learners and their needs.

Status and achievement were similarly important to all age groups as factors motivating women educators to succeed. For some, this included international awards, publications, contributions to national newspapers, raising awareness of social and environmental issues through different media, establishing schools, and becoming university vice-chancellors. An indicative list of awards or nominations received by successful women educators includes the following:

- Nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize
- Office of Dietary Supplements scholarship (UK)
- Gold medal from the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (Multan)
- Fulbright scholarship
- Prize money from the American non-governmental organization, Forum
- Presidential Award
- National Youth Award

- Fatima Jinnah Memorial Gold Medal
- Nomination for the International Visitors' Program (US)
- Commonwealth scholarship

The need to build success into different areas of education, making it possible for educators to achieve short-, medium-, and long-term targets and to reward success, is important as a means of providing extrinsic motivation.

Overall, the data on motivational factors revealed that most educators were intrinsically motivated. Serving other people was ranked the highest (83%), followed by the urge to make the most of one's talent (78.3%), the desire to do something worthwhile (77%), making sacrifices for others (73.8%), and the desire to be liked (48.9%). The importance of being independent was ranked high (70.4% of respondents), followed by the importance of security (61.3%). This pattern reflects the need for women educators to be economically independent.

Maximizing status was ranked high by 56.6% of respondents. Becoming well-known was ranked high by only 36.5%, and making money was important to only 14.2%. Thus, extrinsic motivation among women educators was lower, while overall intrinsic motivation was high. Respondent data showed that instrumental motivation was low among urban and rural, public and private, and school and college educators, as well as across age groups. Educators from both urban and rural areas were shown to be highly intrinsically motivated.

Our findings show that incentives need to be maximized across rural and urban areas, as well as in the public and private sectors. Similarly, school and college/university-level educators need greater support to enable them to participate in continuous professional development and extend their capabilities in different areas.

Gender and Language in Higher Education

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Introduction

The study of language and gender in education in Pakistan is uncharted territory. The various education commissions set up by different governments to look into the problems faced by students and teachers in higher education in Pakistan have also not sufficiently addressed the host of complex issues regarding the status and role of languages in higher education. Of particular concern is the lack of research studies, including gender studies, in the field of language and education in Pakistan. Scant attention has been paid to the status and role of regional languages at all levels of education, particularly higher education in Pakistan. There is a lack of research in language planning and gender and language in education. Apart from a few sociolinguistic surveys (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 2002), no evaluation studies or needs assessments have been conducted to ascertain the linguistic attitudes of various stakeholders in higher education to help formulate viable language policies. Of particular concern is the paucity of research in the area of gender and language in higher education. The study described in the ensuing sections hopes to fill this gap.[1]

A nationwide study in language planning in higher education was conducted to examine students' backgrounds, their competency and use of mother-tongue/regional languages, attitudes toward languages, the availability and quality of language teaching and learning materials, the role of regional

[1] This study was funded by the Aga Khan University Research Council Grant.

languages in higher education, as well as language and sociocultural outcomes. Three of the research questions in the study focused on exploring gender differences in language attitudes and language use among students and teachers in higher education. They were:

- Is gender a factor in the language competency and language use of students, parents, and teachers in higher education?
- Is there a relationship between gender and the linguistic attitudes of students, parents, and teachers?
- Is gender a factor in language achievement in higher education?

Higher education and gender in Pakistan

Pakistan, with a population of 148.72 million (Government of Pakistan, 2004), is one of the largest Muslim countries in the world. The low literacy rate, especially among females, and poor educational standards are of great concern. The literacy rate in 2003 was estimated at 54%, with 66% for males and 42% for females (Government of Pakistan, 2004). In 1996–1997, student enrollment in degree colleges was about 50%, in professional degree colleges about 30%, and in universities 20% (Government of Pakistan, 1999). Higher education is regarded as a capital investment and is of great importance for the economic and social development of the country. Yet, females have less access to higher education (Government of Pakistan, 2004). Table 1 gives a breakdown of female and male student enrollment figures in both general and professional institutions of higher education in Pakistan.

Table 1: Student enrolment in higher education

Colleges	No. of colleges	No. of female colleges	Total student enrolment*	Total female students	Total male students
Colleges (general arts and sciences)	939	394	751,000	370,000	381,000
Professional colleges*	374	20	161,349	40,000	121,349

Note: Total student enrollment in higher education in the public sector is 388,668: 220,620 males and 168,048 females.
* Many of the professional colleges are co-educational.

Language and gender studies

Generally, studies on language and gender have concentrated on issues related to attitudes, language use, and acquisition (Trudgill, 1974; Scars & Feldman, 1974; Milroy, 1980; Ryan & Giles, 1982; Cheshire, 1984; Coates, 1998; Tannen, 1993). Studies on cultural differences, which researchers term 'communicative competence,' between males and females have also been an area of interest (see Keenan, 1974). Furthermore, studies have been conducted on gender and bilingualism (Gal, 1978). Increasingly, studies on gender and language are paying attention to sociopsychological issues (see Tajfel, 1978; Williams & Giles, 1978; Edwards, 1979; Silveira, 1980; Moultan, 1981; Coates, 1984). In addition to these studies, Wodak (1981), Fishman (1983), and Tannen (1990) have looked at the issue of power dynamics in language and gender, while Edwards (1988) and Williams (1988) have examined females' speech patterns.

Since the 1990s, studies have concentrated on how men and women communicate with the opposite sex and include areas such as current social constructions of masculinity, attitudes towards minority groups, attitudes towards governments, and the influence of religious groupings.

Mahaffy (2004), who has explored the relationship between gender and low self-esteem, found a positive association between gender, adolescent self-esteem, educational status, occupational status, and income attainment. As a result, Mahaffy recommends that girls be encouraged to participate in social programs that explain social structural arrangements contributing to gender inequality, thus enabling them to be effective agents of social change. Mahaffy's and other similar studies on social and psychological factors in gender and higher education deserve a great deal more attention in Pakistan. One of the authors of this chapter has experience as a teacher in several programs in English language teaching in institutions and organizations in both the public and private sectors in higher education for more than a decade. This has provided her with the opportunity to interact with a large number of male and female students from

all regions of Pakistan. This interaction has helped her develop insights into the sociopsychological problems that disadvantage female students, particularly those from low socioeconomic backgrounds, in achieving their maximum potential in these programs. These insights indicate problems ranging from a lack of confidence to feelings of insecurity stemming from their low economic status, social taboos in a male-dominated society, and domestic responsibilities.

The plight of women is a matter of great concern in South Asian countries such as India and Bangladesh, where studies have been conducted on minority rights, identity, and gender in relation to language variation and language use (see Sankaranarayanan, 2001, and Gohathakurta, 2003). In a study on gender bias in the Indian language within Tamil society, Sankaranarayanan (ibid) underscores the importance of knowledge of the social structure in which the social positions of males and females are constructed to have a clear understanding of gender-based language differences. Gohathakurta (2003), in her study on gender in Bangladesh, also highlights the importance of understanding issues related to territory, society, religious identity, ethnonationalist identity, and global and development politics.

New dimensions in the study of language education and learners' gender have been put forward by sociolinguists such as Sunderland (1998), who feels that the working definition of gender proposed by Humm (1989), as cited in Sunderland (1998), that "Gender is a culturally shaped group of attitudes and behaviors given to the female or the male" is too simplistic and needs to be redefined to convey how our understanding of gender is undergoing continual change. She argues that in foreign language classrooms, diverse phenomena such as literary practices, language tests, self-esteem, and language learning strategies are all gendered in the sense that male and female students tend to behave, perform, or feel differently regarding all of them. She also highlights the post-structuralist view of gender and why it is preferable to talk about gender tendencies rather than gender differences, as gender is a matter of tendencies and degrees, and gender identity will shift over time. She draws on

research to demonstrate how women are disadvantaged in education through the negative and stereotypical representation of women in educational texts and the particular "gender bias" introduced into class by the teacher's treatment of the text, as well as teacher-student talk.

All the above-mentioned studies informed our study, and their foci were used to frame our questionnaire. They were also used as items of analysis.

Pakistan's linguistic map

Pakistan fits the classic concept of a culturally plural society with regard to its diversity in ethnicity, language, and culture.[2] The national language, Urdu, is the mother tongue of only eight percent of Pakistanis. The Punjabi- and Seraiki-speaking community makes up 55% of the population (Punjabi, 44%; Seraiki, 11%), followed by the Sindhi-speaking community (15%), Balochi-speaking community (4%), and Pushto-speaking community (15%), corresponding to the four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)[3] (Census Report of Pakistan, 1998). Each group has its own language and cultural differences, often with marked subdivisions within each group. The population of Pakistan is estimated at around 150 million language speakers. Thus, in actual terms, even relatively small linguistic groups are fairly large compared to linguistic groups in less-populated countries.

In Pakistan, apart from Urdu and English, which are limited to a small proportion of the population, no language is commonly understood and therefore can be claimed as a common mother tongue (Zaman, 1981). The national language, Urdu, is not indigenous and suffers from a number of handicaps, such as a scarcity of educational materials and its limited use in the higher

[2] The classic concept of a culturally plural society is generally attributed to Furnivall (1956) in his study of Burma and Java under British and Dutch rule. See Waston (1983).

[3] Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. All references to NWFP refer to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

circles of government and the army. The role of English remains controversial, and the main regional languages, though rich in literature and tradition, rely heavily on the oral tradition. Numerical strength does not determine 'majority' or 'dominant' languages in Pakistan. The regional languages, despite having a large number of speakers, are considered 'minority' languages. This is because Urdu and English, which enjoy high status and are reserved for public and official use, dominate them politically, economically, and culturally. Press and television media also mainly use these two dominant languages. Urdu and English are the mediums of instruction in schools and are also compulsory subjects in the school and college curriculum. The regional languages are accorded a low status and are limited to the community and home. They play little or no role in the official life of the provinces, and their educational role is limited to the primary or secondary level in most provinces, as materials for higher studies are limited in these languages.

The study

The overall purpose of this study was to contribute to both language policy and practice in higher education in Pakistan. It was, therefore, designed to focus on some key areas in language planning and language education. Since the main purpose was to look at the number and percentages of respondents who held the same or different attitudes, values, opinions, and beliefs, it was decided that a 'combined approach' (Robson, 1993) be used to study language education in Pakistan. By combining quantitative and qualitative methods, one can compare the numbers and percentages of people holding similar or different opinions. At the same time, the reasons for these differences in terms of attitudes, values, and beliefs can also be ascertained. Three measures were used to gather information on gender differences in students', parents', and teachers' language attitudes and language use. The measures were a survey through questionnaires, interviews, and document analysis. This chapter is based on the analysis of the survey data only, as it relates to gender and language.

Sample

A minimum sample of 2,450 students was required for this study, with a level of significance (α) of 5% and a power of 80%. Multistage cluster sampling with stratification was used to select our sample, which included colleges and universities from both the private and public (government) sectors, as well as general and professional institutions. We used the list of degree colleges and universities in the Handbook of Colleges of Pakistan by the University Grants Commission (1999). The colleges and universities selected were largely from Pakistan's provincial capital cities and the federal capital, Islamabad.

The sample obtained comprised 2,136 students and was predominantly from Punjab (Lahore and Taxila). It was also drawn from Sindh (Karachi and Hyderabad), Balochistan (Quetta), Islamabad, and the NWFP (Peshawar). Additionally, it included 121 subject and English teachers from all provinces except Balochistan. Only 63 parents' questionnaires were received from Punjab and Sindh.

Participants' profile

The profile of the students shows that the majority of them (84%) were from colleges, and 16% were from universities. About two-thirds (66%) were from public sector colleges and universities; 71% were enrolled in general studies and 29% in professional studies. In terms of gender, 41% were students from female-only institutes, 20% were from male-only institutes, and the rest were enrolled in co-educational institutions.

The profile of the teachers also showed a similar distribution. The majority of them (63%) were from colleges. Around two-thirds (66%) of all teachers in the study were from public sector colleges and universities. Seventy-eight percent of the teachers were teaching general subjects, while 22% were teaching professional subjects. In terms of gender, 36% of the teachers were from female-only institutions, 25% from male-only institutions, and the rest of the teachers were teaching in co-educational institutions. In addition, filled-in questionnaires were received from 63 parents of the students involved in the study.

Findings

In the ensuing sections, we present the study's findings in which gender was used as a factor of analysis.

Language competency

The overall findings from the study reveal that there is a wide range of levels of spoken and written proficiency among students, teachers, and parents in their mother tongue. The overall number of students who reported high written proficiency in their mother tongue is very low (Table 2). A large number of teachers reported high spoken proficiency in their mother tongue but had low written proficiency (0–35%), with the exception of Urdu (72%) and Sindhi (80%) speakers. Similarly, the majority of Punjabi (85%), Pushto (94%), and Urdu (100%) speaking parents reported a higher spoken proficiency in their mother tongue compared to the written. However, the Urdu speakers (84%) had comparable proficiency levels in both.

Table 2: Distribution of students by full competency in speaking and writing in the mother tongue

Mother tongue	Female		Male	
	% full spoken competency	Total females	% full spoken competency	Total males
Punjabi	27.7	267	57.5	367
Sindhi	23.1	39	69.4	49
Balochi	86.4	22	81.9	72
Pashto	57.8	116	71.3	174
Urdu	71.7	585	73.1	290
Other	48.7	39	64.4	73
Total students	56.8	1,068	67.0	1,025
	% full written competency	Total females	% full written competency	Total males
Punjabi	10.3	267	15.4	367
Sindhi	12.8	39	57.1	49
Balochi	4.5	22	25.0	72
Pashto	5.2	116	14.4	174
Urdu	64.3	585	60.8	290
Other	7.7	39	12.3	73
Total students	39.2	1,068	30.5	1,025

A significant difference of %2 = 17.39; df = 1; p-value < 0.001 between males and females was found in the competency of students' spoken proficiency in the mother tongue. The results show that male students claim higher competencies in speaking their mother tongue. A significant difference of /2 = 23.01; df = 1; p-value < 0.001 between males and females, respectively, was seen in the competency of writing the mother tongue. This shows that males also claim higher competencies than females in writing in their mother tongue (Table 2). It is probable that male students are more competent in their mother tongue and regional languages because these languages are not used for official purposes in Pakistan. They are mainly used by the local population in the streets and shops. Male students tend to have more mobility than females when roaming outside their homes and educational institutions. Hence, they pick up these 'bazaar languages' more easily than female students.

On the whole, findings reveal that the total number of participants fully proficient in their regional languages is not very high, with written proficiency being lower than spoken proficiency. In terms of gender, a significant difference (x2 = 52.36; df = 1; p-value < 0.001) between males and females was found in the competency of speaking regional languages. These results also show that males are more competent than females in speaking regional languages. No significant difference (%2 = 2.28; df = 1; p-value = 0.1312) was seen in the competency of writing regional languages between males and females.

With the exception of Sindhi-speaking students, more than half of the student sample in the study claimed high spoken and written proficiency in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. A significant difference (x2 = 20.62; df = 1; p-value = 0.000006) in the competency of speaking Urdu was found between males and females. The results show that females claim more competency than males in speaking and writing Urdu. A marginally significant difference (x2 =3.53; df = 1; p-value = 0.060102) was noted between male and female students with regard to writing competency in Urdu. A majority of teachers and parents claimed high proficiency in spoken rather than written

Urdu. The reason for this is that Urdu, as the national language of Pakistan, enjoys a high status and is used for all official purposes. Urdu is also the medium of instruction in all public sector schools in Pakistan, which, in turn, facilitates its frequency of use.

English is considered both an international and official language in Pakistan, but overall competency in English is low in relation to its importance as an international language and the fact that all students have studied English as a compulsory subject for 7 (public sector) or 12 years (private sector) in school. Findings from the study show that the majority of students do not claim to have high spoken or written proficiency in English; in fact, they reported a lower proficiency in spoken than in written English. There did not seem to be any significant difference ($x2 = 0.29$; df = 1; p-value = 0.587758) between males and females with regard to English speaking competency. However, a significant difference ($x2 = 6.05$; df = 1; p-value = 0.013888) between males and females was seen in the competency of writing English. The results show that males claim more competencies than females in writing English. The slight difference between males and females could perhaps be attributed to the fact that, quite often, males are expected to seek employment after school/college, which may entail working in places where a modicum of English must be used. Furthermore, English is used in higher education, especially in the public sector, and few females reach this level of education. In private schools, including junior schools, where the medium of instruction is English, boys are more likely to attend these private schools. Parents are reluctant to send their daughters to these schools because most of them are co-educational.

Language use

Gender was significantly associated with language use (Table 3). The study revealed that in family settings, males reported more use of the mother tongue and regional languages, while females reported more use of Urdu and English. It was found that within social circles such as friends, males again reported more use of the mother tongue and regional languages, while females

reported more use of Urdu. Among the teacher sample, males reported more use of the mother tongue, regional languages, and English, while females reported the same for Urdu. The teachers mostly used Urdu and the mother tongue in the family.

Student-teacher talk was mainly in Urdu and English, and there was hardly any use of the mother tongue or regional languages by teachers and/or students within the educational institutions. Considerable gender differences were found among teachers. The use of Urdu and English was reported to be substantially higher among female teachers while talking with family. On the other hand, the mother tongue was reported significantly more among male teachers while talking with friends, students, or visiting other provinces. Similarly, male teachers tended to use the regional language while talking to office and bank employees.

Table 3: Distribution of students by use of language in different domains

Domains	Male %	Female %	95% C. l. for the difference in percentages
Family			
Mother tongue	59.1	30.0	(25.0, 33.2)*
Regional language	12.7	6.0	(4.4, 9.0)*
Urdu	45.5	77.6	(-36.0, -28.2)*
English	10.2	18.9	(-11.9, -5.5)*
Friends			
Mother tongue	33.8	8.9	(21.9, 27.9)*
Regional language	18.0	3.1	(12.8, 17.0)*
Urdu	80.6	92.7	(-14.7, -9.5)*
English	33.7	34.4	(-4.7, 3.3)
Teachers			
Mother tongue	6.5	1.7	(3.4, 6.2)*
Regional language	2.9	0.1	(2.0, 3.6)*
Urdu	83.0	87.9	(-7.8, -2.0)*
English	57.5	53.1	(0.2, 8.6)*
Fellow students			
Mother tongue	19.7	3.7	(13.8, 18.2)*
Regional language	11.4	1.4	(8.4, 11.6)*
Urdu	88.2	94.4	(-8.4, -4.0)*
English	40.5	36.3	(0.1, 8.3)*

Domains	Male %	Female %	95% C. l. for the difference in percentages
Offices/banks			
Employees: Mother tongue	7.5	1.7	(4.3, 7.3)*
Regional language Urdu	5.3	0.7	(3.5, 5.7)*
	82.6	72.1	(6.8, 14.2)*
English	29.9	34.6	(-8.7, -0.7)
Visiting another province			
Mother tongue	8.4	7.0	(-0.8, 3.6)
Regional language Urdu	8.3	5.7	(0.5, 4.7)*
	89.6	86.5	(0.3, 5.9)*
English	19.1	21.4	(-5.8, 1.2)
Total students	1,030	1,088	

* Significant at p-value < 0.05.

Fathers reported a higher use of the mother tongue compared to mothers in all domains of interaction. Higher use of the regional language was also reported by fathers while talking to office and bank employees or visiting other provinces. On the other hand, mothers reported a higher use of Urdu while talking to friends. They also reported a high use of English with family and children. A possible reason for this difference in attitudes, a view that is also shared by others in the field (Trudgill, 1974), is that female students, parents, and teachers alike display more positive attitudes toward high-status languages such as Urdu and English and less positive attitudes toward low-status languages such as the regional languages in Pakistan.

Attitudes

Table 4 illustrates a high positive attitude towards English by an overwhelming majority of students, teachers, and parents in all provinces in the public and private sectors. They indicated their preference for English as a medium of instruction in higher education (88–97%), followed by Urdu (40–71%), regional languages (6–17%), and Arabic (0–8%).

Similarly, at the graduate level, for both arts and sciences, the preference for English-medium schools ranged between 72% and 94% in both the public and private sectors. A large majority of male students at this level showed a preference for studies in

English for arts (76%) and science (75%) subjects. The results are almost the same for female students. Urdu is the second preferred medium of instruction, but preference for it diminishes as the level of education increases; 31–42% at primary levels and 9–28% at the graduate level. The preference for regional languages, though low for all levels, is slightly higher at primary levels (6–23%).

Table 4: Distribution by recommendations for medium of instruction at various levels of education

Medium of instruction	Students			Teachers			Parents		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Primary level									
Regional language	18.3	4.0	10.9	27.3	9.6	19.5	10.6	12.5	11.1
Urdu	41.0	31.9	36.3	39.4	30.8	35.6	48.9	25.0	42.9
English	50.2	74.6	62.7	57.6	75.0	65.3	48.9	81.3	57.1
Arabic	3.0	2.1	2.6	1.5	3.8	2.5	6.4	6.3	6.3
Middle level									
Regional language	7.8	1.1	4.4	9.1	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Urdu	37.7	26.7	32.0	40.9	32.7	37.3	42.6	31.3	39.7
English	65.9	81.4	73.8	71.2	86.5	78.0	66.0	93.8	73.0
Arabic	3.9	1.8	2.8	1.5	3.8	2.5	8.5	6.3	7.9
Secondary level									
Regional language	5.3	0.8	3.0	3.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Urdu	28.2	20.4	24.2	25.8	21.2	23.7	25.5	25.0	25.4
English	76.2	85.8	81.1	86.4	92.3	89.0	85.1	93.8	87.3
Arabic	2.3	1.8	2.0	4.5	3.8	4.2	6.4	6.3	6.3
Intermediate level									
Regional language	4.0	0.7	2.3	3.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Urdu	21.8	18.0	19.9	19.7	15.4	17.8	21.3	18.8	20.6
English	81.6	86.8	84.3	92.4	90.4	91.5	89.4	93.8	90.5
Arabic	2.3	1.8	2.0	0.0	3.8	1.7	4.3	0.0	3.2
Graduate level (science)									
Regional language	3.1	0.6	1.8	3.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Urdu	12.8	8.0	10.3	13.6	11.5	12.7	14.9	12.5	14.3
English	75.0	75.0	75.0	93.9	92.3	93.2	87.2	87.5	87.3
Arabic	1.4	0.6	1.0	0.0	1.9	0.8	6.4	0.0	4.8
Graduate level (arts									
Regional language	3.3	0.7	2.0	3.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Urdu	19.4	18.5	18.9	9.1	15.4	11.9	21.3	12.5	19.0
English	76.1	80.6	78.4	92.4	92.3	92.4	85.1	93.8	87.3
Arabic	1.9	1.1	1.5	0.0	1.9	0.8	6.4	0.0	4.8
Total subjects	1,030	1,088	2,118	66	53	119	47	16	63

This finding confirms claims by early childhood educationists and language teachers and experts (see Brumfit, 1991; Lightbrown & Spada, 1993; Mercer & Swann, 1996; Cameron, 2000) that the early years in school are best taught in children's local language because of the level of comfort it brings to them, subsequently leading to learning with greater ease. Furthermore, Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa (1976) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argue for mother-tongue teaching and its use as a medium in the mainstream curriculum because it can facilitate learning a second language. It is worth noting, however, that the preference for regional languages as mediums of instruction is low among all male and female students, teachers, and parents. However, male students and teachers show a higher preference for it than females.

Among parents, however, fathers showed an equal preference for English- (50%) and Urdu-medium education (50%), but preference for the latter was only at the primary levels.

Motivational orientation to learn English

The main reasons for the sample's preference for English as the medium of instruction at various levels are mainly instrumental. English, as an international language, is useful for students wishing to study abroad (78%) and to get good jobs locally (63%). The reasons given by all subjects for studying in Urdu are mainly integrative: students see Urdu as the main link language in all spheres of their lives (67%) and for its role as a national language (67%). The main reasons for studying in a regional language are related to ease in initial learning, as it is felt by the students that studying in the regional language is helpful in the first few years of schooling (60%). Students also thought they could learn better in their mother tongue (58%).

The majority of students, males (50–96%) and females (72–100%), as well as teachers and parents (59–97%), preferred to study English as a compulsory subject at all levels. This was followed by Urdu (8–50%). The preference for Urdu as a compulsory subject decreases at the higher levels of education.

A low preference for the regional language as a compulsory subject, even at primary levels (0–22%), is reported. However, more male students and teachers than females preferred the use of a regional language at the primary (17–28%) and middle levels (8–13%).

Table 5: Distribution of students by reasons for learning English

Reasons for learning English	Male %	Female %	95% CI for difference in percentages
Instrumental reasons			
Getting a good job	78.2	80.8	(-6.0, 0.8)
Coping with college/university classes	71.8	78.3	(-10.1, -2.9)**
Traveling abroad	77.1	76.8	(-3.3, 3.9)
Access to information technology	84.2	85.0	(-3.9, 2.3)
Getting access to international books and journals	81.9	78.8 '	(-0.3, 6.5)
It is the working language of my future career	76.2	79.9	(-7.2, -0.2)*
Integrated reasons			
Living and behaving like English-speaking Pakistanis	39.7	39.1	(-3.6, 4.8)
Becoming more modern	55.1	55.5	(-4.6, 3.8)
Acquiring new ideas and broadening one's outlook	73.2	77.8	(-8.2, -1.0)*
Becoming friendly with English-speaking Pakistanis	58.1	57.0	(-3.1, 5.3)
Acquaintance with people in touch with the latest trends in the West	58.9	56.3	(-1.6, 6.8)
To improve my social status	61.1	66.8	(-9.8, -1.7)**
Total students	1,030	1,088	

* Significant at $p < 0.05$
** Significant at $p < 0.01$.

Compared to males, female students gave more weight to the different instrumental and integrative reasons for learning English. For example, they gave more weight to gaining access to international books and journals; living and behaving like English-speaking Pakistanis; becoming friendly with English-speaking Pakistanis; and acquainting themselves with people

who are in touch with the latest trends in the West (Table 5). Interestingly, the weight given to traveling as a reason for learning English was less among females than among males. Female students also seemed to think that learning English to cope with university/college classes, improving their social status, and broadening their outlook was more important than their male counterparts did. Trudgill's (1974) research into language and social class revealed similar findings. He found that women display more favorable attitudes toward high-status languages than their male counterparts. His study supports the traditional view of women as more likely to have social class aspirations than men, and language is one such way to achieve these aspirations.

Classroom anxiety/learners' language difficulties

A significant difference was observed between male and female students in terms of language difficulties. Female students reported more difficulty in every learning area—listening to lectures and student talk in English, reading comprehension of texts/materials in English, speaking to teachers, making presentations in English, writing notes/assignments in English, and sitting tests/examinations in English. Their anxiety in learning English could be attributed to their lack of confidence and low self-esteem (self-reported).

Academic achievement in English

Simple and multiple linear regressions were used to examine the relationship between a set of factors and students' test scores (Table 6). Contrary to female students' claims about experiencing greater difficulty learning and using English, they displayed a higher English test score than male students. These results suggest that females' self-reported difficulties in learning in the classroom setting could be due to their lack of confidence and low self-esteem.

Table 6: Distribution of learners' language difficulties: Students and teachers

Learner's language difficulty	Male %	Female %	Both %
Students			
Listening to teachers' lectures and other students in English	9.3	16.8	13.2
Reading/comprehension of texts/materials in English	10.9	18.2	14.6
Speaking to teachers and making presentations in English	19.4	25.9	22.8
Writing notes/assignments in English	13.4	22.0	17.8
Sitting tests/examinations in English	14.9	23.4	19.3
I get anxious when my teacher speaks to me in English	32.2	38.8	35.6
I get anxious when I am speaking English	46.5	52.7	49.9
I get confused when I am reading a text or other materials in English	29.7	30.1	29.9
I get tense when I am writing notes/assignments in English	30.2	31.6	30.9
I get anxious when I am sitting tests/exams in English	29.9	32.4	31.2
Total students	1,030	1,088	2,118
Teachers			
Listening to teachers' lectures and other students in English	18.2	20.8	19.3
Reading comprehension of texts/materials in English	18.2	18.9	18.5
Speaking to teachers and making presentations in English	27.3	34.0	30.3
Writing notes/assignments in English	19.7	28.3	23.5
Sitting tests/examinations in English	15.2	32.1	22.7
They get anxious when their teacher speaks to them in English	48.5	50.9	49.6
They get anxious when they speak English	62.1	64.2	63.0
They get tense when they write notes/assignments in English	37.9	41.5	39.5
They get anxious when they sit tests/exams in English	47.0	45.3	46.2
Total teachers	66	53	121

It was also noted that the estimated students' test scores corresponded to the monthly income of the household; the higher the family income, the higher the test score. It is possible that students from higher-income households acquired English due to their exposure to English through the media and internet rather than through the formal learning of English as a second language in classroom settings.

Language shift

Findings (Table 7) indicate that there is a shift in the use of language among students within the major cities in Pakistan. For example, urban Punjabi-speaking students display a higher competency in Urdu (75%) compared to their mother tongue, Punjabi (47%). They also report a higher use of Urdu (66%) than Punjabi (44%) with their families, thus displaying a language shift from their Punjabi mother tongue to Urdu, a high-status language. A similar trend was visible among urban Sindhi-speaking students, who have similar competency levels in their mother tongue (51%) and Urdu (49%). The majority of them use Urdu with their families (77%) rather than their mother tongue, Sindhi (25%), thus displaying a shift to Urdu. No statistical test could be applied in this situation because of multiple responses to items measuring spoken or written language competency with family.

Table 7: Language competence and use: Mother tongue vs. Urdu

Student speakers	Language competency		Language use with family	
	Mother tongue	Urdu	Mother tongue	Urdu
Punjabi	47%	75%	44%	66%
Sindhi	51%	49%	25%	77%
Balochi	83%	55%	73%	26%
Pushto	67%	63%	71%	30%
Urdu speakers	71%	75%	-	-

Significant gender differences were displayed in these language shift patterns. Students are moving away from their own mother tongue and regional languages, which have low status and little or no official role in the country, including education, to the more prestigious languages, such as English and Urdu. This is evident, particularly in female students' limited competency and use of their mother tongue and regional languages in almost all formal and informal domains, especially with family and friends, compared to male students. A large majority of female students in higher education in Pakistan display little or no interest in their mother tongue and regional languages due to their low status and limited role in the official business of the country, thereby accelerating the process of language shift among regional

speakers, especially females who are more status-conscious than males in their language choices. Female students' competencies and use of these languages are less than those of male students, perhaps because they are less exposed to these local languages, which are used less at home compared to Urdu. The negative attitudes and low ethnolinguistic vitality of Pakistani students become evident in this case, particularly among females who show little or no preference to study in their mother tongue or regional languages as a subject or medium of instruction.

Discussion and conclusion

The study revealed highly positive attitudes towards English among all stakeholders (students, parents, and teachers) from both public and private sectors as a medium of instruction. It also explains that the reasons for learning English are more instrumental than integrative for all students. However, female students, compared to their male counterparts, demonstrated a significant preference for learning English for utilitarian purposes such as higher education and employment. They also learn it for integrative reasons, such as acquiring new ideas, becoming broad-minded, and improving their social status.

Despite female students displaying slightly higher language achievement in their English test scores, they reported more difficulties in almost all language skills pertaining to competency and the use of English in the classroom. Female students also reported more competence and greater use of Urdu than male students in informal domains. They displayed highly positive attitudes towards the Urdu language for integrative reasons, such as Urdu being a symbol of national integration and identity.

The low self-esteem of Pakistani female students in the language classroom results from issues related to their low social and economic status in society due to their unequal participation in higher education. This is further exacerbated when they fail to secure employment, particularly in the upper ranks of public and private sector institutions and organizations. Their male counterparts displayed more confidence. Therefore, Pakistani

female students see their studies in the English medium and becoming fluent in English and Urdu (both considered high-status languages) as advantageous. Presently, English is viewed in all international circles as the leading global language and business lingua franca, signaling to students in ESL [English as a second language] countries like Pakistan that learning English is a passport to success and prosperity in terms of accessing higher education and white-collar jobs both in their own countries and abroad. For female students, learning English appears to be the key to empowerment in terms of improving their social and economic status and becoming modern and -minded by accessing the latest ideas in the West.

The results of our study on gender and language have serious implications for language planning in higher education in Pakistan. The low status of regional languages in Pakistan and their limited role in the country's official life, particularly in education, have marginalized them. This has led to an acceleration in the language shift among regional speakers, especially females, who are more status-conscious than males in their language choices.

Perhaps vernacular education is most appropriate for countries like Pakistan, where the average number of years of schooling completed is low and where social and economic pressures "mark" the language (Tucker, 1977). As discussed earlier, the middle and upper classes use Urdu and English more than the rural classes, who mainly use regional languages. Since this group forms a large chunk of the Pakistani population, it may be best to teach in a language that allows them to interact with what they are learning, rather than using a language that alienates them. Teaching regional languages as compulsory subjects in higher education is also strongly recommended. Using the vernacular would promote positive attitudes towards the mother tongue and regional languages, thereby arresting the language shift process among ethnic minority female speakers. In Pakistan, education is still very much a means to an end. Therefore, people are prone to learn languages whose usage will likely lead to improved social and economic standing.

The female population of a country has a vital role in transmitting the mother tongue to the next generation, thus ensuring its preservation and vitality. This also indicates the power of women in maintaining Pakistan's cultural heritage. Measures need to be taken by the state to enhance women's access not only to higher education but also to education at all levels and employment. This is likely to lead to an improvement in their economic and social status and self-esteem, possibly leading to a restructuring of gender relations within society.

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Chapter 7
Language Development

Advanced Reading

The following guidelines for teachers accompany an activity book for learners to practice the skills required to become independent and critical readers. As a stand-alone general guide, however, it is equally useful for teachers aiming to plan lessons in reading comprehension by applying the skills suggested to their own texts. Teachers are encouraged to innovate and extrapolate from these suggested activities.

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Reading comprehension

A simple definition of reading is that it is a process whereby one looks at and understands what has been written. The keyword here is 'understands'—merely reading aloud without understanding does not count as reading. Part of the teacher's job is, therefore, to develop within the learner strategies that will help them in this struggle for understanding. The reader does not necessarily need to look at everything in a given piece of writing. The reader is not simply a passive object fed letters, words, and sentences, but is actively working on the text and is able to arrive at understanding without looking at every letter and word. A good definition of reading comprehension is *understanding a written text by extracting the required information as efficiently as possible.*

What do we read?

Here are the main text types one usually comes across:

- Literary texts and passages—essays, novels, short stories, plays, and poems.
- Letters, postcards, telegrams, etc.

- Newspapers and magazines—headlines, letters to the editor, advertisements, TV and radio programs.
- Instructions, warnings, rules and regulations, posters, forms, etc.
- Cartoons, puzzles, problems.
- Statistics, diagrams, flow charts, pie charts, maps, etc.
- Encyclopedias, dictionaries, etc.

Why do we read?

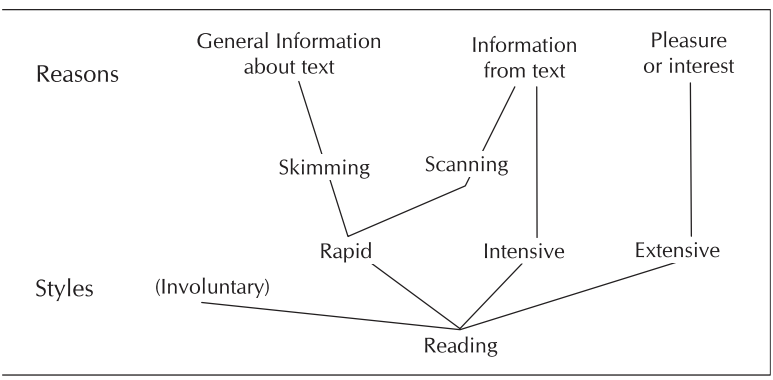
There are two main reasons for reading:

- Reading for pleasure.
- Reading for information.

How do we read?

The reasons for reading determine the reader's style.

Figure 1: Ways of reading



Source: Williams (1984).

The main ways of reading are as seen in Figure 1:

- **Skimming:** Quickly looking over a text to get the gist of it.
- **Scanning:** Quickly going through a text to find a particular piece of information.

- **Intensive reading:** Reading shorter texts to extract specific information.
- **Extensive reading:** Reading longer texts, usually for pleasure. This is a fluency activity involving global understanding.

These different ways of reading are not mutually exclusive. For instance, one often skims through a passage to see what it is about before deciding whether it is worth scanning a particular paragraph for the information one is looking for.

What readers bring to the text

Reading is a process of obtaining meaning from a written text. The effective reader brings to the text:

- Knowledge of the writing system.
- Knowledge of the language.
- Ability to interpret.
- Appropriate knowledge of the world as assumed by the writer.
- A reason for reading that determines their style.

Reading skills

Reading involves a variety of skills. The main ones are listed below:

Skimming

To move the eyes very quickly over a text to get an overall picture or a general idea about it.

Scanning

To look for specific bits of information in a text to answer questions that require such information as a particular name, date, place, action, or achievement.

Guessing the meaning of words

To guess the meaning of a word from the context, the rest of the sentence, paragraph, etc.

Understanding reference words

The ability to recognize the relationship between certain pronouns and phrases, and what they refer to.

Predicting what will follow

The ability to say, with the help of discourse markers or contextual clues, what will happen next or what kind of things will be said in a given passage.

Identifying the topic sentence

The ability to identify the sentence that contains the central idea in a paragraph and distinguish it from supporting details.

Predicting the writer's intention

The ability to read between the lines to deduce what the writer is implying and not stating explicitly.

Building objectives into the program

Since the present course is aimed at **intermediate to advanced learners,** the learners are intellectually mature enough to work towards all four objectives (comprehension, flexibility, learning language and content, and critical awareness). The use of different types of texts will help learners develop a variety of reading styles, encourage reading for different purposes, and familiarize them with the features of different text types. In addition, vocabulary will be developed and consolidated through the different units in the course.

Reading comprehension course

A large variety of reading comprehension activities is included in this section of the student activity book so that students may be expected to demonstrate proficiency in the following reading skills after the course is completed:

Unit 1: Variation in reading speed, skimming, and scanning

A. Improving reading speed

B. Skimming a text or part(s) of a text to:

– Preview to predict or anticipate.

– Discover the purpose and scope and find sections of relevance.

– Survey to get the general idea.

C. Scanning a text or part(s) of a text for:

– Specific information.

– Specific parts of a text.

– Specific data recorded in non-verbal forms, e.g., diagrams, charts, and graphs.

Unit 2: Understanding text organization

To be able to perceive relationships between different parts of a text through:

A. Cohesive devices, especially connectors, references, and vocabulary.

B. Discourse markers, especially for introducing, developing, and concluding ideas.

Unit 3: Comprehension

Understanding explicitly/implicitly stated ideas and information. To read for:

A. Main ideas and distinguish the main ideas from supporting details.

B. Inferencing and deducing the meaning and use of unfamiliar words through:
C. Word formation.
D. Contextual clues.
E. Information transfer.

Unit 4: Study skills

A. Note-taking by establishing the structure of the text and its key ideas.
B. Summary writing by leaving out minor details and writing an objective account of the text.

Note: This is an advanced reading activity as it sums up most of the strategies covered in the first three parts.

Unit 5: Critical evaluation

This is the post-reading stage, where students should be able to:

A. Discriminate between fact and opinion.
B. Be fully aware of the writer's intention and possible bias.
C. Reflect and discuss, give opinions and suggestions, and make critical comments.

Classroom approaches to reading

Students must be taught how to approach and consider the text in order to become independent and efficient readers. An ideal starting point for motivating learners is to discover their wants, needs, and interests, and then to select texts and activities that are appropriate.

Learners' interests and needs	→ Selection of text	→ Exploitation of text

Identifying readers' needs

As the English teacher of your class, you are in the best position to identify your readers' needs and help students gain insight into their own reading strengths and weaknesses in the areas of:

- General reading.
- Vocabulary.
- Comprehension.
- Study skills.
- Rate of comprehension.

Teachers and students can decide jointly which reading and study skill areas should be their focus for improvement based on the course on reading comprehension. It is suggested that a few activities from each unit of the student activity book be completed by students to develop their understanding of the reading process by experiencing the various aspects of reading strategies and skills. It may be a good idea for the teacher to do a few activities with students and ask the following questions:

- Did you find the activity difficult?
- What caused you difficulty?
- Can you understand what you are reading?
- Could you remember the answers to the questions, or did you find you had to go back to the passage to reread?
- Did you have enough time to complete the activity?
- Do you think the passages are similar to the types of material you read or are part of your college work?
- What point is the author trying to make?

This will help teacher identify their students' reading needs better. Teachers can make this an ongoing process and focus on areas in which students need more practice by selecting suitable activities from the course that will be interesting and useful to the learners. The English teachers can also devise activities to supplement certain units in the student activity book.

The three phases

In classroom approaches to reading, three phases of a reading lesson are recommended by Williams (1984).

Pre-reading: This is the warming-up or familiarization stage in which the teacher tries to:

1. Introduce and arouse interest in the topic.
2. Motivate learners by giving a reason for reading.
3. Provide some language preparation for the text.

The pre-reading phase helps the teacher introduce the topic, generate vocabulary related to the text, and prepare the learners for what to expect. The teacher may start by writing the subject or topic on the board and asking students to give opinions or suggestions to generate discussion—among themselves or with the teacher. This will help arouse interest in the topic and prepare students for the text.

The teacher can then make a vocabulary list on the blackboard and ask students if any words are familiar. They can pre-teach important words that are new to students and cannot be inferred from the context.

While-reading: This phase draws on the text rather than the learner's ideas prior to reading. Students need to acquire reading skills or techniques. The aims of this phase are:

1. To help understand the writer's purpose.
2. To help understand the text structure.
3. To clarify content.

Typical while-reading activities include comprehension exercises at the end of a text, pre-text questions (given at the beginning of a text), or questions inserted at various points in the text. Completing diagrams or maps, making lists, taking notes, information transfer, cloze texts, supplying a title, information search, etc., are types of while-reading work. The activities included in different units in the student activity book should be used by the teacher to develop the reading skills of their students.

What the teacher needs to do is consider the effect of these activities and whether this corresponds to both their and their learners' aims.

Teachers can ask themselves the following questions as a guide while reading work.

1. What is the function of this text?
2. How is the text organized or developed (e.g., a narrative, an explanation, an argument, and a counterargument)?
3. What content or information is to be extracted from the text?
4. What may the reader infer or deduce from the text?
5. What language may be learned from the text?
6. What reading styles may be practiced?

Post-reading: The aims of post-reading work are:

1. To consolidate or reflect upon what has been read.
2. To relate the text to the learner's own knowledge, interests, or views.

The comprehension exercises and activities on critical evaluation in this course aim to develop learners' post-reading abilities. The post-reading work should contribute coherently to the writing, speaking, and listening skills of learners. It should also help students think or reflect on various subjects and give their own opinions, distinguish between fact and opinion, and be able to discern the writer's bias, if any.

Interactive activities like pair or group work are to be encouraged at the post-reading stage. The teacher may ask themselves the following questions during this stage:

– Are the learners familiar with the situation in the text?
– Does the text call for recommendations?
– Does the text invite completion?
– Does the text present views that need to be counterbalanced?

The three-phase approach is not carried out mechanically on every occasion. The teacher's own judgment is best for deciding

which phases need to be incorporated. Sometimes the teacher may cut out the pre-reading stage and get learners to work on the text directly, or sometimes the post-reading stage may not be suitable.

The advantages of a three-phase approach when used are:

- It repeats and makes use of students' own knowledge of the language and of the world, using this as a basis for involvement, motivation, and progress.
- It leads to the integration of the required skills in a coherent manner so that the reading session is not isolated.
- It helps to make reading an interactive activity where students can discuss ideas.
- It develops the critical abilities of the learners.

The teacher is advised to use this three-phased approach as frequently as possible.

Factors in teaching reading comprehension

Reading is a silent activity

Passages used in reading comprehension should not be read aloud. There are obvious reasons that are often overlooked. First, reading aloud is abnormal. Almost always, when we read, we do it silently. Written language is the medium through which an author communicates directly with the reader, and the human vocal apparatus is superfluous in the process. Second, the sound of the human voice is, in a technical sense, noise, which actually interferes with the reader's understanding of what they are reading. Another important reason for not reading aloud is that the reader has to read each and every word of the text, which is not necessary and hinders speed and efficiency. In fact, vocalizing, subvocalizing, pointing, eye regressions, and reading aloud should be discouraged in the reader when reading the text. In general, the rule should be to read silently. Reading text aloud may be suitable for beginners or very young readers who are still not familiar with the sounds of words—but not for our readers.

Concentrate on more than the sentence level

If reading is to be efficient, the structure of longer units, such as the paragraph or the whole text, must be understood. As a rule, the reader should not deal with the structures and meanings of single sentences; rather, a unit of at least three sentences should be read for it to be meaningful. This is necessary; otherwise, students would a) become dependent on understanding every single sentence in a text, even when this is not necessary for their reading purpose, and they would therefore tend to read all texts at the same speed, and b) be reluctant to infer the meaning of sentences or paragraphs from what comes before or after.

Start with global understanding

One should start with a global understanding and move toward a detailed understanding rather than the other way around. The tasks given to learners should be of a more global nature and should be within the competence of the students. Gradually, as they become more fluent and grasp the gist of a text more easily, they can work toward a deeper and more detailed understanding of the text. Similarly, the reading comprehension activities on a given text should start with the *overall meaning* of the text, its function, and aim rather than working on vocabulary or more specific ideas.

This is important because it:

– Helps to build students' confidence when faced with authentic texts. If the activity is global enough, students will not feel completely lost.
– Helps to develop an awareness of the organization of the text (e.g., the main information and its development) and the layout of the text.

By starting with the longer units and considering the layout of the text, students can be encouraged to anticipate what they find in the text. This is essential in order to develop their skills of inference, anticipation, and deduction.

Reading is a constant process of *guessing,* and what we bring to the text is often more important than what we find in it. This is why, from the beginning, students should be taught to use what they know to understand unknown elements, whether these are ideas or simple words. This is best achieved through a global approach to the text.

Use authentic texts

It is important to use authentic texts or texts from real life whenever possible. An attempt has been made by the author to include many samples of authentic texts in the course (student activity book), which the teacher should encourage their students to read as well as engage in the suggested activities. The teacher and students can bring in more samples of authentic texts that interest them to the classroom and devise activities. Newspaper and magazine articles, as well as other samples of authentic texts like travel brochures, should be stored by the teacher. The English teachers in a college can also pool resource materials and file them through cooperative endeavors, which will greatly help staff development. One misunderstanding that needs to be addressed is that authentic texts are more difficult than simulated texts or activities from text collection books or integrated course books. The reasons are:

- Paradoxically, simplifying a text often results in increased difficulty because the system of references, repetitions, and discourse indicators one relies on are removed or altered.
- Reading authentic texts from the beginning does not necessarily mean a more difficult task for students. The difficulty of a reading exercise depends on the activity required of them rather than the text itself, provided it remains within their general competence. In other words, the exercises should be graded rather than the texts.

Authenticity means that nothing of the original is changed and that presentation and layout are retained in order to help students anticipate meaning by using non-linguistic clues.

Reading comprehension should not be separated from other skills

It is important to link the different skills through the reading activities chosen.

- Reading and writing, e.g., summarizing, note-making, etc.
- Reading and listening, e.g., comparing an article and a news bulletin, using recorded information to solve a written problem, and matching opinions and texts.
- Reading and speaking, e.g., discussion, debates, etc.

Reading is an active skill

It constantly involves guessing, predicting, checking, and asking ourselves questions. Hence, activities should introduce questions that encourage students to anticipate the content of a text from its title and illustrations, or the end of a story from the preceding paragraphs. The teacher should introduce activities in which there is no single straightforward answer, which will lead to greater reflection and discussion on the text.

A second aspect of reading as an active skill is its communicative function. In real life, we rarely answer questions after reading a text, but we may have to:

- Write an answer to a letter.
- Use the text to do something (e.g., follow directions, make a choice, solve a problem).
- Compare the information given to some previous knowledge.

Use flexible and varied reading comprehension exercises and activities

Reading comprehension activities selected or devised by the teacher should be suited to the texts and one's reasons for understanding them. It is essential to take into account the author's point of view, intention, and tone for a full understanding of the

text. This may be covered by open questions, true or false questions, multiple-choice questions, or the text may naturally lead to non-linguistic activities, such as tracing a route or a map, or matching pictures and paragraphs, etc.

The aim of a reading comprehension course is training and not testing

The aim of the reading activities must be clearly defined, and a clear distinction must be made between teaching and testing. Testing will require more accuracy-type questions, whereas, through teaching, one should develop the reading skills of learners. The important thing is that in most comprehension lessons, we, as teachers, should be concerned with helping the pupil understand the text and not with finding out if they understood or not. Helping the pupil means enabling them to understand or giving them the skills necessary for understanding. At different stages in a term and in examinations, we do test our pupils' comprehension. But, unless we spend most of our time training the skills of comprehension, the testing will show no progress, and the pupil who is weak at the beginning of a course will still be weak at the end of it. This means that whatever technique we use for questioning should facilitate the training of these initial comprehension skills. Furthermore, the teacher should adopt the classroom approaches and methods suggested in this course to teach their students reading skills that will enable them to become independent and efficient readers.

Activities in the reading comprehension class

Since reading in intermediate and advanced classes should be a silent activity, activities that involve discussion or consultation, such as pair work or group work, should be planned by the teacher for the *post-reading* stage. One technique the teacher can employ to generate discussion in a class or group is to get students to compare answers. Do not give away the right answer (if there is one) immediately. Get students to justify their answers before they are given the correct answer.

Every possibility of encouraging *autonomous activity* should be explored. As soon as students have acquired some skill in extracting information from an English text, they may begin to work in small groups, pairs, or individually, according to temperament. Large group activity is gradually reduced to those occasions when students feel the need for further help in specific areas.

One avenue that encourages autonomous activity is the preparation of *group projects* centered around special interests. Students in the project group may fan out in exploratory reading in order to report back and establish a list of worthwhile reading for all members of the group. Alternatively, students may assign each other specific articles or sections of books on which readers will report back to the group to share the information gathered.

Once students acquire confidence in approaching English language texts on their own, the class rapidly individualizes its activities, with students seeking out specific types of reading materials in which they are interested.

The role of the teacher is to be available and to draw students' attention to interesting articles in contemporary English language magazines that the students may purchase themselves or read in a library. Books with illustrations and interestingly written texts, along with varied content, which are available in bookstores or libraries, should be suggested by the teacher so that students become interested in seeking out information in English and thus develop the habit of using their newly acquired reading skills purposefully.

Six stages of reading development

To help students progressively develop their ability to read material of increasing difficulty more fluently and independently, six stages of reading development are recommended by Rivers (1978). *The six stages do not represent six levels of study*.

Stage I: Introduction to reading: This stage consists of oral presentations of a short dialogue in classrooms or simulated situations.

Stage II: Familiarization: As soon as students acquire some familiarity with sound-symbol correspondence in English and the word order of simple sentences, they pass to stage two, which is reading re-combinations of familiar materials.

Stage III: Acquiring reading techniques: Students read simple narrative and conversational material that develops an uncomplicated and entertaining theme. They are introduced to material that is known, with some unfamiliar words whose meanings can be deduced from illustrations, internationally adopted vocabulary, or from the context.[1]

The next three stages take readers from dependence to independence.

Stage IV: Practice: Students at this stage practice their reading skills with a wider range of language. In intensive reading, reading is linked with further study of grammar and vocabulary. Both in extensive and intensive reading, authentic writings in English should be carefully selected to be accessible to students at this stage of development. Difficult or complex styles or esoteric vocabulary should be avoided. As students progress through this practice stage, they should read material of increasing complexity and a wider range of vocabulary. A recognition vocabulary of about 3,600 words seems a reasonable limit (Rivers, 1978).

Stage V: Expansion: At stage five, students should read a wide range of materials in their original form without becoming discouraged. They are encouraged to read entirely on their own. They are also expected to be able to discuss not only the content but also the implications of what they have been reading.

Materials for intensive reading should be selected with a view to developing students' aesthetic appreciation, imagination, and powers of judgment and discriminative reasoning. Students learn to scan for information, to read with careful attention, and to extract the major ideas and arguments. Reading is still linked

[1] As BA students (the target group of the present reading comprehension course) are a mature group of learners ranging from intermediate to advanced levels, the course starts directly from stage III.

with listening (to plays, poems, readings, speeches), with writing (of reports, summaries, commentaries), and with speaking (discussion of ideas, themes, and values). They continue to read widely on subjects that interest them personally (political, social, scientific, artistic, practical) and prepare presentations in which they share what they have enjoyed with their fellow students.

The English class (teacher and students) should look for suitable poems, stories, essays, scenes from plays, and short novels that they think would appeal to students at this stage. These selections should be accessible in vocabulary, range, and complexity of structure. Add this to your file for further reference.

Stage VI: Autonomy: Students who reach this stage should be encouraged to develop an independent reading program tailored to their special interests. Their reading may be in some special area of literature or a scientific or technical subject. At this stage, students should be able to come to the teacher on a personal basis at regular intervals to discuss what they have been reading and share their discoveries. Independent study of this type for advanced students stimulates self-disciplined motivation and is excellent preparation for autonomous study in later life.

Students at the advanced proficiency level in reading should be innovative and critical, at least to a moderate extent. They should be able to modify or expand portions of the language used in the text as well as apply the ideas expressed to their own daily experiences. Some specially talented students may also develop a critical approach to literary writing pieces. This latter skill, however, is usually developed in literature courses and should not be forced here.

The reading lesson

For the teacher, the reading lesson has six parts:

– **Selection** of suitable material at an appropriate level of reading difficulty for their group of students; selection of the right amount of material for the time available and for arousing and maintaining interest in the content of the text.

The English teacher, during the reading comprehension course with BA students, can select the material and activities from the reading comprehension section of the student activity book. They may also supplement certain units of the course with materials that they have devised.

- **Preparation** by the teacher includes checking the necessary background information, which would need explaining (and is best explained by visual aid, action, English definition, synonym, or translation), structural complications, obscurity of meaning or allusion, and the most effective way to arouse interest in this particular text.
- **Introduction** of the material to students. This is the *pre-reading* stage of the lesson. The introduction can take the form of a provocative discussion on a question that is raised in the reading lesson, which will prepare readers for the text and motivate them to read it. Stimulating students' own thinking about the central issue or problem helps them anticipate the probable meaning of unfamiliar vocabulary and perceive disguised cognates and borrowed ideas through vocabulary and narrative orientation.
- **Reading** should be exploited on different occasions in this *while-reading* stage to ensure that the reading lesson does not fall into a set pattern. Individualized reading assignments should also be designed with a variety of activities in mind. The cardinal principle for each approach is that it should encourage students to keep looking ahead for meaning, rather than stopping at each word to seek an exact native language equivalent. This includes examining the text in terms of language and ideas, and forming generalizations and information.
- **Discussion:** At this point, the teacher is able to gauge and increase students' overall comprehension of the passage, not by explaining and restating, but by encouraging them to go back to the passage and look at it more carefully. This is the *post-reading* stage, where it is important to develop students' critical abilities. This includes formulating new expressions and ideas, and judging and evaluating the text.

– **Application:** Reading is not an isolated activity. In language class, it should lead to something and thus be integrated with the development of all skills.

Assisting and assessing reading comprehension

Content questions, that is, who? what? when? where? how (manner)? and yes-no questions are most appropriate at the pre-reading stage.

Implication questions, that is, why? If…then what? And how (explanation)?

Questions should be asked at the while-reading and post-reading stages (four and five), as the content questions can be copied directly from the text and do not necessarily require comprehension.

Note: It is better for answers to comprehension questions to be written rather than spoken, as this gives students a chance to work on the text. While the written answers are being completed, the teacher can circulate among the class, giving individual attention as required. The questions in the exercises, or those that the teacher devises, should not use the same words as the sentences in the passages, as the learners may simply match them without understanding. Also, if the teachers create their own questions, they should ensure that the language of the questions is not more difficult than the language of the text.

Multiple-choice questions are frequently used:

– At the pre-reading stage, sentence completions requiring only discrimination among several short, attractive phrases may be used. It is important, however, that the sentence completion does not parallel a sentence that the student can identify in the text without understanding the meaning.
– At the while-reading and post-reading stages, multiple-choice sets will consist of longer statements that the student must be able to comprehend alongside the original text.

As a testing technique, multiple-choice questioning is objective in that the examiner has no decision to make regarding the accuracy or merit of the answer, unlike free-response questions, which can be either subjective or objective.

Training with multiple-choice questioning: The multiple-choice questions used in this section of the student activity book may be used effectively to train a person's ability to think. The distractors (the alternatives that are not acceptable as the best answer) are set close together so that students have to examine each alternative very carefully before deciding on the best answer.

When a student answers a comprehension question incorrectly, the reason for this may be linguistic, intellectual, or a mixture of both. In multiple-choice questions, the comprehension errors may be analyzed and then classified so that the teacher can take into account the main areas of difficulty.

True-false-don't-know checks: True-false checks are useful as a quick assessment of reading comprehension, particularly for extensive reading assignments. If students are given two points for a correct answer and lose a point for answering 'don't know,' they will be less likely to make wild guesses, and the score will more truly reflect their comprehension of the passage.

As with multiple-choice items, all statements must be plausible in context and must be based on possible misunderstandings of specific phrases in the text or incorrect associations of phrases. Care must be taken not to develop a set of correct responses, e.g., TFTFTF or TFF TT FF TT. There is no need for an equal number of T's and F's, as students are quick to discover this and will adjust their answers accordingly. Correct statements should not be so phrased that they repeat exactly the words of the text.

Questions in English requiring answers in the students' native language

It is possible for teachers to set questions on the text to which students can respond in their native language (if the teacher and

students belong to a homogeneous language group) or in Urdu. This makes it impossible for a student to frame a response using words from the question or the text without knowing their meaning. It also requires comprehension of questions that are in English, as well as the main text. It usually gives students the opportunity to explain the meaning of the text more fully. However, asking questions in students' native language to be answered in the same language is not advisable. These types of questions in English that require answers in students' native language should be limited so that they get an opportunity to practice integrating their written and spoken skills in English, along with their reading skills.

Anticipatory questions

With difficult texts, students may be supplied with questions designed to lead them to seek information that will make the passage clearer to them. These types of questions are more suitable for expository and informational passages than for narrative texts.

Resume with keywords omitted

After the students have read the text and put it away, they may be supplied with an English summary of the content, with certain words omitted. They then show, by the way they complete the summary, how well they understand the text and how much attention they paid to vocabulary.

Assessing overall comprehension

Depending on the content of the passage, students may be asked to do such things as:

- Supply a suitable title.
- Make a chart.
- Make a sketch.
- Draw a map.
- Write a brief day-to-day diary.

- Outline under headings.
- Match paragraphs to titles or summaries of ideas in the passage.

Integrating language skills

Reading and writing

- Students may be asked a series of questions that, when answered in sequence, develop a summary of the material read.
- They may write an ending to a story or play, or develop a different ending from the one in the book.
- They might write replies to letters received.
- Completed compositions may be passed around with the writers' consent to be read by other students.
- Students may create stories on themes similar to those they have been reading.
- They may write dramatizations of parts of the narrative that may be acted out in an English class or at the English club.
- After reading a play, students may write the story.

Reading and listening comprehension

In the pre-reading and post-reading stages, students can listen to the teacher's and other students' opinions on the text. They may listen to a worthwhile reading or dramatic presentation of what they have read on videotape. The aural element adds vividness and life to the reading unit.

Reading and speaking

In the post-reading stage, students should be provided with frequent opportunities to give in English the gist of what they have been reading. They may prepare their own questions to ask others in the class. In pairs or small groups, students can discuss together what they have read. Questions that develop critical

evaluation of the text by students should be asked frequently so that they can reflect on what they have read and give their own assessment or opinion on the text. Some of the material read will serve as the basis for oral presentations of projects, and some may provide ammunition for discussions, debates, and even dramatizations.

Techniques for developing reading skills

In broad terms, the skills and strategies of reading that we hope our students will learn through the exploitation of text in the course are skills involving technique flexibility: variations in reading speed, skimming, and scanning (see unit 1).

Reading speed and reading efficiency (unit 1A, activities 1–10)

The reading speed of students varies considerably in their native language. To become fluent readers, students must acquire the skill of reading whole word groups and whole sentences in English and retaining material in their memory over larger and larger sections as they move on with the developing thought. We use our eyes to take in whole chunks of text in a series of short, jerky movements called **saccades,** and the better readers we are, the less we actually see of the print on the page. Reading is primarily a cognitive process, and the key to fluent reading is not a kind of visual gymnastics but knowledge. Our knowledge of the language in its written form and of the subject matter of that text provides us with a set of expectations about it. As we read, we make **predictions** based on these expectations—not predictions of exactly what is coming next, but of the kind of thing that is coming next.

Like any sample of natural language, every printed text shows a fairly high degree of redundancy, which good readers exploit when they read for comprehension. Good readers read for meaning. They do not decode as a computer would—which means that they do not actually look at the parts of every sentence or of every phrase, let alone every word, letter, or punctuation mark.

The less visual information readers need to make sense of a text, the better readers they are, at least of that text. If, as we read, our predictions get confirmed, we continue to read and comprehend. If they do not, if the text stops making sense, then we are forced to retrace our mental steps until it begins to make sense again. If that does not happen too often, however, if for any given text our knowledge and our skill at making accurate predictions prove equal to the task, we can successfully relate whatever new information we encounter in the text to what we already know, to what psychologists call our cognitive structure. That is, in the most ideal sense, we can read it.

To make sense of a text, beginners must, of course, depend more extensively than fluent readers do on the visual information provided by the print, but as they become more familiar with both the language and conventions of the printed page, they put that knowledge to use in predicting and confirming the meanings of the texts that they have chosen to read. Thus, the reading that truly proficient readers do is very different from the reading that is simple decoding that they once did as beginners.

The main goal of the reading course is to train students to read efficiently. One of the main concerns of the teacher in this regard is to enhance students' ability to read at an appropriate speed. An efficient reader reads quickly enough so that they are processing a stream of meaning, not of individual words, but slowly enough so that they are not missing important information. Our students, as second/foreign language learners, in contrast, often read so slowly that in their painstaking reading of every word of a passage, they lose the thread of meaning and often backtrack to reread for comprehension.

The problem of reading so slowly that comprehension is impeded has a basic cause. Not-yet-proficient readers tend to **subvocalize** what they read, i.e., instead of following a direct process of meaning extraction, as illustrated by Goodman (1967).

Two corrective strategies

Minimizing the pronunciation stage, then, becomes a basic part of encouraging reading efficiency. Two strategies to correct this tendency are: (1) discouraging students from reading aloud, and (2) drilling word-recognition skills and phrase-recognition skills.

Reading aloud is an activity that should not occur in a reading skills class for several reasons. First, it reinforces the idea that reading and pronunciation are related, thereby strengthening the tendency to subvocalize when reading silently. Second, we speak more slowly than we read, so reading aloud slows down what may already be a painfully slow process by forcing the student to focus on each word. Third, when struggling to pronounce correctly and deliver expressively what they are reading aloud, students may lose all sense of the meaning of what they are reading, a fact that defeats the very purpose of reading. Fourth, students reading aloud invariably mispronounce and misread some words and phrases. This presents the teacher with a dilemma: interrupt the reading to correct miscues, thereby further impeding the flow of meaning extraction, or allow the miscues to go uncorrected, thereby exposing the rest of the class to incorrect models. It is clear, then, that reading should be a silent activity. Reading class time should be devoted to the silent practice of reading skills in intensive exercises; reading assignments should consist of the silent reading of extensive passages accompanied by reading skills improvement and testing exercises.

A second strategy for minimizing subvocalization is to drill word-recognition skills so that readers are not sounding out each word as they encounter it. This sounding-out process is terribly inefficient: instead of reading in meaning units, which is ideal, the student is not even reading word by word. They are reading letter by letter and can, therefore, not even hope to extract meaning efficiently.

Word-recognition activities consist of grids on which common words are written. In the left-hand column is the keyword, with four or five words to the right of that word. The

student's task may be to find the same word as the keyword, a synonym for the keyword, an antonym for the keyword, a word not associated with the keyword, and so on.

Designing word-recognition exercises (unit 1A, activities 1–4)

In designing and using these exercises, two points are to be kept in mind. First, word recognition exercises are not vocabulary development exercises. The purpose of these exercises is not to broaden students' vocabulary but rather to improve their ability to focus very briefly on words for immediate recognition and comprehension. In fact, in subsequent application to actual reading, it is hoped that these exercises will free students from the need to focus on common words; they should be so familiar that they can be viewed as components of larger meaning units. Therefore, the keywords and possible answers should be within the students' vocabulary. The teacher can select the words from a word list, from prior readings and exercises, from current readings (provided that the words are not new), and from their own knowledge of students' vocabulary.

Second, these exercises must be very **strictly timed** to preclude the possibility that students will have enough time to revert to sounding out the words they see. It is crucial to keep the pace challenging; otherwise, students may lose interest in this valuable activity.

If teachers cooperate in writing these exercises so that a pool is created within a given college, there is no reason why each reading activity session cannot begin with a word-recognition warm-up session that takes five minutes from handing out papers to the end of correction.

Reading by phrases (unit 1A, activity 5)

Reading so slowly that comprehension suffers has a second cause: reading word by word. Therefore, the improved ability to look at words as a whole for comprehension is only an intermediate stage in learning to take in whole phrases or other

meaning units in a single focus. Training students to read in phrases rather than word by word can be approached in a variety of ways. First, as students study their grammar lessons, units of meaning, the various types of phrases and clauses, and their markers should be highlighted. Then, in reading classes, students can be asked to break passages into **meaning units** by drawing slashes at boundaries and then reading the passages, always trying to focus only once per meaning unit. Second, phrase recognition exercises similar in design and purpose to word-recognition exercises can be done on a regular basis.

Improving reading speed with timed tasks

One of the most common ways to increase reading speed is to give students passages to read and ask them to time themselves. Taking the length of the text and the reading time into account will tell them what their reading speed is—this will make it easier for them to try to read a little faster each time. Reading should also be followed by comprehension questions or activities, since reading speed should not be developed at the expense of comprehension.

Most of the activities in this course (student activity book) can, therefore, be used with faster reading in mind. When practicing faster reading systematically, students can be encouraged to keep a record of their results, showing their progress (e.g., in the form of a graph). This should encourage them to read more.

Table 1: Reading speeds of readers whose first language is English

Words per minute	
170–200	Slow
200–250	Average
250–300	Above average
300–400	Fast
400 and above	Very fast

Source: AIOU (1974).

Note: The time you start reading a passage and when you have completed reading the passage is your reading time. The next step is to do the comprehension exercises at the end.

After completing the comprehension (multiple-choice questions), calculate your reading time in seconds. The reading speed in words per minute can be obtained using this formula:

$$\frac{60 \times \textit{total no. of words}}{\textit{the time in seconds}}$$

e.g., if a 1,000-word passage is read in 2 minutes and 30 seconds. The reading speed is:

$$\frac{60 \times 1{,}000}{150} = 400 \textit{ words per minute}$$

Note: Speed is useful, but it is not the main criterion by which we judge effective reading. Research has shown that one of the main characteristics of a good reader is their **flexibility.** They will vary their speed and their whole manner of reading according to the text and their **purpose** for reading.

Skimming and scanning

Both skimming and scanning are specific reading techniques necessary for quick and efficient reading. Skimming is a more thorough activity that requires an overall view of the text and implies a definite reading competence. Scanning, on the contrary, is far more limited, since it means only retrieving the information that is relevant. Yet, we usually use these two activities together when reading a given text. For example, *we may* skim through an article first just to know whether it is worth reading, and then read it more carefully because it is of interest. It is also possible afterwards to scan the same article in order to note a figure or a name that we particularly want.

Skimming (unit 1B, activities 1–14)

Skimming through a text means that we do not read each sentence, but rather we run our eyes over the text, reading a few sentences here and there and recognizing certain words and

expressions as clues to the function and ideas of what follows, thereby making it unnecessary to read the text in detail. However, in order to skim through a text quickly and efficiently, one must know where to look for the main information.

How to skim

1. Read titles, headings, subheadings, and any other typographical indicators of important ideas—such as words in italics or in bold print.
2. Does the first paragraph include a preview or an organizational structure for the information that is to follow? If it does, read it!
3. Read the first sentences of paragraphs.
4. Look at illustrations and read the captions under pictures.
5. Note numbers, dates, and words that seem to stand out.
6. Note any organizational or structural clue words such as 'first,' 'second,' 'in addition,' and 'finally.'
7. Does the last paragraph include a summary? If it does, read the paragraph.

Skimming is an effective reading approach when you want to:

- Preview a chapter or selection to help recall information you already know about the topic.
- Decide whether a selection interests you or contains information you want to know.
- Review material you have already read.
- Search for specific facts.
- Stay up to date on a topic that you already know a great deal about.

Skimming for gist

This skill involves skimming over the 'surface' of a piece of writing to understand its general content or gist. It is the kind of reading we do when, for example, we glance over a page of a

newspaper to see if there is anything worth reading in greater detail, or when we leaf through a book to get a sense of its subject matter.

Skimming differs from general rapid reading in that the reader goes through the text extra quickly, merely dipping into it or sampling it at various points.

Learners can be shown to skim samples of a text by drawing their attention to the first few sentences of the text and the first and last sentences of paragraphs. They are often the **key or topic sentences.**

Techniques that encourage learners to skim

1. Provide a text consisting of only key or 'topic sentences' and then ask the learners to predict what the text is about, why anyone should read it, and what the writer might have said in the gaps. [The activity book contains such exercises]
2. Give a series of texts and ask them to select appropriate titles from a group of titles. Short newspaper articles can be very convenient for this.
3. In studying the activities in the student activity book, ask each group to look for the topic of a paragraph. Students are then asked to match topics with each paragraph.

A useful study skill

Since there are a great many materials related to each professional area, students must be taught to be selective. Skimming techniques will enable them to select only those that are worth reading.

Methods of skimming

1. Preview
2. Overview
3. Survey

By **previewing,** students can predict or anticipate whether the book or article is written by a specialist in a certain field and

whether it contains the information they are seeking. In **overviewing,** students can discover the purpose and scope of the material and can find sections that are relevant to them. Through a **survey,** students will get a general idea of the material.

Skimming is, then, the skill that helps students read quickly and selectively in order to obtain a general idea of the material. Our course emphasizes skimming since our students habitually read every sentence in the text, which impedes their reading abilities.

Another reason for practicing skimming with our BA students is that it is a useful study technique. Skimming is, in fact, the first stage of the SQ3R process (Robinson, 1946), where S stands for survey, Q for question, and the 3 R's for read, recite, and revise. It helps the learner organize their thoughts and specify what information they can get from a book so that their subsequent reading is more efficient.

Scanning (unit 1C, activities 1–13)

Scanning for specific information involves darting over much of a text to find the specific item of information that we wish to discover. This skill, therefore, also involves the ability to reject or pass over irrelevant information. It is the kind of reading we do when, for example, we read through someone's biography to find out the date of their marriage or the name of their spouse, or when we glance through a telephone directory looking for a particular person's telephone number. It also includes finding statistical answers to certain questions from a text. Scanning also occurs when we go through a text very quickly to get an initial impression of whether the text is suitable for a given purpose.

Procedure for scanning

1. Keep in mind only the specific information to be located.
2. Decide which clues will help find the required information.
3. Move your eyes as quickly as possible down the page to find the clues.
4. Read the section containing the clues to gather the information.

In this technique, students are trained to think of clues to help them find specific information. These clues may be a word or words, punctuation, alphabetical order, numbers, etc. Students are also trained to move their eyes rapidly, looking only for clues in order to obtain the information quickly.

Since it requires a great deal of practice to develop scanning skills, students are encouraged to use this technique randomly throughout the course. The technique is challenging and helps alleviate boredom during class.

Activities to practice scanning in the course (student activity book) on reading comprehension include:

- Scanning events: newspapers/magazines.
- Scanning advertisements.
- Scanning continuous prose, especially reference material.
- Scanning travel brochures.
- Scanning a museum guide.

All the texts are authentic materials that are more suitable than textbook material for practicing scanning.

Focus on text organization (unit 2 in the student activity book, activities 1–25)

An effective reading strategy should be to follow the writer's intent and the ability to perceive meaningful relationships between sentences, groups of sentences, and paragraphs.

The teacher should not only focus on text organization or structure in this section but also, throughout the course, make students aware of certain features of text structure and their relationships.

Cohesion

Textual cohesion is a way in which text is held together by particular linguistic means. These include connectives, references, and vocabulary.

Connectives

Connectives are words or phrases that serve as links and indicate the relationship between what they are linking. Examples:

- (Cause) As Ali was tired, he went home at once.
- (Result) He ate nothing all day; consequently, he was hungry by nightfall.
- (Contrast) Although he has few friends, he won the election.
- (Addition) Babur can speak French and write it.
- (Sequence) First, he took off his shoes, then he came in.

Connectives are important because they act as *signposts* and help readers anticipate and find their way through a text. Suitable activities to practice the use of connectives would be:

- Inserting link words, i.e., filling in a blank with a suitable linking word.
- Joining sentences, i.e., joining groups of sentences with the given link words.

Connectives can also be used effectively in context through exercises that ask readers to take the text apart and focus attention on the connectives that link the parts. Students should be asked to pinpoint them and copy them out. This technique can be applied to any text that contains connectives.

Table 2: Connectives

Relationship	Examples of logical connectors
Cause and effect	Thus, therefore, so, consequently, as a result
Contrast and concession	But, yet, however, although, whereas
Time	Then, while, after, when
Addition	What's more, besides (that), in addition to this
Exemplification	For example, for instance, such as
Conclusion	To conclude, in brief, in short, in other words
Re-phrasing	That is to say

If readers do not recognize the force and meaning of these connectors, they will lose the thread of what they are reading. Yet, often, these words are not taught systematically.

Connectors: Suggested activities

Connecting words, in particular, cause problems. When students have been speaking in class and primarily using single sentences, they lack familiarity with the connecting words that are essential in a piece of writing. These words and phrases are used to add an idea (such as also, in addition, furthermore), to show **sequence** (first, then, after that, next, finally), to show **result** (so, therefore, as a result, consequently), and to show **contrast** (but, however, nevertheless, on the other hand). Therefore, students need to be made aware of how these connecting words are used in writing.

Examples

1. Students read **a** passage, with all the **pronouns** and **possessive adjectives** in bold print. Then they draw a line to connect the words in bold print to the words they **refer to:**

   A **boy,** about ten years old, appeared at a third-floor **window. It** wouldn't open. **He** was very frightened.

2. In a reading passage, students replace all the words in bold print with the words they refer to, as in example 1:

   "The window wouldn't open. The boy was very frightened." Then they discuss why a writer would choose to use the pronoun forms.

3. Students read a passage and circle the instances of **the.** Then, they determine which cases provide a link to a noun that has been mentioned before.

   A boy appeared at a third-floor window. *The* boy was very frightened. He broke *the* window and then…

4. Ask your students to find a reading passage in their textbook and copy it out, but leave blanks for any connecting words.

Then the papers are passed on to other students in the class who fill in the connecting words.

5. Give your students a text with the linking words deleted. For example:

   When I think of my father, I think of 1 _____ at mealtimes. 2 _____ 3 _____ always sat at the head of the family table and asked 4 _____ children a lot of questions. He asked us about 5 _____ friends and our day at school. He was disappointed when he heard about any difficulties or failures in school. 6 _____, he never got angry.

In groups, students try to fill in the blanks from their knowledge of English and the sense they can make of the passage. Then, students are given a list of words, with the writer's actual choice included (below with asterisks):

man | him* | only | everyone

often | fat | then* | finally

he* | she | we | father

all | their | naughty | his*

our* | many | much | valuable

in addition | therefore | although | however*

Reference: (see activities 6–8)

Reference words are simply words that **refer to** or are used **instead of** other words, e.g., '**They asked him to go there, and he did'** has four examples of reference. Only one of them can be interpreted from the context. We need more context in order to be able to see what the others refer to. One cannot provide rules for recovering the items referred to. Knowledge of the world may sometimes help us, as in the following examples:

> The light-producing hatchet fish were first discovered by marine scientists on the 'Challenge.' They were living at depths below 4,000 meters.

We know that marine scientists do not normally live at such depths. Therefore, the reference is to the fish.

Sometimes, reference may be made not to a single item but to an entire process.

> Maddison bicycles are, at the moment, moving to a new factory. This is likely to delay production of their latest model.

This refers to moving to a new factory.

Appropriate use of references is important in writing connected text. Too much repetition of the same phrases can be tedious, while too much use of references can be confusing. As far as reading is concerned, questions involving reference serve as comprehension-checking devices, for they enable the teacher to see if the correct interpretation is made. They can also serve to help comprehension if they draw attention to an interpretation that might otherwise have escaped the student.

In the following examples, the underlined italic words are reference words, the bold words are those they refer to, and the words in brackets indicate by what means the reference words perform their referring function.

> When I saw **my friend** last night, *he* gave me a present (pronoun)
>
> Jim used to work in there, but he left *there* last year (pronoun, adverb of place)
>
> I like ice cream, and so *does* my brother (auxiliary verb)
>
> They met in 1973 and have been friends since *then* (adverb of time)
>
> He **acted very rashly. I** don't approve of *that type of behaviour* (demonstrative adjective and word from the same word field)
>
> I don't like **cities,** leave alone *Paris* (word from the same word field)

If readers do not realize that these words have a reference, or what that reference is, a misunderstanding will result.

A variety of question types can be used for this purpose.

- **'Wh__' indirect reference question**: What is the source of all the energy in the oceans?
- **Blank filling in a paragraph (close for reading)**: 'They' (lines) refer to?

Vocabulary

There are two ways in which vocabulary helps to give **cohesion** to a text. One way is when writers make a reference and, instead of using a pronoun, use a noun phrase. The other is when writers choose their words to give consistency to the impression or point of view they are trying to express.

Example 1 (adapted from Nuttall, 1982)

> I saw a man leaning against the table, smoking. I walked up to **the chap** and asked him for a light.

Very little is achieved by using **the chap** instead of 'him,' apart from avoiding repetition. In the next example, the underlined words *do* add a little to the meaning.

> Dr James stepped into the ward, and the patient attempted to lift his bleeding hand so the visitor could get a better view. James noticed how **the wretch** had also suffered damage to his elbow.

Attention can be drawn to **meaningful repetition** by asking questions such as, 'how do we know the writer feels sorry for the patient?' Underline the word that shows how the writer feels about the patient, which involves language production on the reader's part.

The second way vocabulary contributes to cohesion does not involve reference but occurs when there is **a piling up of words** in a text to give it unity of tone. This is a common feature of descriptive writing. An extension of this use of vocabulary may

occur when a writer approves or disapproves of something but does not do so directly. Their opinion is apparent only in their choice of vocabulary. One way of alerting readers to this is to provide them with two texts dealing with the same topics from a different viewpoint, e.g., references from different newspapers on the same topic, and focus on different vocabulary clauses.

Example:

> The cellar room had a low vaulted ceiling, walls of grey stone, and a flooring of granite.

Semantic markers (activity 8)

When you are listening to a lecture or reading a text, watch out for the use of semantic markers. These are words or phrases that serve as **signals** for the meaning and structure of the lecture or text. They tell us how the ideas are organized.

Functions of semantic makers (adapted from Grellet, 1981):

The markers may be used for listing, such as:

firstly	thirdly
in the first place	my next point is
secondly	last/finally

They may show us the **cause-and-effect relationship** between one idea and another:

so	because
therefore	since
thus (we see)	

They can **indicate** that the speaker or writer is going to illustrate ideas by giving examples:

for instance	let's take…
for example	an example/ instance of this was…

They may **introduce** an idea that runs against what has been said, or is going to be said:

but	and yet
nevertheless	although
on the other hand	

A very important kind of semantic marker is one that shows that the speaker or writer is about to sum up their message, or part of it:

to summarize	it amounts to this
in other words	it can just sum up
what I have been saving is this	

Semantic markers may be used to express a **time relationship:**

then	previously
next	while
after that	when

They may be used to indicate the **relative importance** of something. The following are markers of emphasis:

it is worth noting
I would like to direct your attention to

They may be used to rephrase what has already been said, or to introduce a definition:

in other words	to put it another way
let me put it this way	that is to say

Also, to express a condition:

if	assuming that
unless	

These are only a few examples of semantic markers. Train your students to listen for these keywords and phrases (adapted from Grellet, 1981).

Further Reading

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PROF. DR. SABIHA MANSOOR, former Vice Chancellor of Lahore College for Women University (2011-2015), is currently Professor of English at Lahore School of Economics. She obtained her MA TEFL in 1992 and her PhD in Language Education in 2003 from the University of Reading in the UK; and her MA in English Literature from Punjab University in 1972.

An eminent educationalist and former Woodrow Wilson Pakistan scholar, she served as Professor and Founding Dean of School of Education, at Beaconhouse National University, and as Head, Center of English, Aga Khan University, and Head ELT Center, Kinnaird College, Lahore.

• • •

This comprehensive volume by Dr Sabiha Mansoor presents a critical exploration of language policy, bilingualism, sociolinguistics, and education in Pakistan's multilingual landscape. Drawing from over three decades of research, Dr. Sabiha Mansoor examines the intersections of language, identity, and social mobility, addressing key issues such as regional languages' status, English dominance in higher education, and linguistic inequalities in the workforce. The book offers valuable insights into policy-making and pedagogical challenges, making it an essential resource for linguists, educators, and policymakers engaged in South Asian language studies and educational development.

Dr. Shahid Siddiqui
Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Media Studies, Art and Design
Lahore School of Pakistan

This treasure trove of papers over 30 years by Sabiha Mansoor, masterfully edited by Munaza Hasan, on the intricate interplay between English Language Teaching and the socio-political dimensions of language planning and policy, bilingualism, identity and gender politics, employment and teaching practices in the complex multicultural envionrment of Pakistan, is certainly long overdue.

Mansoor has consistently called for educators to adopt reflexive practices that embrace linguistic diversity while critically engaging with the legacies of cultural hegemony in Pakistan. The interdisciplinary relevance of this important collection once again reminds language educators worldwide that language education is not merely a neutral act of skill transmission but a dynamic site where cultural belongings and national narratives are negotiated. The book addresses deep challenges and provide remedial strategies of intrinsic relevance to all educators in a world torn by the opposing yet inevitable pull of nationalism and globalization.

Prof (Dr) Phyllis G. L. Chew,
National Institute of Education,
Nanyang Technological Univeristy, Singapore.

This thought-provoking book is a must-read for scholars of language, education, and development, as well as educators and policymakers interested in linguistic diversity and educational development. Anyone seeking to explore and understand the complex issues shaping Pakistan's linguistic and educational landscape will find this book an invaluable resource. With its critical perspective, nuanced analysis and interdisciplinary approach, this book is significant to those who want to conduct studies on how the past has had an impact on what is occurring now in the field of Applied Linguistics.

Honorary Professor Dr Maya Khemlani David,
Asia Europe Institute University of Malaya

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